

the freedom socialist

75¢
(\$1.00 outside U.S.)

David Sohappy's Ordeal 3
Alison Thorne Victory 4
Myth of the Lesser Evil 18

Voice of Revolutionary Feminism

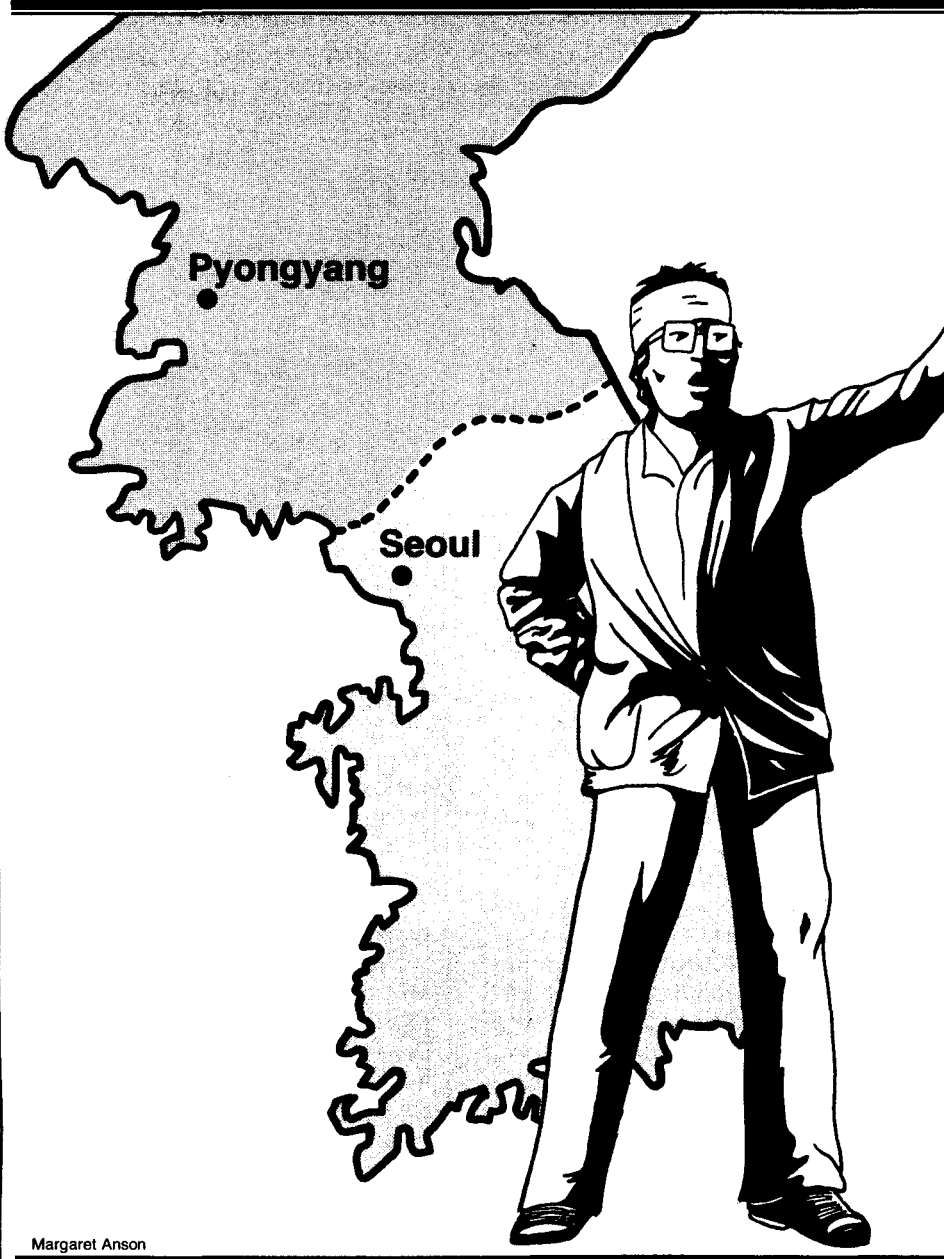
Volume 10, Number 1 April-June 1987



The Gipper fumbles: First & ten for the U.S. Left!

It's the start of the fourth quarter.
The ball's at midfield, score tied at zero. The
Gipper takes the snap and drops back. He
fakes a hand-off to Shultz...

to page 18



Margaret Anson

KOREA

Demand for democracy shakes the South

Behind the economic "miracle"

Korea's economy was almost wholly destroyed during the war, laid waste primarily by U.S. saturation bombing. Nevertheless, because of a modernized agriculture developed under the Japanese, the existence of an educated workforce, and tremendous infusions of imperialist military and economic aid, the South enjoyed modest industrial growth through the '50s.

South Korea was sucked more firmly into the imperialist orbit in the '60s through development of an economy oriented to exports—textiles, petrochemicals, electrical equipment, shipbuilding. This economy was dominated by a few big conglomerates (the *chaebol*), directed by the state, and subsidized through massive foreign loans.

The country's annual growth rate between 1960 and 1980 was an impressive 10 percent. In that same span the urban population skyrocketed from 28 percent to 55 percent of the total. The industrial workforce climbed fivefold to three million.

Bourgeois pundits have labeled the South Korean economy a miracle. But this "miracle" carries a heavy price tag. South Korea today is entirely dependent on the imperialist world market for technology, raw materials, and banking credit, and must trade at terms dictated by the imperialists. The country is saddled with a \$40 billion foreign debt and is now racked with recession brought on by rising protectionism. Small farmers meanwhile are being ruined by imports of cheap U.S. grain. And Korea's competitiveness on the world market has meant rock-bottom wages, horrific working conditions, and the complete absence of political rights for the industrial workforce.

Rising up

Exploitation and repression bring with them a vast accumulation of social grievances and, eventually, explosion.

And explode South Korea did at the end of the '70s. Student-led protests and industrial sitdown strikes and other labor actions skyrocketed in early 1980. On May 18, the military, under Chun, declared martial law.

That same day, the people of the city of Kwangju rose up. On May 21 they took over the city, running it for five days. Then, thousands of troops under joint U.S.-ROK command poured into the city, slaughtered an estimated 2500 people, and ended the rebellion.

The mass hatred of the U.S. government dates from the putdown of the Kwangju revolt.

After a hiatus, dissent again began to pick up steam in 1984 and '85. Renewed student protest materialized around the demand for free elections. The opposition New Korea Democratic Party (NKPD), a bourgeois-led party formed in 1985, won 49 percent of the vote that year in

elections to the National Assembly.

The overthrow of Marcos in the Philippines in February 1986 boosted opposition tremendously. Mass demonstrations demanding Chun's ouster shook cities throughout South Korea in the weeks following Marcos' flight. Then came an eight-day auto strike in the city of Incheon in April. That same month, farmers protesting the import of U.S. grain were stopped by riot police from marching on the U.S. embassy. In June, a series of sympathy strikes, the first such actions in 40 years, were called to protest the arrest of three union organizers in a Seoul garment plant. College students increasingly joined in support of the labor unrest.

A key aspect of the labor upsurge and democratic protest in general has been the rising militance of women. Women led the June sympathy strikes in Seoul. They battled riot police after the government ordered Seoul's Mok-dong slums razed to make way for high-rise apartments being constructed for the 1988 Olympics. In March, 1500 women rallied in Seoul to commemorate International Women's Day. Labor rights activist Reverend Cho Hwa Sun, pointing to the inseparable linkage between political democracy and women's liberation, stated that "the strongest power for rectifying injustices comes from those who suffer most from unfair treatment."

Nationwide demonstrations continued through summer and fall, on campuses, in factories, in the streets. All issues—repression of labor and women, militarization of the universities, arrest and torture of dissidents—were tied to the need for free elections and an end to imperialist domination, and increasingly to reunification.

Chun answered with police, more police, and the offer of the power-sharing deal to oppositionists in the conservative wing of the NKPD.

False leaders

What now for the democratic movement?

The bulwark of opposition to Chun has been and remains college students and industrial workers. Yet much of the opposition leadership is in the hands of the anti-communist liberal bourgeoisie in the NKPD.

The liberals would like to divorce the anti-Chun movement from anti-imperialist agitation, on grounds that "democratic" capitalism can flower in South Korea in alliance with the U.S.

Dreaming thus, the capitalists work only to discredit themselves. The partition and 40 years of U.S.-backed dictatorships, an enslaved economy, the Kwangju massacre, Chun's riot police, and U.S. nukes and 40,000 U.S. troops in South Korea send a message to all but the willfully ignorant. Liberation cannot be won except through simultaneous

to page 23

Seventy thousand riot police were deployed in Seoul November 30, 1986, to break up a rally protesting the refusal of dictator Chun Doo Hwan to hold open presidential elections and return South Korea to civilian rule. Western commentators cited the ensuing melee as a demonstration of the strongman's "ability and determination to stifle dissent."

That's a demonstration of wishful thinking on the part of the bourgeois press. Chun is indeed determined, but hardly able, to quell the dissent that has mushroomed in South Korea.

A national democratic movement has coalesced in the past three years, embracing workers, students, women, artists and writers, and sections of the South Korean bourgeoisie. Virtually all are united in the demand for free elections and an end to the dictatorship. Also, increasingly radical sectors of the movement are rallying against U.S. and Japanese domination of the economy and the massive presence of U.S. troops and nuclear weapons.

The demand for reunification with North Korea has reemerged in the last year as central to the upsurge.

Strikes and demonstrations by students, workers, and women, and growing protests by farmers, rocked the regime throughout 1986. Chun meanwhile is trying to hold on until 1988 when Seoul hosts the Summer Olympic Games, which he hopes will attract world investors and confer "legitimacy" on his rule. Trying to defuse the crisis, he has tentatively worked out a deal with some pro-U.S. oppositionists to bring them into the government that year in a "power-sharing" arrangement with the military. The deal, however, is widely recognized as a ploy to coopt dissent, divide the democratic movement, and extend dictatorial rule—and has served to fuel further emergence of left-wing dissidence.

Partition and agony

Dictatorship and the imperialist stranglehold in South Korea were consolidated and are maintained on the

basis of partition and the continuing cold war against North Korea.

Upon liberation from the Japanese empire at the end of World War II, Korea was divided at the 38th parallel, according to the agreement reached by Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta, as a condition for Soviet entry into the war against Japan. The USSR occupied the country north of the dividing line; the U.S. occupied the territory south of it.

In the North, the Soviets supported the popular anti-Japanese resistance committees, led by communists, in destroying the vestiges of the colonial regime and in establishing what was to become the North Korean workers' state. South of the line, the U.S. installed the rightwinger Singman Rhee as head of the government and oversaw formation of a militarized dictatorship based on the old colonial apparatus.

Mass anti-Rhee protest in the South led to ferocious U.S.-backed repression, formal partition, and proclamation of the Republic of Korea (ROK) as a separate state in 1948. Central to the protests against Rhee were the demands for reunification and agrarian reform, with the latter taking on aggravated weight after the North carried out a radical agrarian reform program in 1946. Hence, creation of a separate state was, with the repression, essential to the "stabilization" and consolidation of Rhee's dictatorship and continued imperialist hegemony in the South.

The Korean War was provoked by the South in 1950, and joined militarily by the U.S., to destroy the Pyongyang regime and establish the U.S. as the preeminent power in Asia. The war ended in stalemate in 1953 after China's entry into the war on the side of the North. Partition was stabilized at the 38th parallel.

A bureaucratized workers' state, under Kim Il Sung, was consolidated in the North, in close economic association with China and especially the Soviet Union. Rhee retained power south of the line, and the U.S. proceeded to fortify its toehold in Asia via permanent deployment of troops in "defense" of the South against communism.

IN THIS ISSUE

Vol. 10, No. 1 April-June 1987

Sanctioning Abuse 24

Cloaked in the garb of immigration "reform," the Simpson-Rodino bill actually opens the door



to stepped-up attacks on immigrants—and all workers. Robert Crisman reports on how.

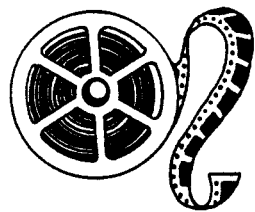
No Turning Back 4

From Berkeley to Melbourne, radicals are fighting for threatened democratic rights. Our reporters describe four successes in winning mass support against the neo-McCarthyites.



She's Gotta Pan It 19

In Spike Lee's comedy *She's Gotta Have It*, the



fruits of a Black woman's sexual independence are depression, nightmares, and rape. So who's laughing? Not critic Cora Harris.

The Rising of La Raza 7

In the turbulent '60s and '70s, Chicano militants joined other freedom movements in fighting for equality. The Chicano Struggle Installment VI tells their explosive story.



Also

International		Editorial	
Korea	1	Gippergate	18
People of Color		Columns	
Indian fishers	3	Human rights	18
		Clara Fraser	19

the freedom socialist

On the cover: Illustration by Su Docekal.

Staff

Managing Editor Robert Crisman	Production Manager Kathleen Merrigan
Assistant Manager Andrea Bauer	Design & Production Margaret Anson Darlene Bassett Susan Docekal Jonathan Foe Steve Hoffman Sherrie Hollingsworth Wendy McPherson Debra O'Gara Gigi Peterson Jane Rockhold Karla Rudy Sergio Urrutia
Editorial Board Yolanda Alaniz Doug Barnes Clara Fraser Helen Gilbert Guerry Hodderson Janet Sutherland Tamara Turner Sandra Welsted	Proofreaders Kathy King Julie Schmit Teri Bach Michael Green
Business Manager Ann Gonsalves	
Typesetters Common Line Scarlet Letters	

The *Freedom Socialist* (ISSN 0272-4367) is published quarterly by the Freedom Socialist Party, New Freeway Hall, 5018 Rainier Ave. S., Seattle, WA 98118. Phone 206-722-2453.
 Subscriptions: 1 year \$5.00 (Institutions \$10.00), 2 year Supporting Sub \$25.00, 3 year Sustaining Sub \$50.00, 5 year Sponsoring Sub \$100.00. Add \$2.50 surface postage outside the United States; add \$7.00 for overseas airmail. Back copies \$.75 each. In Australia: 1 year \$6.00, surface mail; \$10.00 airmail. Checks or money orders to *Freedom Socialist*, P.O. Box 266, West Brunswick, Vic. 3055.
 Donations to defray publishing costs welcome. Subscriptions exchanged. FS articles and graphics may be reproduced with our permission and with appropriate credit given. Material submitted to us will be carefully considered for publication. The *Freedom Socialist* is listed in the Alternative Press Index.

LETTERS

On Solidarity

Any of your readers who would like a copy of *Solidarity's* political statement to read for themselves can get one for \$2.00 from 17300 Woodward, Detroit, MI 48203. Since your editors already have the document, they might invest the money in a remedial reading program, which may help prevent bizarre distortions in future editorials. **David Finkel, Detroit, MI**

I just read your editorial "An Uneasy Solidarity," on the merger of the three U.S. Left groups Workers Power, International Socialists, and Socialist Unity, in the Sept.-Nov. '86 *Freedom Socialist*. I think it's great! You stated the need for a revolutionary program and party clearly and effectively. It should be obvious that the capitalist state, with its armies, media, and police, is not going to be defeated by spontaneous mass combustion. We tried that in the '60s and it didn't work then.

I also agree that the former Trotskyists and their newfound friends in retreat from Leninism are really "running from Rambo." But I think that Irangate will now get people headed in the right direction. Then I think you'll find more leftists willing to "regroup" in the Leninist manner, on the basis of a revolutionary program.

Adrienne Weller, Portland, OR

Your gratuitous attack on *Solidarity* clearly exposed the sectarian nature of your group. Rather than making a clear, materialist analysis of the kind of organization that can facilitate the class struggle in the '80s, you instead drag out the same old doctrinaire Trotskyite verbiage that is flung at anyone who does not toe "the all-correct political line."

... It is plain that *Solidarity* stands for left unity during this period of rightwing offensive ... I hope that *Solidarity* will respond to the abuse which you unjustly heap on it. **Alex Michael, Chicago, IL**

We'd like to comment on your editorial "An Uneasy Solidarity." Like all too many Marxist sects you take the attitude that you are "the only true socialist feminists," etc. This comes out in your use of the phrase "the Leninist program" to refer to the politics of your small group.

If *Solidarity* has begun to question Leninism, we regard that as a positive step. Except we think they haven't gone far enough; we think Leninism has to be totally discarded. Leninism is an elitist, top-down ... ideology; it can only lead to the

consolidation of bureaucratic class power. This elitism is shown in the following remarks you make:

"Revolution needs a plan of attack. Somebody must create this. And workers have to organize to support it." In other words, workers can't create their own program ... they don't liberate themselves. It's just a question of "support" for getting the leaders with the "correct" program into power.

**Richard Laubach, Workers Solidarity Alliance/International Workers Association
San Francisco**

We hear you!

The *Freedom Socialist* has much to be proud of as a publication which truly informs, educates, and advocates. There are many examples in each issue of just why this newspaper is worth reading. But the fine series on "The Chicano Struggle" by Yolanda Alaniz and Megan Cornish will provide a lasting document of value not just to historians, but to all who struggle against oppression.

The art, the photos, the writing, the analysis, the historical record presented in each installment must be preserved so we won't forget what was won in the past by workers.

The racism, national chauvinism, police, troops, vigilantes, and the indifference and hostility of some unions made it dangerous and difficult to organize farmworkers, as the authors point out. This series is the saga of people drawing strength from their own communities and from the outside.

Alaniz and Cornish must not stop with the last installment. The book *must* be next. **Viva la Huelga!
Roger Yockey, Seattle, WA**

LaRouche

Clara Fraser's "LaRouche: Sex Maniac and Demagogue" in the Vol. 9, No. 3 issue of the *Freedom Socialist* makes the interesting speculation that the transformation of Lynn Marcus (the Trotskyist of sorts) into Lyndon LaRouche (the rightwing paranoid) came about in a flight from the feminine. That is no doubt part of the picture, but in making the point Fraser makes one factual error and leaves out another key point.

Fraser errs when saying that Marcus/LaRouche left the SWP with the section of the Revolutionary Tendency that would become the Spartacist League. Robertson and company were expelled from the SWP, having been fingered by their fellow factionalists at the behest of Gerry Healy of the Socialist Labor

League/International Committee ... Marcus hitched onto this second band, which was also expelled.

I stated that the flight from the feminine, from the reality of women asserting their leadership in the class struggle, was only part of the adequate explanation of the "turn" of LaRouche to eclectic rightwing ideologue.

Another necessary component is structural to the "after hours" capitalism which dominates us. Under the real subsumption of labor to capital all social relationships are more or less involved in the valorization cycles. This is what has really turned the questions of race and sex, for instance, into central issues of the proletariat's struggle to abolish itself. **R. Ryder, New York City, NY**

Boycott Chattanooga

The Black community of Chattanooga, Tennessee, is calling for a national march on Chattanooga on April 4 to protest the racist lynchings by Chattanooga police of 30 people since 1978, and to commemorate the death and work of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

We are also calling for a national boycott of Chattanooga, which calls itself the "Scenic Center of the South." Tourism is the second-largest industry here. Tourists pump over \$500 million into the East Tennessee plateau, but the money never "trickles down" to the Black and poor of this city or state. Workers in the tourist industry are some of the lowest paid in the state.

Businessmen determine the social and political climate of the city, and they have given free rein to Klan and police atrocities against the Black population. They must be punished where it hurts: in their pocketbooks!

We call on our friends nationwide in the Labor, Church, and civil rights movements not to patronize Chattanooga or any tourist attraction in Southeast Tennessee until there is an end to police and Klan terrorism.

We want this city to serve as the birthplace of a new freedom movement for the Black and poor.

For information call 615-894-7832 or write Ad Hoc Organizing Committee for a Mass March on Chattanooga, 904 Sheridan Court, Chattanooga, TN 37404.

Concerned Citizens for Justice, Inc.; Myles Horton Organization (UTC); and Ad Hoc Organizing Committee for a Mass March on Chattanooga

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

The Freedom Socialist

International

Subscription Drive

Help us top our goal of 1000 new subscribers! —

Enclosed is \$5 for a 1-year regular subscription, 4 issues. (Institutions \$10)

Enclosed is \$25 for a 2-year supporting subscription, 8 issues.

Enclosed is \$50 for a 3-year sustaining subscription, 12 issues.

Enclosed is \$100 for a 5-year sponsoring subscription, 20 issues, and a free copy of *Socialist Feminism: The First Decade* by Gloria Martin.

Name _____ (please print)

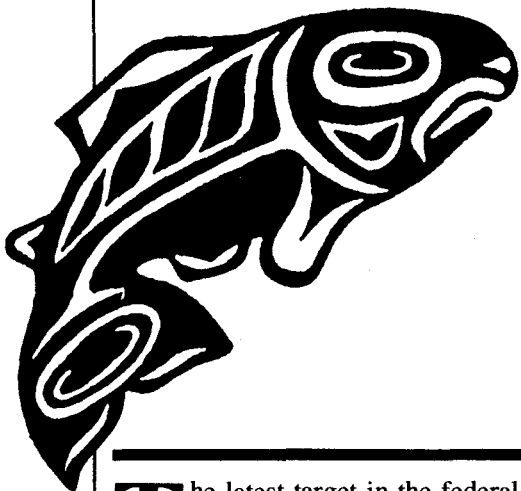
Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send checks or money orders to Freedom Socialist, New Freeway Hall, 5018 Rainier Ave. South, Seattle, WA 98118. Add \$2.50 for surface postage outside the U.S. (allow 6-8 weeks for delivery of overseas mail). Add \$7 for overseas airmail (allow one week for delivery).
Australian residents: \$6.00 for 1-year subscription, surface mail; \$10.00 airmail. Send checks or money orders to: Freedom Socialist, P.O. Box 266, West Brunswick, Vic. 3055.

Columbia River Indians

Struggling for salmon and sovereignty



The latest target in the federal government's unceasing war against Native American sovereignty and survival is a small group of Washington State Indians who are fighting to maintain a 10,000-year-old tradition: fishing for salmon. The Wanapum Indians live on the banks of the Columbia River and are part of the Yakima Indian Nation confederation. Yet their fight against cultural extermination is not only with the government, but with Yakima tribal bureaucrats who are unwilling to support them and defend Indian sovereignty for fear of losing lucrative government grants.

At the same time as they fight persecution over fishing, the tribe is battling eviction from their riverside dwellings on the Columbia. The Indians built these homes to replace fishing and home sites which were submerged 50 years ago by the construction of the Bonneville Dam. Government promises to build replacement homes have never materialized. The Department of the Interior now plans to bulldoze the river people's homes because it has decreed that the land be used only for seasonal, not permanent, residency. This is a transparent ploy to force the 200 remaining Wanapum fisherpeople onto the land-locked Yakima Reservation.

The stakes are high. The right to fish is intrinsic to these Indians' economic and cultural survival. By stripping them of self-reliance, the government hopes to force them into passive dependency on federal handouts. Elimination of the fisherpeople would also silence a strong voice of opposition to more dams and private development on the Columbia River—where hydroelectric dams have killed more than 44 million fish in 20 years.

The old ways

Federal attacks are focused on David Sohapp, a 61-year-old traditional elder of the Yakima Nation and a follower of the Washat, or Seven Drum, religion. As voiced by its 19th century spiritual leader, Smohalla, an ancestor of the Sohappys, this religion was a radical affirmation of the Indian culture, in defiance of white settlers' attempts to destroy their beliefs and traditions. Sohapp observes his religion by living in the collective manner of his people. He honors nature's gifts by harvesting fish for subsistence, religious worship, and barter.

Sohapp's fight goes beyond treaty rights or tribal, state, and federal regulations: Indians have fished since time immemorial, and their right to do so takes precedence over treaties or government laws. For 27 years he has pushed the tribal bureaucracy to defend this right.

In 1969, Sohapp successfully sued the federal government to win a fair

share of the salmon runs for Indian fishers. This suit helped lay the basis for the 1974 Boldt decision, which reserved 50 percent of the annual salmon run for treaty Indians.

His victory marked him for government retaliation. In 1982, Sohapp, his son David, Jr., and young Matthew McConville, along with more than 75 other Native Americans, were arrested by government agents who had devoted 14 months to a sting operation in which they persuaded Indians to sell them salmon. Thirteen carloads of armed men participated in the pre-dawn raids in which the Sohappys were arrested.

The Indians were charged with conspiracy and poaching under the Lacey Act. This law was originally promoted as a protection for Indian fish and game against encroachments by non-Indians. In fact, it has only been used *against* Indians to disrupt their means of subsistence, and to replace sovereign tribal authority with federal law enforcement.

The Sohappys were sentenced to five years and McConville to one year on charges of illegally selling fish, and fishing out of season (the conspiracy charges were dropped). A total of nine victims of the entrapment were given prison sentences. In later incidents, non-Indians convicted of identical charges under state law were merely fined or sentenced to 30 days in jail.

Free on bail, the nine men lost their appeals in U.S. courts and were ordered to report to federal prison in August 1986. Four complied. But the Sohappys and McConville instead surrendered themselves to tribal authorities and demanded that the tribe rule on whether its regulations had been violated. Unwilling to stand up to the federal government, the tribal judge said the statute of limitations covering possible violations of tribal law had expired. He handed them over to Yakima County police on September 18, 1986.

Two other fishers, meanwhile, refused to turn themselves in to the tribal authorities and remain at large on the Yakima Reservation. They promise to return for a tribal trial.

"My tribe is saying they don't want to lose grants made by the government," says Sohapp. "The Yakima Nation is supposed to be a sovereign nation, able to make its own laws and stick by them, but they don't do it."

Held incommunicado and deprived of legal help, the Sohappys and McConville were rushed through seven jails—in about as many days—from Yakima and Tacoma, Washington, to California, Colorado, Oklahoma, Kansas, and finally to Sandstone, Minnesota.

Janet McCloud, leader of the Northwest Indian Women's Circle, observes, "You shoot the mayor of San Francisco and you only get three years. But if you're an Indian, practicing your treaty-guaranteed rights, they throw the book at you."

Standing with a warrior's heart

The implications of the Sohapp case have rallied Indian activists to protest the jailings and the evictions. Said Marilyn James, a Colville Indian activist, "If the federal government can

prosecute these fishermen and clearly supercede tribal law, it touches every Indian tribe in the country and Canada. What's next is the roots and berries."

Hazel Umtuch and Lavina Washines, members of the Yakima Indian Nation Tribal Council, criticize others on the council for allowing tribal officials to release the defendants to federal authorities. Both women have suffered harassment and threats. But, says Umtuch, "We are standing behind what we believe in; we will not give up."

Native American women, including Myra Sohapp, the wife of David, Sr., were the earliest and strongest defenders of the Columbia River fishers. And they have stiffened somewhat the spines of the official Yakima leadership.

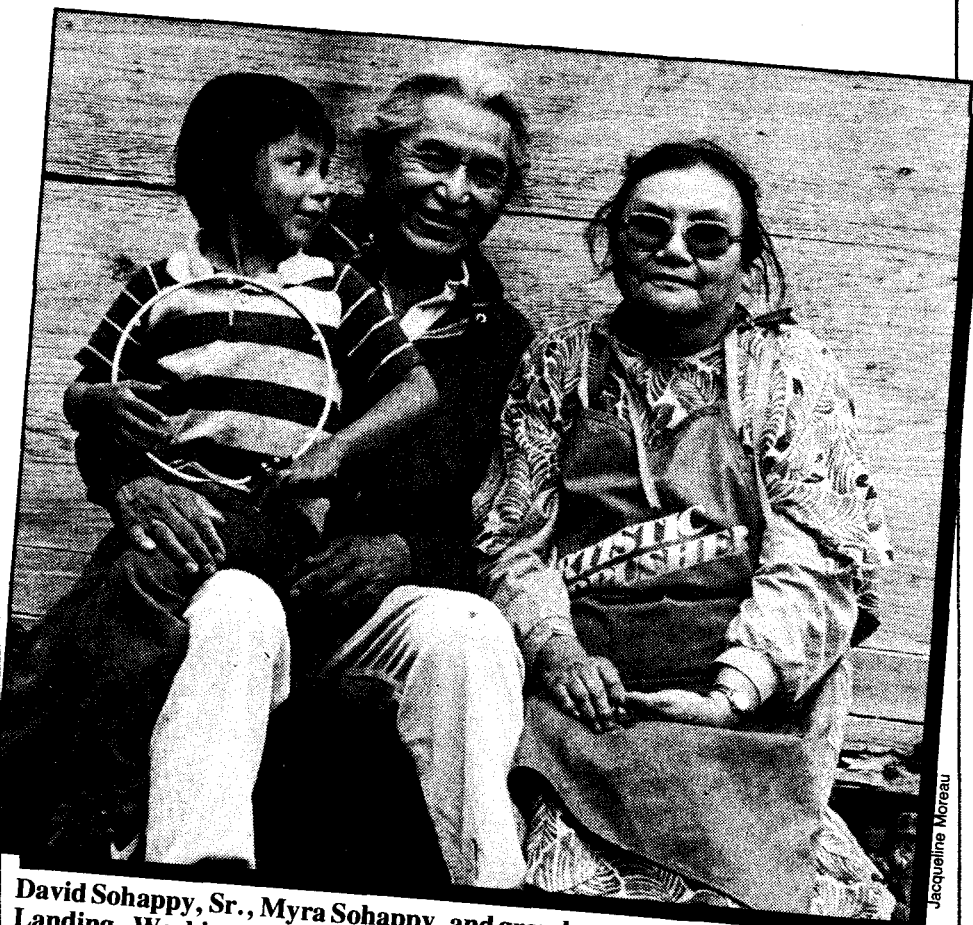
On October 6, the Yakima Tribal Appeals Court overruled the judge who turned the Sohappys and McConville over to the feds. The court reinstated tribal charges against the men and

them to serve their federal sentences are absolute necessities.

Organizing for the defendants includes building support among other tribes and obtaining petitions, letters, and resolutions of support. Resistance to the evictions is being organized by the Columbia River Defense Project, P.O. Box 14044, Portland, OR 97214.

In London, Amnesty International has agreed to make an investigation. Myra Sohapp and Bill Simmons of the International Indian Treaty Council presented the case to the United Nations Human Rights Committee in Geneva, Switzerland, in February 1987.

Investigations are also underway to discover how other tribes have been impacted by the Lacey Act, under which the men were convicted. Supporters of the Columbia River Indians are requesting that Congress hold oversight hearings on the Lacey Act to review and correct its use as a weapon against



David Sohapp, Sr., Myra Sohapp, and grandson Dustin Wyena at Cook's Landing, Washington, on the north shore of the Columbia River.

requested their return from federal prison for trial in Yakima Tribal Court. The government, under movement pressure and after much stonewalling, released the fishers to Yakima custody in February 1987. A tribal trial date of April 14 has been set.

Meanwhile, however, conditions for the fishers in Yakima tribal jail are scarcely improved. They are on 24-hour lockdown and restricted to one 15-minute visit per week with two family members; they must talk through a triple-mesh steel screen. This ill-treatment reflects the tribal leadership's fear of U.S. government displeasure and of the Sohapp's infectious militance.

Yet in order to save both Columbia River fishing rights and tribal sovereignty from obliteration, Yakima leadership must come out foursquare on the side of the Sohappys. Acquittal of the defendants and refusal to return

Indian rights. Organizers believe that these hearings are key to getting the fishers' federal sentences dropped. Send letters urging hearings to:

Senator Daniel R. Inouye, Chairman
Senate Committee on Indian Affairs
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Congressman Gerry Studds, Chairman
Subcommittee on Fisheries
House Committee on Merchant Marine
and Fisheries
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20510

Please send donations and copies of your letters and petitions to: Sohapp Support Group, 2524 16th Ave. South, Seattle, WA 98144; phone (206) 329-6306. □

—TAMARA TURNER

Defending the Right

SWP beats government spooks

On August 25, 1986, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) won a stunning legal victory and a quarter-million dollar damage award against the FBI for political harassment of the party and its members. The landmark court decision came 13 years after the SWP filed suit in protest of the FBI's use of informers, break-ins, electronic surveillance, and disruption campaigns against the SWP.

The SWP's victory, supported by a broad spectrum of concerned individuals and organizations, is a long overdue vindication of the constitutional rights of American radicals to freedom of thought and privacy of political association.

It is not known yet, however, whether the government will appeal the case.

Dirty tricksters

Federal District Court Judge Thomas Griesa's 210-page ruling details decades of illegal government activity aimed at disrupting, isolating and destroying the SWP. Between 1960 and 1976, the FBI paid no less than 1300 informers an astounding \$1.6 million to report on SWP meetings, activities, and members' personal lives, and to sabotage party work.

At one point, fully 11 percent of SWP members were informants, including a number of officers and organizers, among them Executive Committee members. Informants stole over 7000 confidential documents for the FBI, including meeting minutes, SWP membership lists, and financial records.

Between 1943 and 1963, the agency used wiretaps and bugs to listen in on 32,000 days of conversations and discussions, including many SWP National Committee meetings. Between 1945 and 1966, FBI second-story men committed 204 burglaries of SWP offices and members' homes; once inside, the agents removed and photographed 9864 documents.

In 1961, the FBI launched a major counterintelligence (COINTELPRO) disruption operation against the SWP. COINTELPRO attempted to discredit Black SWP electoral candidates, create distrust within the party to drive members out, and to foment discord between the Left and civil rights movements. The FBI concocted damaging stories to discredit the SWP and leaked them to the press, distributed hoax leaflets and "anonymous" letters, and made frequent visits to members' homes and landlords. Hoover's heroes even arranged liquor board raids of SWP events.

Lawless enforcement

The FBI defended its spying, violence, terrorism, and other illegal actions against the SWP by claiming that the SWP is a subversive organization which seeks to overthrow the

government by spying, violence, terrorism, and other illegal means.

The court rejected this bogus defense outright because in 45 years, the agency never turned up any evidence that the SWP had ever engaged in violent or criminal acts. The court recognized that, in fact, the FBI's activities were directed against "entirely lawful and peaceful activities of the SWP" and were conducted wholly without statutory or regulatory authority.

Privacy rights upheld

In a groundbreaking ruling against government infiltration of political groups, Judge Griesa declared the FBI's use of informers was wholly incompatible with, and a violation of, the SWP's First Amendment rights. He ruled that the use of informers posing as members "had the effect of admitting the FBI covertly into the most private discussions" and that "what political information a group chooses to consider and discuss is not public beyond its own membership."

In strong language, the judge affirmed that the inviolability of organizational privacy is "indispensable to preservation of freedom of association, particularly where a group espouses dissident beliefs."

However . . .

The court refused to back up its words with a damage award, and granted the SWP a paltry \$240,000 for the harm caused by the government's invasions

of its privacy. This is an insult, a token compared to the \$40 million requested by the SWP, and is completely inadequate either as compensation or to deter the FBI from future illegal conduct.

Also, Judge Griesa stated that his decision was influenced by the fact that he did not perceive the SWP had the power under present circumstances to seize state power, and that it was open to reconsideration if the SWP showed any likelihood of actually carrying out the revolution.

In other words, the legal system only protects free speech rights if what is said is perceived not to threaten the established order; when more people start believing in the need for socialist revolution, the Constitution evaporates.

Join the fight

Obviously, under capitalism, free speech victories are only conditional. And under the current government and rightwing reaction they are increasingly jeopardized. The SWP case, like the Freedom Socialist Party's fight to protect organizational privacy in the Freeway Hall Case, underscores the necessity to build a unified mass movement defense of civil liberties.

At the same time, this landmark victory for the SWP, the entire Left, and all social activists and civil libertarians provides a much firmer legal basis on which to fight continuing government encroachments against free speech and privacy rights.

All organizations and individuals should endorse the SWP case and demand full compensation for the SWP and all victims of government spying and harassment. Endorsements and contributions to the SWP case may be sent to: Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, NY 10003. □

—FRED HYDE

It is a thrilling and powerful sign of the times when the Left, labor, assorted social movements, and just plain folks unite to fight a common reactionary enemy. And this is exactly what is happening as support surges for the Freeway Hall Case and its defenders.

Bringing people together is the Freedom Socialist Party's three-year battle to uphold its constitutionally protected rights of political association, free speech, and privacy. The imbroglio grew out of a lawsuit against the FSP and ten of its leaders and supporters by a hostile and vengeful former FSP member, one Richard Snedigar, who is demanding return of a \$22,500 donation he claims he alone made to an eviction fund established in 1979. The FSP had received notice to vacate Freeway Hall in Seattle, its national headquarters for more than 15 years.

The money gift was not Snedigar's alone. Rapidly rising real estate prices had jumped the worth of his house from \$35,000 to over \$100,000, and he refinanced his home in July 1979 in order to contribute to the eviction fund. What made the contribution possible was the agreement of his roommates to pay higher rent as their own contribution to the gift.

The money was given outright. There were no strings attached, written or verbal—a condition Snedigar no doubt regretted when he left the FSP for unstated reasons in September 1980.

But what's involved here is far more than just a nasty grab for money by Snedigar. This renegade is out to destroy the FSP. He and his lawyers, Michelle Pailthorp and Thomas Wampold—a notoriously nasty pair of radical-trashers—have stridently demanded from the outset that the party hand over for public disclosure its membership lists, contributors lists, internal minutes, and financial records.

This outrageous demand is a direct attack on the FSP's right to conduct its internal affairs without outside interference. Snedigar wants to kibosh the free speech and associa-



Alison Thorne

Thorne triumphs in Australian free speech uproar

Victory is the verdict for Alison Thorne. The Australian activist's successful battle for reinstatement as a teacher has forced her government to acknowledge that public employees—even those like Thorne who are radical and gay—have the right to free speech and other civil liberties. Winning was never so sweet. Thorne and her supporters had to fight tooth and nail all the way, against rightwing bigots and Australian Labor Party misleaders, for rights supposedly guaranteed to all in a democracy.

Thorne's struggle began three years ago when she was abruptly transferred from her teaching job at Glenroy Technical School in the state of Victoria

after she had publicly defended the free speech and assembly rights of the Pedophile Support Group (PSG). Victory came when the state's Equal Opportunity Board (EOB) ruled November 6, 1986, that the government's action constituted unlawful employment discrimination. On November 27, the EOB ordered that Thorne be reinstated to a technical school.

Thorne's settlement sets important precedents. It prohibits discrimination against government employees who legally express their political beliefs on their own time, and it broadens the definition of political activity to include

to page 20

to be Radical



Pictured below

Bill of Rights champions at a case press conference at Seattle's Labor Temple: (left to right) Dean Peoples, Socialist Workers Party; Juan Bocanegra, Committee to Defend Immigrant Rights; Roger Yockey, Freeway Hall Case Defense Committee; Gloria Martin, FSP defendant; James K. Bender, King County Labor Council; Philip L. Burton, NAACP; Terri Mast, Cannery Workers Union Local 37.

Fraser won her eight-year-long sex and political ideology discrimination suit against Seattle City Light—and a sizeable back pay award. The possibility of cashing in on Fraser's hard-won victory was apparently too much for him to ignore; in January 1984, he filed suit in King County Superior Court demanding return of the gift, interest from the time he made the donation, and attorneys' fees.

Tellingly, Snedigar had never previously so much as hinted that he regretted giving the money.

Snedigar charged that the FSP had "defrauded" him, "unduly influenced" him to make the donation, and breached a contract with him to return the money should a new hall not be purchased according to his unspecified timeline. He alleged that the FSP had never intended to buy a new building—that the eviction was a "ruse." A ruse for what? The FSP never learned; he obviously believed that insinuations would suffice to convict the party.

Snedigar's charges are the real fraud in this case. Under oath during questioning by FSP attorneys, he admitted there had never been any contract or condition or even a discussion about returning the money. He acknowledged that no one had ever asked or pressured him in any way to give a donation. He also admitted that the Freeway Hall eviction crisis was very real, and ongoing.

Snedigar utterly destroyed his case in this deposition. But he and his lawyers never intended to win this ridiculous case on its merits. First they tried blackmail: the FSP would settle to avoid trouble, scandal, and litigation. Disabused of this notion, they decided that the only chance they had to win was to *avoid* trial, so they told the court that they couldn't prepare the case unless the FSP turned over its membership and contributors lists and minutes. They knew full well that the party would refuse to "name names," so the party would be subject to a judgment of default by the court and the other side would win, on a procedural gimmick.

The FSP has been long prepared to go to trial, but not at the price of turning over protected information. The party already has produced all pertinent data on the protracted nature of the eviction crisis and efforts to end it; in June 1985 the FSP finally found a relatively suitable and affordable building, and Snedigar's whine that this search process took too long is totally meritless—locating decent headquarters is always agonizing, as every organization knows.

Snedigar has no case. Yet his attorneys, Pailthorp and Wampold, continue to prosecute with a vengeance. Why this vendetta? Why such virulence? Why so much ill-concealed personal hatred for the FSP defendants?

to next page

The Freeway Hall Case: Movement cause célèbre

tional privacy of party members and subject them to harassment, firing, and physical assault by rightwing crazies. Other groups and individuals would think twice about associating with the party.

And that's not all. The outcome of this case will have a profound impact for years to come on unions, human rights groups, and all other voluntary organizations. If the courts can eradicate a socialist party's privacy rights by fiat, what are the prospects for any non-conformist group? Free speech and association rights don't mean much without the ability to meet and organize

to defend a point of view, and no collective effort of a political minority group can be effective if its internal process is open to the scrutiny of antagonistic political forces.

The Freeway Hall Case defendants will go to jail rather than accede to Snedigar's demands. The party will continue to fight openly for its constitutional right to exist and act as a revolutionary socialist party in the U.S.

And the FSP won't fight alone. The case has won hundreds of endorsements and donations so far. And Roger Yockey, noted labor leader, labor journalist, and chair of the Freeway Hall

Case Defense Committee, views the present outpouring of support as "just the beginning of a national and international movement to defend the rights that our predecessors have fought for and won over the last two centuries. People won't stand for these anti-constitutional attacks. We are going to fight, in the courts and the streets if necessary, and we are going to win."

Baloney and blackmail

Snedigar first came out of the ex-radical woodwork in July 1983 to demand "his" donation back. This was five months after FSP founder Clara

It's round two and déjà vu in Merle Woo's match against the University of California at Berkeley. After winning a hard-fought free speech case against UC in 1984, which resulted in her reinstatement there, Woo has been fired again.

Woo, an Asian American lesbian and radical activist, was fired the first time in 1982. She filed complaints in federal and state courts charging that UC had fired her because of her politics, race, sex, and sexuality, and because she criticized the growing conservatism of tenure-track faculty in Asian American Studies, where she taught as a lecturer. Two years later she won reinstatement, a \$48,584 settlement, and \$25,000 in attorney's fees.

Her settlement stated explicitly that UC would not retaliate against her for her victory, that she would be treated like any other lecturer. Her subsequent two-year contract allowed the possibility that she would be rehired after her term was up. But after her return, Woo was treated very differently from other lecturers. And, as her recent dismissal shows, UC was only biding its time before taking full revenge.

Round two, Woo vs. U.C.-Berkeley



Merle Woo

Retaliation

In July 1986, Woo and her union, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), filed a grievance charging the UC School of Education with acting in an "arbitrary, capricious, and unreasonable manner" by refusing to consider her reappointment.

"From the first day I returned to work, UC retaliated against me," Woo says. "They assigned me to teach field studies, which lacks student class contact. They put me in an isolated office where I had to fight to get a phone. The Dean told me if I continued to criticize the university, my teaching would suffer."

Undaunted, Woo continued to criticize and organize. She turned her field studies classes into seminars and

to page 21

... Freeway Hall Case

from page 5

Consider their target. The FSP has been an effective organization in Seattle for 20 years, a thorn in the side of many city politicians and bureaucrats because of its unremitting defense of affirmative action, labor's rights, and Seattle's Fair Employment Practices and Open Housing Ordinances. Clara Fraser's victory over City Light was especially costly and embarrassing to the city fathers.

City hall bureaucrats would like to get the FSP off their backs. Pailthorp and Wampold are helping them do just that—and hope to reap the political payoffs and career benefits they figure a grateful bureaucracy will bestow, provided they're successful. Senator Joe McCarthy's favorite lawyer, Roy Cohn, and many others sought similar rewards when they witchhunted communists in the 1950s.

Pailthorp, moreover, has been a vocal political opponent of Radical Women for 20 years and lets no opportunity pass to insult and bait its founders and leaders.

Catch-22

In May 1985, the King County Superior Court ordered the FSP to produce all information "now and in the

Court, the FSP pointed to U.S. Supreme Court decisions which have:

...established and required strict criteria to be applied before ordering any disclosure precisely because the chill to associational privacy rights occurs upon disclosure to any outsider... Once disclosed to a judge, FSP minutes would become part of a permanent court file subject to further disclosure to this particular hostile Plaintiff and attorneys, law enforcement or governmental agencies, or to the public. No participants in an internal FSP meeting could be assured that what they say in private meetings will remain confidential...

The current reactionary climate in the U.S. makes in camera review especially dangerous for dissident groups. Judges are issuing decisions in fear of the rightwing pressure that cost three California Supreme Court justices their elected posts last year. And given the willingness of the U.S. Supreme Court to enter the bedroom—as in the Georgia sodomy case—there's no reason to place faith in a guarantee that judges will respect the privacy of a socialist party's minutes.

On December 18, the court denied

frightened away.

Radicals, in denouncing reaction, should speak out as radicals and should unite with one another in doing so. This concept was underscored at forums on the Freeway Hall Case on both the east and west coasts of the country at the end of 1986.

In San Francisco, California, Seattle FSP Organizer and defendant Doug Barnes spoke on First Amendment rights along with representatives of the Socialist Workers Party and the Puerto Rican revolutionary organization Movimiento de Liberación Nacional.

In New York City, Roger Yockey made new friends for the case at an FSP forum and through radio interviews.

On September 27, 1986, Seattle FSP cosponsored a forum with the SWP entitled "The Freeway Hall Case: Freedom Socialist Party Battles Malice and McCarthyism." More than 70 radicals and civil liberties activists heard speakers focus on the efforts of both organizations to rally social movements in defense of privacy rights. (In August 1986, the SWP won an important 13-year court battle against FBI spying and harassment. See accompanying story.)

FSP attorney and case defendant Val Carlson and Seattle SWP Chairperson Chris Horner spoke at the forum. Both stressed that the attacks on the two

leadership of the movements. They may not be doing it with guns yet, but that's what they're trying in these court cases. They're trying to destroy the Left because it's a real threat to their agenda."

The forum was held at New Freeway Hall, a thriving new community center and headquarters for the FSP and its sister organization, Radical Women. The new hall is located in a racially integrated, workingclass district in Seattle called Columbia City. In use 12 hours a day, seven days a week by activists of all kinds, New Freeway Hall fulfills the purpose for which Snedigar contributed eight years ago—and which he now so mean-spiritedly tries to retract and sabotage.

Linking up

The connection between the rights of radicals and rights in general was made, explicitly and unmistakably, by labor and community leaders at a press conference hosted by the Defense Committee on November 25, 1986.

Terri Mast, president of Cannery Workers Union Local 37, I.L.W.U., a union with strong ties to Filipino-Americans, described how Local 37 had been a target of the McCarthyites, who tried to deport union officers for "anti-American activities" in the 1950s. Mast urged activists "to bring people's attention to the importance of this issue in the spirit of organized labor's theme—'an injury to one is an injury to all.'"

NAACP representative and attorney Philip L. Burton recalled his organization's battle to win U.S. Supreme Court reversal of a 1958 decision that NAACP membership lists be handed over to the State of Alabama. Executive Secretary James K. Bender of the King County Labor Council recounted an unsuccessful lawsuit against the Council by the rightwing Young Americans for Freedom to force disclosure of internal discussions. The court ruled that "what is said on the floor of the King County Labor Council is private."

Juan Bocanegra, chairperson of the Committee to Defend Immigrant Rights, drew a moving parallel between the assault on the FSP and the consequences of the Simpson-Rodino immigration bill, passed by Congress last October, which wipes out the civil liberties of immigrants and aims to

to page 20



San Franciscans salute First Amendment fight-backs (left to right): Steven Fuchs, Socialist Workers Party; Doug Barnes, case defendant and Seattle FSP Organizer; Puerto Rican revolutionary Luis Sanabria of the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional; and chairperson Merle Woo, waging round two of a free speech case against UC-Berkeley.

future" that Snedigar might decide he wanted. It was the kind of breathtakingly broad betrayal of the Bill of Rights that would have delighted McCarthy.

The Washington State Court of Appeals overturned this order in September 1985, but Snedigar and his lawyers immediately returned to Superior Court and won an order for the FSP to hand over its minutes.

The ruling said that the party could turn the minutes over to Snedigar, with names deleted, or to a judge who would read them in camera (privately) and then decide whether reading them constituted a breach of privacy rights! This is catch-22 with a vengeance.

From February 1986 until the end of the year, the FSP fought the case, from the Washington Supreme Court to the Court of Appeals, from court commissioners back to the state Supreme Court. The party's arguments were accompanied by amicus briefs signed by 56 organizations and by petitions signed by thousands of people. Neither higher court would take on the grave issues raised by the case or the new danger posed by in camera review.

In its December motion for reconsideration of its appeal to the state Supreme

the motion for reconsideration, saying that procedural rules don't permit such a motion.

The FSP made a final appeal on December 22, with a letter to the high court asking it to waive the rules because of the importance of the case and the injustice to First Amendment rights that a lack of judicial review would let stand. The court did not respond.

The high court's refusal to deal with these issues will mean FSP's return to Superior Court. Snedigar's next legal move will likely be a motion for default, fines, or jail sentences to be levied against the FSP defendants. Whatever Snedigar's move, he will never get hold of the party's minutes.

An out-front confrontation

The legal fight is only a part, and ultimately the lesser part, of the story. The real action is in the tremendous outpouring of support and financial help from hundreds of organizations and thousands of individuals who agree with the FSP's refusal to buckle under to neo-McCarthyism. Despite the redbaiting garbage spewed out by the government via the media and the schools for the last 40 years—and doubly so during the Reagan years—supporters of the case have not been

organizations are part of a broad government and rightwing effort to eradicate all democratic rights in the U.S. "Imagine the chilling effect on political debate," said Horner, pinpointing the implications of these attacks on the First Amendment, "if you know that your name can be obtained by the FBI, employers, or rightwing goon squads."

Carlson, for the FSP, particularly emphasized the importance of Left unity as the foundation for united front action. She said that "what the Left does, and the leadership it provides in times like these, are crucial. People watch the Left closely. When they see us unwilling to work together on issues such as this, they stay away or are suspicious." She said that bureaucrats in all movements use divisions among radicals to avoid working with the Left altogether, which leaves the field to the redbaiting enemies of constitutional liberties.

"This evening is historic," she stated, because, despite the fact that the FSP split from the SWP 20 years ago and retains strong differences with that party on fundamental political issues, both organizations came together at this forum in recognition of the need to defend each other from government and rightwing attacks.

In the discussion following the presentations, one attendee stated that reactionaries "are trying to kill the

The Cost of Privacy

\$50,000 and rising

Please give NOW to the Freeway Hall Case

Volunteers have put in hundreds of hours for the Freeway Hall Defense Committee. Dedicated attorneys have worked for bargain rates. But it still takes lots of cash to defend constitutional rights in court.

send donations to:

New Freeway Hall, 5018 Rainier Ave. S., Seattle, WA 98118. Make checks payable to Freeway Hall Case Defense Fund.

VOICES OF COLOR

She's Gotta Have It is a film which purports to turn the tables on the sex role game through a look at the life of a woman juggling relationships with three men. Independent filmmaker Spike Lee wrote, directed, edited, and starred in this movie, which features an all-Black cast.

The woman in question is Nola Darling. She is a graphic artist, although we never see her place of work. Instead, she is seen in her apartment, pasting up newspaper clippings of stories of police brutality and the murders of Black youths in a collage made to commemorate the birthday of Malcolm X. The subjects/themes of her art are the only references to Nola's political awareness or consciousness outside her sex life.

Other clues to her character are shown solely in the context of her relationship with the three men. She repeatedly tells us that she doesn't want to be owned by any man. This is the only thing she has to say for herself; at other times she is depressed or confused.

The men pursuing Nola are: Greer Childs, an egotistical model/actor with pretensions to upper-class refinement; Jamie Overstreet, a romantic, conventional man who wants to make Nola his wife; and Mars Blackmon, an unemployed, sneaker-shod aficionado of rap music.

Contrary to Lee's stated intent to counter Hollywood's depiction of Black men, all three are caricatures. The worst is Mars (played by Mr. Lee). Using the tired lowerclass stereotype, Lee portrays Mars as a hopeless, childlike buffoon.

Toward the end of the film, Jamie rapes Nola. This is a shocking, disturbing scene—and not just because rape is out of place in a comedy. Jamie is supposed to be mature and gentle, and is the only one Nola considers as a possible permanent lover. Prior to the rape, he and Nola have cooled their relationship because she has refused to choose among her lovers. She becomes despondent, invites Jamie to her apartment, and attempts to seduce him. Incensed at being "used" this way, he assaults her.

Jamie's *possessiveness* is the reason for his anger and the real motivation behind the rape. But this is obscured, and the audience is left with the impression that Jamie is justified. Nola had "asked for it"—the old excuse for rape.

In a *New York Times* interview on August 10, 1986, Spike Lee said, "I think it's a very even

look at relationships between Black men and women. The difference between this film and *The Color Purple* is that even though there are some dog men in this film, you can tell there is a difference. This film was not done with hate, and none of the men here are one-note animals like Mister was in *The Color Purple*."

It is hard to see how Greer, Jamie, and Mars are any better. Also, it is interesting that Mr. Lee felt the need to comment—in such a negative way—about a *Black feminist's* portrayal of Black men. Criticism of men by women is all too often equated to hatred of the gender. Yet Mr. Lee seems to feel that the depiction of Nola as a bewildered, vapid sex object is "even" and O.K.

Nor do the other women in the film do much for cinematic renditions of Black women. Nola seems to have only two female friends, one a former roommate and the other a lesbian named Opal Gilstrap. In one disappointing scene, Opal goes to comfort Nola and in the process makes a pass at her. Was it really necessary to dredge up yet another stereotype, that of the predatory dyke?

Also, with the exception of her roommate and Opal, Nola seems separate from other women. From her therapist, who does nothing to help her, to the

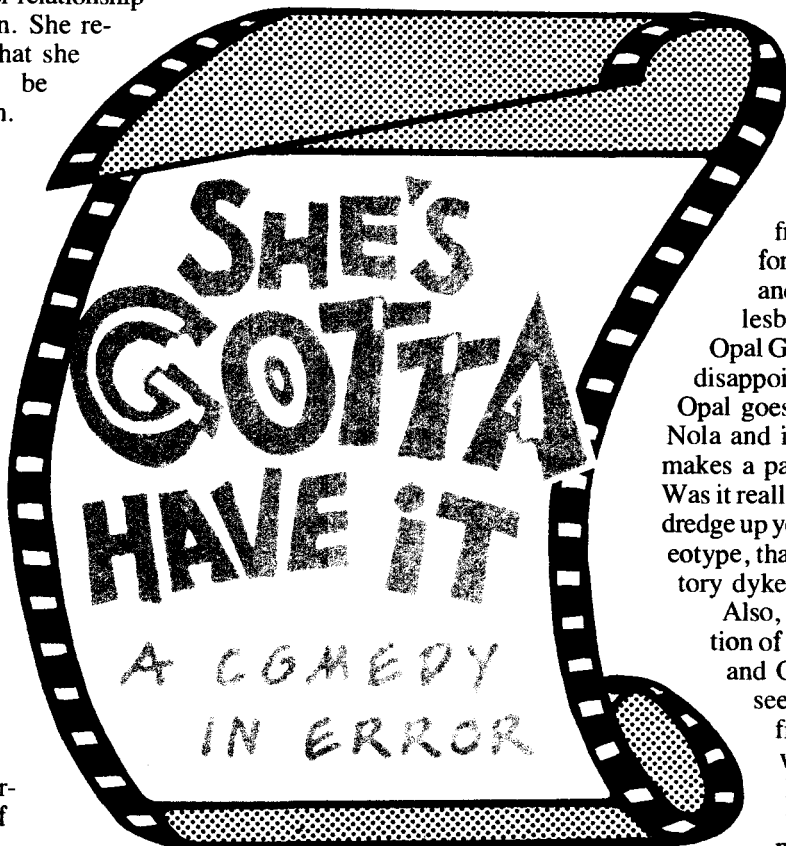
women in her nightmares, other women are Nola's enemies—not allies.

Ostensibly, the film's purpose is to poke fun at the possessive, predictable attitudes of men, yet it *reinforces* the double standard. Lee focuses on Nola's sex life to the exclusion of everything else, and in the end she is less an independent woman than the "freak" everyone perceives her to be. In Spike Lee's own words, Nola is "acting like a man"—a pseudo male. And in thus stepping outside "women's role," Nola is fair game for depression, nightmares, and rape.

She's Gotta Have It is supposed to be a comedy, and there are some genuinely funny scenes. But on the whole, the laughter generated here leaves a bitter taste.

— CORA HARRIS

Cora Harris is a Black feminist who works as a secretary. She is a native and resident of Brooklyn, New York.



Clara Fraser

No Place to Hide

"WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO when you retire?" they asked me. "More of the same? Will you travel?"

Yes and yes, I said. First I'd recuperate from the years of forced association with City of Seattle management and lawyers. This I would accomplish by scrubbing the bathroom and excavating the recesses of my closet—good, clean, private work with no dissembling bureaucrats prying into my drawers and picking nits from my job performance.

Then, if post-traumatic stress didn't syndromize me, I would visit some powderkeg countries whose agonies were a direct result of the overseer mindset and systemic military-financial arrogance of the same breed of power brokers who bring us industrial soap operas like the endless City Light story.

Well, I travelled, but not to the battlefronts. I managed to escape to Utopia. The Freedom Socialist Party asked me to undertake editorial work for our national convention, and a rustic retreat setting was needed for the job.

SO I SAILED AWAY into the Puget Sound sunset alongside Guerry Hodderson, the FSP's dynamic and prolific national secretary, and we set up shop in a comparative Lifestyles of the Rich & Famous milieu on fabled Marrowstone Island, near Port Townsend. The waters murmured, the breezes caressed, the trees rustled. Name your cliché for tranquility—we had it.

Come to find out that the serenely beautiful hills across from us—Indian Island, a naval underseas research station—was a storage dump for weapons. Shades of Chernobyl, Hanford, Three Mile Island, and all the other lethal factories and depots! Visions of atomized plutonium 239 zapping the breezes danced through our heads, along with scenes from *Dr. Strangelove* and *On the Beach*.

The plutonium didn't leak out but the news did, front page stuff. Protest meetings, of all things, were called. Real estate values plummeted. Everyone was scared. The bucolic site of our idyll was immersed in spooky, sinister miasmas.

THEN THE WELLS and the septic tank got all mixed up and the water boycotted our pipes. A polluted, arid paradise with the imminent prospect of becoming a raging inferno shed its charms. We moved our word processor and files and groceries from the inlet to a brave new wonderland—a cottage on the Olympic Peninsula, just outside Port Angeles, facing the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the mountains of Vancouver Island in Canada—and no nukes!

We loved our gorgeous grove of windswept cypresses, cedars, madronas, firs and pines. We gathered rocks and shells, saw Indians fishing the Elwha river, watched the giant containerized cargo ships of the world churn past, studied the tide charts. We revelled in the ever-changing play of light, clouds and colors, the roar and crash of the ocean, the thrill of sighting our first whale (practically on our doorstep and too huge to be considered for gefülte fish). Our productivity soared.

And then the rains came. Port Angeles hit the headlines, thanks to nature. The surging breakers surged up to our picture windows, around the house to the woodpile and patio, and *under the foundation*. Saltwater flooded the *well* and the overflow took up residence in the septic tank—and guess what couldn't flush. Once again—Toxicland.

Why does such a primitive infrastructure afflict the waterfront estates of Washington's fabled Northwest Passages? A little matter of ideology. Too many country-dwellers up here are cantankerous, anti-social individualists, and, from the time their forebears stole the beaches from the Indians, they scorned cooperative ventures with their neighbors to build civilized water and sewage systems. So contaminated water and regurgitative toilets coexist with huge cable TV antennas and computerized microwave ovens.

WEARY OF DELUGES and medieval technologies, we occasionally sought respite in Sequim, a quaint and prosperous retirement village near Dungeness and the juicy crabs. Soon the news stories broke—controversy with Indians over clam digging on Sequim Bay. Tribal harvesting of shellfish is a treaty right, but the Chamber of Commerce was in a stew over it, hungry to make chowder of the Jamestown Klallam Tribe.

"WEREN'T YOU LUCKY to find hideaways for five months?"

Yes and no. We had a taste of living amidst natural grandeur that everyone should know. But there is no fairyland, no peace, no harmony anyplace in a profit-obsessed capitalist orbit that breeds nuclear warships and warlike neo-nazis and rural idiots. The world is too much with us, wherever.



... Freeway Hall Case

from page 6

destroy those of U.S.-born workers. Connecting redbaiting and racism, which were instrumental in the passage of the bill, Bocanegra said that "people who buy into the 'Brown scare' have also sold out their own rights."

Ms. magazine co-founder Gloria Steinem and civil liberties lawyer Leonard Boudin issued statements expressing support for the constitutional rights of the defendants.

Enthusiasm and urgency

The determination of hundreds of organizations and individuals to fight for the integrity of their groups was reflected again at a spirited January 20, 1987 community meeting in Seattle devoted to adopting strategies for community outreach.

Twenty-five individuals and representatives of labor, feminist, Native American, lesbian/gay, and Chicano organizations attended, including the SWP. The group came up with excellent ideas: speaking tours to unions and community groups; a letters to the editor campaign; media talk show interviews; videos; and much more. The enthusiasm and sense of urgency were unmistakable, a bracing vindication of the FSP decision to pursue this case openly and aggressively.

Go get 'em!

Snedigar believed he tossed the FSP a bitter lemon, but the party has turned this case into something sweeter—an unparalleled opportunity to talk to people about the state of the nation, the fight against reaction, and the viable alternative of socialism.

The FSP is also making common cause with defendants in dozens of similar intimidation and harassment lawsuits across the country. The Intimidation Law Project in Denver is tracking over 200 cases where rightwing foundations, corporations, public utilities, and agencies are suing movement groups and individuals, primarily over environmental issues. The party has traded briefs with many defendants, including the Teamsters for a Democratic Union, because one of the main avenues of conservative attack has been the demand for membership lists and minutes.

Meanwhile, the party is keeping up a steady drive for petitions, letters to the courts, donations, and endorsements for the Freeway Hall Case. Petitions sent to the state Supreme Court in 1986 bore 4000 signatures from individuals and organizations across the U.S. Petitions are still coming in.

Case endorsements number over 300. Unions, radical parties, national and international political organizations, and community groups are backing the FSP. These include the Washington State Labor Council, SWP, National Conference of Black Lawyers/Northwest Chapter, Northwest Women's Law Center, Gay Legal Rights Coalition of Australia, Peace and Freedom Party of

California, Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, El Centro de la Raza in Seattle, and National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays.

Endorsements have also come from a diverse array of artists, performers, authors, professionals, feminists, and working people.

Donations include \$1000 given by the international American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFS-CME), and another \$1000 donated by the New York Hotel and Motel Trades Council. Many five and ten dollar donations were made by retired and low-income people.

The case is a real community affair.

Steaming ahead

Quiet as it's kept, people in the U.S. have a deep appreciation of democratic rights. The right wing cannot impose its agenda on them without a fight, and rightwingers are finding their road a little rocky these days.

Not only the Freeway Hall Case gives them fits; opposition to reaction is busting out all over. The U.S. Supreme Court's sodomy ruling, for example, provoked an enormous outcry last year, and forced drug testing by government and business has workers up in arms.

Meanwhile, Ronald Reagan and his buddies have come a cropper over Irangate, especially because of the clandestine subversion of the democratic process entailed by the arms deals. The secrecy of the operation was forced on the administration by the public's intransigent disapproval of invasions and warmongering. Revelations of the nature and extent of the government's

war-for-profit adventures have sparked a renewed—and implicitly anti-capitalist—antiwar upsurge of aversion to imperialist war.

Civil rights activism is mounting in response to racist attacks. In January, 20,000 Blacks and supporters marched in Forsyth County, Georgia to protest whites-only residence requirements and a thriving Klan mentality. And in New York City, angry protest continues to rock the nation with the demand that the mob of white teenagers that beat three Black men in Howard Beach, and killed one of them, be brought to justice.

Remorselessly, reaction is compelling people to fight to retain their rights, and to realize that an attack on one is indeed an attack on all. That is precisely why the Freeway Hall Case endorses have not let redbaiting stand in the way of their support.

And the fact that supporters consider the defense of socialists to be central to defense of their own groups spells more trouble for all the nefarious Snedigar and McCarthys. Redbaiting is the refuge of scoundrels, and strong repudiation of anti-communist demagoguery is the beginning of the end for all of them.

The FSP will continue to wage openly socialist and intransigent combat against homegrown contras. The party will beat back Snedigar's affront to its privacy rights, and in the process it will help build a movement capable of smashing the entire reaction by taking to the courts, and the streets, and the international marketplaces of ideas. □

—TAMARA TURNER

... Alison Thorne

from page 4

membership in radical groups and advocacy of the rights of sexual minorities. (The latter are not specifically protected from discrimination under Victoria's Equal Opportunity Act.) The victory also restricts the power of government officials to use legislation or regulations to discriminate against controversial employees.

Reactionary opponents sought to destroy Thorne by portraying her free speech defense of PSG as advocacy of child molestation. Her supporters fought on the free speech issue, and their winning is all the more satisfying given that the right wing has used the child molestation issue effectively in the past to foment antigay bigotry. This time they used it to slander Thorne virulently in Australia's mainstream press—ultimately to no avail!

Certified "undesirable"

In November 1983, Thorne, speaking as a representative of the Gay Legal Rights Coalition, denounced a police raid on a PSG meeting in Melbourne and the arrest of its members for "conspiracy to corrupt public morals."

Thorne commented, during a telephone interview by conservative radio station 3AW, that the government had targeted gay pedophiles for persecution even though most child molestation is inflicted on girls by fathers or other males inside the nuclear family. The announcer deduced she was a teacher when a recess bell rang during the interview, and confirmed this with education officials. He then edited the tape for sensational effect and broadcast it with appeals to listeners to call Thorne's school and protest her opinions.

Thorne was immediately denounced by conservative members of Parliament. Within a week, they pressured Minister for Education Robert Fordham and State Premier John Cain—both representatives of Australia's Labor Party—to "temporarily" transfer Thorne from the

classroom to an administrative job as a curriculum consultant.

The transfer dragged on. Even after all charges against PSG members were dropped in May 1984 and the archaic conspiracy law revoked, Thorne's persecution by the rightwing media and politicians continued. Eager to end the transfer, Thorne secured a teaching job at another school—only to be stopped by the Director General of Education, who certified her as "undesirable" under a provision of the Victorian Teaching Service Act.

This certification, and the ever-changing conditions placed on her return to teaching, led Thorne to file a complaint with Victoria's EOB in July 1985 charging the Ministry of Education with discrimination based solely on her political views.

All for one

Thorne's case was no isolated cause célèbre but part of a growing rightwing and government offensive against lesbian/gay activists, radicals, and union militants. Thorne's defense of PSG was seen by her persecutors as an opportunity to slander the movements she represents as the political equivalent of child molestation, and worse. The Labor government needed to deflect growing outrage over its austerity policies and attacks on workers' civil rights. What better method for these caretakers of capitalism than to scapegoat the radical opposition?

However, workers could discern that the discrimination against Thorne threatened their civil liberties, not the safety of their children.

Labor and gay activists, students, and civil libertarians rallied to Thorne's defense. Rank-and-file members of the Technical Teachers Union of Victoria (TTUV) mobilized to compel reluctant union officials to protest the Labor government's unjust treatment of Thorne. Members of the Gay Legal Rights Coalition formed the Committee to Reinstate Alison Thorne (CRAT), and everyone worked to build the defense and get out the word.

The information campaign succeeded, nationally and internationally. In Sweden, marchers picketed in front of the Australian Embassy on Thorne's

behalf. In the U.S., activists nationwide sent letters and telegrams in her support.

And one for all

In September 1986, Thorne argued before the EOB that in transferring her, the Ministry of Education had acted against her in the terms and conditions of her employment because of political ideas she had expressed as a private citizen. She had also lost credit for three years of teaching and endured degrading notoriety from Australia's gutter press and rightwing zealots.

The EOB upheld her claims on November 6, stating that the government had accorded Thorne "less favorable treatment... than any other teacher in the Victorian Teaching Service" and that "the reason for this less favorable treatment was her political beliefs and activities."

The board's decision provoked snarls from the rightwing press and a threat by Premier Cain that the state would do "whatever necessary" to prevent Thorne from returning to the classroom.

Nevertheless, the EOB held firm. On November 27, it ordered Thorne reinstated at one of ten technical schools of her choice by January 1, 1987. The board also revoked her certification as "undesirable" and, for transfer and promotion purposes, credited her with classroom experience for the years she had been banned. It stipulated that the government pay all case legal costs.

In response, the government not only lodged an appeal of the ruling with the Supreme Court, but even introduced legislation in Parliament to prohibit "proponents of child abuse," including Thorne retroactively, from teaching children. This proposed amendment to the Teaching Service Act was an end run around the EOB decision that would have severely undercut the authority and viability of the EOB.

This draconian broadside was met with outrage from public workers, other unionists, lesbian and gay activists, and radicals in Australia and abroad, particularly in the U.S. Another international barrage of telegrams called for implementation of the EOB decision.

In this climate the government became less anxious to continue the fight, and it proposed as a settlement

that Thorne could resume teaching at a TAFE adult college. Thorne and CRAT refused because the EOB would remain in jeopardy, and Thorne would be permanently barred from secondary level teaching.

Just moments before the government's legislation was to be considered, officials called Thorne from Parliament with a better offer. Thorne accepted this settlement, which specified that the legislation and Supreme Court action be withdrawn and that the EOB decision stand. Although Thorne agreed to resume teaching at a TAFE college, she kept the right to pick the college and retained her secondary school seniority, and the possibility of her later return to secondary teaching was left open. With this settlement, Thorne could resume teaching and preserve the invaluable precedents set by the EOB without risking the debacle for civil rights posed by the special legislation.

A battle won

Thorne's is an important victory, winning first-ever antidiscrimination protections for Australia's lesbian and gay activists and political radicals. These protections, and continued community vigilance, will serve Thorne well against sure-to-come rightwing and government efforts to undo her triumph.

"Despite three years of stalling and obstruction by the union bureaucracy, Alison kept on fighting," said Karen Sellinger, president of the Brunswick Tech Branch of the TTUV. "This stunning victory is an inspiration to rank-and-file members who have stood beside Alison throughout this fight."

"We have a lot to celebrate, but we must also ensure that the Victorian government abides by the ruling of the EOB, or equal opportunity in this state will be nothing but a farce," said Jan Carr, a member of the Victorian Public Service Association. "Alison Thorne has won a vital battle against discrimination and for free speech, not only for herself but for all public servants who hold radical political beliefs."

Said Australian Railways Union militant Peter Murray, "We have won a battle, now the task is to make it stick." □

—SANDRA WELSTED

...Merle Woo

from page 5

training sessions for tutors of English as a Second Language and bilingual education, revitalizing that UC program. She sponsored student-organized classes like Violence Against Women; the Relationship Between Whites and Third World People in the Struggle for

Social Change; and Multi-Cultural Lesbian and Gay Studies. She spoke at campus anti-apartheid rallies and helped organize AFT lecturers. She carried on her writing and speaking as a socialist feminist and member of the Freedom Socialist Party.

In short, *Woo did what her victory affirmed she had a right as a radical to do.* UC bigwigs, committed more than ever in this time of rightwing reaction to preserving the university as a bastion of antidemocratic, bigoted "Americanism," couldn't stand Woo's

radicalism. That's why they fired her before. And it's the reason they have retaliated against her now.

Picking up the fight

Woo won last time because she and her defense committee organized international support around Woo's right to be who she was in the classroom. The solidarity remains steadfast. UC students have started a petition campaign demanding Woo's reappointment. The International Lesbian and Gay People of Color Conference, held in Los Angeles

in November 1986, unanimously passed a resolution on her behalf. And numerous publications are covering her fight.

Woo, her union, and her supporters are determined to reclaim her job. They realize that her 1984 victory was a vital one for labor, the social movements, and the Left, all under increasingly reactionary attack. It is equally vital that these forces rally around Woo now; her victory against UC is alive only as long as she is working there. □

—NANCY REIKO KATO

...Gippergate

from page 18

U.S. worries about upheaval that would accompany an Iranian victory in the war, and has sought to shore up the Iraqis. This has created genuine tension between Washington and Teheran, and this lies behind the kidnappings of U.S. personnel by Khomeini loyalists in Lebanon. The Ayatollah has been seeking to persuade the U.S. to re-assess its support for Iraq.

Washington, looking for more of an in with the mullahs, shipped them munitions. But it has also continued to arm Iraq—to prolong a stalemate in the conflict and thereby maintain the tenuous balance of power that has kept the lid on leftist Mideast revolt.

This lethal double-dealing is wholly consistent with the social-line U.S. imperative to stop socialist revolution and keep hold of the oil. Yet revelations of the nature and intent of the maneuver now threaten to provoke uproar at home: what can even the most ardent "free enterprise" advocate say in defense of U.S. efforts to prolong a slaughter that has claimed nearly a million lives.

Busted play

If the Iranian arms deal came as a surprise to the public at large, disclosures of illegal funneling of monies to the contras was—or by itself would have been—less of a shock. Covert CIA aid to these murderers has been an open secret for the last six years, which has not overly troubled Washington.

The reason for this is that pro-Democratic Party antiwar leaders—intimidated by Reagan's popularity at the polls—have refused to challenge Reaganite red-baiting against the Sandinistas and themselves, and have thus blunted public resistance to covert initiatives. These leaders' buckling under to jingoist racism against Iranians and Arabs has to an even greater degree helped keep the U.S. "anti-terrorist" holy war alive in the Mideast.

But the Gipper's political magic, and his chimerical vision of Resurgent Americanism are decomposing now in the acid bath of Irangate revelations. And antiwar radicals can now swiftly recover lost ground.

Revelation of the ugly profiteering essence of U.S. policy in the Mideast will force even deeper scrutiny of the Central American holocaust and the other U.S. adventures in Angola, Afghanistan, etc.

And the deeper the scrutiny, the greater and more radical the outrage.

Cheerleading donkeys

It's no wonder that official Washington jumped for the tall grass when Irangate exploded—or that those burrowing for cover were equally Republicans and Democrats.

Who, if not congressional Democrats, have allowed Reagan literally to get away with murder these past six years?

Virtually the entire Congress has, out of pro-Israel sympathy, echoed Reagan's Mideast anti-terrorist mummery. Also, congressional Democrats voted resumption of legal funding last June when Reagan needed bipartisan support to keep the contra war alive. And it shouldn't be forgotten that

in September 1984, they squelched the congressional investigation into the National Security Council's illegal contra assistance program.

The Democrats with Reagan have dragged us into a sinkhole of global violence, for the simple reason that this—backed by the threat of fascism and nuclear holocaust—is capitalism's survival option in today's revolutionary world. Democrats are by definition pro-capitalists, and are good soldiers in the system's war to save itself at our expense. The odd Democrat who opposes Reaganism, tactically or "philosophically," is merely an anomalous, impotent gadfly among swine.

This isn't to say that the Democrats aren't happy to see Reagan twist in the wind. They want the White House in '88. But the trick is to hang Reagan while keeping his policies and the imperial presidency safe from the rope.

Now the Democrats are trying to tailor the proliferating Irangate evidence to fit the conclusion that damages the nation's "credibility" the least, i.e., the conclusion that Reagan's an idiot.

The Democratic congressional investigators insist like the Tower Commission that Reagan slept through the Irangate deal, awakening only to approve a swap of arms for hostages. What better evidence the man's a fool? And if we swallow it, what but Reagan's stupidity to blame for the scandal?

There is supposedly "no evidence" that Reagan knew of the diversion of money to the contras, and the investigators will try to ensure that none turns up. If it were to sink in that Reagan kept tabs on and approved North's Central American activities—which included a plot to assassinate the U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica and thus provoke U.S. invasion of Nicaragua—the issue of the president's stupidity would not matter much to the public.

Congressional investigations are expected to drag on through September. Electioneering Democrats will continue to harp on Reagan's incompetence and to stonewall the realization that Irangate is the offspring of bipartisan imperialist aggression. They will also attack the de-haloesd Reagan on matters such as the deficit—to further convince us that they walk with angels and are best suited to lead in "putting Irangate behind us."

But what lies ahead? Democrats no less than Republicans are committed to keeping the Mideast oil and Central America. They like Reagan are bound to Khomeini and contra wars.

Go Reds!

It is particularly critical now to turn up the flame under Reagan and the congressional investigators.

Antiwar radicals must demand immediate, unconditional U.S. withdrawal from the Mideast, Central America, Angola, Afghanistan, et al. They must push for complete disclosure of the facts surrounding Irangate. They must demand that Reagan be impeached and prosecuted for crimes revealed in the disclosures.

Radicals must call for an open and independent investigation, with fully televised hearings and unhampered public access to all information. The congressional investigators will stall the demand for openness, of course, and radicals must focus public attention on Congress's collusion with the adminis-

tration. They can point out, for example, that the Senate preliminary investigating committee allowed the CIA to censor its findings in December on grounds of "national security," and demand that a truly independent panel of popularly elected labor and social movement leaders be empowered to take over the investigation.

The public, buoyed by resurgent and radicalized antiwar opinion, will surely support the demand.

Socialists meanwhile must fight to radicalize the antiwar movement. And this means fighting the present pro-Democratic Party antiwar leadership for the right to be heard in the movement.

Ironically, this pro-liberal leadership includes erstwhile Trotskyist and Stalinist groups such as Socialist Action, Line of March, and the Socialist Workers Party. These groups, each seeking to dodge red-baiting reaction, have so far refused to build an antiwar movement to match the scope of the U.S. offensive—one that could have prevented Irangate—for fear of offending their Democratic "allies" in Congress. They have continued to hope in vain that the liberals would halt Reagan's Central American assault. And they have refused even to address the Mideast question because those pro-Zionist congressional liberals have cheered the Gipper's war on "terrorism" there.

Even now, the April Actions Coalition for Jobs, Peace and Justice, which has scheduled regional antiwar demonstrations in Washington and on the west coast, April 25, refuses to touch this issue. The opportunistic leadership which stops the opposition on opposing the contra war, a "safe" course given that this war is already hugely unpopular. But what is "safe" is also ineffective; the deference to liberal opinion which stops the opportunists from coming to grips with the Mideast question also prevents them from protesting the contra atrocities effectively, that is, from an anti-capitalist

standpoint.

Honest radicals must make *their* opinions heard and win over the antiwar movement. They must explain why the U.S. has, with Khomeini and Israel, created a terror axis in the Mideast, and why imperialist terror is inevitable in the region as long as oil can be pumped for profit. They must deepen the public's understanding that the contra war is, equally with the Mideast aggression, a profiteers' slaughter. And they must again and again point out why the Democrats have cheered and underwritten these atrocities.

This course of action is prerequisite to rejuvenating the antiwar movement. And rejuvenation of the antiwar movement will hasten and intensify political explosions over injustice at home.

The Svengalis who gave us Irangate have also created a pestiferous climate of civil repression, race and sex bigotry, and despair that increasingly blights the lives of the U.S. working majority. Radicals must now link Irangate to mounting domestic grievances and build for political action that will address and eliminate both.

What better time than now in the midst of Irangate to call for formation of a labor party, independent of the Democrats and Republicans? The fight for such a party, an anti-capitalist Rainbow party of the working majority, that really will battle for dismantling of militarism, for race and sex equality, for job rights, for defense and extension of threatened civil liberties, could swiftly ignite a political groundswell in the U.S. that will culminate in a socialist revolution.

Radicals need only fight to make that dream a reality and events will bring the majority to their side.

It is indeed a brand new ballgame in the U.S. political arena. The score is still tied. But the Gipper has been stripped of the ball, and the Left can take it in for a touchdown. □

—ROBERT CRISMAN

RADICAL WOMEN

The nation's first socialist feminist organization, revolutionary wing of the women's movement, feminist vanguard of the Left. Immersed in the daily struggle against racism, sexism, antigay bigotry, and labor exploitation, RW's impressive record validates its view that the woman question is decisive to world revolution.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles: 1918 W. 7th St., #204, Los Angeles, CA 90057. 213-413-1350.
San Francisco Bay Area: National Office, 523-A Valencia St., San Francisco, CA 94110. 415-864-1278.

NEW YORK

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

OREGON

Portland: 1510 N.E. Brazee, Portland, OR 97212. 503-249-8067.

WASHINGTON

Port Angeles: 512 E. 7th, Port Angeles, WA 98362. 206-452-7534.

Seattle: New Freeway Hall, 5018 Rainier Ave. S., Seattle, WA 98118. 206-722-6057.

Spokane: W. 3005 Boone, Spokane, WA 99201. 509-327-9196.

Tacoma: P.O. Box 5847, Tacoma, WA 98405. 206-272-8088.

AUSTRALIA

Melbourne: P.O. Box 266, West Brunswick, VIC 3055. 03-386-3452.

10/1



... Simpson-Rodino

from page 24

Mexico's floundering economy, because Mexico's fragile political stability rests largely on its ability to export its jobless northward. Of course, mass deportations would entail great risks for the U.S. since its stability rests on continuing stability in Mexico.

A life insurance policy

It took a long time for Congress to implement this immigration "reform." Many U.S. employers, and chiefly Southwestern agribusiness, opposed Simpson-Rodino. Undocumented workers, wholly without protections, are after all the most easily exploitable workers, and even the mere potential for enforcement of sanctions was enough to raise employers' hackles. But U.S. capital's absolute need to shackle and control the undocumented prompted Congress in this instance to override agribusiness objections.

Simpson-Rodino is a capitalist survival measure. The undocumented—95 percent Mexicanos and, increasingly, refugees from war-ravaged Central America and from Asia—are an explosive political and social presence. In the U.S., they find the same poverty and exploitation they tried to escape at home, and it quickens their political education. They also bring the experience of Latin American and other Third World revolutions into the belly of the beast. By virtue of this and because of race, culture, and common exploitation, they are a catalyst for radicalism among longtime Latino and Asian American residents, and hence within the U.S. labor and social movements generally. U.S. capital must smother "alien" cultures, must defuse and eradicate all potential radicalism in order to impose political conditions wholly amenable to sky-high profits and business as usual. Hence Simpson-Rodino.

It is important to recognize that this racist slave labor bill is the brainchild of Democratic liberals and "moderates" in Congress. What more vivid illustration of the degree to which rightwing

imperatives now dictate the policies of liberals, *and of the necessity for radical action in defense of immigrant rights?*

Sanctions against whom?

As stated before, sanctions will not stop the hiring of undocumented workers. But if sanctions aren't really intended to stop the use of illegals, what exactly are they meant to accomplish?

After the bill takes effect in May 1987, employers who hire new illegal workers will be subject to fines, and to imprisonment for repeated offenses. Discrimination by employers against legal immigrants is supposedly forbidden (another point that offended employers), though no means for hearing discrimination complaints has been set up.

Prime among the many catches to sanctions is that there is no standard documentation for determining who is and who is not a legal immigrant. It has been left to the INS to work out guidelines for establishing legality. Capricious and arbitrary determination of legality is a foregone conclusion, as is increasing discrimination against "foreign-looking" dark-skinned workers, especially Latinos and Haitians—citizens or not.

As always in times of anti-immigrant reaction, the INS will wink at the use of undocumented workers by employers, upon whose beneficent influence the agency depends during congressional budget hearings. It will use its doubled budget and power to raid job sites, hiring halls, community centers, and neighborhoods in search of the politically troublesome, especially in the Chicano and Latino communities. Employers dependent on illegal labor in the agriculture, garment, and service industries will meanwhile continue to hire the undocumented in droves.

At the same time, employers can and will use the pretext of obeying the law to deny jobs to workers who cannot prove they are legally in the U.S., regardless of whether they are citizens. This abuse is sure to provoke an outcry from civil rights activists. But this protest, in conjunction with continuing fulminations against the presence of the undocumented, will be used by right-wingers to demand that national identification cards be made a mandatory condition of *all* employment.

Instituting national I.D. cards is a key move toward the Nazi-like regimentation of labor sought by U.S. capitalism

as the solution to its economic malaise. This motive as much as anything is the point to employer sanctions, and to the Simpson-Rodino bill itself.

Edging toward apartheid

The guarantee of guest workers—immigrants who can be legally imported to work in the fields and then deported back to their "homelands" after the harvest—blunted some grower opposition to Simpson-Rodino, although in their eyes unhampered access to the undocumented remains the ideal.

The guest worker provision is as insidious as any part of the bill. It is essentially a means of introducing into ever-widening sectors of U.S. industry the apartheid-like system of labor exploitation that has existed in Southwestern agriculture from the beginning. Hence, this provision works in tandem with sanctions as a method of bringing the entire U.S. workforce to heel.

The garment, service, and other industries dependent on illegal labor—and now faced with sanctions—are sure to start clamoring for similar access to guest workers. The corrosive effect of rent-a-slave labor in these industries—on union organizing, worker unity, and democratic rights—is obvious. These industries, moreover, employ the highest percentage of women and people of color, both citizens and non-citizens. Guest worker conditions imposed upon them will exacerbate the traditional race/sex divisions that already wrack the U.S. working class.

There is more: the guest worker provision will act as a magnet to hundreds of thousands of job-hungry immigrants, far more than the quota of 350,000 per year. The first guest worker, or *bracero*, program, instituted in 1942 to cover the labor shortage caused by World War II, attracted millions of the undocumented. Then, as now, quotas did not begin to meet the need for workers. Then, as now, growers preferred a surplus of labor, to keep wages low and undercut worker organizing.

Braceros were mistreated, paid unconscionable wages, used as strike-breakers, and deported. The undocumented, meanwhile, were even more ruthlessly exploited. The Bracero Program worked so well for growers that it was extended periodically until 1964, when it was dropped, in part because of protests from the labor and Chicano movements.

The Simpson-Rodino guest worker program offers an intensified replay of the same scenario of legal and illegal slavery, with the added prospect of even more rabid agitation for "control" over immigrants.

Come out wherever you are

Along with sanctions and the guest worker program, the so-called amnesty provision of the bill is meant to seal the coffin on immigrant rights.

All undocumented immigrants who can prove they have been in the U.S. continuously since January 1982 are eligible to apply for legal status. Eligibles can apply first for temporary status and work permits, then for permanent residency after 18 months, and for citizenship after five more years. Undocumented farmworkers can apply for temporary status if they have worked in agriculture for at least 90 days between May '85 and May '86, for permanent status after 18-30 months, and for citizenship five years later.

That's a long time to wait. There's also the fact that it will cost each person seeking legal status an estimated \$600 to \$1000 in attorney's fees to get through the maze of records, requirements, and paperwork—if there are no problems. That's each person, not each family. Further, eligibles have virtually *no* legal or political rights while waiting out the long process to citizenship. This alone makes them targets for abuse on the job and elsewhere in society—much the same as before, only now they are more tightly in the grip of the INS.

The concept of eligibility is, in itself, far from simple. Most undocumented workers have been forced to live a fugitive existence and, consequently, have never obtained the papers, such as tax returns, employment and housing records, that could prove their eligibility. The sole authority to accept or reject documents rests with the INS, an ominous fact given this agency's long record of racist terrorism and capricious enforcement of immigration law.

It is also no mere coincidence that the cutoff date for establishing eligibility was set at the end of 1981. Most of the hundreds of thousands of Central American refugees arrived in the U.S. *after* that time. Simpson-Rodino escalates the war against them and the sanctuary movement that shelters them.

In addition, amnesty specifically excludes lesbians, gays, the mentally and physically disabled, communists, "national security risks," prostitutes, anyone "likely" to need welfare benefits, and anyone convicted of "moral turpitude" or drug abuse. Thus, Simpson-Rodino legally sanctions discrimination against eligibles (and strengthens the rightwing push to reimpose legal discrimination against U.S. citizens), and widens the scope for the INS's political terrorism. Anyone can be labeled a "national security risk" and deported, or intimidated by the threat of deportation, by the rightwing border police.

Crossroads for activists

How are the U.S. labor and social movements and the Left preparing to fight the effects of Simpson-Rodino?

Labor's top dogs in the AFL-CIO have been among the most vicious anti-immigrant agitators, perpetuating the myth that immigrants are to blame for U.S. unemployment. This racist scapegoating has served to deflect workers' attention from the real causes of labor's misery—capitalist dismantling of industry, unionbusting, and all the rest—and the union bureaucrats' acquiescence to these conditions as well.

Under the leadership of Chicano labor activist Bert Corona, CASA (Center for Autonomous Social Action) fought early versions of the Simpson-Rodino bill through education and forums. But with the advent of Stalinist leadership in the mid-'70s, CASA halted its active opposition to congressional assault on the undocumented.

Some unions, however, are now actively recruiting the undocumented and helping them organize to fight for their rights, on and off the job. Notable among these are locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), Service Employees International Union, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union, and United Auto Workers. The consensus among organizers involved, many of whom are immigrants themselves, is that this organizing is necessary. Anti-immigrant reaction fuels the assault on *all* labor.

These union efforts, centered in the Southwest, resulted in tangible gains and, above all, in resurgent militance among the undocumented. The ILGWU fought for and won a federal ruling that the undocumented have a right to organize. And they *have* organized—on their own when necessary—because they know they are better off in a union, and because they despise scabs.

Mexicanos have struck together with Chicanos in many labor actions, e.g. Farah, Mission Food, and Watsonville.

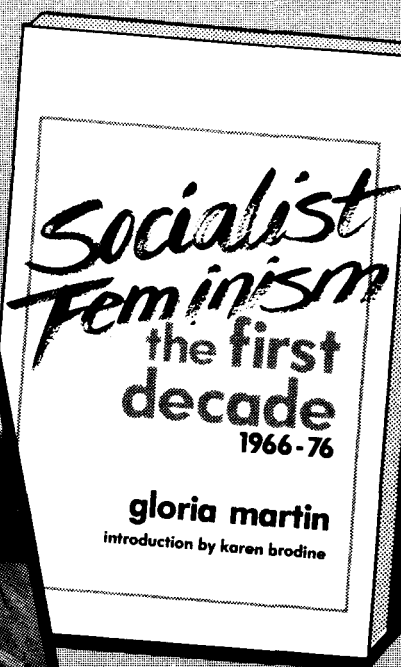
In 1986, undocumented hotel and janitorial workers conducted a number of fiercely fought strikes in Los Angeles and Houston. These strikes and the ruling no doubt played a substantial role in hastening the passage of Simpson-Rodino.

Labor's efforts to organize the undocumented will bring it increasingly into conflict with U.S. immigration policy. The difference between survival and defeat for U.S. labor depends on

to next page

A chapter in American history that's never been told before!

Order now!



Please send me _____ copies of *Socialist Feminism: The First Decade* at \$8.95 per copy. (Add \$1.00 shipping for first book, 50¢ each additional book.)

Enclosed is a check or money order for _____.

Name _____ (please print)

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

Return form with payment to: Freedom Socialist Publications, 5018 Rainier Ave. S., Seattle, WA 98118. Bookstores, please write for rates.

Paperback, 244 pages, bibliography, index, 17 photos • ISBN 0-932323-00-6

10/1

... Rodino

how unions succeed in organizing the most downtrodden—the immigrants and undocumented. The labor movement has a responsibility to see beyond the racism, sexism, and national chauvinism of its backward elements and unite with these workers. Women and people of color can bring pressure within unions to help the labor movement fight the new challenges to union organizing, INS terror tactics against union membership, and the rise of general anti-immigrant organizing.

Simpson-Rodino will hasten a split in the labor movement between the pro-capitalist bureaucrats and those workers who realize that their own well-being is inseparably tied to the struggle for immigrant rights.

A split in the wind

The measure similarly promises to polarize the Chicano, antiwar, and other social movements.

The polarization is very evident in the Chicano movement. Though Chicano and Latino militants have taken the lead in opposing Simpson-Rodino—in the West Coast's Comité para Defender los Derechos de los Inmigrantes y Refugiados (Committee to Defend Immigrant and Refugee Rights), for example—other leaders and misleaders have given in to cynicism, such as that produced by Democratic Party politics.

Prominent among such examples are

the five out of 11 congressional Hispanic Caucus members who voted for the bill. Caucus leader Esteban Torres, for example, lauded the "generous" legalization program and the effort to dry up the job market for the undocumented.

Torres's bottom-line justification for voting for Simpson-Rodino was that its passage prevented "a more punitive bill in the next Congress"—illogic typical of liberal sellouts who deny that, given the proper leadership, the people can fight and defeat the reactionaries.

César Chávez, leader of the United Farm Workers, took an equivocal and self-defeating stance on the Simpson-Rodino bill during a question-and-answer session with a Seattle audience in December 1986. He stated that the amnesty program was good, though it didn't go far enough—a complete misrepresentation of this entrapment scheme. He opposed the guest worker program, implying that guest workers couldn't be organized and that their presence would undercut farmworker organizing in general. When an audience member raised the possibility of organizing guest workers, Chávez shifted the discussion to other topics.

Chávez's refusal to come out foursquare against Simpson-Rodino and his shameful misrepresentation of amnesty are an inevitable consequence of his ties to the pro-capitalist and anti-immigrant AFL-CIO leadership. Chávez's orientation to the labor skates has in the past led to anti-immigrant and anti-radical thuggery by the UFW itself.

His present Pontius Pilate-like position on Simpson-Rodino is a windfall for xenophobes and union-busters and, if not reversed, will ultimately destroy the UFW.

Chicano and Latino militants disenchanted with Chávez's misleadership can and must join with immigrants and pro-immigrant activists against the liberals and sellouts who would hand over the movement to the reaction. These militants—allied with other groups in a united front against the right wing—could raise the struggle of immigrants and the undocumented to new heights and forge a mighty movement against the common enemy.

The same holds true for antiwar and sanctuary movement activists, because INS terrorism against political refugees is a *domestic* component of the U.S. war against the Central American revolution. Currently, the antiwar movement is blindly channeling resistance wholly into raising electoral support for Democrats, supposedly the only alternative to Reaganism. But fruits of Reaganism such as contra aid were produced by the votes of these same Democrats.

Antiwar and sanctuary movement activists must realize that to fight the war successfully elsewhere, they must simultaneously fight it *at home*. They can start by understanding that the Democrats who voted for contra aid and championed Simpson-Rodino are not their allies, now or ever, that they, no less than the Republicans, are spear carriers for the bigots and warmongers

in Washington.

Finally, it is up to radicals in the labor and social movements, whose understanding of struggle is rooted in class analysis, to unite those movements in defense of immigrants and themselves, against the pro-capitalists.

The heart of the matter

Immigrants with their allies are now fighting for an end to the policies made law by Simpson-Rodino; for an end to *Migra* (INS) terrorism; for legal and political rights; for access to social services; for the right to organize as workers and to *integrate* politically with the U.S. working class.

Capping their struggle is the fight for an *open border*, for the right to work where they choose, promised in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo by the U.S. after the theft of the Southwest from Mexico in 1848. This is the most radical of radical demands, for capitalist domination of the Americas is dependent on national separatism and race segregation. It could not long withstand the effects of erasing the barrier between the U.S. and Mexico.

Beefed-up ranks of border police are a capitalist *necessity*, along with unionbusting, redbaiting, the U.S. war drive, and all rightwing attacks. Capitalist necessity dictates our own: a united struggle against all xenophobic and anti-democratic broadsides, and for the free co-mingling of peoples under socialism. □

—ROBERT CRISMAN

... Korea

from page 1

struggle against the regime and its U.S. overlords.

Democracy is a *radical* notion in South Korea, which is precisely what prompted the NKPD conservatives to deal with Chun. Better a dictatorship with parliamentary gloss, they reason, than an anti-capitalist fight for true democracy.

A contagious revolution

South Korea, unlike the Philippines, does not have a powerful communist Left. Most leftists were either slaughtered by Rhee or fled to the North prior to and during the Korean War. But workers and students are fast making up for lost time, and greater polarization is inevitable between radicals and anti-communists inside the opposition movement. Partition and dictatorship are manifestly the result of capital's need to plunder South Korea while "holding the line" against communism.

Liberation is thus linked to the question of socialist revolution, and it is around this question that the emerging left wing will focus the democratic struggle.

South Korea, where the U.S. military is poised a mere stone's throw from the USSR and China, could swiftly become the epicenter of vast international upheavals. The upsurge there surely portends the unraveling of U.S. designs in the Far East, hence the world. The demand for reunification, moreover, put forth in the context of the general fight for democracy in the South, will

inevitably ignite a concomitant struggle for workers' democracy in the North. And how long can Chinese and Soviet workers be shielded from the contagious effects of such a struggle?

Revolt on the Korean peninsula—a permanent revolution which impacts equally world imperialism and the workers' state bureaucracies—means for all revolutionaries a rejuvenated struggle for international socialist democracy. □

—HELEN GILBERT

... Greater Evil

from page 18

were by Fraser's victory, which was not only costly and humiliating for city hall, but proved that the ordinance and HRD could actually help discrimination victims. So our self-appointed heroes now resolved in earnest to make the ordinance unworkable. In the liberal mentality, if something works, break it.

According to subsequent public testimony by HRD employees, Jewett, as the city's chief legal authority, ordered the new HRD director, Marlaine Kiner, to rewrite the administrative rules that govern implementation of the anti-discrimination ordinances. She did, and the HRD's days as a human rights advocate were over. The changes deprived discrimination victims of full monetary awards, any attorney's fees, and the right to refuse an inadequate settlement offer. The city attorney was given authority to alter or amend a finding. Even more alarming was the scrapping of protection from political ideology discrimination—our constitutional right to free speech on the job.

• • •

When the sinister rules revisions became known, all hell broke loose. And it wasn't hard for me to locate and join with other angry people—workers, professionals, civil rights advocates, church figures—to fight the abuse. We formed the Ad Hoc Committee for Fair Employment and Open Housing, composed of labor, feminist, disabled,

and civil and gay rights activists. We demanded that the council rescind the revisions, and we proposed a series of amendments to the anti-discrimination law that would restore its integrity and strengthen enforcement.

At first the council sat on their hands in hopes we would go away. But strong community support for shoring up enforcement of the ordinances caused the council to pretend to collaborate with us for an "equitable solution." They called for public hearings to "discuss" the issue, intending as always to discuss it to death.

And when too many irate protesters crowded the hearing room, the council called for even more hearings—and stitched together a small but hysterical coterie of business barons, landlords, and antigay bigots to fulminate against the amendments. And after two years—24 agonizing months—of work and meetings and hearings and apparent agreements, the council ignominiously bowed low before the barons and bigots and, in June 1986, voted the amendments into oblivion.

With that shameful and disgusting vote, strong, enforceable and advocacy-oriented human rights protections became a thing of the past in Seattle—as did the ability of the public to influence the power structure.

What makes this craven capitulation to the forces of darkness so reprehensible is the fact that it took place at the time that the Dems were regularly appearing on the picket line at Seattle's South African consulate, or glad-handing some of the 10,000 people who marched in the Lesbian/Gay Pride Parade. How easily these saboteurs pose as rights champions when there are

naive voters to be wooed and expensive elections to be won!

• • •

Yet the arrogant mayor and the gutless city council weren't satisfied with disemboweling the Fair Employment Practices Ordinance. Last year they fired on the largest city employee union, the International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers Local 17. The city wanted the union to drop the non-discrimination clause from the contract and to forego filing grievances when members' civil rights are violated, and hired one of the biggest union-busting guns in the country, Cabot Dow, to renegotiate the contract.

Local 17 meanwhile stood firm against the assault. And, after seven months, the city dropped the issue—for the time being. Given the record of this mayor and this council, it's entirely reasonable to believe they'll try it again.

• • •

After all that's happened, you can't tell me that Democrat politicians and officials don't have the destruction of human rights on their agenda. When the chips are down, they back discrimination and the redneck minority every time—because here lives the fountainhead of profits and of extensive contributions to campaign coffers.

We would all be better off without the fantasy that the Dems are any kind of electoral alternative. I'd rather face a pistol-packin', KKK-hooded reactionary than a mushy, two-faced, nervous Democrat politician. Better a Rambo in full regalia than a Rambo in human rights drag; with the former you know exactly where you stand—clearly on the

other side of the barricades.

• • •

The 1960s are gone, and so is virtually every crumb sprinkled around by the system in those days to keep people pacific instead of grabbing for the capitalist jugular.

Unlike many of my compadres who settled for Democrats (yecch!) and the yuppie culture (barf!), I find myself even more committed to turning the system around. And I think that the first order of business is to expose the liberal charade. It may not be a nice thing to do, and it is unpleasant to rile your neighbors and be treated as a pariah by media editors, but what the hell. Lots of things are unpleasant, like poverty, unemployment, contra wars, racism, sexism, homophobia, despair, illiteracy, homelessness, the boss, hunger, crime, horrible architecture, pollution, porno, name it. And the nice ways always fail, especially if you try negotiating with duplicitous city poppas and mommas.

The sooner we expose illusions about the Democrats and take political action that is *independent* of the two-party shell game, the better off we'll all be. Sure there's a difference between the two major parties: one produces devils and the other spawns demons. □

As a trainee at Seattle City Light in 1974, Heidi Durham was one of the pioneers who opened the electrical trades to women nationally. Today she is an assistant power dispatcher at the utility. She is also co-chair of the Ad Hoc Committee for Fair Employment and Open Housing.

Simpson-Rodino

Open season on immigrants

According to the congressmen who cooked it up, the Simpson-Rodino Immigration Reform and Control Bill was designed to stop the flow of undocumented workers into the U.S. and to treat fairly those already in the country.

But lies are the stock in trade of bourgeois politicians. In fact, Simpson-Rodino was not contrived to halt undocumented entry but rather to control by terror the activities of immigrants and other workers inside the U.S.

Rarely has a bill been so cynically stitched together, so larded with false promises, and so patently destructive of democratic rights as this one.

The measure's key provisions are sanctions against employers who hire "illegals," and "amnesty" for eligible undocumented workers now threatened with deportation. To soften the impact of employer sanctions, the bill provides a "guest worker" program ensuring U.S. growers a legal quota of 350,000 seasonal immigrant workers per year.

Sanctions are touted as the way to stop anyone from hiring those who are not guest workers. Supposedly, this will dry up the job market for undocumented workers and thereby remove the reason for their entry into the U.S. And this, supposedly, will save jobs for U.S. workers and save the imperiled "American Way of Life" from purported foreign encroachment.

But sanctions will be used to control the undocumented, not stop them from entering: the economy of the Southwest—and the nation—has in fact come to *depend* on the super-exploitation of illegal immigrant labor. The U.S. would not seriously attempt to stop or even reduce the entry of the undocumented unless faced with directly impending political upheaval brought on by their presence. And then,

not sanctions, but sealing the U.S.-Mexico border—a virtual impossibility—would be required.

Nor will sanctions save jobs for U.S. workers. U.S. unemployment is caused by runaway shops and automation—not immigration. Further, the industries that exploit the undocumented generally avoid hiring U.S. workers, because citizens would not long tolerate the rotten wages and working conditions traditionally forced upon the undocumented.

Meanwhile, the relative plentitude of jobs in the U.S. and the poverty and political agony in Latin America combine to guarantee employers a continued torrential influx of illegal immigrants. And if history is any indication, the guest worker program will draw additional hundreds of thousands of undocumented workers into the U.S.

None of these workers will qualify for amnesty. But then, amnesty as administered by the reactionary border police is nothing but another scheme for entrapping the undocumented.

America the bigoted

Simpson-Rodino is a hoax in every way



but one: it definitely aims to shore up the tottering American Way of Life—if by the American Way one means untrammelled capitalist control over an increasingly recalcitrant workforce, foreign *and* native-born.

The bill gives congressional sanction to racist anti-immigrant bigotry and facilitates enormously stepped-up discrimination against U.S. workers of color. Through the guest worker program it edges the U.S. toward permanent and legal apartheid-style exploitation of immigrant labor.

Moreover, by giving unchecked power to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to raid, to imprison, and to deport "undesirables," Simpson-Rodino assures persecution of unionists, radicals, civil libertarians, political refugees, and all other targets of xenophobic anti-worker reaction.

Additionally, the U.S. will use the threat of mass deportation of Mexicanos as leverage for even greater control over

to page 22

the freedom socialist

75¢
(\$1.00 outside U.S.)

David Sohapp's Ordeal 3
Alison Thorne Victory 4
Myth of the Lesser Evil 18

Voice of Revolutionary Feminism

Volume 10, Number 1 April-June 1987



The Gipper fumbles: First & ten for the U.S. Left!

It's the start of the fourth quarter.
The ball's at midfield, score tied at zero. The
Gipper takes the snap and drops back. He
fakes a hand-off to Shultz...

to page 18