

the situation of thousands of individuals in our country, without protesting also for the treatment that they are given, looking for an effective solution, not a theoretical one, to such problems.

We hope in future emissions to give plenty of details and to clarify many situations that you do not know about in this uncertain and chaotic pseudosocialist system.

Note: as a method of protection we have given a false return address.

We, as gay north-americans who have identified with and supported the Cuban Revolution and our gay sisters and brothers in Cuba through our participation in the Venceremos Brigade, denounce the anti-homosexual policy formulated at the recent conference on education and culture and endorsed by the Cuban government.

We have seen the struggle of all Cuban people and gay people all over the world as a common struggle; we have supported the progressive economic policies of the revolution and have been excited and encouraged at the indications of a developing cultural revolution toward the liberation of women and the alienation in all areas of life.

Inherent to socialism and socialist practice is the equalization of power among all people. People cannot seize control of their own lives unless they see themselves historically and analyze critically the culture and institutions which have formulated them. Centuries of sexist attitudes inculcated by all the institutions of "western civilization," especially the church, have served to solidify today's sexist superstructure which places straight men at the top - defining their masculinity by the amount of power they have over gay people, women, and other men. It is each person's revolutionary responsibility to be critical, to be critical of the racist and sexist institutions which perpetuate divisions among us. There can be no real revolution, no truly socialist society until we remove the walls of self-hatred that separate us from ourselves and other people.

Gay people owe allegiance to no nation. The anti-homosexual policy of the Cuban government does not simply fail to include gay people in the revolutionary process - it specifically excludes them from participation in that process and the right to self-determination. We have been told that it is reactionary for us to criticize and condemn our oppressors when they call themselves "revolutionary" or "socialist." A policy of ruthless and incessant persecution of gay people is contradictory to the needs of all people, and such a policy is reactionary and fascist. All sexist policies and practices are counterrevolutionary and evidence the efforts of a ruling class to crush the people's cultural revolution when it threatens the ruling class (or caste) position of privilege.

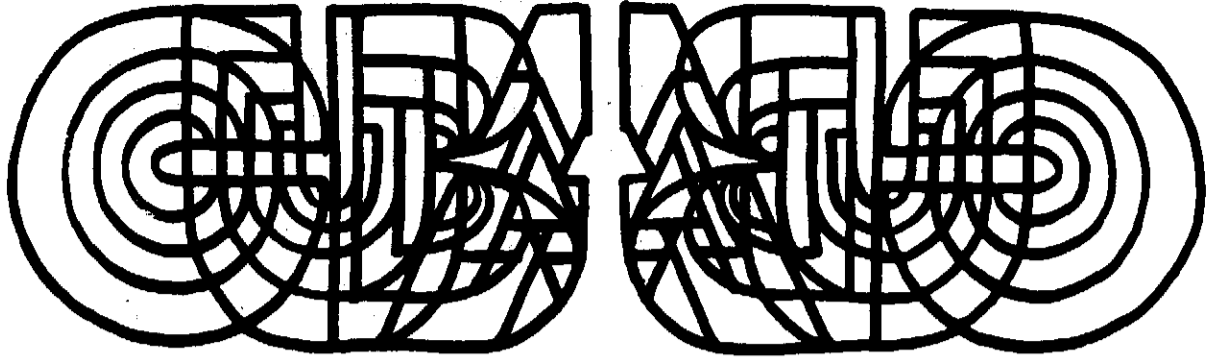
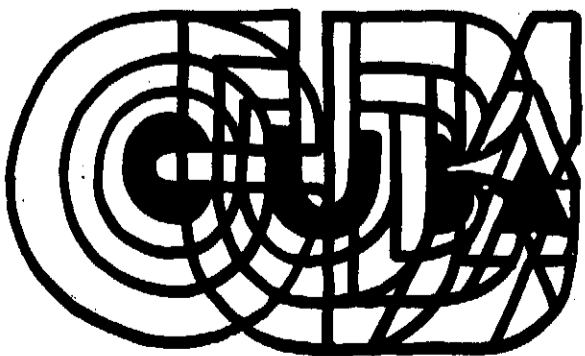
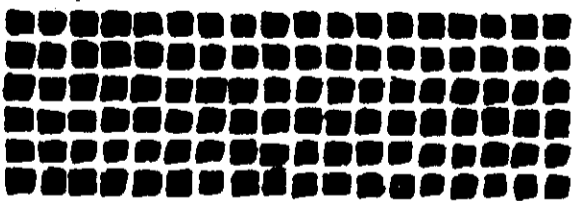
Also, we denounce the national committee of the Venceremos Brigade as the agents of a sexist hierarchy. They, in their liberalism have not engaged in critical relationship with either the Cuban people or with revolutionaries here.

We call upon all progressive people to join in our protests against this reactionary policy and to make their feelings known by writing to the Cuban Prime Minister and First Secretary of the Communist Party in Havana.

Turn it out!

Venceremos!

GAY COMMITTEE OF RETURNED BRIGADISTAS



IS SOCIALISM THE ANSWER?

Some of us in the Gay Liberation Movement have had a rude awakening. Neglecting our own people in the gay community we substituted the "revolutionary" rhetoric of the sexist left. "Socialism is the answer", "capitalist oppression", are just a few of the phrases used by some to explain our oppression. Some of us even sent as far as suppressing reports of persecution from our own sisters and brothers until we were faced with a *fait accompli* - our "friends" called us faggots in bold newsprint for all to see.

Some of us will still try to explain away what happened in Cuba by using the standard cliches which the sexist marxist groups have been applying to each other for at least fifty years - *pseudosocialist, neocapitalist, counterrevolutionary, reformist, etc.* Perhaps some of us will never come to grips with the notion that marxism itself might be sexist, that

marxist theorizing like other philosophic theorizing functions as a male chauvanist game, that socialist societies like capitalist societies contain the basic ingredient that is oppressive to gay people - **SEXISM**.

Yes, brothers and sisters, our oppression is a true blue oppression; it ranks with the most egregious of oppressions. Yet, some of us are acting as if we're waiting for Duncan Hines to give his stamp of approval.

We don't need a justification for being gay - sexists need a justification for being straight. It's getting very tiring to hear closet queens implicitly tell us: "I'm not just a faggot; I've got redeeming social value; I'm a marxist revolutionary."

Recent events have demonstrated a dire need for consciousness raising for all of us. May it never again happen that we collude with our enemies who want to destroy us.

Steve Gavin

QUESTIONS THAT HAVE NEVER BEEN ANSWERED TO MY SATISFACTION

Note: I was originally going to sign this article and take personal responsibility for its contents, but I have been advised by an expert in these matters that such a move would be extremely foolhardy. Since I am not making judgements but only asking questions, I feel that I am justified in withholding my name.

Seems like all of my friends in the movement have been following the call to duty as usual. Anyone on the left is our friend. Anyone the pigs don't like is our friend. Seems to me that there is too much emotionalism and not enough intelligent thought on the radical scene. So I have prepared a list of questions concerning the latest martyr around whom we are all supposed to rally, and I gave my word that I will rally to her side as soon as someone comes up with satisfactory answers to these questions.

1. Why did a supposedly intelligent black revolutionary buy guns in her own name?
2. Members of the Communist Party are not permitted to own guns. Why did she violate Party discipline?
3. The communist Party of the USA has often denounced "adventurist violence." Are they defending Angela Davis on the grounds that she would never knowingly become involved in a courthouse shootout? They have been silent on that question.
4. Numerous men and women have been able to go underground by hiding in their own communities -- black ghettos, communes, campuses, etc. Why was a black woman caught in the whitest area of Manhattan, in a Howard Johnson's motel?
5. Who is Ralph Poindexter, and how did he get bailed out so fast?
6. Angela Davis claims that during the months she was in hiding, she was too confused to make plans for escape to another country. This is an intelligent revolutionary?
7. Other explanations for her capture include the statement that the Communist Party is infiltrated by pigs. If so, why did she join it, and why does she continue to recommend it as a viable alternative for black people? And why was she able to remain underground for two months?

8. Angela Davis claims that she stayed in a boarding house in Florida, but left because pigs were living there. How did she know they were pigs, and why didn't they capture her then?

9. The Communist Party, which has steadily lost support for the last thirty years and has been shunned by blacks as irrelevant, and by women as male supremacist, now has a black woman martyr. Is this a coincidence?

10. The Communist Party has been staging demonstrations in behalf of Angela Davis all over the country, and has carefully excluded the banners of groups which support Angela Davis but do not completely support the Communist Party. Communist Party members have beaten up members of Gay Liberation Front, in an effort to exclude "queers" from the picket lines, which the C.P. has been treating as their own private property. Communist Party officials have threatened to call the police to keep unwanted groups from "trespassing" on their private property -- picket lines for Angela Davis. After struggling to overcome oppression from the right, do we need it from the left?

11. After the Communist Party and the Socialist Worker's Party split, during the 1930's, the Socialist Workers derided the Communists because the Communist Party insisted that all its members dress conservatively and that homosexuals be excluded from the Party. Over the years, the Socialist Worker's Party has adopted the same policies as the Communist Party, clothed in a Trotskyist rhetoric instead of the straight Moscow line. Who owns the Socialist Worker's Party? They may run female candidates, but who chairs the board?

12. Isn't it time feminists got together and got themselves a political education which would include the history and methods of left-wing groups?

13. If the Communist Party is as heavily infiltrated by F.B.I. agents as is commonly believed, who is making policy for the C.P. -- Moscow or Washington? Hadn't an honest revolutionary better think twice before jumping on a Party-made bandwagon?

14. Throughout the 1930's, the Communist Party created scores of martyrs, set up committees to defend them, and collected fortunes for this purpose. Most of those martyrs -- blacks, chicanos and others -- died or rotted in jail. No accounting for the money was ever given. Is this whole episode just another fund-raising scheme for the party? Who the hell is running all the Committees to Defend Angela Davis?



gay may day gay may day!

I tried to write all of this before I forgot it. If there is any thing that I have left out it is because of that. I hope this account isn't from an entirely male point of view. Many more women took a very active part in May Day and Gay May Day. There was a strong, active Women's Liberation region and a separate Lesbian region - therefore few Gay Women stayed with the Gay May Day Tribe.

When I first got on the bus in Philadelphia to go to Washington (I was on a bus in Philadelphia because of a speaking thing at Swarthmore College - 15 minutes from Philadelphia - the afternoon before) I realized that I might be the only Gay person on that bus. For the first time in a long time I felt as isolated as most of "sisters and brothers" feel all of the time. But almost two years in Gay Liberation had protected me from this kind of isolation and I had been somewhat protected from the "straight movement". I really wasn't used to straight movement men. I wasn't used to all the straight games they play - like not looking at you unless you happen to be a woman they want to fuck ...

as seen
and felt
by
Perry Brass

like carrying on conversations with you in which you could be replaced by a box of cornflakes (so deep is their personal involvement with other people who happen to be of the same sex), like trying so hard not to register any show of surprise when I told some of them I was going to Washington not to be a part of the Philadelphia Region nor of the New York Region nor even of the New York University Region but of the ...what?... that's right... Gay May Day Tribe! That's right, folks. They were very good at not showing anything, but they didn't talk to me very much after that anyway. Which gave me some time to think about all of my Gay brothers and sisters who had made that long ride to Washington so many times during the last five years or so. About how they had been forced to remain silent for

so long. How they had been made to feel so tolerated, accepted and loved by their wonderful liberal straight brothers and sisters. So by the time I arrived in Washington, I had made a promise to myself that when there would ever be a choice again between relating to straight people or to my Gay sisters and brothers, there would be no choice again. Washington was brilliantly warm Saturday afternoon when I arrived. There were already about 50,000 'culture freaks' spread out over the meadow of West Potomac Park listening to the beginning of the all-day-all-night rock concert that was supposed to kick off this part of the revolution. I had to wade through this sea of beautiful, massive, long haired bodies, hoping to find somewhere my brothers and sisters from the Gay May Day Tribe. The closer I came to the

people around me, though, the more uptight I became. Underneath all that hair (and up close, all that hair started to get kind of short, after all) I saw the same faces I had gone to the University of Georgia with five years ago. I became almost panicky. Where was the Revolution? All I could see was this mob and smell hot dogs from all these hot dog carts and smell beer. Then some one with an arm band designating something asked me if I was lost. I said I was, and he told me where the Tribe was.

It was much further back towards where a camping ground of tents had been set up. It took me a while to find it in all of the tent areas from each region plus tents from Women's Liberation and Welfare Rights and different

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