



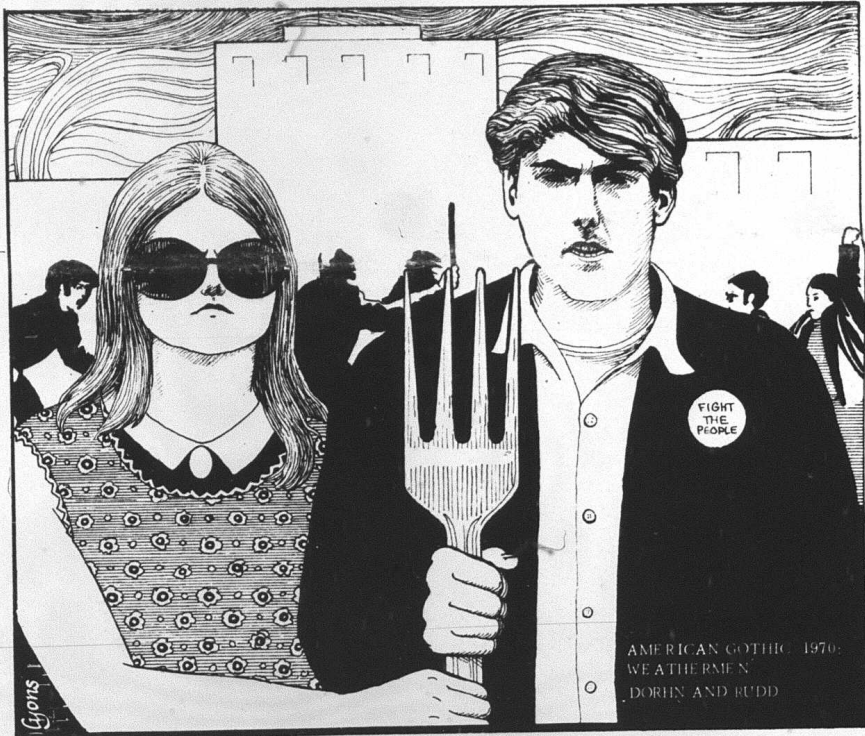
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# SDS: Desolation Row



**Crisis in the Subways  
Reign of Terror in UMW  
Czech Manifesto - Poland  
Women's Lib. at Berkley**

# ABM

Michael Kidron

The US decision to go for a potentially huge escalation in the arms race, via the deployment of Anti-Ballistic Missiles (ABM's) and their counter, Multiple Independently-targeted Re-entry Vehicles (MIRV's), can be seen as the most significant they have taken since the onset of the Cold War.

The decision was unveiled two years ago when Robert McNamara, then US Defence Secretary, announced plans to set up 'a relatively light and reliable Chinese-oriented ABM system.' But it is only in the last few months, with the Senate's hairbreadth vote for the Safeguard system, that it has been irretrievably confirmed.

The new weapons systems are vulnerable. The ABM's have to work to 'historically unprecedented maintenance, electronic reliability and computer programming standards. . . . Highly complicated computer programmes, sensitive radars and sensitive missiles filled with electronic equipment are supposed to be regularly shooting down hundreds of incoming missiles in an environment with radar-blinding fire-balls, electronics-disrupting blast and x-ray effects, and earth-shaking detonations.' And this, first time, without ever having been tested as a system.

They are vulnerable also because they become obsolete before they become operational: the Nike-Zeus system which could have been installed by 1963-64 was considered useless by 1962; the Nike-X system designed as its replacement to be ready by 1968, would have been obsolete by 1966; and later systems are threatened in the same way by unrelated advances in offensive weapons -- non-ballistic missiles, orbiting bombs, new radar-destroying devices, and such.

Finally, they are vulnerable because they can be so easily overwhelmed by counter-measures like MIRV's -- clusters of nuclear warheads attached to a single missile, each unit of which is programmed to zero in on its own target, and which can therefore multiply beyond exhaustion the need for ABM's -- or radar-confusing electronic measures, or simultaneous arrival, or two-stage attacks which draw the defence to peripheral battles, and so on.

The new weapons systems are also militarily destabilising. For some years US (and Russian) nuclear strategy has rested on the concept to inflict 'within a day and perhaps within an hour' more than 120 million immediate deaths, to which must be added deaths, by fire, fallout, disease and starvation, and to destroy 'more than 75 per cent of the productive capacity of each country . . . regardless of who strikes first'.<sup>4</sup> In the final analysis, the strategy rested on the existence of 'second-strike' weapons, like Polaris, which were considered invulnerable to attack and sufficiently potent after attack to deter it.

Now, by investing in ABM's (and other anti-submarine warfare) which might be thought to be effective against disjointed or sporadic nuclear attack and by simultaneously multiplying offensive power enormously -- via MIRV's -- so as to overwhelm the competing defence system and ensure that any response would be weak and sporadic, the Pentagon is shifting from a second-strike strategy to a first-strike, pre-emptive, one -- at least until such time as the two super-powers achieve a balance of terror once again.

There is no need to spell out the dangers of this shift. For years the Administration fought to retain the strategy of 'assured destruction' and the framework of a stable relationship with Russia. They hoped to underwrite them with an anti-proliferation treaty and even, perhaps, marginal concessions on disarmament. But the permanent arms economy has a logic of its own and that logic a willing instrument in the military-industrial complex.

At the prospect of a massive and continuing rise in military expenditure, anti-proliferation and disarmament were easily forgotten.

Potential waste and danger on such a colossal scale cannot remain unnoticed long. They have already shocked the American middle-class into something like the apprehensiveness that preceded CND here.

This year for the first time in our lifetime the Pentagon was forced by Congress to take a cut (of 3 billion dollars) in its budget, having already been shaved of 1.1 billion dollars by Nixon the year before.

The Defence Department had to fight unbelievably hard for Senate to approve -- by one vote -- its Safeguard ABM system for missile-site defence which is itself a retreat, under considerable and well-organised middle-class pressure, from the earlier Sentinel system for area, and city, defence. There's clearly more to come from this quarter. The shift in strategic thinking has already altered the whole course of the Vietnam War, and with it American policy in Southeast Asia. The Pentagon might be a new recruit to the flight of doves, but it's an ardent one. It knows that if it is to get its sophisticated systems from a disturbed Congress -- and it wants them installed by the mid-seventies -- it will have to disentangle itself from the battlefield fairly soon. The war has become the enemy. As The Economist reports of the cur-

rent Defence Secretary, 'Mr. Laird is determined that the cuts shall not be at the expense of the new weapons systems whose development has been delayed by the war in Vietnam.'<sup>6</sup>

But this is only the beginning. The US decision, slowly forming out of the dispersed part-decisions which make up military and political policy, is part of a US-Russian decision-complex that is bound to compound the strain of military preparedness for them both. It is bound to intensify class and regional conflict within their borders; and polarise even further world military and industrial power, with all that that means in revolt, repression and revolution.<sup>7</sup>

The ABM decision has the smell of doom about it. By careering round this new twist in the arms spiral, the US, with Russia in tow, has made a fateful, perhaps even fatal, jump. For in its ABM stage, the permanent arms economy is becoming an increasingly unstable system.

Reprinted from International Socialist, Oct/Nov 69

## LEGACY

Richard Lyons

As he sat in the control tower, a farmer turned on his plowing light, adjusted it to seven circles in the newly opened land. He had to get all the second section done before the administered shower descended, to measure, from the right (the old East), trailing close on the sun. He set the one-man laser with care to shrivel weeds and turn the unburned earth up into furrows to the tick, tick, quick, quick. Now and then a small stone flew upward like a dead bird he had heard about often from the old ones, how they'd filled once the air with flutters and shrill sounds. Then there lifted across his screen a shape like a human bone and then the rest of a skeleton thrown out by the thorough plowshare beam. It was odd. Well, that he had to go out to see, doubtless. He hadn't known these old Dakota fallows ever had been inhabited long enough to leave behind any evidence and now here he was going on out to look at the remnants of their dead. Well, there sure enough was nothing new under the sun, the sage young hick thought to himself; you never know what you'll find these days. Then he remembered there had been that rotting sunken silo they'd uncovered a short while ago up there like a hub in the middle of a big burned wheel of old ashes, a worn-out ring with a radius of a county or more, some ancient mess lost in the Burning Century, forgotten like these bones, a dead time.

Look at its shape, shriveled and fissured as though the bones were irrigated, a small size, curved in the spine, splintered and dusty. The creatures of this place, the natives, frail natives-- if that is what this sample was-- have left behind strange and useless shards as though weighed with sweet stinks and shrivel-nosing salves and powders apparently to fill their teeth with holes. He picked up a shin bone and broke it in his fists, lightly. It was filled inside with little cracks like hairlines in a mudflat after the sun has warmed its surface. He moved aside to let the laser pass and watched the sod rolling over in a line silently, curved and true, like a soft meringue of chocolate bubbling up in diced parallels and slide-rule true. There wasn't a sound in all the blue convexity above him, over the level landscape, but the grainy roll of dirt erupting in furrows.

There were myths of people. Were they true after all, those myths? He dropped the bone. It cracked into noise and pieces a moment. The skull glared up at him. He could not tell now if, as the myths said, it had been burr-headed or if it had been beet and meaty as they also seemed to say, had worshipped words of special makes and prayed to grain. He was disturbed, though, he was aware gradually, because the vibrations of sound the breaking bone created set rebounding echoes of strange pain from ear to inner ear. Pain was new. He turned back toward the tower, again dodging the laser, carrying two doubts like legacies from ancient men.

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# Strategy and Politics in the Anti-War Movement

Joel Jordon

**F**or the hundreds of thousands who marched against the war in Vietnam in October and November, the ideological conflicts within the organized anti-war movement are probably confusing and distasteful. As at least one Jewish mother has complained, "Why don't you behave yourselves and stop fighting each other!"

A fine sentiment perhaps, but it ignores the fact that differences do exist which affect not only the direction but the very survival of the anti-war movement. For instance, there are those, such as the liberal leadership of the National Moratorium Committee, for whom the movement is only a means of convincing the Nixon administration to end the war, or of electing "good" Democrats who they think will end it. Others feel that building a larger movement for basic social change is the best way to stop this war and prevent future wars.

Assuming that most IS readers are committed to this latter view, we shall consider only the anti-war strategy of those tendencies which claim to represent the movement's left wing (i.e., as opponents of capitalism and its wars), in particular the Communist Party (CP) and the "Trotskyists" of the Young Socialist Alliance/Socialist Workers Party (YSA/SWP).

It comes as no surprise to anti-war activists that the CP actually functions as the extreme right wing of the peace movement. Imitating the bureaucratic methods and conservative outlook of the Soviet ruling class, the CP seeks to keep the movement locked into established "respectable" channels through its support of liberal Democratic Party politicians. It has fought to prohibit radicals from speaking at anti-war demonstrations, such as the Nov. 15 Moratorium in San Francisco, to play down their political character. In San Francisco, the CP-dominated New Mobilization Committee pushed for turning Nov. 15 into a West coast edition of the Woodstock festival -- a peace-rock extravaganza with virtually no political content.

At the same time, the CP tries to cover its left flank with a multi-issue approach within the anti-war movement. Correctly assessing some of the limitations of the single-issue approach -- that is, that blacks, workers, Chicanos, etc. are reluctant to join what appears to them as a white-middle class movement concerned only with the war -- the CP has raised inside the movement other issues such as the repression against the Panthers, the GE strike, and the Delano grape strike and boycott.

It does this, however, in its characteristically reformist fashion; by orienting toward the more conservative leadership of these struggles rather than the rank-and-file. Moreover, it offers no strategy for tying these disparate struggles together into an effective social movement. Rather, its support reduces itself to tail-ending these movements, precisely in order to deflect and absorb them into the Democratic Party. With such "friends," radicals need not look for enemies.

## SWP-YSA-SMC

The main rival of the CP for organizational control of the National New Mobilization Committee (New Mobe) is the less well-known Socialist Workers Party and their youth section the Young Socialist Alliance, which dominate the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) and some community anti-war groups, such as the Bay Area Peace Action Council (Bay PAC).

With the collapse of SDS as a serious pole of attraction for left-moving students, the YSA has attempted to fill the vacuum on the campuses by posing as the leader of the left wing of the anti-war movement and the natural home for socialist students. The YSA has considerably more following than the already-discredited CP in most colleges and universities; its claim to defend the independence of the anti-war movement is more attractive to younger radicals who justifiably fear its cooptation.

In contrast to SDS, the YSA puts itself forward as a sane, responsible organization, willing to work with anyone committed to ending the war now and concerned with building an effective mass anti-war movement among the American people. For these reasons, a more extensive analysis of the YSA/SWP's anti-war strategy is called for.

The YSA/SWP line goes something like this: it calls for a "non-exclusionary" "united front" of all groups and individuals committed to the single position of

"Bring the Troops Home Now." Theoretically, at least, this means opposition to all demands which go beyond the single issue of immediate withdrawal, such as ending imperialism, supporting strikes, opposition to the two major parties, etc. Those who raise such demands are wreckers who would divide and therefore weaken the anti-war movement. Tactically, the YSA/SWP has concentrated almost exclusively on building legal mass actions against the war, that is, on organizing semi-annual peace marches.

This perspective doesn't seem all that militant. Yet the YSA/SWP claims that the SMC which it dominates is, in fact, the "left-wing" of the anti-war movement, even though it opposes raising more fundamental issues for adoption by the movement and opts for well-monitored and orderly marches rather than militant action. What then is their tactical and political basis for this claim?

## False Dichotomy

The YSA has made much hay out of the increasingly insane direction of SDS, in particular of the Weatherman faction. Article after article in the Militant and Young Socialist, their official organs, heaps scorn on the mindless militancy of the Weathermen, and counterposes to this the sane, mass action approach of the YSA. There would seem to be only two possible ways to approach the anti-war movement: 1) the ultra-leftist way, which consciously separates the militant "vanguard" (i.e., the Weathermen) from the rest of the movement, and 2) the YSA way, in which success is determined by the numbers of people at mass demonstrations. Thus, it would appear that radicals must choose the YSA methodology if they reject the Weatherman, and who wouldn't?

In this way, the YSA poses a false dichotomy. Militancy is subtly equated with the exemplary violent actions of a few. As the cover of the October issue of the Young Socialist put it: "Which Way for the Anti-war Movement? Mass action (over a picture of a peaceful mass march) or Karate (over a picture of the SDS liberation army practicing karate)." Only by posing the problem in this way does the YSA avoid the problem of confronting the possibility of building a movement which is both massive and militant.

Whenever a potentially disruptive demonstration or one not approved by the authorities has been proposed

within the anti-war movement, the YSA has opposed it on the familiar liberal grounds of "alienating" people. As an article on the anti-war movement in the Young Socialist explains, "...we should be aiming at those segments of the population who are least committed but may be willing to go into the streets and take that first step against the war in Vietnam." This idea does indeed underlie the methodology of the YSA/SWP: appeal to the least committed of those who are against the war and don't do anything to turn them off.

From our point of view, this perspective spells disaster for the anti-war movement, precisely because it leads to its cooptation by the liberal-pacifist elements the YSA presumably fears. Instead of attempting to move the mass movement in a leftward direction, which is the job of revolutionaries, the YSA brands as "sectarian" or "ultra-leftist" anyone who would raise either the level of militancy or politics for the mass movement.

The Weathermen have no orientation toward building a mass movement and consciously substitute themselves for it. The YSA, on the other hand, like the CP, substitutes itself for the liberals by taking organizational responsibility for an essentially liberal movement. Neither play the role of revolutionaries.

To propose peaceful marches or candlelight processions as the major activities of the anti-war movement is to freeze that movement into respect for constituted authority and to encourage passivity in the face of repression. While such demonstrations do indicate the breadth of opposition to the war, by themselves they can only demoralize the participants as the war drags on. It was the militancy of the anti-war movement, particularly among students, which helped spark the more general opposition to the war and contributed greatly to the upsurge of radicalism on the campuses today. It was not the semi-annual peace marches which accomplished this; indeed, it was the militancy of the anti-war movement which helped make such marches "respectable" in the first place, maybe not to Spiro Agnew, but to the vast bulk of the liberal public.

It is just this liberal-substitutionist role that impels the YSA/SWP towards its political as well as tactical conservatism. For all its claims to be the "left-wing" of the anti-war movement, the YSA/SWP's conception of the anti-war movement as a "united front" of all political persuasions committed only to immediate withdrawal can only lead to absorption of the movement into the Democratic Party. Rather than fostering the independence of the movement, the YSA, by denying the legitimacy of raising political questions which go beyond the war makes it much easier for politicians such as McCarthy, McGovern, etc., to coopt that sentiment.

As long as the anti-war movement does not focus on American imperialism as the root cause of the war, it will wind up supporting those politicians who write off the war as a "tragic mistake" in an otherwise sound foreign policy. Yet the YSA has consistently opposed any attempts to commit anti-war organizations to opposing American imperialism. Is this a "left wing"?

When YSAers complain that they educate the movement about imperialism through their speeches and literature, they miss the point. Unless issues are raised for adoption by the larger movement, they become mere abstractions.

## Mumbo-Jumbo

YSAers try to get around these objections by maintaining that building a movement committed only to immediate withdrawal is "objectively anti-imperialist" in that it strikes a blow at an imperialist war. This is just mumbo-jumbo, like arguing that all strikes are objectively anti-capitalist because they hurt capitalists. The point is that unless the masses of Americans come to understand the consistent character of American foreign policy, they will have to start from scratch when the next war breaks out.

In order to cover up for its conservatism on this and other issues, the YSA then tries to convince us that to hold the position of immediate withdrawal is "radical within the anti-war movement" in relation to all the politicians who hedge on the question. Thus, an article in the Militant (November 14) opposed to raising imperialism in the movement claims that "...one of the greatest dangers to the movement at this time is precisely the tremendous pressure which is being put on the movement by the same politicians who want to water down this demand."

While it is undoubtedly true that many politicians do



vacillate on the question of withdrawal, the Militant draws the wrong conclusions from this fact. Many politicians are for withdrawal now, and, more important, so is the overwhelming majority of the anti-war movement. Thus, while radicals must continue to maintain this position, it is no longer their distinctive contribution to the movement. The Militant makes a false counterposition between raising the slogans of immediate withdrawal and imperialism. The point is to connect them in such a way that it can make sense to masses' of anti-war Americans who are now open to such ideas.

Moreover, if YSA/SWP is so concerned about maintaining the independence of the anti-war movement from the two major parties, then it should have agitated for that within the anti-war movement. Instead, it has consistently opposed resolutions introduced by IS and others to oppose both parties. In this way, it functions in a bloc with the CP, except for its own reasons and in its own way.

### Abstention

The CP openly fights for subordination of the anti-war movement to "peace Democrats". The SWP/YSA opposes that, of course, but refuses to urge the anti-war movement as a whole toward independent political action, concentrating instead solely on its own sectarian campaigns. In effect abstaining on the question of political action, the policy of the YSA/SWP presents no alternative to that of the CP. The result is the same: the mass of the anti-war movement is diverted into supporting Democratic Party doves.

Sometimes their fetishism of the single-issue approach becomes grotesque. A few years back, the YSA alone opposed racism as another demand for the anti-war movement because it would "divide" the movement, that is, because it would keep racists from marching against the war.

In the same way, the YSA has opposed linking up the anti-war movement with workers struggles like the GE strike. When the IS pushed support for the GE strike as a twin focus for the Nov. 14 strike at U.C. Berkeley, YSAers were the only ones opposed. Presumably they didn't want to alienate the capitalists in the anti-war movement.

Again, within the Bay Area Peace Action Council, when the IS proposed actions against the war industries for December, it was SWPers who spoke against it (when it became clear that they were the only opposition, they abstained on the vote). In New York, the SMC has been compelled to support the GE strike, but only because it is "objectively" an anti-war action. For a group supposedly committed to building a revolution led by the working class, this is disgraceful.

What they fail to come to terms with is the fact that there are many different struggles going on in America: the struggles of blacks, of Chicanos, of workers, of women, as well as the struggle against the war. If any one of them hope to be successful, much less all of them, they must begin to merge into a united movement for social change led by the working class. The single-issue "united front" only perpetuates the fragmentation of these movements rather than their integration.

At present, the anti-war movement is predominantly middle class in composition, drawn together principally by moral indignation. Unless the anti-war movement speaks to the needs of workers, blacks, Chicanos, etc., that middle class predominance will persist, and the movement go the way of most middle class movements: into apathy and the Democratic Party.

### Mechanical

The YSA wants to build meaningful mass actions, but it has a mechanical conception of how that is to be done. The November 15 demonstrations rather than revealing a diverse base, proved just the opposite. The overwhelming majority of the participants were students and professionals. By not raising demands which relate the war to other struggles, and which show that they are against the same enemy, the YSA/SWP caters to the most backward sections of the American population, not to the most advanced.

The only hope of building a revolutionary movement in America depends precisely on the ability of those who are now actively engaged in struggle, and these amount to millions, to unite into a general movement of opposition which serves as a pole of attraction for those who are not actively engaged in struggle, and which puts forward a political program which speaks to the concerns of the overwhelming majority of Americans.

To link up the anti-war movement with the working class and with black people and other oppressed minorities would hardly be to weaken it. On the contrary, that is the only road to success.

The CP seeks to link up diverse movements only to dissolve them all into the Democratic Party. The YSA/SWP try to fight the CP by sticking their heads in the sand, thereby making the CP's job that much easier.

It is no longer 1966. Unless radicals fight to break the anti-war movement from its liberal illusions about the nature of this society, unless they struggle to direct the anti-war movement toward the working class, the anti-war movement cannot survive as the independent movement which the YSA/SWP claims to defend. We must either go forward or backward. There is no other way.

## For a Working Class Anti-war Movement

The anti-war movement, which originally grew out of moral outrage against the war in Vietnam, now faces a critical turning point. Months after hundreds of thousands of people were mobilized to march in protest (the largest mass-mobilization of its kind), the war still continues. At the same time, sentiment against it also continues to grow.

Many people who only a few years ago equated "peacenik" with "anti-American" are now openly opposed to the war themselves -- realizing that the war, in its objective effect on the economy and in its tremendous cost in lives, is hurting their own interests. There are still more people, particularly in the working class, who, while still not openly opposed to the war itself, are being driven into struggle against the attack on their living standards which has been greatly sharpened by the war.

It is precisely at this point that the anti-war movement faces its greatest challenge. Despite the spread of popular discontent with the war, the anti-war movement remains isolated, and thus open to both repression and absorption into the Democratic Party. The task before it is to mobilize the unrest so clearly widespread among broader sections of the population into an effective, independent fighting force.

The leadership of the Student Mobilization Committee, which has called a mid-February conference in Cleveland to discuss strategy for the spring, seems unwilling to go beyond the conception of a single-issue movement. True, the SMC has directed some attention to new slogans. Notably, it has under pressure accepted the slogan of support for the GE strikers; but it conceives of this merely as rhetoric to be tacked on quietly to the anti-war demands, thus failing to integrate the two struggles. These new slogans do not, in fact, indicate a substantive departure from the single-issue approach.

The New Mobe, on the other hand, has come up with a "multi-issue" program, deciding on a series of actions to connect the war abroad with oppression at home. Its spring offensive intends to focus on such things as political repression (especially the Black Panthers and the Chicago Conspiracy 8), war profits and inequitable taxation, the GI rights movement, etc. Although it is a step in the right direction to try to push the anti-war movement in broader directions, the New Mobe is doing it in such a fashion that they become isolated single-issue protests. It has worked in a non-programmatic way, so that the direction in which they wish the movement to go is not made clear.

A single-issue movement can only appeal to middle class people who, as a group, cannot act independently around a cohesive program. The middle class is fragmented and lacks a relationship to the war machinery that can end the war. They have only two alternatives to get results: rely on liberal politicians, or try to unite with the working class towards a truly independent movement.

An orientation towards liberal politicians has always proven to be a dead end in the past. We maintain that it can only be a dead end. The "Peace Democrats" and other liberal politicians and bureaucrats may well be anxious for an end to this war which has cost them so much in domestic turmoil and instability. And they are also no doubt inclined whenever feasible to channel the energy of anti-war sentiment into the engines of their own careers.

But their fundamental commitment is still to capitalism, the social system that is responsible for the war. Their differences with conservatives are matters of tactics, not of goals. They will accommodate themselves to popular discontent with the war only so long as it does not generalize into discontent with the imperialist policy of which the war is only a logical result. They will seek to capitalize on popular unrest only so long as it does not go beyond the framework of the Democratic Party. They support the movement only to contain it. As soon as

Nixon gave his speech about being cautious not to topple the system, once active and very vocal liberal doves like Fulbright began to draw back from public exposure which would feed anti-war sentiment.

We believe that the only effective alternative for the anti-war movement is a consciously-de-

veloped program and political appeal aimed at the working class.

It is important to recognize that for precisely the same reason that the movement has grown numerically, the war has also created the objective conditions that are setting the working class into motion. Anti-war sentiment has grown, particularly among working class people, primarily because the continuation of the war has been identified with inflation, higher taxes, and a general deterioration of the standard of living.

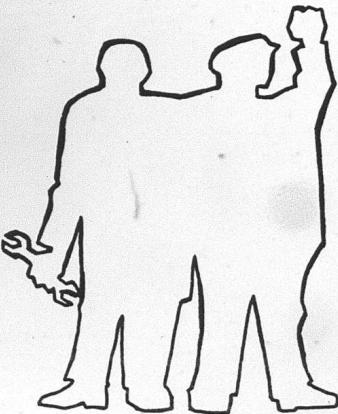
This sentiment, however, is qualitatively different from the moral outrage on which the anti-war movement was originally based. As long as the war continues, workers will continue to feel and struggle against its effects. These struggles will not necessarily take on an anti-war character. But it is clear that working people, because of their central position in the economy, are the only independent force ultimately capable of stopping the war.

The struggles and organizations of workers as they presently exist (even those that spring up around wildcat strikes, etc.) are geared for confrontations limited to the industrial context. They have not yet taken on the dimension of political response to society-wide issues. It is incumbent upon the anti-war movement, if it is to contribute to this transformation, to put forward an explanation of the continuing deterioration of the quality of American life, demonstrating why a struggle for higher wages, etc., must become, among other things, a struggle for immediate withdrawal.

To do this, the anti-war movement must begin to campaign against the war machine as a whole, not simply for the removal of the 400,000 troops in Vietnam or expulsion of war research from the campus. We must demand that the entire 80 billion dollar-arms budget, and the industrial resources it wastes, be converted to production for human needs, not inflationary profits.

With these and other concrete demands, it is imperative that we begin now to expose the class character of the war. The establishment politicians, recognizing that the working people are beginning to fight for wage gains to offset high taxes and inflation, will tell strikers that their taxes are going to welfare, poverty programs, and that many jobs depend on a continued arms industry -- that the enemies of the workers are blacks and the anti-war movement. The slogan of immediate withdrawal by itself does not answer any of these charges.

It is only by putting forward a whole program of pro-working class demands that we can really begin to link the massive strike wave now breaking out with the struggle for immediate withdrawal. To fail to do so would mean the disintegration of the anti-war movement into the Democratic Party, thus losing any independent character it might have. But to link these movements might mean the creation of a truly independent movement of workers and anti-war people that can put an end to not only the Vietnam War, but also the policy that created it.



# The SDS's: Desolation Row

Jack Gerson

It is now more than six months since SDS died of internal hemorrhaging in Chicago. The remains of SDS which still exist continue to split off from one another and from reality, to the point, where even the ever cautious Guardian has declared that "SDS has ceased to exist." (Jan.17)

But the Guardian, like many ex-SDSers alienated from RYM and WSA, fails to adequately explain the collapse of the national organizational expression of the student left.

SDS died because it, like the student and anti-war movements as a whole, was isolated from the working-class. As SDSers came to the conclusion that they would have to break from the system, they inevitably had to move away from support of left-wing Democrats, federally-aided poverty programs, and other "progressive" programs tied to capitalism. But if reform through the system is not a viable approach, a social force capable of transforming society in a revolutionary manner must be sought.

SDS's search lasted four years and took it through the poor, the blacks, youth, the "new working class," and other vehicles, all of which proved insufficient. Then, about a year ago, all factions of SDS claimed to have adopted some kind of working-class orientation.

But, in fact, none of the SDS tendencies (Weatherman, RYM II, and PL-WSA) base their perspectives on the independent struggle of the working class.

Weatherman has totally given up on the working class; the others have clung to the rhetoric. But the failure to formulate theory and programs capable of linking the anti-war and student movements to workers left SDS separated from the only force capable of implementing its revolutionary slogans. So resolution followed resolution, the revolutionary rhetoric spiraled higher and higher, until the "castles built of matchsticks tumbled into one another" and crumbled.

## RU: The Miracle Workers

Late last winter, a new saviour appeared on the crisis-ridden left scene, one with a scheme for building movement unity. The Bay Area Revolutionary Union, in its publication, the Red Papers, forthrightly placed the blame for the fragmentation of the left on "A whole host of Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist organizations, differing and splintering from each other on almost a daily basis, [who] share a political line and organizational style that sabotages mass struggle."

To meet this threat, the RU had a ready-made solution. Through the miracle of new, improved Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (RU variety) the movement would be cured of sectarianism.

Three months later, our heroes took the first step towards uniting the left by leading the ramp caucus that expelled Progressive Labor and the Worker-Student Alliance from SDS. After two months of resting on their laurels, the RU spotted another opportunity to unite the movement, and so RYM-II, the SDS faction in which they were a leading force, split from Weatherman.

After such a splendid job of uniting the left, the RU realized that it needed internal unity, and so turned inward. Immediately, these magicians succeeded in uniting their organization by provoking a split around a truly profound matter: the Black Nation in the South, noted organizing tool of another "Marxist-Leninist" organization, the C.P. USA of the late twenties and early thirties.

Once more free to build movement unity, the RU attended the RYM-II convention in Atlanta on Thanksgiving weekend, just in time to form one faction in a three-way split over whether RYM-II should be a mass organization, a cadre organization, a revolutionary organization, or various combinations and permutations of these categories. For their splendid role, the RU was given no representatives on the RYM-II steering committee.

When last heard from, RU leader Bob Avakian was in Flint, Michigan, attending the SDS National War Council, called by Weatherman. Rumor had it that Avakian was about to pull off the biggest unity success of them all -- and with JJ around, who would deny it?

## Weatherman: Fight the People

In the Sept. 12 issue of New Left Notes, Weatherman leader and SDS Educational Secretary Bill Ayres, in "A Strategy to Win", said:  
"...if it is a world-wide struggle, if Weatherman is

correct in that basis thing, that the basic struggle in the world today is the struggle of the oppressed people against U.S. imperialism, then it is the case that nothing we could do in the mother country would be adventurist. Nothing we could do because there is a war going on already, and the terms of that war are set."

Later, in the same article, Ayres elaborates:  
"But the more I thought about that thing, 'fight the people,' it's not that it's a great mass slogan or anything, but there's something to it."

These two statements neatly summarize Weatherman's theory and practice. To the Weatherman, the international revolution is now raging -- it is a racial struggle, the non-whites being identified as the oppressed and the whites as the oppressors. And the Weathermen place no faith in building an indigenous movement among white Americans. Hence, their conclusion is to wreak as much havoc as possible, to create chaos, to, in Ayres' words, fight the people.

It is not necessary to speculate on the logical extension of this insanity; the Weathermen have already gone that far and then some. For example, at the SDS National War Council, called by Weatherman and held in Flint, Michigan Dec. 27-30, John Jacobs (JJ) declared, "We're against everything that's good and decent."

Bernardine Dohrn spoke at length about Weatherman's new idols: Charles Manson and his followers, the alleged murderers of Sharon Tate and eight others. Weatherman calls the Manson group the "Tate Eight". Bernardine speaks in glowing terms

"Dig it, first they killed those pigs, then they ate dinner in the same room with them, then they even shoved a fork into a victim's stomach; Wild!"

And so Weatherman has taken itself out of the movement. Their hallmark is violence for the sake of violence, and their anti-imperialist rhetoric looks more and more like a front.

The violence, the hatred of workers, the chaos for the sake of chaos, the conscious orientation to "lumpen" elements, these characteristics are all very reminiscent of another movement in another era: Mussolini's Brownshirts and Hitler's Fascists, especially Gregor Strasser's "left" anti-capitalist grouping within Hitler's gang.

These movements, too, arose out of the rage and frustration of oppressed lower middle class groups at the failings of capitalism. Today, the same rage, frustration, and powerlessness can be utilized by the capitalists once again, even in an "anti-capitalist" garb.

Should capitalism enter into a state of real crisis, it will be forced to launch a severe austerity program, thereby bringing itself into direct conflict with the working class. The bourgeoisie, faced with this threat, must find a mass movement to place between itself and the workers. The only source for such a movement lies among beaten-down lumpen and terrified petty bourgeois elements. The bourgeoisie, playing upon the aspirations of people themselves incapable of retaining power, can assume control of a fascist movement and direct it against the working class.

This was the schema in Italy and Germany, where the fascist movements originally had anti-capitalist overtones. Weatherman clearly is capable of walking the same route.

So when it is suggested to Ted Gold of the Weather Bureau that his panorama of the revolution implies fascism in this country before a socialist revolution, he replies: "Well, if it would take fascism, we'll have to have fascism."

Yeah, Ted; but which side will you be on?

## PL-WSA: The Wooden Soldiers

Since being "expelled" from SDS, the Worker-Student Alliance Caucus and its Progressive Labor Party leadership have tried to maintain that nothing has changed -- that SDS is still a national organization with WSA still a caucus within it. But SDS is dead, and PLers are too rigid to put anyone on for long.

PL held New York City Regional conferences regularly in September. The first attracted about 500, the early October's regional, only 100 showed up, including

half a dozen International Socialists and about twenty members of the Labor Committee.

Discussion centered on open admissions. The IS and the Labor Committee supported a resolution calling for universal free higher education with stipends for those who need them, daycare centers for students and employees with children, an end to tracking on all levels, time off with pay for workers to take courses, relevant education (black studies, women's studies, labor studies, sex education), and expanded construction of schools on all levels. It was specified that the entire program be paid for by corporations, banks, and real estate speculators.

We considered this program to be typical of an approach. The war and the war economy have caused the current inflation. This inflation has resulted in declining real wages of workers. Nixon's attempt to impose an austerity program on workers to fight the inflation is running up against the GE strike and the rest of the new wave of labor militancy. Arms spending and inflation has at the same time decreased funds available for social services, creating crises in transit, housing, medical care, and education.

Our general program in the light of this must be to demand an end to the war and the war economy, to end the inflation; jobs for all; production for social need, not waste; tax banks and corporations. These demands must be raised in an attempt to link the anti-war movement and the wave of workers' struggles.

The only way for the anti-war movement to end imperialism, and for the workers to combat the austerity program is with a worker-led movement to end the war and the war economy. The anti-war movement as a whole should be directing this analysis toward workers, and pressing them to raise these and the other suggested demands to their union leaders. In this way, the class collaborationist role of union bureaucrats can be exposed.

The relevance of inflation and the war to the open admissions program is that the squeeze on funds available for social services has caused a general funding crisis in education. The open admissions program calls for those who profit from the war and the inflation -- the corporations, banks, and real estate speculators -- to foot the bill. This links up with the general program of ending the arms economy, and we explicitly stated that open admissions is a part of this more general approach.

Open admissions serves as a campus link to the working class; we point out that the war economy must be ended before meaningful programs in education, transit, and the other social services can be funded, and that the war economy can only be ended by a movement led by workers. This analysis is being better received now that the Moratorium has failed to end the war; moreover, the crazy antics of RYM SDS serve to reinforce the understanding that a movement isolated from the working class cannot effect real social change.

PL-WSA's response to the open admissions program was to oppose it on two grounds: 1) It fosters illusions in the working class that capitalism can bring about meaningful change; 2) Education bourgeoisifies the working class.

The first point reflects PL's desire to define who, where, and on what grounds struggle will occur. It is true that capitalism may be able to grant open admissions; but it certainly can't dump the war economy, the larger context of the struggle.

In any event, programs like the one around open admissions will not be won without a struggle below. In New York City, for example, the promised Open Admissions program is mired in a funding quagmire, for which the Board of Higher Education has no solution. Our proposal for taxing the corporations and banks is the only solution short of soaking the workers again. But this added corporate taxation will only be achieved after a great struggle, if at all. In the course of the struggle, consciousness can and must be injected.

Any demand short of a demand for socialism now can be attacked on the grounds of fostering illusions, of being cooptable over a long term. PL cannot understand the nature of a transitional demand, of the fact that people's consciousness can be raised in the course of a struggle, whether or not they achieve the concrete goal that first impelled them into motion.

PL's second point is sheer rubbish. The current educational system stratifies the working class, more or less reproducing the stratification of the previous generation of workers. When workers struggle against the class domination of the educational system, we must support that struggle and extend it to a struggle against class domination by the capitalists of society in general.

When the vote on the open admissions resolutions was taken, we defeated PL-WSA by about five votes. On a political basis this was not surprising, since their arguments had been totally discredited. What made the vote significant was that this was the first time since the SDS split that PL-WSA had lost a vote of any importance. Realizing that they were facing a crisis, the WSA simply stopped calling regional meetings in New York. This is a more or less typical example of how PL runs its "broad-based student organization."

Later on at the regional, PL introduced its campus program -- the Campus Worker Student Alliance (CWSA). The WSA admitted that last year the worker part of the alliance had been pretty weak, so now they were intent on remedying that by seeking out the workers nearest to them -- campus workers, especially cafe-

neria workers.

Some character from Stony Brook got up and announced that at his school they were leafletting students to clean off the cafeteria tables after they finished eating. You may not believe it, but that comment was not atypical.

The CWSA is a truly strange phenomenon. Looking through the Nov. 15 New Left Notes (Boston edition), we find that the demand at Berkeley is \$2.75/hr., the demand at Northeastern is \$2.50/hr., the demand at Rhode Island is that workers not be forced to wear name tags, and that workers be provided with gloves to prevent them from being burned in the cafeteria.

These demands are characteristic of a campaign blending strong strains of economism and moralism. Their approach is moralistic because, instead of providing an analysis of society and the university (which could yield transitional demands to link the student and working class movements such as open admissions), PL preaches to students that they should support workers because their hands get burned. Rather than pointing to the power of the working class, PL plays on sympathy.

The demands are economist because PL tells students to only relate to campus workers, thereby abstracting the struggle of campus workers from the general struggle of the working class. Further, PL even atomizes campus workers into discrete campus bundles, and makes different wage and working condition demands for different campuses. This turns the attention of workers away from their fellow workers in different schools and factories, and serves to divide the working class.

Where will WSA go? Their seriousness has managed to attract many good kids. But the constant blunting and dulling of political discussion, the total rigidity, turns WSAers into virtual political automatons. Many would probably break from PL if confronted with a coherent, rational alternative. PL realizes this, and, as we saw above, does its best to prevent this from occurring.

The WSA is still strong in New England, but is scattered everywhere else. Their Christmas NC, originally scheduled for the Mid-West, was transferred to New Haven, Connecticut. About 500 attended. Open admissions was defeated by 400-3, but neither IS nor the Labor Committee was there to push it.

WSA will probably erode slowly in New England, as students eventually become disillusioned with authoritarianism, anti-intellectualism, and no visible programmatic results. Another sudden change in the PL line, such as last year's zig-zag on nationalism and black studies, will probably lead to significant defection.

In any event, PL-WSA seems destined to stagnate, isolated both from the campus and from a class analysis of American society.

## RYM2 and the Workers

Just over a year ago, a curious, poorly-reasoned document by then-SDS national secretary Mike Klonsky appeared, entitled "Revolutionary Youth Movement". (RYM) It argued that the primary contradiction in the world is between U.S. imperialism and the Third World, rather than the traditional Marxist view that it is between wage-labor and capital.

Two factions subsequently emerged in RYM. Weatherman, the renowned band of adventurists who openly proclaim the reactionary nature of the American working class; and RYM-II, which claims to have a working class orientation. By playing on the lunacy of Weatherman, RYM-II has managed to pose as the calm rational revolutionaries with the true class perspective. In this manner, they have attracted many SDSers disgusted with PL's rigidity and Weatherman's insanity.

At its Thanksgiving national meeting in Atlanta, three factions emerged in RYM-II. Basically, the disagreement was over whether RYM-II should be a mass revolutionary organization, a mass anti-imperialist organization, or a cadre organization. In addition, the Bay Area Revolutionary Union, one of the factions, wanted to stop using the term "white skin privilege".

The white skin privilege approach argues that white workers, being better paid and more fully employed than non-white workers in this country, are being bribed by imperialist profits, and that the way to unite the working class is for white workers to renounce these privileges, support the demands of blacks in this country, and support the Third World Revolution.

The RU now wants to drop the slogan (which the RU itself originated), but continues to proclaim that the basis for organizing white workers should be calling for support of the black liberation struggle. Hence, the RU is in fact merely making a stylistic change. It is the slogan's content which we must analyze.

In general, RYM-II, in seeing the primary contradiction as being between the U.S. and the Third World, seeks first to win workers to support the struggles of Third World movements. Hence, it starts with the perspective of the Third World, not with a working class perspective. And so RYM-II goes to the workers telling them to give up privileges and to support somebody else's struggle as a pre-condition to struggling themselves.

Workers won't be convinced by moralistic abstractions about the need to fight imperialism and combat racism; these slogans will only become real when injected in the course of workers' struggles. White workers, for example, should support preferential demands of black workers. But they won't do this if it means

their jobs. The key is to urge white workers to fight around demands such as more jobs, for all, to insure that white workers don't get laid off when more blacks are hired.

The same analysis holds for convincing workers of the need to fight imperialism and demand immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. Many workers are convinced that if the war were to end soon, there would be a severe economic crisis and massive unemployment in this country. They won't oppose the war in large numbers until the left can provide an alternative. We can, but RYM-II never has.

If we have any hopes of winning workers to the anti-war movement, we must explain that the war and the war economy are responsible for the current inflation, and the inflation has caused a decline in real wages.

Again, the issues that we should be raising are an end to the inflation by ending the war and the war economy; conversion of the system to provide jobs for all and production for social need instead of for death and waste; to carry out the conversion, we advance a program of eliminating war profits by taxing the corporations and banks. And we should be urging the formation of a party of working people independent of the capitalist parties, as the best vehicle for forwarding these demands outside the shop floor.

RYM II says nothing about this, but this is the perspective that follows when we begin with an analysis of the working class in present social and economic conditions. Carl Davidson and Bob Kirkman of New York RYM II argue against calling for jobs for all on the grounds that it "detracts from the fight against white skin privilege". This clarifies their position. They're reformists.

Revolutionary socialists don't begin by accepting the status quo and then reappportioning it. We realize that we must go beyond the bounds of the current economic system; hence, we put forward simultaneously preferential hiring for blacks and jobs for all. Linking these two demands, we are fighting for a reapportionment of the pie, but of a new and larger pie, so that everyone gets a larger slice.

Developments since the SDS Convention bring into question whether there is anything more than rhetoric behind RYM-II's "working class" approach. The discussion above on white-skin privilege shows that RYM II begins with the perspective of the Third World, not of the international proletariat, which leads to the pre-conditions they impose (of support for the NLF, the Panthers, and a host of other groups) before white workers can make demands of their own.

This static approach was illustrated again last month at a RYM regional in New York, when the IS presented a resolution on the GE strike calling on RYM to attempt to link the anti-war movement to the strike, based on the analysis of the effect of the war economy and inflation on workers presented above. Weatherman, of course, opposed the resolution because it talked about workers. Mad Dog, a bunch of relatively sane ex-Weathermen (relative to Weatherman; objectively, the Mad Dogs are totally insane) opposed it because it talked about imperialist workers.

RYM II, though, claimed to critically support it because, after all, it talked about workers and they have a working class analysis. Unfortunately, in giving critical support they spoke and voted against the resolution on the white-skin privilege grounds.

What makes one even more dubious about RYM II's "working class approach" is their failure to understand how relationship to production affects consciousness. Bruce Franklin, RYM II and Bay Area RU leader, writes: "...Why is a knife grinder or a tinker or a porter or a beggar or a discharged soldier or even a discharged jailbird a member of some other class, the lumpenproletariat, sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat? It cannot be just a question of values, because to the true proletarian 'law, morality, religion' are just 'bourgeois prejudices'. And it cannot be a question of personal relation to the means of production, because in that case any worker who becomes unemployed would automatically become a member of the lumpenproletariat and the industrial reserve army would be a lumpen-army." ("Lumpenproletariat and Revolutionary Youth," Monthly Review, Jan. 1970, pp. 13-14)

Very glib. What Bruce either does not understand, never learned, or chooses to forget is that socialists do not orient to the working class because of their intelligence or lack of it; nor because of their social grades or lack of them; nor because of their theoretical understanding or lack of it.

We orient to the working class because it is the only class capable of restructuring society to be run by and in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population. They can do this because of their social weight, because of their position in society, because of their relationship to production. And it is in the struggles that develop around this relationship, between workers and their exploiters, that consciousness of the working class as a class for itself develops.

So when a worker becomes unemployed, his relation to production changes immediately, but his consciousness does not. Of course, the longer he remains unemployed, the longer he is isolated from his fellow workers, the greater the change in his consciousness and hence in his class position. When the working class movement is strong, sectors of the unemployed and the industrial reserve army will orient toward this movement. But when that movement is divided, these groupings can orient away from and even into direct opposition to workers.

In Germany, of the early thirties, for example, large numbers of unemployed workers swelled the fascist movement and helped it to successfully attack the institutions of the workers.

Later, Bruce writes:

"In the United States, unemployed white youth are a fertile breeding place for the worst forms of racism, national chauvinism and the cult of the super-male. This is particularly true in the South, in the urban areas into which the dispossessed rural whites have been driven, and in European-ethnic neighborhoods.

"And among these people there is no clear dividing line between lumpenproletariat and white working class. The Young Patriots and the Young Partisans have shown that these people are capable of becoming not only revolutionaries, but revolutionary leaders. And the only way for them to do this, as both groups have shown, is by organizing around the principle of serving the most oppressed and exploited people in American society." (Ibid., p. 25)

Again, there is no understanding of class. There may be no clear dividing line between the workers and the lumpen in the pool hall or at the drive-in; but that's precisely what makes it impossible to organize at these places.

The dividing line becomes a lot clearer when we look at it from the point of view of production; young workers are inextricably drawn into the union and into some level of understanding of their exploitation. By allying with their fellow workers in the shop and the plant, they are a real social force. Allying with their lumpen friends in the pool hall, they're a gang, at the mercy of the cops.

The Patriots have shown that some lumpen elements can be reached; however, their effect has been neither massive nor sustained over a long period. If they can link up with a movement of workers, a group which can demonstrate its strength, they may have some success. Otherwise, they're destined to fragment, like every other movement of this type.

As far as "organizing around the principle of serving the most oppressed and exploited people in American society", that's wrong and it reveals the false nature of RYM II's "working class approach". The American working class is not the most oppressed group in this country. "Lumpen elements" without a doubt are far worse off. The same was true in Marx's time. But nevertheless, the analysis presented earlier that the working class is the only force capable of leading the struggle for power against the bourgeoisie and structuring a socialist society holds true.

The confusion between lumpen and workers is again illustrated by Bruce when he speaks of the need to spread the revolutionary youth movement to young white working people. He outlines three areas of work: in the army, among street gangs, and in the high schools. These are seen as the three most vital areas of organizing for the revolutionary youth movement, which Bruce earlier refers to as the principal organizing concept in the mother country (that means white America).

But then what sense is there in referring to RYM II's approach as working class? There are kids from working class backgrounds in the army and in high schools, and they are important places at which to organize. But there are workers in neither. A working class movement can only be built among workers. Movements in the army, in high schools and community colleges, etc., can only have a working-class character when they are part of a movement led by workers.

Franklin's inability to distinguish lumpen from worker may be more than accidental. On p. 18 of the article, he writes: "There is only one group that not only shares the degradation of the world's revolutionary masses, but is sufficiently concentrated to attack imperialism at home -- the urban lumpenproletariat." (Ibid., p. 18)

As we have seen, Franklin begins with the perspective of the Third World. Therefore, it is natural that he looks for groupings in this country corresponding in a material sense to Third World people. These forces are as incapable of structuring a socialist society in this country as they are in the Third World. Without workers' leadership, a minority bureaucratic leadership always has and always will be able to control a movement and ultimately a regime from the top down.

In this country however, unlike the Third World, capitalism is strong enough to buy off or otherwise co-opt any movement not led by workers themselves. It is a question of two forces -- the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The proletariat can stop society at the point of production, as the French workers demonstrated in 1968. The lumpen and middle classes, having no means of affecting the functioning of society, must ultimately orient to either the working class or the capitalists. It is important to win these strata -- but it must be done on a class basis, based on the leadership of the proletariat.

The program which RYM II is following nationally is consistent with Franklin's theoretical mouthings. Rhetorically, they're for the workers. In practice, they oppose almost every working class action on the basis of the white skin privilege line.

They direct most of their propaganda to lumpen elements and declassé youths. They confuse street gangs with young workers. But primarily, they begin with the perspective simply of support for the Third World rather than building a movement based on the working class. From that, as we have seen, everything else follows.

# Workers' Power



## Reign of Terror in the UMW

Bill Gerchow

**J**oseph Yablonski and his wife and daughter were shot to death in their home on New Year's Eve. Like everyone known to be openly critical of the UMW hierarchy and its double dealings, Yablonski was well aware that his life and the lives of his family and friends were in danger.

Elijah Wolford, who dropped out of the UMW race after Yablonski entered with greater support, had rifles and shotguns throughout his home in Morgantown, W. Va. When asked about this he said, "I like to hunt. But I also like to live." Yablonski had a double-barreled .12-gauge shotgun and a .22 rifle in one corner of his bedroom, to be used for defense if attacked. But his killers crept into the house and caught the Yablonski family by surprise. The telephone wires had been cut; all three were shot repeatedly in the head.

The same slick, professional technique had been used on July 2, when Yablonski was assaulted and knocked unconscious while on a campaign tour in Springfield, Illinois, his vice-presidential running mate was similarly assaulted in Shenandoah, Pa. After Yablonski's murdered body was found, his son Joseph Jr. exclaimed to newsmen, "You guys just didn't believe how rotten this union was."

Those familiar with the scene were quite aware of the problem. Tony Boyle and his gang in the UMW hierarchy are not only corrupt and dictatorial, they are capable of the most vicious, brutal repression. Elijah Wolford has likened the UMW to a totalitarian state. Of course, Tony Boyle himself, like all "honorable men," has an alibi. And Hoover's FBI will be reluctant to open a can of worms that threatens to expose the rotten complicity of UMW, big business, and government since 1950 in fleeing the working people of Appalachia for super profits.

Tony Boyle reportedly "won" another five-year term by beating Yablonski by a vote of 81,056 to 45,872. But like Boyle himself, the election showed signs of corruption. Though it appears that Yablonski lost, it took retired miners and perhaps dead miners (in dummy locals) to defeat him. Boyle raised pensions from \$115 to \$150 a month (obviously insufficient except as a bribe) six months before the UMW election. Moreover, Yablonski discovered that Boyle had 50,000 extra ballots printed up before the election.

The official UMW newspaper, though directed by court order to give equal or adequate space to Yablonski, was almost entirely filled from start to finish with laudatory reviews of Boyle's leadership. Boyle also had the overflowing union coffers to swipe from (the size and management of this fund is a known scandal in itself) to fund his campaign, while Yablonski's campaign was run on a shoestring.

What is significant is the amount of active rank-and-file support that Yablonski received. He got at least half of the working miners' vote, and he carried entire sections around northern West Virginia. Quite obviously, he mustered enough support prior to the election to shake up Tony Boyle and his union gang, and to cast permanent doubt upon the integrity of that leadership.

Yablonski's campaign focused on Boyle's corruption. Many of us feel that this approach was by no means sufficient. There was too much personality-baiting and too little politics, even by the standards of the usual union campaign. This was particularly obvious in relation to the "black lung" issue, which spurred on 42,000 miners to the biggest wildcat strike in this country in

almost twenty years. For it was this -- crying out for political analysis and action -- which gave Yablonski and other courageous critics of the union the chance to speak out against the union dictatorship with some mass support behind them.

Elijah Wolford, the major opposition candidate before Yablonski entered the race, had given the impression he might run a more political campaign, one bent upon organizing rank-and-file strength. But Yablonski seemed to have more funds, more support, and more appeal; he largely incorporated Wolford's program and soon gained Wolford's support.



Wolford might have seen the election as a vehicle for organizing the increasingly militant though still fatalistic rank-and-file. Wolford believed it was impossible for anyone to beat John L. Lewis' picked successor, Tony Boyle, who so completely dominates the union, the funds, the official newspaper, and the actual election procedure. Yablonski, however, near the end of the campaign began to see himself as a possible winner. He looked for support in high places among liberal state politicians and charismatic crusaders, and saw himself after an electoral victory reforming the union from the top down.

While Yablonski and Boyle were waiting for the December UMW election, the rank-and-file was awaiting the Mine Safety Bill. There was altogether too much waiting on both counts and this distracted the rank-and-file from organizing its own collective power during the second half of 1969.

Prodded by the Mannington mine disaster in November 1968, which killed 78 miners, and by the 42,000 wildcat-striking miners, Congress finally passed a piece of health-and-safety legislation that was at least a half-century overdue. On paper it looks fairly strong if minimal in scope; how it will be implemented is the major question.

For the first time, there is a standard for the "permissible" level of coal dust, which affects the lungs and causes "black lung disease." "Black lung disease" has been responsible for the unnecessary deaths of some 100,000 miners since 1900, and continues to kill thousands needlessly every year. Since it has been known how to prevent it for almost fifty years, the continued prevalence of the disease, and the resulting deaths, are the results of the coal companies -- backed by the UMW hierarchy -- who are unwilling to cut into their profits in the slightest to save their wage-slaves from injury, disease and death.

These companies have been hand-in-glove with the UMW ever since the 1950 deal between George Love, then president of Consol, largest coal company in the U.S., and John L. Lewis. The deal, simply put, was this: pay increases in exchange for no improvement of working conditions and the suppression of strike threats. The federal government, concerned at the time about the Korean War aspect of the permanent arms economy, gladly gave its blessings to the deal.

It looked for a time as though the Nixon Administration was going to veto the Mine Safety Bill. Advocates of the bill had wanted to place a 4¢ per ton tax on coal to finance health and safety research, but this provision was knocked out by coal industry pressure and by an Administration that would rather protect the long-range profits of the coal companies than gain an anti-inflationary tax.

However, Nixon finally signed the bill because he, the coal industry, and the UMW were afraid of the short-and-long-range consequences of a veto. Massive wildcats had been threatened; 100,000 coal workers might strike and then organize their collective power outside of industry and union control. Too much was at stake. The bill had to pass.

Since the Vietnam War, the latest adventure in the permanent arms economy, the coal industry has been making better-than-ever profits off the land and workers of Appalachia. The massive theft of this surplus is why Appalachia is what it is today: rich country, poor people.

Twenty-seven per cent of all industrial power is still supplied by coal. Profits have never been higher. But in their rush for profits from the permanent war gravy-train, work conditions and health conditions have been left to degenerate, while the UMW stands by with their hands in the pockets of the industry. Given the corrupt and go-opted UMW, the results for miners have been maiming, disease, unemployment, suffering, and death -- while the exploiters never had it so good.

The industry enjoys a tax rate twice as low as even establishment experts agree it should be. More importantly, all major power companies buy coal on long-term contracts, up to thirty years, and the big coal companies, like Consol, are either owned outright by big oil companies or are tied up in interlocks. The Oil companies who own these mines are not going to abandon a black-gold prize of 3.2 trillion tons of extractable coal.

These capitalists, with government protection and union complicity, steal the wealth from the land and the people of Appalachia and deposit it in their own bank accounts in big cities, far removed from the poverty and suffering they leave behind. They promote high levels of unemployment when it is financially in their own self-interest. But today, the mine workers of Appalachia are awakening to the crime that has been perpetrated against them. Yablonski's murder has brought it home.

The mine safety bill cannot stem inflation, war profiteering, collusion, or repression, as many miners are already realizing. The Miner's Voice, coming out of a rank-and-file committee in Morgantown, W. Va., is beginning to become the kind of militant paper that is needed. Widows are organizing in Mannington. As I write this, twenty thousand miners, shocked and angered by the vengeful murder of Yablonski, are out on strike. And this is only the beginning.

The miners are up against a vast alignment of forces. They must look to their collective strength. No "respectable leaders" at the top can save them. They must consolidate their own massive rank-and-file power from below.

# AFT Radical Caucus Forms in California

Richard Broadhead

A Radical Caucus within the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) was formed at the annual convention of the California Federation of Teachers (CFT) in late December. With active participation by 60 of the 240 delegates, the Radical Caucus ran a full slate of candidates on a platform of democratic, militant, rank and file unionism, launched a demonstration against the appearance of San Francisco mayor (and then gubernatorial hopeful) Joseph Alioto, and laid plans for organizing activities across the state.

The Radical Caucus doesn't view itself as a traditional union opposition group. It has a perspective for independent activity and for joint action with student, community and other groups. At the same time, it recognized that building a base among teachers can be carried on most effectively through activity within the AFT.

West of the Mississippi the AFT has nothing like the strength it wields in the major cities of the East and Mid-west. In California, no AFT local has a collective bargaining agreement and there have been only a handful of strikes -- Richmond 1967, Parls Job Corp. Center 1967, San Francisco State 1968-9, U.C. Berkeley 1969. In the elementary, secondary schools AFT membership ranges from 10 to 20% of the teachers. During the last five years the union has been growing at a relatively constant 10% a year (i.e., from 1 to 2% of the total number of teachers are recruited each year).

At the junior college, state college and university level, the AFT is generally weak or non-existent, with the exception of the teaching assistant (graduate students) local at U.C. Berkeley and the two locals (faculty and student employees) at San Francisco State College. In both of these cases, the growth of the union was a direct outgrowth of a militant mass student movement.

On many campuses where the AFT is small and without real strength, what members there are often have roots in the student movement, as do many young AFT teachers in the public schools. While the AFT in California is a relatively small union with some 15,000 members, it has a large percentage of left-liberal to radical members. This fact makes it possible for radical teachers and for the AFT as a whole to play an important role both in the schools and in the trade union movement.

The potential for such a role was underlined by the formation of the Radical Caucus at the CFT Convention. On the afternoon marking the beginning of the convention, a call for a Radical Caucus was put out over the names of seven union members from six locals around the state. The call noted the need for "radical solutions to deal with problems of racism, poverty, militarism, and corporate and bureaucratic domination" and the importance of organizing "within the Union to combat the tendency of the union bureaucracy toward accommodation with the conservative leaders of the labor movement." Nearly a quarter of the delegates showed up for the first meeting.

A proposal to put together a platform and elect a slate of candidates to oppose the present leadership fell on fertile ground. The platform calls for 1) Militant, democratic trade-unionism; 2) Community control of schools and police; 3) Independent political action against the Democratic and Republican parties; 4) An end to U.S. imperialism, immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and all foreign countries; for a national work stoppage on April 15; 5) An end to political repression; defence of the Black Panther Party; 6) Defence of academic freedom and civil liberties for teachers and students; 7) Draft counselors in all colleges and secondary schools, and 8) Free child care centers for all.

After the platform was put together, a slate of candidates was elected. People were chosen primarily on the basis of participation in the platform discussion. A leaflet was put out listing the platform and candidates, prefaced by a statement criticizing the narrow bureaucratic nature of present trade union leadership and calling for social unionism and independent political action as the only perspective from which "teachers and other workers can fight effectively for their own interests."

In the voting, which took place after the demonstration against Alioto, the presidential candidate received 25% of the vote. There were four vice-presidential positions; the top vote-getter of the Radical Caucus -- a

black Chicano woman -- got 46% of the vote, while the lowest of the four got 20%. The Radical Caucus clearly represented a significant portion of the convention delegates, although its members understood that a great deal of work was necessary to organize comparable strength among the rank and file.

Each year the CFT invites a "notable" to address its main luncheon. In 1964 Mario Savio was the speaker. This year it was Joseph Alioto. The act of inviting Alioto was symbolic of the narrow, bureaucratic and impotent character of the CFT leadership's outlook.

Alioto has been a "pro-labor Democrat" since he won mayorship of San Francisco in 1967 with the not unimportant backing of the San Francisco Labor Council and Harry Bridges of the Independent International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union. While on good terms with the labor "leaders," Alioto, like the bureaucrats, is an active opponent of militant rank-and-file trade union activity.

A critical case in point was the student-AFT strike at San Francisco State in 1968-69. Under the guise of preventing further "violence" (i.e., a few broken windows) and to insure "normal functioning" (i.e., law and order), Alioto sent the infamous Tac Squad and hundreds of other police to the campus to break that strike.

Alioto's use of police terror against the strike came in spite of the fact that the AFT had received strike sanction for its strike from the San Francisco Central Labor Council, and in spite of Alioto's own admission -- midway through the strike -- that there were real student and labor grievances involved in the strike.

In his two years in political office, Alioto has also managed to 1) send the Tac Squad against a hospital workers strike and 2) walk through a picket line of grape strikers in order to go to a luncheon on a grape-carrying line's ship -- Harry Bridges walked with him, so it was okay.

The day before the CFT Convention luncheon there was a heated fight over a proposal to retract the Alioto invitation. CFT President Raoul Tielheit had the gall to claim he didn't know such a furor would be raised when the invitation was issued in September. The bureaucratic mentality is such that Tielheit was probably sincere.

Apparently Alioto was invited because he is helping the public school local in San Francisco get a collective bargaining agreement with the school board. Jim Ballard, president of the local and now CFT vice-president, defended the invitation on this ground. But even from the point of view of the CFT leadership the invitation had serious problems.

At the time of the invitation, Alioto was assumed to be running for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. Jesse Unruh, long-time powerhouse in the California Democratic Party, was his chief opponent and looked like the probable winner; Alioto himself subsequently came to the same conclusion and dropped out of the running -- much to the surprise, presumably, of the CFT bureaucrats.

To endorse a candidate so early, especially the likely loser, was to get way out on a long limb. Apparently the CFT leadership has little intention of trying to accomplish anything at the state level, even in their own dealing-at-the-top fashion.

The demonstration protesting Alioto's appearance was a loud one. Singing and chanting by 50 to 60 delegates was punctuated by back-handed comments directed at those who walked through the line into the luncheon. The line surrounded a television interview of the mayor with a high-volume chant of "Alioto must go."

The demonstration was very important in building an attitude of militant opposition within the group. It also brought to the surface some of the political differences within the caucus. When the television cameras arrived some of the picketers made a concerted and momentarily successful attempt to end the demonstration. They didn't want the Radical Caucus to appear as "rowdy

and irresponsible."

Underneath this argument was a desire to maintain working relationships with the CFT leadership. "We don't want to overly embarrass them." The picket line adjourned to a nearby room, but returned shortly -- most of those who called for the disbanding had gone to eat. The reconstituted line was somewhat smaller but managed to continue its "rowdy activities."

The last meetings of the caucus were devoted to setting up a state structure and discussing local organizing activities. A state steering committee was elected, and a newsletter was projected, as were two meetings, one in May and one in the fall. The serious task facing the group is that of building active organizations within the locals -- especially in the urban centers. To succeed, such groups will have to do more than propagandize -- they must find issues around which action can be organized.

The importance of the Radical Caucus is that it provides a concrete way of integrating local struggles with a state-wide (and national) perspective. Without this broader perspective and the possibility of implementing it, only minor reforms can be won in one school district. No school district has or can get the money to finance real changes, and no one district has the numbers of students, teachers and community groups necessary to wrest control of the schools from the corporate powers which -- directly and indirectly -- control public education.

Recognition of all this does not imply abstention from or opposition to local struggles. Radicals should actively participate in struggles for community control of the schools and similar issues. [See the IS pamphlet, Crisis in the Schools: Teachers and the Community, for a full discussion of Community control and other topics.]

One issue of particular importance which the Radical Caucus must address is the question of mergers of AFT locals with their long-time conservative opponents -- the local affiliates of the National Education Association (NEA). What appears to be at stake in these mergers is not the question of striking or collective bargaining -- several NEA locals in the East and Mid-west have won contracts through strikes -- but the general question of unionism itself.

While strikes and contracts certainly are part of unionism, they do not a union make. The California Nurses Association (CNA) has conducted several serious strikes and won contracts during the past two years. But no one, at least no radical, would consider the CNA a genuine union. Not only do the nurses -- only RN's are in CNA -- lack a conception of themselves as workers, they do not have any ties with the organized labor movement.

This is the critical point. Teachers as an isolated group have little power in society. The ability of teachers to link up with the rest of the working class is critical for the success of teachers' struggles. (The same is true for any group of workers.) Having formal ties with the rest of the trade union movement is crucial for radicals within the AFT who hope to influence the rest of the labor movement.

National AFT president Dave Selden is a big advocate of these mergers. A year ago the AFT proposed merger talks to the NEA, but at that time the NEA said no thanks. The AFT-CFT leadership may see the mergers as a means of maintaining their dues payments while effectively destroying the local organizations -- and thus any opposition to the state and national leadership. Without functioning locals, it is extremely difficult to organize militant rank-and-file groups which could oppose the state and national leadership.

Whatever the reasoning of the AFT leadership -- and it should be emphasized that the notion of merger is coming only from the top down -- it is clear that radicals must vigorously oppose any moves which will cut teachers away from the rest of the trade union movement.

Whether the Radical Caucus will be able to sink roots in the rank and file and become a serious force will be determined in the coming months. As the crisis in the schools intensifies, the choices open to teachers narrow. When the action begins, the present liberal leadership of the AFT will opt for law and order, as they did in New York.

If there is no serious challenge to their leadership, the bureaucrats will surely succeed. But if there is an organized challenge from the left which breaks from the confines and commitments of liberalism, then at least there is a chance for teachers and the AFT to play an important role in the struggle for decent schools and a better society.



# Sex Segregation: On the Job and in the Schools

Carol Rosenbaum

One of the facts of life in America today is that married women, many of them mothers of young children, often need to hold paying jobs. If a woman is white, married, and has children under six years old, the chances are better than one in three that she works outside the home. If she is black, the odds are better than 50-50.

The facts about women's employment are surprising because they don't fit in well with the widespread American assumption that a woman's place is in the home. According to this view, every woman has a full-time job already. That job is to provide love and attention and dinner for her husband, to raise their kids, and to do the housework. Yet the fact remains: nearly half of all American women hold jobs outside the home. Three out of five of these are married, one in ten is the sole supporter of her family.

They are working because their families need the money. With inflation holding prices up, two incomes have become more and more necessary to provide the average family with a modest standard of living. Frequently her income makes the difference between a low standard of living and a moderate one.

These working wives come home, after work, to a second full-time job. They have a household to run; a husband and children to care for. The working wife puts in this double duty to help out her family.

But her efforts on the job help her boss much more than her family. Women workers are a bargain. Women working full-time are paid on the average 60% of what men are paid -- \$30 a week, for example, as compared with \$150.

Women accept these low wages for several reasons. One reason is that they don't think they'll be working for very long; the job is seen as just a temporary stop-gap measure to bring in some extra cash. In reality, of course, this doesn't usually turn out to be the case: most women who start to work find that their income is necessary for their family's well-being.

Another reason that women accept low wages is that they view their income as supplementary income -- something is better than nothing, every little bit helps. But this is just looking at the question from the wrong point of view; full time work deserves full time pay.

Basically, women accept low wages because they don't have much choice. They either lack saleable skills, or the skills they have suit them only to the lowest-paying jobs. A woman who has prepared for life as a housewife is often unskilled by an employer's standards, and her experience maintaining a family is not considered "work experience" when she looks for a job. If she has picked up a skill, it is usually clerical, and clerical jobs are among the lowest paid.

What's more, employers usually won't train women for jobs as they will men; they fear that a woman will leave work due to pregnancy or a child's illness or some other household problem (perhaps exhaustion from working two jobs).

The way a company hides a sex-determined wage policy is by simply hiring women for different jobs than men. Different jobs carry different pay; it just so happens that the jobs women are hired for pay less. This is generally true for all sections of the job market: women in the garment industry are excluded from the high paying cutters jobs, women in sales work never get the high-commission sales jobs, professional and college educated women are excluded from executive and managerial jobs.

Even when women do hold the same jobs as men, it is probable that the men are making more money; it just so happens that men are more likely to have seniority. Women frequently are penalized by loss of their seniority for pregnancy and the many problems which can arise in the households for which they are responsible.

Most people, men and women, go along with the segregation of the job market. We have been taught to believe that some jobs should be done by men and others by women. We are taught that there is just a narrow range of jobs which are "right" for women to hold. In general these jobs are analogous to a woman's household role. Women can be waitresses, secretaries, beauticians, teachers, sales help, social workers, nurses, houseworkers, and clerical workers. A woman who considers finding a better-paying job outside this range is told that she will "lose her femininity".

Most jobs on the market lie outside the narrow range of "women's jobs", and as more and more women are forced to go to work, this antique notion is a poor reason

in indeed for them to compete with each other for the low wages that go with "women's jobs". Once you've got to work, you might as well get the best pay you can. And the best-paying jobs are found outside that narrow range of "women's jobs".

Slowly, women are beginning to fill different kinds of jobs. Today there are women working as cab drivers, mail carriers, and even steelworkers, and the only thing unfeminine about them is their pay-check.

It will be some time, however, before the range of jobs available to women is as wide as that available to men. This is due only in part to discrimination in hiring, and to the widespread belief that women are "inferior" to men. It is also due in large part to the schools: not only do they fail to make women aware of their need for job training, but the job training they do give women is for exactly that narrow range of "women's jobs" which women need to break out of. The schools put women onto the very tracks which will send them into the job market either unskilled or with only the lowest-paying skills.

The official sex-tracking in the schools begins in junior high. Here, girls and boys have the same curricula--except for their shop course. "Girls' shop" means home economics; "boys' shop" can mean electricity, graphics, woodworking, and more. Girls are being trained for their role in the home; boys for their role in industry.

No doubt home economics is an important course for girls to take; indeed, it's important for boys, too, especially now, with one third of all wives in America working outside the home. The point is, girls are required to take home economics at the expense of job training.

This fact has several consequences. Obviously it cuts down on the girl's opportunity to learn a saleable skill. But it does more than this. It confirms America's outdated message that job training is less important to girls than to boys. It suggests to girls that their futures will be entirely within the household.

This suggestion completely ignores the fact that one out of three married "housewives" have paying jobs. It ignores the fact that three out of four of these working wives have to work just to keep their families above the lowest income level. This division of the curriculum gives girls the wrong idea of what life has in store for them.

The junior high school guidance counselors have the opportunity to correct this false impression, but they don't do it. They do urge girls to pick up a skill, but for "emergency use only," in case Mr. Right is a few years late in showing up, or in case a new refrigerator has to be paid off. In this way the counselling service reinforces the myth that women will spend most of their lives outside the work force.

Similarly guidance urges girls to train for traditionally "women's" jobs. Whatever a girl's interest, guidance will suggest the appropriate woman's job: medicine? Become a nurse. Science? Become a teacher. Business? Become a secretary. No special interest? Take typing just in case! There is no excuse for this. Guidance actively encourages girls to train for the lowest-paying jobs on the market.

There are reasons, of course, why guidance continues to track girls into these jobs. One important reason is that business men and business interests run the schools, and the present job segregation is important to business. Job segregation on the basis of sex, like job segregation on the basis of race, helps keep down everyone's wages.

As long as women are restricted to working in a few low-paying areas, they can be used as a threat to men. If male workers begin to demand higher wages, the company can always threaten to bring in women to take the men's jobs. (Whatever wage the men are complaining about, it is probably higher than most women's wages.) Thus, as long as women continue to be kept out of most kinds of employment, they help the boss hold down wages.

In the high schools, sex tracking is a full-fledged institution. In the three job training courses in New York, the commercial, the vocational and the techni-

cal, the effects of sex tracking are obvious. In 1964-65, there were nine times as many women as men on the commercial track, two-and-a-half times more men than women on the vocational track, and ten times more men than women on the technical track.

But the fact that more than twice as many men as women are taking the vocational course tells only a small part of the story. The "separate but unequal" quality of the girl's vocational training tells much more. In New York there are 28 vocational schools, 22 of these are sex-segregated, eight for girls, 12 for boys. Women in the all-girls schools do not have the opportunity to learn the same skills as men.

As a typical example of the differences in subjects and skills taught, compare the course offerings at Chelsea Vocational (boys) and Jane Addams (girls). At Chelsea, courses are given in woodworking, electrical installation and practice, electronics, special classes in mathematics and science, college preparatory (honors). At Jane Addams, course offerings are cosmetology, trade dressmaking, food services (cafeteria and team room training), and practical nursing -- period. Clearly, these schools continue to funnel girls into a narrow range of jobs, notorious for their low pay and lack of security.

The situation is not much different in the eight co-ed vocational schools. In these schools there are still two separate tracks, one for each sex. Eli Whitney Vocational is an example. The boys' courses listed are: electrical installations, printing, machine-shop, practice, equipment repair technique, cabinet-making, radio and tv mechanics, upholstery. Girls' courses are: cosmetology, practical nursing, fashion industries, health careers, stenography, and key punch operation. No co-education here, just an integrated building.

It is wrong to accept the line that women are not suited for the jobs and job training from which they are excluded. During World War II, women took over men's jobs in nearly all sectors of the labor force. Then just recently, the government even came out with a list of "men's" jobs which women were well suited for, including: aircraft mechanic, appliance service man, automobile mechanic, business machine serviceman, radio and tv repair work, tool and die making. None of these jobs pays less than \$10 for a 40 hour week -- pay for skilled workers runs as high as \$235.

But the schools deny girls the right to train for these jobs; they don't admit girls to the necessary training programs. Air craft mechanics, for instance, are trained at two schools -- both closed to women. Radio and tv repair is taught at nine schools -- five for men only. (The other four are co-ed, but list the necessary courses as men's courses.)

Nor is it true that women lack interest in the fields from which they are excluded. In 1964, for example, girls at William Find Eastern District High School questioned why they were not allowed to take the industrial arts course. The school responded to their pressure and opened the I, A, courses to women on a trial basis. More girls applied than they had room for. They worked at least as well as the boys did, submitted some of their work to a city-wide I, A, show, and won prizes. Since then, the I, A, program in the school has remained co-ed.

An end to sex tracking in the schools and sex segregation in the job market is necessary if women are to cope successfully with their economic problems. But ending these evils is not enough. Behind them lies the basic problem faced by women: the fact that the total job of managing the household and raising children is still the special task of each individual woman. As long as women are assigned the entire responsibility for child care, they are not really free to take better jobs at decent pay.

It is time for society as a whole to take on a part of this responsibility by providing such services as day care facilities, public laundries, and nurseries. Only then can women have access to the better-paying jobs they need, and be free to benefit from equal training.

Unfortunately, the business interests which run this country are not likely to help end the very system of sex segregation and sex tracking which is so profitable to them. They are not eager to provide the day care facilities we require.

Working women and home-bound women, high school students and working men can all unite around demands for public day care facilities, and an immediate end to systems of sex segregation and sex tracking. But we must be aware that to achieve these goals, we will have to change more than simply laws and hiring policies. We will have to change our whole society, into one which aims at maximizing human potential rather than corporate profits.

# The French Left Today

From a French Comrade

Anyone familiar with the French Left some years ago could not fail to be impressed by the burgeoning numbers of revolutionary groups and their activities today. Even the smallest sects have extended their influence, and regularly publish literature. Five or six papers (Humanite, Rouge, Lutte Ouvriere, Le Proletaire, etc.) are being offered for sale on a national scale.

Groups of leftists now exist in many provincial cities and one, the Ligue Communiste, has been able to benefit from a liberal clause of the French electoral system: once the candidacy of Krivine to the presidency of the Republic had satisfied the legal requirements, La Ligue was allowed free TV time, and had posters printed at State expense.

In many shops, Parisian and provincial, there is a small but active implantation of leftists. Revolutionaries were never absent from the shops, but had been few in number and mainly content just to survive amidst Stalinist and bourgeois pressures.

Now the situation has changed. Although the radical left is badly divided, it represents a force with which the Stalinists have had to contend. A coordination of these combative elements in the shops appears as one of the foremost objectives of revolutionaries, although the present division of the Left seems to preclude this in the immediate future.

Obviously the student revolt and the great strikes of May-June '68 have influenced the thinking of all groups. To date, more than one hundred books have been written on this period. It was, without doubt, the most important event since the Commune for French revolutionaries, and its impact will be felt for a long time. Unfortunately most groups seem to be more concerned with trying to fit the events into their preconceived schemes than with proceeding to a critical examination of their previous attitudes toward a movement which took them by surprise.

## After May

To date, the majority of the French Left has really learned little from May, and much of its energy is consumed in internecine struggles which may serve to discourage many of the new elements which inflated its ranks after May.

A minute analysis of the positions of the leftist groups in France today would be a tremendous undertaking. Collecting and scanning the enormous amount of texts issued by the groups is, in itself, a prohibitive task; moreover, many positions are not clearly expressed, but only implied. Too, we are dealing with an ever-changing situation: internal discussions are rife within most groups, and numerous splits have occurred since May, and will occur again. The relative homogeneity of most groups was altered by the influx of new elements after May. New young activists and re-activated older militants bring both positive and negative features.

It is in terms of their attitudes toward the global problems of the socialist movement (i.e., the significance of Russia, China, Cuba, the Third World) and also toward such perennial questions as the role and nature of the party, that the French Left may be classified in distinct currents.

The old debate on class vs. party - the conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat - is a key to the many contrasting approaches toward the rank-and-file or action committees that all organizations advocate.

Should the committees be based on the factories and/or the neighborhoods? What is the relative weight of the "poor peasants" committees (dear to the Maoists) and the students committees compared to working-class committees? Will the committees be only a fishing-pond for the party, or will they be the embryos of the new socialist power? Will they (in the factories) be used to "reconquer" the unions, or will they be the grave-diggers of the traditional organizations? These are some of the questions facing French radicals today.

The following is a brief outline of the most important groups existing today in France, and a short analysis of each group's methodology in attacking the problems arising from the May revolt.

## The Trotskyists

A. La Ligue Communiste. Founded in early 1969 at a convention of activists grouped around the paper Rouge, launched after the dissolution (by De Gaulle) in June, 1968, of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist Youth). The JCR itself was born in 1966 out of the exclusion of a leftist group inside the Communist Students Group. Although not formally affiliated with the Pierre Frank tendency (the official Fourth International), many leaders had a double membership, and their political lines were indistinguishable. The JCR in fact was the active movement of the Fourth International in France, since the Parti Communiste Internationaliste of Pierre Frank was mostly a center of political guidance.

Endowed with effective leadership and a well-structured organization, the JCR went successfully through the storm of May-June '68, at least as far as its own organizational interests were concerned. Throughout the hectic days of May, their attitudes (as those of most groups) varied from day to day, but they displayed a remarkable flexibility in trying to promote their own political line without losing contact with or breaking the unity of action with the "spontaneist" current influenced by the Mouvement du 22 Mars, and the "situationists." They failed in their attempt to control the numerous action committees which sprang up in May-June, particularly in Paris, but emerged from the events with a considerable prestige. As mentioned above, the presidential campaign of Krivine helped enormously in spreading their political line throughout France, which in turn resulted in the formation of the Ligue Communiste.

Numerous tendencies have since emerged within the LC. The majority adheres to the Fourth International (Frank) line. Other tendencies criticize the official Trotskyist ideology, but offer only contradictory arguments in defining the role of the party. In spite of its weak influence in the shops, and the likelihood of further splits, for the present the Ligue Communiste is the most well-known and important Trotskyist organization.

B. The Lambertists. This group split with the Fourth International in 1952, and carried away most of the members and the proletarian wing of the Party. They cling stubbornly to a pre-war Trotskyist analysis, opposing both the Frank and Pablo tendencies on major doctrinal issues. Concretely, they denounced the Frank tendency's attempt to infiltrate the CP, and devoted themselves to the construction of the "party". In 1968, they were behind the constitution of the Federation des Etudiants Revolutionnaires (FER - Federation of Revolutionary Students), and published the paper Revoltes. The present Lambert group was called the Organization Communiste Internationaliste (publishing La Verite).

In the shops, the Lambertists organize committees around their own platform. From the coordination of these committees may arise the Front Unique Ouvrier which may lead to an offensive against the bourgeois power. The Lambertists have succeeded in gaining responsible positions in some unions (particularly in Force Ouvriere, more tolerant of the leftists than the CGT), but at the cost of what the other groups consider shameful compromises.

In Paris and in the provinces the Lambertist nuclei in the shops and offices played some role during the big strikes of '68, but were completely isolated in the Sorbonne. They refused an autonomous role to the student movement, and were in contempt of the free university and other "romantic" notions. They felt the student revolt ridiculous in itself; on the 10th of May, after a vibrant meeting, the Lambertists went with clenched fists and singing the Internationale to the barricades - to adjure the students to abandon the barricades and not to start an isolated battle without the working class.

Such tactics cost the Lambertists a good deal of prestige in the Latin quarter. They refused this year to support the candidacy of Krivine and advocated the candidates of the "workers parties" - Duclos and Deferre.

C. Pabloists. Another sizeable Trotskyist group is the former Tendence Marxiste Revolutionnaire de la IV Internationale, expelled in fact from the Internationale in 1963. Led by Michel Pablo, this tendency attributed a privileged role to the countries of the Third World in the revolutionary process, rather than the working class. The Pabloists believe in continued development of the productive forces under capitalism, and in an increase in the standard of living of the working class. This tenet has led the Pabloists to focus on qualitative rather than quantitative demands.

The Pabloists were quick to direct their attention toward the student movement, in which they saw the first attempt since the Commune at a direct administration by the people, a step toward a democratic socialism.

With the Union Communiste (Lutte Ouvriere), they will be foremost in proposing a coalesced Movement assembling all revolutionary parties without exclusion. As with other organizations, the "Tendence Marxiste Revolutionnaire" was outlawed in June by the government.

D. L'Union Communiste. Better known by the name of its paper, Lutte Ouvriere (formerly La Voix Ouvriere), this group has never been a member or an aspirant in the official Trotskyist movement. Almost thirty years old, the group performed well, although clandestinely, during the war, and was oriented towards work in shops and factories.

For about 10 years, the group went through a period of hibernation, though its militants did play a prominent role in fights against the Stalinist leadership at the Renault plant.

The LO group has established fraternal relations with the International Socialists in England and is well known (at least through its paper) to IS members.

At the beginning of the student movement, L'Union Communiste shared the Lambertist attitude toward the movement, and underestimated its importance. Very soon, however, and it is a credit to the group's revolutionary sensitivity, L'Union Communiste recognized the intrinsic value of the movement. Although critical of the spontaneists, anarchists and situationists (see below), the UC participated fully in the movement, trying of course to enlarge it in the direction of the shops.

In May-June '68, the organization, along with the Pabloists, was committed to the unity of action with all other tendencies. They do not consider themselves as the party, but as working toward the formation of the party. Since May, they have attempted unification with the groups around Rouge. The transformation of these groups into Ligue Communiste and their allegiance to the Fourth International seems to have thwarted this hope. Now they have entered into a public discussion with the Parti Socialiste Unifie.

## The Maoists

Before May, the two principal Maoist organizations were the Parti Communiste Marxiste-Leniniste de France, and the Union des Jeunes Communistes Marxist-Leninistes. Relatively indifferent to the student agitation, hostile to the adventurism of the "anarcho-spontaneist-Trotskyist-petit-bourgeois" as well as

to the reformism of student syndicalism, the Maoists were prompt to co-opt the students' fight into their own political analysis: "Fascism is growing in France, and repression hits the students because through their acts they manifest their opposition to the repression which has already hit the working class. Glory to the students, but only the proletariat may play a decisive role in the battle. Let us go to the shops."

The Maoists try to implement the workers-students alliance, and intensify the strike movement, by launching a host of rank-and-file committees. At the end of the strike movement, at the Renault plant at Flins, they fought the CRS by the side of the workers. They had their first martyr, in the person of Gilles Teutin, who drowned after being pushed into the river by the police.

The two organizations, dissolved in May, have split into various groups, several of them close to the anarchists despite their allegiance to Mao.

The Maoists have a weekly, the *Humanite Rouge*, and other papers as well (*La Cause du Peuple*, *La Voix Populaire*, *Ligne Rouge*, *Vive le Communisme*). Although their style and vocabulary are often tiresomely reminiscent of the worst period of the Comintern, the articles devoted to everyday politics are readable. The theoretical and polemical articles, outrageously larded with quotations, display the Stalinist style once defined by Trotsky "as indigestible as iron filings or minced hog bristles."

The groups are far from being fraternal, and they even resort on occasion to physical violence. *Humanite Rouge* (and *La Voix Populaire* to some extent) more or less represents the old Stalinist line: the various popular committees will be only an instrument to help the avant-garde (i.e., the party) seize power. Undue attention should not be paid to the various contradictions in the capitalist society besides the basic and fundamental antagonism between the proletariat and the Fascist superstructure. They are only symptoms of the decay of the system, and will be dealt with through the cleansing process of the cultural revolution which will take place once the dictatorship of the proletariat is secured.

The other Maoist groups have a more spontaneist attitude concerning the revolutionary process, and seem devoted to the fabrication of any kind of "spontaneous" actions, which are deemed to enlighten the population.

All in all, the Maoists may have several thousand members or active sympathizers. They are said to have registered some successes in organizing among the several millions of foreign workers in France (Spanish, Portuguese, African, West Indian, Algerian, etc.).

The above-mentioned groups are the "big" organizations which were all dissolved by the Gaullist power in June, 1968. They were confronted with many material problems, but with no other hindrance upon their activities. They changed their names, and resumed their work.

## Independent Radical Groups

A. The Workers' Councils Movement is little known in the U.S., although Paul Mattick and Karl Korsch expounded its conceptions (to some extent) in this country. Led by Gorter, Pannekoek, Otto Ruhle, etc., the Communist Workers' Councils quit the Comintern in 1919-20, being in almost total disagreement with its tactics: participation in elections, action in unions, program, etc.

The Communist Workers' Councils opposed the Leninist conception of the party, considering it as an elitist conception which would lead eventually to the dictatorship of a clique over the proletariat. They did not object to a revolutionary organization in theory, but conceived it as a center of liaison, education, and propaganda only rather than as a tool for the proletariat in a struggle for social power.

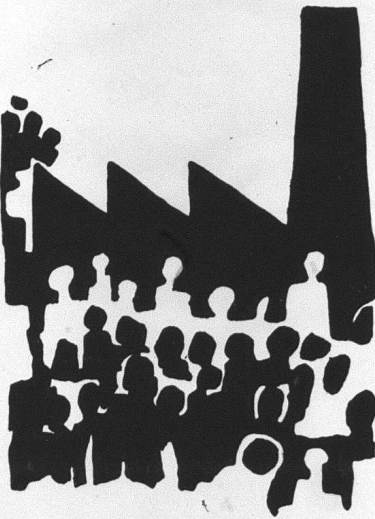
The goal of the organization was and is to promote the formation of workers' councils, conceived as the best form through which the proletariat can fight for power and exert it. Because of their revolt against the technocratic society and their rejection of the free enterprise system as well as state capitalism, it is understandable that the rebels of May were attracted to them. We may detect the influence of the Workers' Councils in the writings of the "situationists" and of Cohn-Bendit.

There are now several groups (under various labels) which undertake the diffusion of the general concept of the Communist Workers' Councils. Although their intrinsic force is negligible, their influence is growing.

B. L'Internationale Situationniste. The situationists, although few in number, exerted a considerable influence on the student movement, inspiring quite a few of the slogans and the graffiti which appeared on the walls of Paris, and then also contributed a joyful happening aspect to the revolt.

It would be a mistake to treat the situationists as merely a bunch of farcical rebels. They offer a criticism of society which not only encompasses the general experience of the socialist movement, but goes deeper, paying particular attention to the phenomenon of alienation of man in modern society, and to society's bureaucratization. It is not enough that the economic structures be upset; the change must transform totally the life of mankind. The situationists borrow from the surrealist tradition their taste for shocking the bourgeoisie, and introduce poetry and merriment not only to their method of fighting, but also to their vision of society.

The situationists have been strongly influenced by the Communist Workers' Councils and share most of their conceptions of the role of the councils and their criticism of the Bolshevik tradition. In May they saw the realization of most of their perspectives: a challenge to alienated, everyday life, and a spontaneous movement. They were committed to resisting attempts by Leninists of any variety to assume the leadership of the movement, but still recognized that the leading role in the revolution had to be played by the workers.



D. Pouvoir Ouvrier. Born some years ago out of a split in the group which published *Socialisme ou Barbarie*. Now defunct, SB published for a dozen years one of the most cogent political analyses to appear in France in several decades, and its role was important in the political evolution of many militants.

As much as may be ascertained, although the divergences were not explicit, an evolution took place in SB which denied the objective necessity for socialism. Entangled with its problems, SB ceased to appear, but a fraction which stressed the objective contradictions of capitalism started publishing *Pouvoir Ouvrier* (Workers Power).

*Pouvoir Ouvrier* does not consider the USSR and its satellites as workers' states. Nor does it consider Cuba or North Vietnam as models of socialism, while it opposes the efforts of American imperialism to destroy them. PO has maintained the essential heritage of SB, and is particularly sensitive to the problems of alienation and bureaucracy. It did appreciate the importance of the student revolt.

Although it disagrees with the Leninist conception of the party, and emphasizes the role of the spontaneous actions of the class, PO insists on the necessity of an organization of revolutionaries, while stressing that a long-lived re-groupment cannot be achieved by uniting groups with serious divergencies, without intense political clarification, particularly in the absence of a genuine class movement.

E. Informations et Correspondances Ouvrieres. Formerly *Informations et Liaisons Ouvrieres*, this group originated in the early fifties. ICO is also the name of its bulletin, which gives news of the working class movement in France and in the world, and plays the role of a free tribune for its readers. ICO does not offer a program as much as it constitutes the starting point for a permanent discussion between comrades. Anyone is free to challenge it, totally or in part.

Roughly abridged, the raison d'être of ICO is to put into contact, nationally and internationally, workers who trust only themselves to achieve their emancipation. "The working class movement is the class struggle as it appears through the practical actions of the workers." There is no substitute for this action.

Most ICO contributors, some of unimpeachable moral stature in the French avant-garde, situate themselves outside the Leninist tradition as syndicalists, anarchists, etc.

F. The Anarchists. The major (and most traditionalist) anarchist group is the *Federation Anarchiste*, publishing *Le Monde Libertaire*. Several other groups or papers might be mentioned: *Front Noir*, *Noir et Rouge*, the *Groupes Anarchistes Communistes*, etc. Some of the smaller groups attempt to conciliate anarchist ideology with a Marxist method of analysis. All in all, the activists are estimated to number several thousands, with many sympathizers.

Anarchists were active in the Sorbonne, and later they performed well on the barricades. May-June '68 saw an upsurge of black flags not only in the streets, but in several factories. They received publicity certainly out of proportion to their real influence. It must be said that anarchism is not ostracized in France quite as it is in the U.S. Many workers and intellectuals regard anarchists with sympathetic tolerance, whatever opinion they may have of their views and actions. Anarchists are also heirs of the revolutionary French tradition.

G. Groupe Autonome. Some small campus groups claim to be Maoist, but are very difficult to define politically. These elements seem to be responsible for some senseless acts of violence and strong-arm tactics in Vincennes, a Paris University campus.

Some of their actions, however, although disputable, are not disreputable. An "autonomous" group (*Groupe Autonome*) of students and teachers at Vincennes decided some months ago to go "to the people." Although divided in several tendencies, principally a "Leninist" wing and an "expressionist" wing devoted to immediate and total individual liberation, the *Groupe Autonome* did agree on the necessity of self-education through "spontaneous" actions.

They selected Louviers, a small city of Normandy, where a coalition of rightists (aided by the CP) had expelled from City Hall a liberal physician, a man of good will committed to the welfare of children. An Action Committee in Louviers (now headed by the doctor) composed mainly of provincial liberals, accepted dialogue with the group on the issue. Eventually the group established some permanent activists in Louviers.

Their dialogues are very often hectic, and the climate tense, all of which did not inhibit one anarchist from proposing a recent motion: "An activist who doesn't screw is a danger." (A friendly amendment proposed by a co-ed - "An activist who doesn't screw WELL" - was rejected.)

Nevertheless, contacts have been maintained and the group has scored some points in the organization of tenants of low-cost housing projects. The *Groupe Autonome* and the Action Committee are now digesting the lessons of their mutual experiences.

H. Parti Socialiste Unifié. Finally, there is the *Parti Socialiste Unifié* (PSU), which oscillates between revolution and "aggressive reformism." An agglomeration of former Trotskyists, social-democrats, progressive Christians, etc., it has been through many crises and still harbors several tendencies.

The PSU has about 15,000 members, and obtained 4 percent of the vote at the presidential election. In the provinces, it appears as a relatively strong and structured organization, and therefore attracts many revolutionary sympathizers who fear political isolation. The PSU gave its support to the students, but managed to keep the door open for a legal and reformist solution of the crisis by its contacts with Mendes-France, then a member of the PSU.

We have dealt with the major ideological currents in the French Left today. Undoubtedly, time will see a process of political delineation, and some of the present groups will be obliterated.

Many of the groups seem to have underestimated the intrinsic meaning of the initial student revolt: a search for a genuine form of people's power, and an attack against alienation and bureaucracy. Moreover, the workers' movement, although mainly concerned initially with bread-and-butter demands, and duly channeled by union leadership, eventually went much further than even the gigantic strike of June, 1936. In many shops the workers asked for some kind of control upon their everyday life in the shops, and in some cases (as in Nantes) set up the embryos of proletarian power.

Besides supporting and enlarging the immediate demands of students and workers, the task of the French Left is to become fully cognizant of new trends among them, and to help in building the various workers' and neighborhood committees which will be the tools for the demise of the old society and for the construction of the new.

# Czech Revolutionary Socialist Manifesto

On January 17, the Czech government announced that the Revolutionary Socialist Party -- "particularly strong among students and young workers --" was responsible for most of the popular resistance to the regime over the past 18 months.

An article in the leading Communist Party newspapers argued that the "uncovering of this ring" should prove to a skeptical population that "anti-Socialist forces" are a "bitter reality."

In fact, as the following manifesto (reprinted from Black Dwarf, September 16, 1969) makes very clear, the Communist Party bureaucracy is the real anti-socialist force in Czechoslovakia.

The Revolutionary Socialist Party, a new organization of the most militant and conscious workers and students in the popular movement of 1968, represents the spearhead of genuinely socialist struggle for national liberation and workers' power in Czechoslovakia.

## What is to be done?

It seems that the victories of January 1968 are still alive in the thoughts of the people: the breaking free from fear, the will of the workers to decide their own affairs, the free discussion without any censorship or restriction, the confrontation of different views, conceptions and programmes; the idea of trade-unions as a tool of workers defence and not as a tool of the bureaucracy serving to oppress them.

On the other hand we have been cured by many illusions. We no longer believe in the myth of legality, since we know that the bureaucracy uses the law to its own interests and against the people and we are prepared to break these anti-people laws, to combine legal work in the trade-unions with illegal work and gradually, if necessary, abandon legal forms of struggle. We do not believe in the realisation of our demands within the framework of the existing system, since their dynamic threatens the interests of our bureaucracy and the international bureaucracy and they will not abandon their privileges voluntarily.

The attempts at decentralisation also tend to evoke the self-activity of the people and this constitutes a danger for the bureaucratic regime, and arouses a tendency to a takeover of power in the factories and workplaces by workers' councils, which will no longer be answerable either to ministries or to the bureaucratic centre. We do not believe in the Action Programme of the CPCz -- we know that it is humane, that it was written with the best intentions and that we can agree with it in many respects, but we are aware that it is the programme of the liberal wing in the leadership of the CPCz, and that its aims must align -- we all saw this in August -- with the interests of the international bureaucracy, led by the rulers in the Kremlin. The August invasion demonstrated that this programme is not correct, for it is unworkable. We no longer believe in a system where the leadership, even when it is as humane as Dubcek, decides for the workers without them, for only the workers themselves have the right to decide their own destiny. We do not believe in socialism in one country, or that the power of the bureaucracy can be broken in a small isolated country like Czechoslovakia, which would from then on have "gone its own way", had its own "socialism with a human face", for socialism is only one and its face is human, otherwise it is not socialism. We do not believe in neutrality, since in a world of social struggles we cannot be neutral, as we were in 1956, and as the Poles, Hungarians and Germans were in August 1968 -- that is not neutrality, that's a crime. We do not believe in help from UNO, we do not believe in "peaceful coexistence" of imperialism and the Kremlin counter revolutionaries.

We believe only in ourselves, in our own reason, our own understanding and powers. When we say ourselves, we are not thinking only of the workers, technicians, farmers, students and intellectuals in our country, but of all these who are in a similar social position anywhere in the world, for we have understood that our struggle and our organisation must have an international character. Our position is very little different from the position of the workers in the neighbouring "peoples democracies" and it is above all with them what we must link up, and it is finally little different from that of the people in the USSR, where social oppression is often joined to oppression of nationalities/in the Ukraine, the Baltic Republics, Transcaucasia etc. Even if the political awareness of the people of these countries is often lower than here -- and it is lowest in Russia itself -- they are our allies, our brothers, who are gradually becoming our

comrades in struggle, just like the French and Italian workers, just like the oppressed people of Africa and Latin America, just like the workers of the whole world.

The 21st of August and the days following it must not remain the only period of resistance; opposition to Husak's police terror, which is increasing and enveloping the entire country, must become (otherwise it would lose all its mass character) more organised, better worked out and each one of us must link himself to this work, for otherwise our perspectives will be lost for many years. That is why it is necessary gradually to work out a programme for your factory, your workplace, because it will be YOU who will decide the future economic policy as the supreme and sole owners of the means of the means of production with which you work (tools, machines, equipment, means of transport, soil, etc).

The ideas which emerge from your discussion about the economic, social and political programme of your factory together with your views and experiences should be written down, put up on posters/wall newspapers/ distributed as widely as possible, passed on to workers of other factories, spread about in town districts and villages. It is your right and responsibility to know how the managers run the factory and what pressure is exerted on them by higher organs -- trade-union leadership, ministries, party apparatus etc. You should know the prices of raw materials, the prices of the products and how they are determined. It is your right and responsibility to know whether you are working for consumption or for further production, or whether you are producing for storage. It is essential to know what rewards, shares, prizes, etc., the economic leaders get. This is your right and you should try and attain it through RTUMFC -- REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNION MOVEMENT FACTORY COMMITTEE, an official organisation. You should make use of this right of workers' control of your own initiative. Publish the facts you discover and inform all the workers. Any form of "participation" of the workers in running factories and enterprises must be rejected. Councils of workers which do not and under the existing system cannot have any real influence on economic management should not in the name of the workers accept a share in the responsibility for an economic policy which is heading for total collapse. NO PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT, BUT WORKERS' CONTROL TODAY AND WORKERS' MANAGEMENT TOMORROW. That is our slogan for the attainment of POLITICAL power by the Czech people. In this respect it is very important to link up with workers from other factories; both from the same industry and same trade-union and also outside irrespective of what trade-union you belong to. Horizontal links are forbidden but it is up to you to defy this prohibition: working in the RTUMFC you have full rights to contacts, exchange of information and experiences and to co-ordination of further activity irrespective of trade-union membership.

Only your own activity is a real check to the gradual totalisation of our life and only direct action can prevent a return to the darkest days of Stalinism. Only resistance and the unity of us all can hinder the bureaucracy from repression against students, intellectuals, trade-unionists or any of us. It will be difficult to reintroduce political trials in a country where the workers are prepared to go on strike in protest against these trials. Strike action can have tragic results for the bureaucracy. This joint united resistance against the bureaucratic centre is also the political creed of our Revolutionary Socialist Party. In conditions of active resistance we can struggle for our concepts against others, we can justify them in mutual discussion: in an atmosphere of fear and political trials we will become a small, isolated sect, since we can have no influence over a people largely cynical and despondent. Not only our party, but each one of us is a guarantee of the future development of our society. Everyone must think deeply about what he has done and what he could do for our liberation.

Let us try to inquire into the essence of our system. There can be no talk of socialism here, we are not talking only about Czechoslovakia. If we examine this system, we must evidently always come to the necessity of an antibureaucratic, genuinely socialist revolution. It turns out that the CPCz and the unions are bound by warnings and instructions from above, from the moment they are prepared to respect them. Thus they are progressively

becoming, just like the state and economic apparatus, the army, the police and the courts, mere tools of bureaucratic power. Two things follow from this:

1. Not to abandon the positions which the workers have, especially in the TUs, RTUM FCs. We must hold them chiefly because it is within our power to prevent repressions and safeguard the interests of the workers in the face of the higher organs. It is of course not possible to have any illusions that the unions and the CPCz could become really revolutionary instruments of the workers. The decisive factor will of course obviously be the struggles of the independent organisations of the workers against the bureaucratic power. The situation hitherto -- especially in the unions -- permits a certain faction in the committees of the RTUM to agree in advance on united action against the conservative minority which may consider itself bound by party discipline. In numerous party organisations it is then possible to declare a complete boycott of commands from above, wait for the dissolution and set up other forms of struggle after dissolution -- illegal work by the revolutionary part of the organisation, of course strictly conspiratorial. It could pay to follow a policy of not voluntarily leaving the CPCz, but merely disengaging from it. This will cause the bureaucracy a lot of difficulties, and at the same time help the polarisation of forces: those who will progress further, those who retire into private life and those who sell themselves to Husak.

2. Gradually to build up illegal groups, which will work alongside the legal activity in the RTUM and the CPCz, and if we eventually lose our positions in those organisations, will go over to exclusively illegal activity, of which we spoke at the beginning. It is important for them to have an influence on the workers, even if nobody can know that they belong to such a group. They must also have contacts in other factories, which should always be maintained only between two comrades, so as to minimise the risk of exposure. Do not keep any printed matter in rooms at the factory: rely on your memory, not on a notebook or address book. Collect information, meet, pass on the information, publish it on wall newspapers. Do not let us allow ourselves to be driven into retreat, let us not turn our backs just out of cowardice. The atmosphere at workplaces depends only on our courage and cunning. We are the overwhelming majority and against us



there stand only a handful of people.

At the present time in our country discussions are going about variants of the overall social programme. Our conception is that of a socialist, self-managing society, of direct democracy of the producers. It is that of the fulfilment of the age-old ideals of free peoples, ideals of liberty, equality and brotherhood, which can be reached only by the removal of class differences and the creation of the possibility for everyone to decide individually about his own life, about his work and its results. But for our society to reach these socialist goals, it must — we are convinced — pass through a revolutionary process, must first of all destroy the bureaucracy as a social stratum, which means that it must take political and economic power from it. This is connected also with the destruction of all the repressive instruments of its power, especially the StB,

State Security Police (Czech KGB), the army, the so-called people's militia and the censorship, simply to destroy the state apparatus and introduce general arming of the people. The working people, which will thus take power, will combine according to its own interests in various organisations, which will put forward various conceptions and programmes. But its will will be expressed through its own non-party institutions — councils at the workplaces, in the various branches of industry, a central council of workers and organs of self-management of the people in towns and villages. These councils will no longer be responsible to a bureaucratic centre, but to the workers, who in an atmosphere of free discussion, freedom of the press and of assembly and association will themselves see to it that their representatives express their interests. We are, however, of the opinion that our people cannot set out on this road alone: the geographic and economic situation does not allow that, the power of the international bureaucracy run from the Kremlin will not permit it. The revolutionary process must spread to other countries: in co-operation with the people of those countries we want to live and work in the future. But not even our central and eastern Europe can be separated from other countries — socialism pre-supposes the co-operation and brotherhood of the people of the whole world. And therefore our sympathies are on the side of the Latin American partisans, the French students and workers, who in May 1968 gave to the workers of Western Europe a socialist alternative for their future; on the side of the Vietnamese, who are fighting against American imperialism. For the world is only one, and people must decide whether they will accept the alternative of Messrs Nixon, Breznev or Franco, the alternative of passivity, fear, and unfreedom, or the alternative of a free, socialist society. We believe that the Czechoslovak people will take one of the first places in this decision. Our programme will be constantly perfected and will be influenced by the sharpening tensions and contradictions in our countries between the workers, the intelligentsia and the students on the one hand and the bureaucracy, led by the pro-Moscow power centre, on the other. That is how we understand the class viewpoint in this historical period.

This programme cannot be realised unless numerous groups of vanguard workers and technicians, intellectuals and students exert every effort to organise. The organisations which arise, irrespective of differences in conception and programme would have to work together and carry out actions in common: they could join in a Front of popular resistance. Some of you may possibly join our party, and gradually gain contact. We would like to co-operate with other organisations and parties.

An important place in the popular resistance will of course be taken by the young, who are not bound by family responsibilities and worries and who were most severely hit in August — they lost their perspectives and again became deprived of rights. The bureaucracy will be convinced that this youth without rights is a historical powderkeg of great explosive force. We all consider our programme for the next period to be:

1. To support and uphold as much as possible popular activity, independent actions by the workers, to keep each other informed and to maintain as close contact as possible with workers of other factories.
2. To hold the positions gained in the CPCZ, in the unions at workplaces.
3. At the same time to found small illegal groups on a strictly conspiratorial basis. To link up together, to carry out activities in concert and to work out in them a programme for anti-bureaucratic struggle, for the taking of power, a programme for the future socialist society.

AUGUST 1969.  
Ideological Commission of the  
Central Committee of the Revolutionary  
Socialist Party of Czechoslovakia  
READ IT — COPY IT OUT — PASS IT ON

# Poland

On November 27, 1964, Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, both lecturers at Warsaw University, were expelled from the Polish United Workers' Party, the ruling Communist party of Poland. Subsequent to their expulsion, both men have repeatedly been imprisoned.

The basis for their expulsion was a document they had written analyzing the Polish economic and political system, attacking the regime and calling for workers' democracy. Their original document was confiscated at the time of their arrest, but a second version, "An Open Letter to the Party," was smuggled out of Poland in 1966, and reprinted widely by socialists in Europe and the United States.

Written from the standpoint of uncompromising revolutionary socialist opposition to both capitalism and the bureaucratic ruling class of the "Communist" societies, the Kuron and Modzelewski document put forward their program for a Polish revolutionary socialist movement, and presented an economic interpretation of the "Eastern central political bureaucracy," including statistical data in sharp conflict with many of the apologies for Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Russia.

The following letter from a Polish correspondent (translated by Anna Paczuska), reprinted from *International Socialism* (England) Oct/Nov 1969, confirms the analysis made in "An Open Letter to the Party," and discusses the growth of a revolutionary movement among students and workers which points in the same direction as the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Czechoslovakia.

On the whole, the present situation in Poland bears out the analysis made by Kuron and Modzelewski, although since the publication of their document it has undergone certain changes.

The signs of domestic crisis are constantly apparent — even increasing prices are rising significantly, disproportionately to the small increase in wages. The apparent rise in the standard of living is due only to the rise in employment. For practical purposes, virtually all adults are employed, the majority have more than one job (working on average about 10 hours daily six days a week).

This must inevitably lead to the continued relative decrease in the rate of production. Thus the necessary concessions made by the bureaucracy to the better living standard of the people have caused a decrease in investment and a fall in exports.

The crisis in the housing situation is growing. In large towns it is necessary to wait five to 10 years for your own small flat. People are living in overcrowded conditions. Young married couples often have to live apart. This situation prevails despite the shifting of the cost of construction from the state to future tenants.

The long-term crisis explains the stand taken by the Polish bureaucracy on many questions, international and internal. For example, Poland is the chief advocate of economic and political integration with the rest of the COMECON — chiefly as a result of the desperate situation with Polish exports to the West, which is markedly worse than that of other East European countries.

On the political scene, the internal crisis, more so than personal ambitions, has sparked off factional fighting within the bureaucracy. The governing group is attacked both by the right wing nationalist group and by the technocrats. The left wing, which revived its activity during the events in Czechoslovakia, has been smashed and deprived of all influence within the party.

It has to be stated clearly, however, that these fights within the bureaucracy arouse no emotions in the public. They are regarded in much the same way as horse races, with the knowledge that no individual victory can in any way change the way of life.

The universal and undisguised disgust with the bureaucracy sometimes takes on the dimensions of observable political actions. The official sources of propaganda do not give out news on the sporadic strikes, but news of them is widely circulated among the people. As a result of the situation in Poland the strikes are mainly economically motivated: less frequently they touch the question of the organisation of production.

In a few factories solidarity strikes have blown up. One of the newspapers in Krakow (Cracow) included a note about dozens of people reporting to first aid centres as a result of being mauled by dogs at their place of work. This was the only official report of the brutal breaking-up of a strike in one of the largest steel combines in Nowa Huta.

Official propaganda blames the cause of the confusion on the enemies of the State and class enemies (Zionists, imperialists, the 'golden youth', the native and

foreign bourgeoisie, revisionist elements in the party and the intelligentsia, Czech agents and West German trouble-makers). Initially this deceived the people in the provinces who had no direct contact with students. Only prolonged propaganda in addition to various administrative manoeuvres such as the class criteria pertaining to university entry, succeeded in dividing public opinion.

The bureaucracy managed to arouse the anti-intellectual and nationalist (anti-Semitic and anti-Czech) instincts of a significant portion of the population. The base for these sentiments is provided by the traditionally reactionary and Catholic sector of the older generation. On the other hand, there is hardly any support for these views among the younger generation, with the exception perhaps of careerists in the youth organisations.

Actions brought against activists in strikes and the expulsion of many from universities has considerably weakened the student movement. Propaganda 'exposed' all those with Jewish names and those connected (often only by family ties), with 'doubtful' personalities in high places. At the same time it was announced that parents would be responsible for the activities of their children, which greatly increased the pressure of public opinion opposing student agitators. In the same way intellectual groupings and Liberal Catholic opposition were silenced.

Leafletting activities led to the formation of a left student movement. Politically connected with the programme of Kuron and Modzelewski, this group is the remnant of that network existing in 1968 which coordinated the activities of students in various centres. It has activists in nearly every academic institution, so leafletting activities (eg., on May 1, 1968 and 1969, and on the occasion of the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the first anniversary of the strikes of students in their places of learning) were carried out simultaneously in many colleges.

Otherwise, despite political repression, fragmentation by means of artificial social divisions, indoctrination and spying as a result of the activities of official youth organisations, the student environment is constantly stimulated politically. This is demonstrated by talks and discussions, by demonstrations in the lecture halls during the trials of fellow students, the spontaneous expressions of solidarity with workers who have been sacked from their jobs, and with those who have been sent down from their studies, and total 'isolation' of members of the official youth organisations.

Thus the left revolutionary movement potentially has a large support among students, but, at the present moment there are few opportunities for organisation. The rest of the population, absorbed with the difficulties of everyday existence, and stupefied by propaganda both from the party and bourgeois environments (foreign radio stations), appears to be awaiting any change.

The experiences of Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia during the years 1956-68 have led to the predominance of a pessimistic certainty that the essential changes needed in Poland are not possible without preceding changes in the USSR. It seems that this pessimism is, in part at least, justified.



# Crisis in the Subways

Irving Hochberg

**A**s of January 1, 1970, transit fares in New York City have gone up 50%. By increasing subway and bus fares to 30¢, the state has effectively reduced the pay of every worker in the city by \$1.00 or \$2.00 a week.

To a worker bringing home \$100.00 a week, the transit increase means a reduction of his income by one or two percent, or one or two weeks pay a year going to pay his increased transportation costs. And this on top of the decreased purchasing power of the dollar, during this highly inflationary period.

The state and Mayor Lindsay are attempting to foist the blame for the increase of transit fares on the T. W. U.'s new contract. The contract, which will increase salaries 18% over two years, provides only the minimum salary increase needed by every wage earner simply to hold the line in the present period. The T. W. U.'s last contract, which won raises of 11% over two years, was entirely negated by the inflationary spiral. In essence, the last contract resulted in no salary increase at all.

What was missing from the new contract was a serious attempt to insure that a fare increase would not be tied to the salary increase. One of the demands put forward this year in bargaining by the union, as it has been put forward in every recent contract negotiation, was the demand for no subway fares. But the T. W. U. leadership made no attempt to fight for it.

### Key Demand

This demand, however, is a key one and by not fighting for it, the T. W. U. permitted the city to drive a wedge between the transit workers and the balance of the workers in New York. The possibility of eliminating fares entirely is what the state is trying to hide by blaming the fare increase on the new T. W. U. contract. And the Transit Workers Union has done nothing to educate the public in regard to the game the city is playing.

The facts concerning the chronic transit deficit have relevance to struggles within the T. W. U., as well as to all New York wage earners. When the Transit Authority was created in 1953, the underlying consideration was to put New York City's transportation system on a self-supporting basis. In reality, what it meant was that the business interests of the city, which most profit from mass transit and depend upon it, would no longer have to contribute to its upkeep through taxation.

It was with the establishment of an independent transit entity that the condition of the New York City subways deteriorated rapidly. The Transit Authority could point to its balance sheet and claim to be unable to improve conditions without raising the transit fare. When fares go up after a new contract is signed, it is the union which bears the onus for the fare increase.

The union did not fight the formation of a separate transit authority in any significant way, and this failure of leadership is one of the issues brought against the present T. W. U. leadership by a rank and file opposition group.

Unfortunately, this rank and file group has chosen the T. W. U.'s refusal to sign the no strike pledge of the Taylor Law, an oppressive piece of anti-strike legislation created to break every New York City employees' union, as an issue to use in the courts to have the T. W. U. struck down as the bargaining agent for the transportation workers.

The opposition group apparently believes that any tactic is acceptable in defeating the T. W. U. leadership, and totally loses sight of the much larger issue of protection for the city workers and the fight against anti-trade union legislation.

Why is the Transit Authority really in trouble? The city never mentions that a full fourth of the Transit Authority budget is being used to pay debt service. Much of this debt was initially created when the city was forced to purchase the subways from private ownership at grossly inflated prices. The balance of the debt was accumulated by the almost constant transit deficit, which the city would have continued to subsidize, if the Transit Authority had not been created.

Simply by refusing to pay the fourth of the budget going to debt service the city could have paid in full the \$120 million T. W. U. contract without any fare increase whatsoever.

By increasing property taxes, stock transfer taxes, and a wide range of business taxes, and by refusing

to continue payment of bonds and interest charges to the robber barons who originally ran the subways, transit service could be provided free to all New York workers. In fact, not only could the present service be continued, but two motormen could be put on each train to insure safety, as had been done previously, and a system of preventative maintenance could be instituted.

It is the T. W. U., which should have led the fight against the fare, in the same way that the social service workers in New York must lead the fight against the welfare system in a fight for jobs for all.

As long as city employees permit the state to isolate them in the eyes of the other workers of New York, and to organize their struggle as one against the best interests of the citizens of New York, no real substantive gains can be made. The city of New York has used this tactic in the sanitation strike and the hospital strike as well as against the transit workers.

This tactic can be fought only by going to the people and exposing it for what it is, and by counterposing the interests of the workers and the interests of the state.



# ULSTER: THE SUMMER OF OUR DISCONTENT

## AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

Robert St-Cyr

Ever since Ireland was partitioned in 1921, as a means toward ending the War of Independence, communal strife has periodically recurred in the Six Counties of Northern Ireland, the area which remained an integral part of the United Kingdom while the other twenty-six counties were granted limited independence.

The current period of unrest and violence dates from an illegal march for civil rights, held in the border city of Derry on October 5 one year ago. The demonstrators were attacked by the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the police of Northern Ireland, who drove the people into the Catholic workers' neighborhood of Bogside and further terrorized the inhabitants by invading houses.

Most Irish people, whether Protestant or Catholic, and on either side of the frontier, see the source of Ulster's unrest in traditional terms. From one side, it is suppressed Catholics of the North struggling against the dominant Protestant majority for equal rights and/or the reunification of the island; from the opposite side of the sectarian divide it appears as an attempt by the Catholic majority of Ireland as a whole to deprive Ireland's Protestant minority of its right to political self-determination and religious liberty.

"The Irish," said Bernard Shaw, "are a people divided by the same language." For the first four hundred years of English rule in Ireland (C. 1200 -- 1600) this was not true. Language and culture divided the Anglo-Irish from the Gaelic-speaking, "native" Irish. The Protestant Reformation which swept through most of Western Europe in the sixteenth century found little popular interest in Ireland where English colonial policy had stifled indigenous intellectual life and economic development.

The Irish of both linguistic groups regarded the English government's protestantisation of the Irish Church as only another form of "British imperialism." Loyalty to Catholicism became a mark of patriotism and resistance to English rule, and was so treated by the crown. (Ironically, it was the English conquest of the twelfth century which originally imposed the Continental pattern of Roman Catholicism upon Ireland, which had had its own unique and vibrant form of Catholicism for six centuries previously.)

In the seventeenth century the English decided to settle British Protestants on the lands of rebel Catholic lords and chiefs. Because the Ulster chiefs were the last to surrender, the Protestant Plantation centered on this region. The lands were granted to Protestants, who would then supposedly bring over Protestant settlers. The defeated Catholic peasantry, however, having nowhere to go (many of their lords found employment in Continental Catholic armies), was often willing to suffer exorbitant exploitation at the hands of the Protestant grantees.

For this reason, plus London's enforcement of mercantile colonialism in Ireland, opportunities for British planters were limited and Ulster remained about half Catholic. Since the law discriminated so harshly not only against the Papist religion but also against Catholics in the professions, trades and inheritance, marriages into Protestant families and conversions were not rare prior to 1800. Still, bitterness and hostility, erupting into massacres, was the pattern of communal relations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Catholics hated Protestants for the reasons outlined above. Protestants, in turn, feared Catholic revanchism. Protestant peasants, furthermore, sometimes found their Catholic neighbors undercutting them in dealing with the landlords. Their solution was often to band together into armed gangs which would drive the Catholics away, thus strengthening their hand in dealings with the owner. (The law forbade Catholics to bear arms and barred them from jur-

ies which meant that Protestant attacks on Catholics often went unpunished in the courts.) The Orange lodges, founded in 1795, helped to worm their way into Protestant hearts by organizing to expel Catholics.

The more important function of the Loyal Orange Institution (named after the Dutch prince, William of Orange, later William III of England, who defeated his Catholic father-in-law, James II, in Ireland in 1690 during the latter's attempt to restore himself to the English throne) was to inculcate monarchism and anti-Catholicism under the banner of Protestant solidarity. Implicitly, of course, this meant under the leadership of the Protestant landlords.

Orangism, while intimately associated with the Established Church, provided an extra-denominational vehicle to overcome the divergent political orientations of Established Church (minority) vs. dissenting Protestants (majority). When, in 1866, the Episcopal Church of Ireland was disestablished, the Orange task became easier.

At the time "the Lodge" was founded, some Protestants were advocating patriotic co-operation with Catholics, under the inspiration of the French and American Revolutions, to end feudal privileges and English colonialism. Most of the leaders of the United Irish Society, the organization which sparked the national uprising of 1798, were Protestant petit-bourgeois or intellectuals. To make a long, and complex, story short: the Orange Lodge won out and Protestant radicalism failed to take root. As Irish nationalism developed again through the nineteenth century it did so with little support from the masses of Protestant people. Nationalism -- in the Protestant mind, at least -- became synonymous with Catholicism.

Although most Protestants vigorously opposed Ireland's right to independence, once it became clear that this could not be prevented they determined to resist it in that area (i.e., six of the northern province of Ulster's nine counties) where they were a decisive majority. (Actually two of these six counties had Catholic majorities but this did not disturb the secessionists' reasoning.) Britain supported them and, before granting dominion status to the rest of Ireland, forced the revolutionary government to accept this "temporary" partition. That was forty-seven years ago.

Civil war followed among the national liberation forces, as those loyal to the no-partition, total-independence Republic of 1919 refused to accept the authority of the "collaborationist traitors," otherwise known as Free Staters. The Free Staters, aided by Britain, won, and the border has remained.

On the northern side of the border, politics have been rather sterile for half a century. Approximately sixty-five per cent of the population is Protestant and except for about 10-15% of the Protestant voters, is firmly wedded to the conservative, Unionist Party whose aristocratic leader, until 1963, officially proclaimed the party slogan to be "a Protestant government for a Protestant people." The remaining thirty-five per cent (Roman Catholics and politically committed to the eradication of the border) were, in Prime Minister Lord Brookeborough's terms, "traitors to the constitution" who should be grateful that they received equal access to social services. They were not, however, to have equal access to jobs, housing, local government control or the police.

Since superior force was used to suppress the Republicans within Northern Ireland, the "nationally-

minded" (i.e., Catholic) people had only the legal and pacific Nationalist Party to turn to at election time. The Republican movement remained underground and on-the-run, occasionally emerging to contest an election or to organize a bombing campaign. When its candidates would win a seat (sometimes while serving a prison sentence) -- either at Westminster or in the Northern Ireland Parliament at Stormont -- they would refuse to claim it, thus demonstrating that their electors denied the legitimacy of either government to rule over Irish affairs. The Nationalists would attend at Stormont, but "reluctantly" and without assuming the role of official opposition to which their numbers would have entitled them.

This role then fell to the Labour Party which usually ranked third. This group once tried to ignore the border question and to attack the Unionist government on social and economic issues. The Unionist oligarchy, through its "popular" organ, the Orange Order, has devoted generations of propaganda and effort to opposing inter-communal associations such as trade unions which might bring people together on economic issues thus challenging their monopoly of power. As a result, religious community and national loyalty are so intimately connected in Ulster that the Unionists -- with their doctrine of Protestant solidarity against "Catholic subversion" -- were able to prevent the Labourites from making headway in spite of the fact that unemployment is higher and wages lower than elsewhere in the United Kingdom.

During the 1950s, the Labour Party, like socialist and trade union movements in Ulster before, was split along communal lines. The Protestant majority affirmed loyalty to the British connection for fear of losing the Protestant workers, while many Catholics left to form such vote-gathering clubs as the "Republic Labour Party." Labour's non-sectarianism and luke-warm endorsement of socialism earned it no favor among the clerically-oriented, bourgeois leadership of the Nationalists.

To this day, in Ulster Republicanism is regarded as an extreme form of "Catholic nationalism" even though the Republicans are far less clerical than the Nationalist Party. The Republicans are sometimes deigned, both by supporters and by enemies, as "nationalists with guns." The leadership of both its political and military segments would take exception to this. They would argue that the organization has, in recent years, adopted a comprehensive democratic and revolutionary socialist program which has caused the defection of right-wing Republicans. The factor which holds the Republican movement together, however, is devotion to a reunified Ireland and the willingness to use force to achieve this goal.

This is where the Irish Republican Army comes in. Ten years ago it was making war against British governmental and military installations in Northern Ireland. This year it was attacking scab laborers' buses at American-owned factories and burning-out German-owned farming estates, not in the North, but in "independent" Ireland. There is, one can see, an unresolved tension within the movement which comes to the fore in crises such as the present communal fighting; that between its patriotism and its socialism.

The Republicans have been encouraged in their efforts by the successes of the Algerian and Vietnamese national liberation struggles. They have traditionally viewed the Protestant "planters" in the same terms as did the Algerians their European colon. Their desire to restore the Gaelic language as the vernacular, something quite alien to the Protestants, accentuates the ethnic differences between the religious communities, and ignores the fact that both are the result of mixtures of the same "racial" groups, Celtic, Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon (Protestants, however, stress "their" Saxon origins while Catholics hark back to "their" Celtic past). Although the Re-

Since the writing of this article, the London government has forced the Six-County premier to accept a program of reforms which includes placing armed auxiliaries and police under permanent Whitehall control, plus disarming the police and admitting far more Catholics to both forces. The prospect of an end to government-sanctioned discrimination and the apparent disbanding of the "Orange Army" sent the Protestant fanatics into frenzy. The Protestant monolith has definitely been split, but, as yet, with only reactionary consequences.

The feeling of betrayal among these people, especially the workers, is overwhelming. For fifty years the Unionist leaders have preached that their lives and freedom of conscience depended upon the "B Specials" and the discrimination. Now their premier is forsaking both. The Ulster Volunteer Force, a secret army committed to a Unilateral Declaration of Independence if necessary to preserve Protestant supremacy, took this occasion to initiate an attack on Her Majesty's forces (Oct. 11-12) in Belfast. On that night, three people were killed and 66 wounded, of whom 21 were British troops.

Paisley has made some efforts to calm the sectarian passions which he devoted years previously to enflaming. Extreme-right leadership has apparently passed into other lesser-known hands, while Paisley seeks to maintain his recently-won respectability with the "responsible" conservatives. William Craig, whom O'Neill fired as "minister of police" in the spring, is again encouraging U. D. I. sentiment.

At present the UVF appears to be better armed than the IRA which continues, at least in Belfast and Derry, to bide its time by cooperating with the "foreign occupying" army. IRA public statements, however, still demand immediate and unilateral British withdrawal.

The IRA command is being pressed by its Ulster units for more arms and permission to take the offensive against the UVF. Cathal Goulding, Chief of Staff, while attending the Convention of the National Association for Irish Justice in New York (Nov. 7-9) did say that the IRA would not attack the UVF because it would only - at this stage - lead to a communal, rather than a class, war.

On its part, the UVF has carried the struggle across the border into the South with the beginnings of a bombing campaign reminiscent of the IRA's own right-wing stage (pre-1962). This can only discredit the Dublin government and play into the hands of the IRA.

The Northern Ireland Labour Party and the Civil Rights Association is suffering strain as the liberals and nationalists seek to restrain, or maybe expel, the left socialists. The PD members who attended the NAJJ Convention, however, were optimistic concerning their influence within the CRA.

PD and the Derry Labourites have begun a speaking and organizational campaign in the South. Eamonn McCann, Michael Farrell and others will be touring the United States in March seeking to raise money and inform Americans about their movement. The National Association for Irish Justice, the representative of the CRA in this country, will be sponsoring them.

Its constituency is mostly Irish workers and students with little participation, and much opposition, from the established Irish Catholic organizations. We presently have affiliates on the East Coast and in Illinois and California. Persons interested in learning about and contributing to, the struggle for justice in Ireland (both parts) are urged to write to: NAJJ, 210 East 23 Street, New York, for contacts and information.

Those in the NAJJ attracted to democratic-revolutionary socialist alternatives have been encouraged to see the discussion of Irish issues lead to critical questions about American world politics. We brought a few people, young and old, to the Washington march who had never previously demonstrated anti-war sentiments. We plan to further direct this process via neighborhood study groups and the Students for Irish Justice. To do this we need people friendly to our goals and those of the democratic Left in Ireland.

Emergency assistance is needed in the Middle West for the March college tour, and only slightly less so on the two coasts. Please send your name, address, and possible contacts, with indication of what you might be able to do in February to: R. St-Cyr, c/o I.S., 874 Broadway, New York, or February Tour, Students for Irish Justice, 210 East 23 St.

publican movement has its roots in rural Catholicism, it is opposed to the privileged position of the Catholic hierarchy in the Dublin government and in favor of complete equality for Protestants in a reunified, workers' and farmers' republic.

The Ulster New Left -- including some young, leftist Republicans -- rejects the traditional symbols and methods of Irish nationalism. While hoping to see the eventual reunification of Ireland, they do not ask the Protestant people to accept the sort of bourgeois-clerical regime which exists in Dublin today. Furthermore, they are convinced that the victory of a workers' republic is delayed by agitation about the national question which only deepens the ancient, sectarian prejudices and prevents the development of class politics.

They agree -- both tactically and ideologically -- that Unionism can not be defeated until the Protestant working class finds it to its own self-interest to reject the Unionist Party for what it is: an uneasy coalition of landed aristocrats and big bourgeois. The Orange order, dominated at the top by these same elements, has successfully popularized Protestant supremacy and solidarity to the working and farming people through parades, traditional festivals, etc., plus the assurance that the biggest pieces of this very small economic pie will go to Protestants.

Some of the IRA apparently still believe that the people of the "Free State" can be mobilized to join in a war of liberation in the North. People's Democracy, with its allies in the Labour Party/Young Socialist Alliance, opposes any movement in this direction since it would obviously strengthen the credibility of the Orange Lodge/Unionist Party. They give their blessing to socialists within and without the Republican movement who seek to make a social revolution in Eire itself, along the lines described by James Connolly, the Marxist labor organizer and martyr of the 1916 Easter Rising.

The civil rights movement in Northern Ireland was brought into the streets within this past year by the New Leftists, followed by liberal elements who wished to break away from the old, sectarian politics. When its popularity among the Catholics could no longer be doubted, even the Nationalist Party tried to get on the bandwagon. But the Stormont election of February showed that this group had been repudiated.

The legal opposition (legal, that is, prior to the August 12 outbreak) is now divided essentially into two: the liberals, whose most outstanding personalities are the new, young M. P. s, John Hume, (Catholic owner of a Derry salmon-packing plant) and Ivan Cooper (Protestant shirt factory manager from Derry, who was elected from a Catholic division), versus the People's Democracy/Labour Left.

Since Northern Ireland is a sub-state based on Protestant privilege, non-sectarian, bourgeois liberal democracy is still to be attained there. This fact causes disputes within the socialist ranks. The liberals (and Catholic clericalists) within the civil rights leadership oppose the building of a working class movement. If socialists split from the movement, they risk alienating those Catholic workers who give their support to a movement for civil rights, but are clearly opposed to splitting Catholic solidarity -- not because they are anti-Protestant bigots but simply because they believe such a split would be suicidal.

Eamonn McCann, a leader of the left-wing of the Derry Labour Party, feels that socialists must overcome the communal barrier, and holds that Protestant workers can never be won away from Orange prejudice as long as they see Catholic workers marching alongside Catholic factory owners, even if the issues are distinctly non-sectarian ones.

Michael Farrell, chief spokesman of PD, disagrees somewhat. He would not abandon the whole civil rights movement, although he agrees that Protestant workers are not going to join a movement for non-sectarian, democratic rights. Farrell believes that "dogmatic Marxian" categories are not appropriate guides to this stage of the Ulster working-class movement.

While workers and farmers presently may be frightened by Marxian language, he argues, they are ready to rally around a housing or unemployment campaign, thus forcing the hand of the bourgeois "leaders" who must follow in their wake. Where the local civil rights leadership forbids the raising of socio-economic issues, Farrell agrees, they must be clearly opposed even at the risk of setting back the whole civil rights movement.

This was an important reason behind PD's decision to go ahead with a government-banned demonstration at Enniskillen on July 26, which centered around jobs, housing, and a gerrymandered county council. The local civil rights association is dominated by Nationalists who agreed to accept the government's

ban. The PD march was intended to discredit this bourgeois leadership.

PD is convinced that they must press ahead in the development of non-sectarian, working class consciousness among those who are receptive. At present, they recognize that Protestant workers are unreachable. Farrell hopes that Protestant workers may begin to put pressure on the precarious Unionist monolith as they see Catholic workers improving their lot by collective action. Paisley's fascist-like movement of Protestant backlash, based on the lower classes, including the Protestant unemployed, may play that role in spite of itself. Paisley's election program was full of social welfare demands (a reflection of the Nazi program) and he used to urge his followers to leave the Orange lodges dominated by the "big houses" who have "forsaken the interests of the ordinary Protestant people" to join his own independent Orange Order.

There is no doubt that Catholic workers are rethinking their own prejudices towards Protestants, but they still have a long way to go. The vicious tactics and quasi-religious rhetoric of the Paisleyites doesn't help the secularization of Catholics. The week of the Enniskillen march incidents occurred on the picket line at the Courtauld's chemical plant near Belfast which gave some encouragement to PD. Construction workers engaged in an unofficial strike sat down to prevent the entry of trucks. The police attacked them, including Protestant strikers wearing Unionist badges. When PD/Young Socialists went out to support the pickets, the FIC staged a repeat performance. A week later, the strike was given official recognition and no trucks passed the line. Scab laborers imported from the country were even persuaded by the picketers to return home.

The Twelfth of August commemorated the Relief of the Siege of Derry in 1689, and is the second "holy day" of Orangism (The Twelfth of July, the Battle of the Boyne (1690) victory of William being the first). Many thousands of Orangemen were expected in Derry, a city of 53,000 with a Catholic majority. A "walk" traditionally takes place atop the city's walls and, judging by the Twelfth of July, rioting was anticipated well in advance. The government stationed the Ulster Special Constabulary, or "B Specials," in Derry to handle any troubles. The "B Specials" are a kind of part-time SS recruited largely from the Orange lodges. Ill-disciplined and notoriously arrogant, they were the factor most likely to contribute to communal warfare.

While PD/YSA were planning to conduct a campaign among the Catholic workers and youth to prevent indiscriminate attacks on Protestants, they were also considering, with the Republicans, measures for self-defence should the government unleash the Paisleyites and "B men."

Since the Unionist regime is sustained by the perpetuation of anti-Catholic hatred and fear it was essential to that regime that the Orange organization known as the Apprentice Boys of Derry hold the annual "victory march" through Derry even though they knew it would be regarded as a hostile gesture by the majority of this once all-Protestant city. When it was clear that the parade would not be called off -- while the PD march at Enniskillen was banned on the grounds that it was "likely to cause a breach of the peace" -- Catholic bourgeois leaders, along with some prominent Unionists, began to organize the "Progress through Peace" campaign.

This slogan was rejected by Eamonn McCann and the socialist Republican representative when they spoke at the Catholic community meeting of the 10th. McCann advised against fighting on the 12th because the reasons would be wrong. The time to fight, he said, would come later, and the war would be directed not only against the Unionists but against some of the Catholic bourgeois who were sitting on the platform with him. Never again, according to McCann, would he speak on a platform of Catholic solidarity.

All weekend rumors circulated through Bogside, which lies under the city walls, and Creggan, on the heights above Bogside, to the effect that Paisleyite gangs from Ulster and Scotland were converging on Derry bent on murder. The fighting will of many Catholics was increased by the knowledge that Irish Army troops were maneuvering in Donegal hardly fifteen miles away. Most believed that should the fighting become too heavy Dublin was prepared to intervene.

On the night of the 11th, a Derry Labourite returned from a visit to the Irish troops to assure us that their mission was to seal their side of the frontier should Donegal Catholics wish to come to the aid of



those in Derry. Subsequently the army provided field hospitals for treating the wounded who feared to be taken to hospitals in Northern Ireland.

Monday night was the beginning of the traditional Protestant celebrations in Fountain Street, the crowded workers' slum just outside the walls and in the shadow of the Protestant cathedral, where everything was decorated in Union Jacks, pennants, murals of historic events in Irish Protestantism, and "altars" in the streets consisting of plaster crowns upon Bibles (monarchism resting upon Protestantism). At dark the bonfires were lit.

Next day the bands and marchers went by, in and out the beloved walls, for hours on end. Police barricades were set up to fence off the Bogside. At one point, where the barricades came within a stone's throw of the parade, a Catholic crowd gathered to jeer. Leaders of the Catholic defense committee made strenuous efforts to prevent attacks. One Scottish socialist was more successful by explaining to the youths that the blacks in America did not seek to attack white people but rather the police who, as in Bogside, often terrorize black neighborhoods. He found a receptive audience when he explained that energy and rocks should be conserved for the police who would likely try to enter Bogside after dark. But passions ran high as thousands of staunch supporters of Orange privilege passed by with banners flying and pipe playing. By four o'clock the war was on and the barricading of Bogside began.

The advance of armored police vehicles was met with hail of stones and petrol bombs. Early in the evening an armored car succeeded, after repeated attempts, in breaking through the main barricade at Rossville Street. Armored cars and vans then raced into to the bogside as thousands fled in terror. They were attacked, however, by dozens of men and young boys. When petrol bombs and bricks were exhausted several youths lept onto speeding vehicles and attempted to tear away the protecting wire mesh with their bare hands. I could see others advancing toward riot policemen with drawn pistols.

When the vehicles withdrew (under orders) assault waves of thousands raced toward the last of the riot squad. A few cornered police fired shots. At least one was battered to the ground and fled in panic leaving his shield which was quickly taken by one of his thirteen-year-old attackers. Through the days of fighting men in their twenties remarked in awe at the ferocity and courage of the "wee lads." On the first day weeping mothers came to tear their children away from the barricades. In the end, these women were making tea for the freedom fighters, ripping cloth for bandages and petrol bomb wicks, all the while bragging about how many sons they had on the battle lines. Children too small for the fight helped to dig trenches and make petrol bombs.

The ordinary "man on the barricades" came to distinguish socialists from liberals in terms that socialists were for fighting on, while the liberals were for truce. But even some of the shopkeepers and businessmen who were urging restraint were themselves in the forefront of the battles once they started.

No one was heeded except those seen in the front lines of battle. Bernadette Devlin, M.P. for Mid-Ulster, McCann and many others of the Derry Labour Party were usually to be found in just such positions. During one tear gas attack I was with McCann when press statements and leaflets needed to be written. We stopped in a house just long enough for his eyes to clear and then he went back to the lee of the barricade, under stones and gas, to write the statement.

Some nationalists and Catholic clericalists in the United States are misrepresenting the wishes of the Ulster resistance. The Catholic people of Ulster, indeed all anti-Unionists, would like the British troops in the North to protect them. Ulster Catholics have finally learned that the Dublin army will not (because of control by British capitalism the Dublin government can not) come to their aid. If, however, the London government does not impose full democratic reforms on the Unionist clique (including the disbandment of the "B Specials" and reorganization of the RUC) then these same people will attack the British troops. If Britain tries to restore the status quo ante an IRA-inspired mutiny in the "Free State" army may become feasible.

It should not be forgotten, however, that 65% of the area's people remain loyal to Unionism and that an even larger proportion of the urban working class is Protestant (though not all Unionist). It remains unlikely that Irish reunification will come about until class politics transcends the religious barriers. In Northern Ireland, at least, social revolution is a prerequisite to national liberation.

# ...feedback...

## CORPORATE LIBERALISM AND THE WAR

"The American antiwar movement is at a crossroads. In the next period it will either extend itself in program and in class composition or it will (in one way or another) be led by the nose back into the ranks of "respectable dissent" from which it originally emerged. It is not at all certain which path the movement will take.

"Those who wish to drag us back (and to the Right) typically argue that the war is some sort of aberrant mistake, the product of demented minds, throbbing egos - of anything but the natural and logical functioning of the American capitalist system. From their analysis it is only a few short hops into the Democratic Party where, in a series of deft maneuvers, we replace Bad Guys with Good, elect them to office, and sit back as the (now progressive) USA goes pattering on its merry way."

This parody of the liberal line is only slightly more ridiculous than the straight-faced original. In the face of such obfuscating (it is too generous to call it "oversimplified") nonsense, radicals must counterpose a clear and accurate analysis.

The kernel of that analysis is our understanding (in Art Lipow's words in the December IS) "the war is not and never has been a mistake." The war against Vietnam followed - both conceptually and in practice - from basic foreign policy precepts and procedures which reflect the nature of the capitalist system and the broad goals of its ruling class and which are shared, therefore, by all bourgeois politicians - Democrats and Republicans, conservatives and liberals.

In line with this analysis we point out, it is programmatically futile and absurd to depend upon such a system or such politicians to produce a fundamentally new foreign policy - i.e., to repudiate the politics which in fact led the U.S. into Vietnam. Therefore, we do not join the Democratic Party. We do not campaign for liberal politicians. We do not put our faith in "pressure politics." We do not pretend that a single-issue antiwar effort is adequate for the kind of social struggle necessary to impose a non-imperialist policy. Instead, we attempt to metamorphose the movement into an explicitly anti-imperialist one and to broaden its base to embrace the American working class. Such a program, I think, flows from a clear and accurate analysis.

The problem is that Art Lipow's interpretation of "the war is no mistake" is neither clear nor accurate - if I understand him correctly. As a consequence, the program which really flows from that analysis (as opposed to the program he happens to append to it) confronts the movement once again with liberal cooptation.

This is because Art tries to get too much mileage out of a mechanical dependence of U.S. capitalism upon victory in Vietnam. As a consequence of such over-optimism, he leaves (implicitly at least) too little emphasis on the need for conscious, radical effort in the antiwar movement.

Art equates the fact that capitalist politics got the U.S. into the war (quite true) with the rather

bland assertion that the U.S. cannot withdraw defeated without shaking capitalism to its foundations; an equation which is not exactly a tautology. As a result, Art winds up describing a situation in which (despite Art's own protests to the contrary) the critical necessity for consciously broadening and radicalizing the antiwar movement is questionable at least.

Thus he speaks of the "inability of Nixon or the Democrats to end the war without abandoning a major premise of the cold war policy to which both parties have subscribed..." Art says further, "To liquidate the war by the withdrawal of American troops and supplies and support for the corrupt dictatorship of Thieu would deal a powerful blow to the entire foreign policy which both parties have consistently supported since the end of World War II."

But Art goes even further. Not only would such a course of events force the "abandoning of a major premise" of U.S. foreign policy, thereby dealing the entire policy itself "a powerful blow," Art sets out his broader perspective earlier. Point-blank: "American capitalism requires a victory in Vietnam." (emphasis added)

Proceeding from his analysis, Art explains the recent actions of the liberal politicians. In his view, for example, Fulbright postponed his Committee's Vietnam hearings and scheduled them behind closed doors because Fulbright feared "the kind of public exposure which would feed antiwar sentiment," and because "bringing down Nixon may well bring down the entire structure; Fulbright and his friends are going to be very careful about that." For the same reason, Art adds, "the liberals who supported the Moratorium on Oct. 15... failed to endorse the Nov. 15 Mobilization..." Before we examine the overall thesis, let us take another look at these last two corollaries.

The first thing to say is that Art paints the subject too simply. There are indeed chicken-hearted liberals more frightened of breaking with their traditions than bent on getting the Vietnam albatross off their necks. Such types did indeed stay away from the Mobilization. The same types voted to close the doors of the Vietnam hearings. But these form only part of the picture.

Some rather prominent corporate liberals did endorse and take part in the Mobilization, among them Al Lowenstein, George McGovern, Charles Goodell, and Eugene McCarthy. And while the majority of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee opted for secrecy, other members (most loudly Fulbright himself) denounced the decision and insisted that testimony be public - precisely in order to feed the flames of antiwar sentiment.

As for the postponement of the hearings past the date set for Nixon's much-heralded speech on the war: it was quite clear at the time of postponement that the motive was fear of having the hearings upstaged by Nixon's little circus. Further, the hearings were postponed to avoid giving the public the impression that Senate doves were out to crucify Nixon even before giving Nixon a chance to tell the public of his policy decisions. It is interesting that within a few days of Nixon's speech, Sen. Goodell (R-NY) restated his demand for "unilateral withdrawal" in a Senate speech.

It seems to me that the radical's job is not to postpone such developments but to recognize them, to acknowledge them, and to try to discern their meaning in the context of other events. Let us try:

One possibility, of course, is that the last "super liberal" politicians are so confused about the nature of the war, foreign policy, and American capitalism that they are unwittingly supporting a movement which will seal their own class doom. That's not impossible (although capitalism's unerring survival instinct ought not to be underestimated), but it's not true, either. (over)

## feedback

American capitalism does not require a victory in Vietnam. No more does American imperialism. In itself the clearest NLF victory need neither imply "abandoning a major premise" of, or delivering "a powerful blow" to U.S. foreign policy. Nor need even the most militant "immediate withdrawal" antiwar movement develop inexorably under the pressure of events into a revolutionary or even very radical, anti-imperialist one. All this is true, I think, for at least two reasons.

(1) No one can force capitalist political theory to be consistent with itself. Where does it say that a foreign policy which leads to a dead end in one case must be re-evaluated? At the same time that they trumpet the call to arms against international Communist revolution, capitalist politicians can also jettison a losing war in Vietnam. There is no Logician-in-the-Sky about to punish capitalist politicians for sidestepping the specific implications of their announced policy where those implications are judged too uncomfortable to accept.

Thus, a fairly rabid brand of American imperialism flourished at the very same time as the U.S. allowed (yes, allowed) Communist victories in China, Cuba, and Indochina in 1954. (In China a long effort to aid the Nationalists against the Communists was judged futile and abandoned. The Cuban revolution was attacked and repulsed in 1961. Kennedy chose to cut losses rather than bail the effort out.)

In 1954 Lyndon Johnson - hardly a foreign policy liberal either before or since - firmly opposed Dulles's proposal to save the French Empire in Indochina by bombing the Viet Minh positions around Dien Bien Phu. That opposition clearly did not stop him from parroting a Dullesian line in Vietnam a decade later. Capitalist political practice has ignored its own theory before where necessary; it will do so again. American imperialist doctrine will survive an NLF victory.

(2) There is no assurance that a U.S. capitulation in Viet-Nam will bring in its wake a significant number of similar losses in the Third World in the foreseeable future. For one thing, the tenacity of the Vietnamese resistance is generally agreed to be almost superhuman, more the product of a history and circumstances more or less peculiar to that country than of some universal strength or spirit common in all third-world nations.

The U.S. Empire has been able to deal with colonial disturbances before with smaller loss of human and material resources than in Vietnam (e.g., Guatemala, Iran, Indonesia). A relatively modest but successful colonialist campaign was carried out well into the Vietnamese war itself (i.e., against the Dominican Republic).

None of this is to say, of course, that social revolution in these countries was permanently blunted; nor that Viet-Nam is the last phenomenon of its kind. Nevertheless it seems overoptimistic to assume that an NLF victory in Vietnam guarantees U.S. defeats everywhere else soon afterward. A secondary implication of this is that briefer and less costly colonial wars are likely to stimulate smaller and less determined antiwar movements in the U.S.

In short, so long as the overall pattern of American imperialism is maintained, isolated setbacks can probably be absorbed in practice and ignored in theory. Thus, there is no point underestimating the flexibility of the corporate liberal wing of the ruling class in this instance; if the analysis above is correct, even the "immediate withdrawal" slogan fails to threaten their most basic interests.

If the threat to American imperialism involved in the Vietnam war does not lie in the NLF, it does lie in the U.S. antiwar movement. But that threat is still only potential. It will require the determined, persistent effort of radicals in the movement to see that threat realized.

To do this will involve turning a movement aimed against one war into a movement fighting the entire imperialist system and all its props - not only military, but economic, diplomatic, psychological, conspiratorial, etc., as well. The movement must demand the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from other countries, and the dismantling of all programs which act as supports for the Empire. We must emphasize that the basis of our op-

position to the war in Vietnam is our belief in self-determination - which, in turn, is rooted in a thorough-going anti-authoritarianism. That anti-authoritarianism we must bring home and apply to American society, embracing explicitly the struggle of working people, women, blacks, students against the authoritarian institutions which mold their lives.

I said the movement's threat to imperialism is still only potential. It is precisely to prevent that potential from being realized - to prevent the antiwar movement from becoming a social movement of much greater challenge - that the most far-sighted section of the American ruling class is trying to identify itself with the antiwar movement, to become the movement's leaders. They seem to lend the movement the "respectability" of their names, while in fact trying to brand the movement with their initials.

They wish to turn the antiwar movement into shock troops for their limited goal of jettisoning one expensive, colonial war. They wish most of all to enlist the antiwar movement in campaigning for liberal politicians. But even if this road is blocked, they will content themselves with pressuring the movement into limiting its scope, its program, its social base - all in the name of maximizing "effectiveness."

It is clear in this light that the antiwar movement can be coopted even before the war ends - coopted into Nixon's liberal opposition. In the end, should the liberals' pressuring win out, our movement will find itself in much the same shape as it would had it joined the Democratic Party outright.

There is no assurance that the corporate liberals will fall. There is no assurance that the war will continue indefinitely, or that the antiwar movement will inevitably grow programmatically and at its social base. There is no "dynamic" which guarantees this.

If an NLF total victory involved the kind of body blow to U.S. capitalism which Art Lipow foresees, the situation would be otherwise, and the prospects much rosier. Unfortunately, Art is too optimistic. And that is precisely why it is so urgent that radicals differentiate themselves from the liberals in the antiwar movement and why it is so absolutely essential that the movement's politics be broadened and deepened.

It may be that I have misinterpreted Lipow. I hope so. In that case perhaps this article will serve merely to emphasize what Art intended to say himself.

Bruce Levine

## REPLY TO SONNENBERG

I enjoyed your letter-to-the-editor and the issues you raised in response to my review of Abbie Hoffman's book. Kit Lyons was correct in pointing out to you that I was not seeing roots for the Yippies in the Surrealist Movement of the 1920s and 30s, but rather in the decadent, surreal currents blowing about in the late nineteenth century. Thus, you spend a good deal of time arguing against something I didn't say.

On the other hand, you claim that the Yippie cultural revolutionaries have their roots in the Surrealist Movement. And then you proceed to show that the Surrealists represented a kind of cultural superstructural arm of Bolshevism. This is so construed by you as to make the implication that present-day cultural revolutionaries (Yippies et al.) are therefore a cultural arm of revolutionary socialism today.

Of course, this is blatantly untrue. Yippie leaders (or non-leaders) are out to build egos, not limbs of a movement; in fact, they want to substitute their cleverness for realistic socialist politics (in the most creative, concrete, complete sense). Whether or not their "base" is more developed or more independent-minded than the leaders is a moot point; I was in my review attacking Hoffman's "ideas," and was not writing off "masses" of young people. You are absolutely right to fault me for inadvertently implying that certain Yippie leaders had the power to trigger specific mass events, however.

I happen to believe that the Yippies, leaders and followers, are not "impotent" (i.e., not powerless as distinct from politically bankrupt). I never said

they were impotent; in fact, that was the reason I took Hoffman's book as seriously as I did. Through Pacifica FM, underground press, "events," and their professional ability to capture overground media attention, they exert an inordinate influence upon young people who are moving and whose consciousness is opening.

My point is to make it clear how and why this influence, as it is given shape by Hoffman and others, is detrimental. They are a negation that the system can not only afford, but can exploit and manage, so that a profit can be made on the market (music, film, clothes, books, magazines, etc.). Most importantly, what they offer as politics is bad politics (elitism, adventurism, anti-working class, anarchic), and what they offer as life is bad life (when it's hard drugs; an existence not conducive to good health; loss of reason, self-reflection, feeling and intelligence.).

But I'd like to pursue an issue you raised that I have also been thinking about -- the narrowness of revolutionary socialist groups (they being probably the most open of the groups on the Left). I think I share many of your beliefs here. It is up to us to fill out Marx on the superstructural level, class-relations, institutions, and beyond (e.g., consciousness, interactions, modes of living, loving, community, art, philosophy, etc.), as well as on the substructural level (monopoly capitalism, bureaucratic collectivism, the imperialist dimension, etc.).

As far as the former is concerned, we need to pay far more attention to contemporary thinkers -- whether bourgeois or not -- who have something to say about social theory, psychology, art, philosophy, etc., while we as revolutionary socialists do a lot more original creative thinking ourselves. We have not yet absorbed and utilized that which is significant in Lukács, Goldmann, French Existentialism, The Frankfurt School, Freud, Reich, The Surrealists, the role-theorists, etc. And our socialism is the poorer for this.

It's not a personal matter; it's a political matter in the human way Marx conceived of politics. (We shouldn't reject thinkers because they are bourgeois; just as Marx didn't reject classical economist and Hegelians because they were bourgeois. You critically learn from them.)

One thing is clear, however: Hoffman and his pals have nothing to contribute here. Hoffman's "freedom" would amount to exposing himself on Channel 13. What we need to begin with is revolutionary socialist superstructural theory toward which practice can be directed and with which it can begin to interact. This is not building counter-culture, but furthering revolutionary socialist consciousness. It is not idealist or utopian; it's finding the possible within the "is" and functioning accordingly.

This real Culture does not exist anywhere -- under capitalism, bureaucratic collectivism, or in the negative enclaves therein. In fact, to my knowledge, it has never existed. But it is possible, is necessary to strengthen our movement and tradition, and it is Marxist. We can't wait until the revolution is over to begin to think about how to live.

P.S.: My disagreements with Hoffman and his pals politically in no way dims my support for Hoffman and the others in "The Chicago Conspiracy" trial. I am unalterably opposed to this trial and to all acts of political repression.

Bill Gerchow



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# program in brief

We stand for socialism: collective ownership and democratic control of the economy through workers' organizations, established by a revolution from below and aimed toward building a classless society. We stand for an internationalist policy, completely opposed to all forms of class exploitation and in solidarity with the struggles of all oppressed peoples.

We believe in socialism from below, not dispensation from above. Our orientation has nothing in common with the various attempts to permeate or reform the ruling classes of the world, or with the idea that socialism will be brought to the masses by an elite. Socialism can only be won and built by the working class and all other oppressed people, in revolutionary struggle.

We oppose capitalism as a system of class exploitation and as a source of racial and imperialist oppression. In the interests of private profit and corporate power, it presents itself in the United States as a liberal/conservative "welfare state," based on a permanent war economy. It promotes unemployment, poverty, and racism; it violently suppresses militant opposition. As an international system of imperialism, U.S. capitalism struggles to contain and absorb the colonial revolution, and continually deepens the underdevelopment of satellite economies.

I.S. is an activist organization which seeks to build a mass revolutionary movement in the United States, to train revolutionary socialists, and to develop socialist theory to advance that movement. We see ourselves, not as the revolutionary leadership, but as part of the process of developing it; we work toward the building of an American revolutionary socialist party—a party, based on the working class, which can provide the leadership necessary for the revolutionary seizure of state power by the working class.

We regard the working class, female and male, black and white, blue collar and white collar, as potentially the leading revolutionary force in society. We see great promise in the new militancy of the labor movement, including the emergence of black workers' organizations.

We support uncompromising struggles by rank and file forces against racism and bureaucratism in the labor movement, and against the subordination of the workers' interests to the demands of the state. In places of work, we fight to build workers' political consciousness, and to link their movement with the struggles of oppressed peoples in this society and internationally. We regard the development of a new radical party based on rank and file workers' organizations as a giant step in the political independence of the working class and in the coordination of all insurgent forces.

Workers, organized as a class, can stop bourgeois society dead in its tracks. More importantly, they can organize society on a new basis, that of revolu-

tionary socialism. In the course of doing so, they will create new instruments of democratic power, just as the workers of Paris created the Commune in 1871, the workers of Russia the Soviets in 1905 and 1917, and the workers of Hungary the Workers' Councils in 1956. Our conception of socialism is bound up with such organizations, which embody workers' control of industry and the state.

We stand together with the struggles of black people and other oppressed minorities for liberation. We support armed self-defense, independent self-organization of the ghetto, and the right of self-determination for the black community. We look to a future coalition of black and white workers; however, blacks cannot allow their struggle today to be subordinated to the present level of consciousness of white workers.

We work to build the movement for women's liberation, both in society at large and within the radical movement. We support the formation of independent women's organizations, in which women will work out the organizational and programmatic forms of their struggles. Within these organizations, we push for an orientation towards organizing working class women.

Women's oppression is bound up with the exploitation of labor in all class societies; thus the struggle for women's liberation can only be won as part of a broader struggle for a socialist society. We do not counterpose women's participation in their own liberation movement to their participation in revolutionary socialist organizations. But women's liberation will not result automatically from socialist revolution; women must build their struggle now, and continue it after a revolution, if they are to be free under socialism. This struggle, like that of other oppressed peoples, will itself be one of the forces which will begin to shake the capitalist order.

The struggles of students and young people against imperialist wars, and against education and training designed to make them the agents or passive victims of oppression, likewise are shaking society. We participate in these struggles not only for their own sake, but also because they will help bring other sections of the population, including young workers, into motion.

We are part of the international movement against imperialist exploitation and aggression. We support popular revolution against American domination, and fight for the withdrawal of American troops from all foreign lands. In Vietnam, we favor the victory of the NLF over the imperialists—but we believe that the new regime will establish bureaucratic class rule, not a socialist society.

We believe that no existing regime can be called socialist. On a world scale, the "socialist" countries constitute a system of regimes and movements in different stages of development, but with a common ideology and social origin. In place of capitalism,

this system has achieved, and now aims at, not the abolition of class society, but a new type of class system.

In some areas (e.g. France and Indonesia), the official Communist parties—both "Soviet" and "Chinese"—have held back mass energies, in a search for power through maneuvers at the top. Elsewhere, these movements have been able to organize immense popular energies in revolutionary opposition to the capitalist state; but the leadership of these movements does not organize the working class to seize power for itself, nor does it intend to establish a regime in which the masses themselves rule.

The revolutionary struggle expels capitalist imperialism and expropriates the native capitalist class, but the leadership aims at a social system in which that leadership constitutes a ruling class through its control of the state which owns the means of production, and through the repression of independent workers' organizations. Thus, where successful, these movements have placed in power, not the working class, but a self-perpetuating bureaucratic class.

Taking power in backward countries, these regimes have based their attempts to industrialize (successful or unsuccessful) on the crushing exploitation of workers and peasants. In all such cases, popular discontent reappears, but the struggle of the masses cannot be carried forward through the ruling party, but only in revolutionary opposition to it. This system is no less class-ridden, and in its fully developed form (as in the USSR) no less imperialist than capitalism.

In these countries we support and identify with the struggles—sometimes organized, more often not—of rank and file forces for their socialist birthright. We believe that socialism cannot be achieved in these countries without the overthrow of the ruling groups.

In all countries we advocate revolutionary struggles as sparks for the world revolution—it alone offers the solution to the problems of poverty and underdevelopment, which cannot be overcome in the framework of a single country. But this internationalist perspective itself depends on the mass struggles for liberation in individual countries, whether against capitalist or bureaucratic regimes. In the bureaucratic states as under capitalism, socialism means only a revolution in which the working class itself overthrows its exploiters and directly rules the state.

Basing its work on the ongoing worldwide struggles against oppression and the ideas of revolutionary Marxism, I.S. seeks to build a socialist movement which is both revolutionary and democratic, working class and internationalist: an international struggle in which the world's masses can fight for power and win a new world of peace, abundance, and freedom that will be the foundationstone of classless communist society.

# Women's Liberation and Self-Defense

Bonnie Eisenberg

During registration week at the University of California at Berkeley, a demonstration was called by Berkeley Women's Liberation to protest discrimination against women at the university. The first point of attack was a Karate class being taught for credit for the first time this quarter; the class was closed to women. The first demonstration -- an attempt by 40 women to pre-enroll for the class -- took the athletic department and the university totally by surprise.

The campus police were called out but their male chauvinism incapacitated them; they did not know how to handle a group of women who were causing a disturbance. However, unsuccessful in our attempts to enroll in the class or to speak with the head of the department, and threatened with arrest by the police, we decided to leave, with the intention of returning the following day for the first session of the class.

The next day we were again met by the police (and a large number of newspaper men and photographers), who kept us from entering the class. We then marched to the chancellor's office, chanting "self-defense for women now," where we were allowed to speak with two vice-chancellors. These men were incredibly arrogant, and treated us as though we were five-year-old children demanding candy. They accepted the list of demands Women's Liberation was making on the university, and said they would study them and let us know what they had decided.

To date we have heard nothing from this office except a compromise offer of a karate class for women only to be offered in the spring. (Our demand was for a co-ed karate class where women could practice self-defense with men; fighting with men is qualitatively different from fighting with women and we feel no need to learn to defend ourselves from other women.)

The following Monday a mass meeting was held. It was decided to play down the karate issue and emphasize other demands we were making on the university, particularly that for a university-supported free child care center for the children of all workers and students at the university. The demonstration the following day took the form of an impromptu karate demonstration outside the controversial class and a march to the administration building to protest the discriminatory hiring practices of the university. However, the campus police had sealed off the building -- thus keeping students and everyone out as well as demonstrators. A picket line was formed outside for about half an hour until the rain forced us to disperse.

A series of educational forums have been planned, the first of which discussed the karate action and the need for child care on this campus and in the community. Later forums will serve to introduce new women to the ideas of Women's Liberation and to explain to men what male chauvinism is and why it is so oppressive.

AFSCME 1695, the UC union of clerical and technical workers, and Women's Liberation are now planning a series of demonstrations to dramatize the need for child care, and to educate women about their right to participate as full and equal members of society. The first demonstration (Friday, Jan. 16) took the form of a serpentine march through campus with about 150-200 students, employees, and children participating.

Bonnie Eisenberg is a member of Berkeley Women's Liberation and of Berkeley International Socialists.



# Berkeley Campus Women's Liberation Program

1. The University must implement AFSCME's proposal for a child care center to serve all University employees and students. The center shall be of high professional caliber and shall be controlled by the parents and the children enrolled. Admission shall be free and granted first to Third World and low-income white children. The University must release data on the number of children of all students and employees. If it does not have this information, it must obtain it.

Child-raising in Western societies has never been a task shared by both parents. Rather--women are relegated to housewifery--dull and uncreative--while men are encouraged to create (albeit nearly impossible in an oppressive, exploitative society). Women must be allowed to break out of the private world of the home into social production.

We must be relieved from the necessity of 24 hr. motherhood and permitted to pursue jobs and education. At present, child care facilities in Berkeley accommodate only 10% of the children who need them. Women cannot afford to work if over half of their salaries go towards baby-sitting. Yet many women must work out of economic necessity and are never relieved of the financial and emotional burden. The University has a responsibility as a social institution to relieve women of this burden and to allow women into roles of social productivity.

2. The University must end discriminatory job placement at the University Placement Center. No more sexually determined jobs.

At present women are given the lowest paying, least interesting jobs at the center even though this practice is illegal. As a blatant example the placement center's odd jobs are divided into work for women (baby-sitting at under one dollar an hour) and work for men (like house painting at over \$1.50 an hour). This outrageous discrimination must stop.

3. The University must offer a coeducational course in self-defense this quarter.

The University has no right to discriminate on the basis of sex in any of its classes.

4. The University must end discrimination in admissions and in the granting of fellowships. Women must constitute 50% of students in all undergraduate programs and receive 50% of all fellowships. Recruitment of new women must be done first among Third World and low-income white women.

At present women constitute 50% of the population, but only one third of undergraduate students, and only one fifth of graduate students.

5. End the systematic discouragement of female students which occurs throughout the university. Like the larger society, the university subtly degenerates our intellectual and creative abilities. We are accepted as competent only in areas which are extensions of women's traditional role in the family. Thus we are encouraged to enroll in education and social welfare. We are treated with a lack of seriousness which is justified by the assertion that all women become housewives.

This is especially blatant in graduate departments where women are constantly treated as "professional risks". The prophecy is fulfilled when women receive only 16% of the M.A.'s and 4% of the Ph.D.'s in History. We refuse to be educated to become the dilettantish wives of society's elite.

6. End discrimination in hiring practices. All faculty hired must be women until women are 50% of the faculty. The University must hire Third World women professors and if it cannot find them it must create them.

As a result of the continual discrimination women experience in the University, women make up only 4% of the faculty. There are only 15 full professors at Berkeley who are women. As in the rest of the society women are delegated to the most menial and least creative jobs. We are hired as cooks, cleaning women and secretaries.

7. End the male chauvinist attitudes in course content and institute courses on the history of women, the suffrage movement and the family. In a time of never dreamed-of technological advancement women are still being taught that biology is destiny. The view of women in the social sciences is especially offensive and oppressive. The standard textbook on developmental psychology advises that women should not be

given too great an academic motivation since we'll only be unhappy when we are housewives. Like other oppressed groups, women have been denied their history. The University is obligated to teach the history of women and women's struggles.

8. End to all housing regulations and all dormitory rules relating to women.

When a female student comes to the University she is treated like a child--the father being the University. We demand an end to the paternalistic treatment of women students and the double standard imposed on women by dorm hours. Women must have complete control over their own lives.

9. Birth Control and abortion information must be given out on campus at Cowell Hospital. Pills and other devices must be granted free on request to all students, married or unmarried.

Cowell Hospital is set up to serve the medical needs of students and this is one of the most pressing needs. At present at least one half of the women receiving treatment at Oakland Planned Parenthood are Berkeley students. This creates a tremendous drain and limits the organization's ability to serve low-income women. The University must end its sexually repressive nature. Women must have complete control over their own bodies.

10. One year maternity and paternity leave for all students and employees. Women students must be able to re-enter the University without readmission for up to one year after withdrawal. Students must receive all fellowship money during this time. Employees must receive their regular salary.

Child-bearing is at present treated punitively by the University. Women students must withdraw and formally reapply. Employees often lose their jobs and certainly their pay. Women must no longer be penalized for having children.

11. The University must end its discrimination against older women and actively recruit older women into undergraduate and graduate programs.

At present certain graduate departments will not admit individuals over the age of 32. Women who have been pushed out of educational and job opportunities because they must rear their children must be allowed to regain these opportunities. The University as a social institution must compensate for the oppression of women.

12. The University must make public all statistics on the percentage of women who apply to all undergraduate and graduate programs and the number of women admitted to these programs. (Same for fellowships) It must also make public the number of women who are employed at the University and at what kinds of jobs these women work.

The University must no longer be allowed to conceal the oppressed condition of women at this campus.

13. Amnesty for everyone involved in the struggle for these demands.

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