



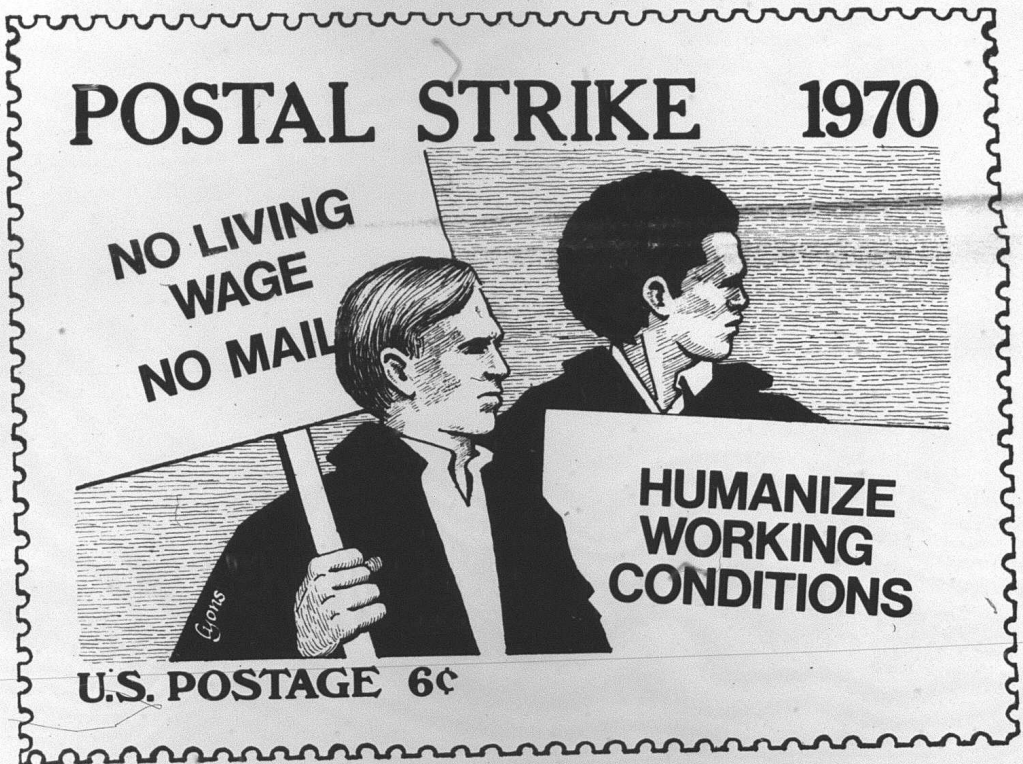
**international
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*James O'Brian
7 Frances Ct.
Madison, Wisc. 53702*

WALLER PRESS 182

Strike Wave Grows



**S.F. Mass Strike
Rail Workers Wildcat
Marx on Women's Liberation
Isla Vista Uprising**

An Open Letter to the Movement

On International Women's Day, at a rally in San Francisco's Dolores Park, the literature table of the Young Socialist Alliance was overturned and the literature torn up. The attack was not initiated by the San Francisco Tac Squad nor the Alameda County Sheriffs. It was led by members of the Berkeley Radical Students Union after a call for such an attack was made from the platform by the speaker from Los Siete.

This attack was one more instance of the neo-stalinist thuggery which has flourished in the present isolation of the Left. The relatively slow development of working class consciousness in this country has demoralized a section of the Left. This has led to the growth of frustration and of a tendency for the Movement to turn inward upon itself.

"If we can't off the pigs, we can at least beat up a few of our ideological opponents on the Left" is the response of many who are demoralized by our inability to defend the Panthers or to build a movement capable of forcing the U.S. to stop its aggression against the Vietnamese people. Even more serious is the open admiration on the part of groups like PL and the RSU for the Stalinist Party and its methods, as an alternative to a democratic, popular movement of the wor-

king class.

The pretext for the attack on the YSA was that by holding a counter-rally to the one in Dolores Park they were "scabbing". This is hypocrisy. The objection to the YSA rally was to its politics, and the response of the RSU and Los Siete was to physically assault those they cannot defeat politically. Those are pig methods, not our methods of dealing with political disputes.

The last thing the International Socialists want is an intensification of factional battles on the Left in a period of increasing repression. We will not buy unity and solidarity, however, at the price of principle or our own self-respect. We will defend our right, and the right of any other group or individual to propagandize freely. If this means a spectacle of the Left fighting itself, it is others who choose that - not us.

The RSU, Los Siete, and the Women's Liberation Movement must condemn these neo-stalinist tactics now before they destroy our Movement as such tactics have destroyed other movements in the past. The rejection of the politics behind these attacks is literally a question of life or death for any movement that hopes to win the American working class to a revolutionary socialist program.

We tamed
the fox slowly
with a chain.

But his eyes
remained strangers,
like ice

that would
not melt in our summer,
like full

exits
holding in the cold.
They never

closed in our presence,
knowing

our coming
in advance, our going,
our stumbling

technique.
Even so, we tamed him
after weeks

of patience
when he tried to bite
and pain

sometimes,
of disappointment
when his mind

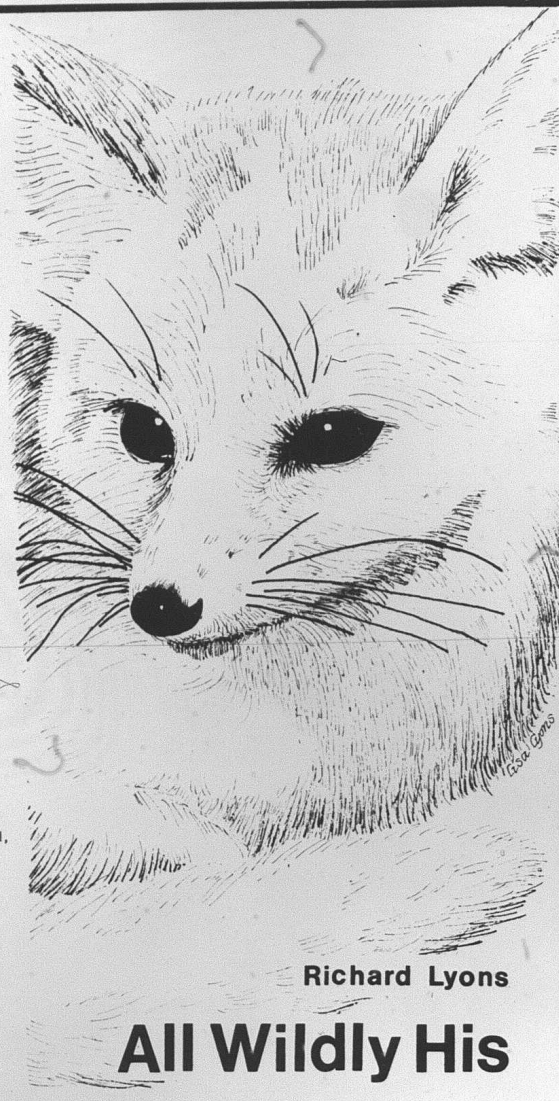
resisted
our endeavors with a will
all wildly his.

When at last
we won and had him tamed,
we relaxed,

but not long.
In the morning
he was gone

on three paws,
leaving the fourth,
he'd gnawed

away,
in his lovely new golden
chain.



Richard Lyons

All Wildly His



A revolutionary socialist monthly, published by the International Socialists.

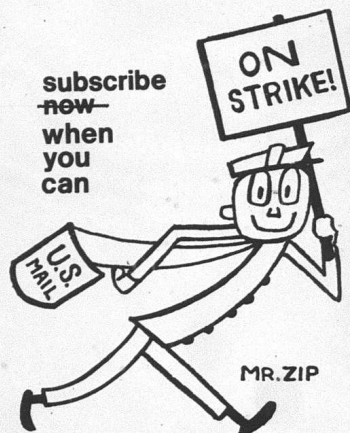
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THE POSTAL STRIKE: RANK AND FILE WON'T BE STOPPED

Kevin Bradley and Tom Condit

March 23, 1970

As we go to press, the outcome of the national post office wildcat is still in doubt, but two things are clear. First, the postal workers cannot fail to gain more by this strike than they have gained from years of lobbying and petitioning their "friends" in Congress. Second, the postal strike is the biggest forward surge for the workers' movement since the post-World War II strike wave.

Although there have been wildcats almost as big in the auto industry, they have not shaken the country so much or indicated such a future for all American working people as this strike. The power of working people to bring this society to a halt in pursuit of their just demands has been made clear to every person in this country.

Postal workers are among the worst paid, most oppressed workers in America. It takes 21 years to reach the top clerk-carrier rate of \$8442 per year, and the employee-financed health plan takes a big bite out of that. Dangerous and overcrowded working conditions and frequent compulsory overtime make the work itself hard to bear.

Like all those government workers denied the right to strike, they have had to bear more of the brunt of inflation than workers in general. Congress could vote itself a 40% pay raise and think only of giving postal workers a small raise which would leave them worse off than ever in the face of the rising cost of living. It was only a matter of time until postal workers rebelled.

The strike began in New York and spread quickly, engulfing most of the country. Only the South has remained apparently calm (according to the northern press). What makes this strike so significant is what it means for other workers as well as postal workers. All government workers enslaved by the "no-strike" laws are going to take courage, and fight back against their worsening living conditions. Workers in private industry will see that if the "lowly postal workers" can move in a massive manner even in the face of anti-labor laws, then they can do likewise.

Nixon is worried not only because a postal workers' victory will cost the government millions of dollars, but because he knows what that victory will mean to all workers in this country.

All over the country, the officials of the postal unions have opposed the strike, issued lying press releases that it is over, crossed picket lines and in general done everything possible to break the strike. The national leaders have denounced the strike and tried to make a deal with Nixon for a "cooling-off" period. Why do they do this?

In the first place, of course, many of them are personally afraid of being arrested for breaking the anti-strike laws. The FBI has followed officials around the country, telling them that if they reveal what happened in private meetings with the administration, they will be thrown in jail immediately.

But that fact alone is not enough to explain their behavior. Many union leaders have been jailed for strike activity in this country. It didn't take much pushing to make postal union officials oppose the strike. They've always been against strikes.

The postal unions are viewed by their top bureaucrats as combination dues-collecting machines and lobbying agencies. Over the years, officials have depended upon their ties with friendly Congressmen and administration officials to get gains for their members and privileges for themselves. They've been against strikes or any other form of direct action, and have discouraged membership participation in the union in any form except the carrying out of orders from above for petition or letter-writing campaigns, etc.

In addition, there are a number of individuals who have moved freely back and forth between jobs as Post Office officials, union lobbyists, Congressional Committee staff members, etc. The union "leaders" are part of the cozy little club in Washington which makes decisions on patronage appointments and other political plums as well as pay scales for the union membership. This means that they are essentially unable to fight the government, because they are almost part of it.

Knowing the spinelessness of these "leaders", the



Nixon administration decided the time was ripe for an attack on postal workers' living conditions, as part of the general penny-pinching necessary to finance the Vietnam war, and also as first stage in a massive attack on the American working class as a whole.

The first stage was a sugar-coated plum for the entrenched union leadership. Nixon put out an executive order telling postmasters to negotiate only with national craft unions (Letter Carriers, Postal Clerks, etc.) and not with the generally more militant local and "industrial" groups like the National Postal Union and National Alliance of Postal Employees.

While this was a long way from the legalized sole recognition and compulsory dues check-off the craft union bureaucrats have been lobbying for, it was a firm offer to them: if they go along with the government attack on the workers, they can have a guaranteed dues income and the destruction of all rival "dual union" groupings. With the prospect of a deal like this in the back of their minds, it's no wonder the union leaders are hesitant about militant action!

With the division of postal workers on craft lines made permanent, the next stage in the Nixon strategy is to divide them geographically. The administration proposed "area wage boards" to set the wages in different parts of the country instead of a single national scale.

The powerful local concentrations of postal workers in cities such as New York, Chicago and San Francisco would be given higher wages to meet the cost of living in those areas if they would agree to abandon their brothers and sisters in rural areas and the South. With workers divided geographically and split into conservative craft unions, Nixon was sure of his ability to make them pay the cost of the war inflation.

The union leaders balked, however, at Nixon's third proposal: the formation of a public corporation like TVA to run the Post Office on a totally autonomous basis. The real purpose of this corporation is to get Post Office pay out of the hands of Congress, which has to give some lip service to postal workers' needs. Everything else about the idea is pure smokescreen.

A huge propaganda campaign has been mounted about the postal deficit, and about the more efficient service in European countries like France. Americans are led to believe that if we only give the Post Office to a corporation, we'll have lower rates and four deliveries a day (as if working people needed to have mail dropped in on boxes four times a day while we're at work), and somehow have the whole thing run at a profit instead of a deficit.

All of this is nonsense. Every post office in the world runs at a deficit, just like sewer systems and the weather bureau, because they are essential public services

rather than commodities which can be sold at a profit.

The French postal system, which all the press raves about, is also run by a government department, but it runs more efficiently for two reasons. First, the French only mail about 1/3 the amount per capita that Americans do, partly because they don't have either junk mail or half a million soldiers involved in a foreign war with the huge increase in overseas mail that means. Second, the French postal deficit is covered by the profits from the nationalized telephone and telegraph systems, which are run by the same department.

Since Nixon doesn't have any way of reducing the volume of mail, and since he certainly isn't planning to nationalize AT & T, we can be pretty sure the main purpose of the Postal Corporation would be to reduce the deficit by cutting the already inadequate wages of postal workers. Cutting out Congressional control is the only way to eliminate a counter-attack by the workers against the politicians when the wage cuts come. If Congress really wants to cut the deficit, then let them raise the bulk rates on third-class mail, which now accounts for over 25% of mail volume, but only about 15% of revenues.

Nixon's proposals have created a stalemate in Congress. The Republicans and southern Democrats favor the Corporation proposal, but can't get it through without liberal support. The liberals want to give their friends in the union bureaucracy a tiny pay raise as a sop to the membership, but can't get that through without conservative support.

The labor-backed Democrats don't want the Corporation because it will eliminate their ability to vote on pay raises and thus get postal workers' votes. Some Congressmen are afraid it will eliminate their privilege of approving the appointment of local postmasters, and end the system where a man's promotions within the "nonpolitical" civil service are often more determined by his ability to carry his precinct than his ability to carry the mails. At this point, Congress is deadlocked, unable to pass either the Corporation proposal or the wage raise.

One thing, however, they all agree upon. Now that the strike has broken out, not one politician - Democrat or Republican - has come out for the strikers' reasonable demands and their right to strike. Where are the McCarthy's, the Kennedys and the other "friends of labor"? They all condemned the "illegal" strike.

The liberal Democrat Dale McGee, head of the Senate Post Office Committee, says the government cannot deal with or reward wildcat strikers, Democrat Party leader Mike Mansfield says the matter should be left to Nixon.

These same liberals are the supporters of the inflation which led to the postal strike in the first place. The rapid rise in prices is the result of the massive spending

on the Vietnam war, on top of the \$60 billion already spent on military hardware before the war broke out. The liberal Democrats and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy supported the Johnson surtax to pay for the war. This surtax, like all taxes under Democrats and Republicans, hits working people hardest. Neither the liberal Democrats nor the Republicans have any intention of freezing prices or taxing the corporations which profit from the war and inflation. It is always the workers who pay.

These same politicians supported the inflationary war in Vietnam to "save the country from Communism". As their excuse for invading Vietnam, they cited the fact that workers in North Vietnam, China, Russia, etc., don't have ordinary democratic rights like the right to strike. Neither, of course, do the workers in South Vietnam, but that fact is usually passed over when George Meany and company make speeches about defending "democracy".

Some of the "friends of labor" are against the war now because we're losing. Oddly enough, they're also against the right to strike. It must be a matter of whose ox is being gored.

All the politicians and the newspapers are upset about the strike being against the "national interest". McGee says the workers are striking "against the American people". The papers are full of stories about how the Stock Exchange can't operate (what a loss!), the banks can't do business, and people can't get their welfare checks. In New York, the Telephone company is upset because they're missing their \$7 million daily take in phone bills.

In fact, postal workers in many areas have pledged to continue delivering welfare checks. But in any case, postal workers aren't going to be much impressed by talk about how they're hurting welfare recipients. Many of them are on welfare themselves, because they can't make ends meet on post office pay. If postal workers and all other Americans had decent wages and there were jobs for everyone, there wouldn't have to be welfare. The strike helps welfare recipients because it helps better the condition of all working people.

"National Interest"

The politicians think the "national interest" is the profits of the banks, stock exchange and giant corporations. They want government workers to be slaves to the system - either submit to worsening working conditions and wages eaten up by inflation, or quit and join the increasing number of the unemployed on welfare. Postal workers have said "Enough!" to such an alternative.

It is time they say it to the politicians, both Democrats and Republicans, who offer the alternative, and organize a party of their own: a workers' political party whose first platform plank would be the right of all workers to strike, and which would force the corporations rather than the postal workers to pay for the mail.

As long as working people depend on "friends of labor" to look after their interests, they will get friends

of the corporations, with or without liberal sugar-coating. It's time we organized to look after our own interests.

What is needed now is rank and file organization. All the postal workers in an area - carriers, clerks, mail handlers, drivers - must belong to the same strike committee where the rank and file makes all the decisions.

The union leaders and the government are attempting to split the workers up, keep them voting in the local units of 9 separate craft unions. Since many of the most militant workers don't belong to these do-nothing unions, they are cut off from voting. Others are isolated from their fellow workers in other "crafts".

Postal workers all face one government and one set of political enemies. They need one organization to fight back. Eventually this has to mean one union, uniting all the crafts and eliminating the bureaucratic, strike-breaking parasites who run the present craft unions. In the meantime, it has to mean united rank-and-file committees in every post office and every city.

These committees must man picket lines, expand them to other areas of the city which have not yet gone on strike, and make contact with strike committees in other cities. They must draw up demands on local issues such as working conditions. They must prepare, in the long run, to stay in existence after this strike has ended. They must prepare to meet the victimization, fines, jailing and firing of militants which the government will attempt to use in order to discipline and intimidate the rank and file after the strike, in the only way it can be met: with organization.

If workers are solidly together, slow-downs, work-to-rule and "quickie" strikes can be organized to defend the gains made in this strike and protect individuals from being picked off by postal management.

The strike committees must survive to challenge the existing strike-breaking leadership at the next union elections, not just to replace them with some "good guys," but to turn the unions into real instruments of rank and file workers, responsible solely to their needs, and to begin the work of uniting them into one single postal union.

At the same time, workers must begin a discussion of their real situation, to make sure that their demands and strategy will really meet their needs. New York Letter Carriers, for instance, have demanded compulsory arbitration in the Post Office. While they see this demand as a defense against arbitrary bureaucratic decisions, it is really a trap. All arbitrators turn out in the long run to be pro-management rather than "neutral". They are as useless as "labor's friends" in Congress. Postal workers must depend on their own strength and that of the working class as a whole if they are to make any permanent gains.

The press has announced the "end" of the strike several times already. This is what is known as a "back to work" movement. As soon as the strike spread out of New York, a "settlement" was announced between the

national union officials and the Nixon administration for a five-day cooling-off period. The strike continued. Injunctions were issued, threats of jail and large fines were made. Still the strike continued.

In San Francisco, when 300 workers were out picketing, the press said there were thirty. The same day the union officials held a press conference and announced that the strike was settled. The strike continued and spread. In Los Angeles, the Hearst Herald-Examiner (printed by scab labor for two years now) said the strike was over. The clerks voted to go out in the L.A. post office.

It is clear that there is a pattern here. Union officials have joined with the government and the big business-controlled radio, newspapers and television to try to convince workers that the strike has ended, demoralize and confuse them, above all get them back to work.

Fight the Sellout

Workers must resist this campaign, as well as all the propaganda which tells them the government will not negotiate until they return to work. The government will negotiate when it has to, and it will have to when the strike becomes totally effective nationwide. Unless the minimum guarantee of amnesty is won, any individual worker may be subject to victimization when he or she goes back, even if they weren't leaders of the strike or were among those who came back first. The government can pick out individual rank-and-file workers at random in order to make them an "example" to other public workers who may be thinking about going out on strike. They did it when the Letter Carriers were first organizing and they were trying to break the union, and they can do it again. The only safety is in solidarity.

In the same way, any "cooling-off" period will just mean an end to the strike and the loss of most of the gains made. The only way to bring maximum pressure to bear on Nixon and Congress is to do all negotiating from a position of strength - backed up by united picket lines in the streets.

Even if the National Guard or Army is brought in, the strike can win. Only the postal workers know how to run the postal system. The useless parasites at the top couldn't even do the work themselves, let alone teach soldiers how. It's true that postal workers don't have any strike fund to speak of, but a long strike won't be necessary given the power of the workers to bring the system to a halt. The pay lost from a week or two on strike will be more than made up by the wage gains which can be made.

Even if this strike ends quickly, even if none of the demands are won immediately, it is a victory rather than a defeat. Postal workers have broken the chains which bound them, built up their own courage and the knowledge of their own strength, shown the way to other workers and laid the groundwork for future struggles. This is just the first round in a winning fight.



Pickets at Rincon Annex in San Francisco refuse to let a mail truck pass

The following demands are representative of those raised by rank-and-file postal workers across the country. Every class-conscious worker must support them and help to fight for them:

- 1) The right to strike and amnesty for all strikers. The government has already announced its intention to discipline strikers "on an individual basis" - that is, to victimize militants. The right of postal workers to strike and to do so without reprisals must be defended;
- 2) \$9,000 to \$12,000 a year for all workers. Make up the losses of the last 6 years of inflation with a 40% wage raise like the one Congress just gave itself;
- 3) Built-in "escalator clauses" so that there are automatic wage raises with rises in the cost of living. Workers should not bear the burden of inflation caused by an imperialist war;
- 4) Full pay at retirement after 20 years work;
- 5) 100% health care paid for by the government. Postal workers deserve the same health plans many workers in private industry have, instead of the present giant bite out of their pay-checks;
- 6) Workers' control over working conditions. Elected rank-and-file committees should make all decisions about shifts, overtime, etc.;
- 7) The cost of pay raises to be paid for by tripling the bulk rates on junk mail sent by business, with the first class rates kept the same. Make the corporations pay the costs of the service they use.

The Young Patriots

Thousands of people pour into Chicago every year-- white, Indian, Latin and Black. They come from a thousand different places, but all are looking for the same thing: the chance to live with some human dignity.

They have left the dying coal mines, the worn-out dirt farms, the reservations, they have travelled hundreds of miles, leaving their friends and homes, for one thing - a job with a living wage - not charity, not welfare, but work and self-respect.

These hard-working people come to Chicago (or any other city) only to find lousy schools, crummy housing, slaughter-houses for hospitals and either no work or wages that a family can't live on. The Uptown community on Chicago's Northside is just like many other communities in this respect, but there is a difference. The Young Patriots Organization is in Uptown, organizing in the community.

YPO is a revolutionary organization of young men and women who themselves come from Uptown. They have come together because they know that in a country this rich, there is no reason for houses crawling with rats and roaches. They know that a country that can spend billions on bombs and missiles has no excuse for schools without enough teachers or classrooms. They know that the most advanced medical care in the world exists in the same cities where poor and working people can bleed for hours in an emergency room waiting for treatment. They know that an economy that gives ever-increasing profits to corporations could give all workers jobs and decent wages, but doesn't.

The Patriots know all of this, and they also know that these things can be changed, that it is poor and working people who can change them if they all get together, organize and fight.

When the Patriots first got together about a year ago, the biggest problem they faced was racial fighting in the neighborhood. In one fight between hillbillies and Puerto Ricans, a couple of guys were killed and a lot of people on both sides were beaten up. The Patriots talked to the Latins and the whites. They told them about YPO having whites, Latins and Blacks in it all working together, and about the alliance between the Black Panthers, the Young Lords (a revolutionary Puerto Rican group) and the Patriots. They explained that the cops were happy to see poor people fighting each other instead of against the cops and against the terrible conditions they live in.

The Patriots handed out a leaflet saying that the only way working people could get ahead was to unite as class brothers and sisters, that prejudice only hurts us. After that, things cooled down a little. Things aren't perfect in Uptown now, but they are a lot better because the Patriots showed people, by doing it, that all kinds of people could work together for their common good. There is a lot less racial fighting because people understand that the cops and businessmen are their enemy, not other working people.

Poor Removal

The Patriots began organizing against the construction of a junior college in the community. The city politicians and businessmen were planning an "urban renewal project" which would have meant that low-rent slum dwellings would be torn down in order to build high-cost housing and an institution that in no way met the needs of the community. Urban renewal in this country has always meant that poor and working people are driven from their homes into more crowded and decrepit housing, while the previous houses are replaced by housing and businesses for the rich.

The Patriots went with community people to the various city bureaucracies that were instrumental in the planning. The doors were slammed in their faces by the city politicians who purport to be "public servants." In the course of their struggle many people learned that the politicians served only the corporations and private

institutions that profit at the expense of the community people.

Later, the Panthers, Lords and Patriots held a sit-in at McCormick Theological Seminary, which was planning a similar expansion into the Latin community. In the face of widespread community support for the sit-in, the trustees of the Seminary backed down. Neither struggle is over, however; the politicians and businessmen are coming up with new ways to practice legalized violence against the community.

One of the main problems in Uptown is that many people are forced to go on public aid because they can't get jobs at all or the wages they do get can't feed a family. The government hassles people endlessly before it will give them anything. Mothers who can't feed their kids are forced to show caseworkers their empty refrigerators before they can get food. Even then, after a million forms and a long wait, there is only enough food for a few days.

The private "welfare" agency in the area is the Chicago Southern Center, which is just as bad. It is run by one man, Clement Stone, who is president of an insurance company. It gives a little food to a few people (only Southern whites), but only if they support Stone's power in the community. You either agree with Stone or go hungry.

The same is true of all government agencies in Uptown. All of them provide lousy service and make a point of humiliating people.

Corporations or People

The Patriots believe that decent food, shelter and clothing are the right of every human being, and they saw that the government wasn't providing these things because the government was concerned with serving the corporations, not working people. The Patriots wanted to show people that they could be treated like human beings, that there was a better way to do things. So they organized a free medical center and a free food program.

People who need help just come in. No questions are asked, no one has to prove that he deserves to eat. If there is any food, people get some. Not luxuries,



**YPO:
Rising Up
Angry**

but staples like beans, rice and vegetables. If they are sick, they get treatment. The doctors don't use their patients for guinea pigs, but take care of them like brothers and sisters.

The programs have been a great success, with 350-400 families getting food regularly and hundreds of people using the medical center. The Patriots can get assistance from small store owners and workers because people know that these programs are their own.

You might think the government would be pleased with what the Patriots are doing. But Mayor Daley and his cops are out to destroy the YPO. The cops harass, bust and beat them all the time. Cops have gotten the medical center thrown out of one building, tried to intimidate some of the doctors, and broke into one of the medical meetings. They have even taken medicine and bandages away from patients. But this police terror has not worked and the programs have grown.

Why is Daley so opposed to people being healthy and decently fed? Because the government wants people to believe that health is a privilege. The government wants poor people to think that it's the government's decision whether they should get decent food and clothing, that the government is doing people a favor by providing its rotten hospitals.

Daley's Myth

Just as important, Daley wants poor people to think that it's their fault they are poor, and not the fault of the system he represents. This myth is necessary to preserve his rule and the rule of those businessmen, politicians and other parasites who live off working people. They claim that inflation is caused by the greed of working people, instead of by government spending on waste production for the war and the arms economy. As wages and services deteriorate, even from their previous low levels, these rulers must move to crush any independent organization of poor and working people against this system.

The idea behind the Patriots' program is to expose these rulers as the liars they are, and to show people what society could be like if things weren't run for profit. The people in Uptown see that they can be treated decently and given good medical care. They also see that they aren't, ordinarily, because the government and the corporations are only out to enlarge profit, not to meet people's needs. They see that a decent life could be theirs, but corporate profits stand in the way.

What Daley and his cops are afraid of is that working people are going to see this and start to fight, not just for little changes, but for an entirely new system based on people, not profit - a socialist system.

That is what the Patriots are trying to build, a revolutionary socialist movement based on poor and working people. The YPO holds education classes once or twice a week, talking about the war, inflation, what the government's doing, and so on. The Patriots explain that it's the responsibility of the government and the corporations to provide jobs with decent wages, good housing, food and clothing for everyone, and that the costs for the necessities of life should come from the corporations that have created the present conditions. If the profit system can't provide these basic needs, then working people should take control and run society in their own interests.

There are certain limitations, however, to their approach. A community-based movement, such as the Patriots, can organize working people around their individual and collective needs, and can begin to provide alternatives to meet those needs. But it runs into the problem that the community, as such, is basically powerless; working people organized solely on a neighborhood-basis lack a real base of power from which to fight a sustained battle. It is at the point of production - in the shops, mills, mines and offices - that workers have real power; the power to stop production to back up demands. And it is in this area that the main event will be fought.

Uprising in Isla Vista

Jack Weinberg



On Friday morning, February 27, Military Police units of the National Guard began converging on the rain-drenched community of Isla Vista, home of 9,000 of the 13,000 students at the University of California at Santa Barbara. That night, Guardsmen with bayonets and police carrying shotguns patrolled the community.

By staging this massive show of force in conjunction with a policy of indiscriminate arrest of anyone on the streets (including, for instance, a man wearing pajamas standing in his doorway), the police agencies were able to clamp a lid on the explosive student street actions which had begun 3 days earlier.

The demonstrations began with a few incidents on Tuesday, and on Wednesday, the students ransacked the offices of the major realty companies in Isla Vista, burned the local branch of the Bank of America to the ground, and drove 150 police out of their community with rocks and firebombs.

To anyone familiar with the student movement in Santa Barbara, the events of that week are almost impossible to believe. Although the university has been the scene of many large demonstrations in the last year, they have, in the past, all been of an unusually peaceful nature. The student radical leadership had consistently pushed for non-violence. Whether this was done out of principle or whether it was seen as the best tactic around which to build a mass movement has never been clear.

The students at Santa Barbara come mostly from relatively well-to-do families with an average annual income of \$18,000. Most chose the school because of its closeness to the surf and its party school reputation.

Until last week, the movement at Santa Barbara generated an aura very reminiscent of the student movement in this country back in 1964 and 1965: an aura of innocent idealism, projecting such slogans as "America, listen to your children." The frustrated, volatile, combative militancy which has been on the rise among radical student movements throughout the country seemed not to have reached Santa Barbara with any force. And then, starting last Tuesday and Wednesday, Santa Barbara exploded.

Ecology to repression

The explosion came as the culmination of a whole series of frustrations which the student community had experienced. Listing some of these underlying causes may help to explain what happened:

1) **Ecology:** The oil slicks were a shock to all residents of the area. They tried every means at their disposal to stop offshore drilling in the Santa Barbara channel: demonstrations, petitions, lawsuits. Almost the entire population of the region bitterly opposed continued drilling. The result: victory for the oil companies and new slicks. The authorities explained that the problem is complex and steps are being taken to remedy the situation. "A little patience is needed."

At about the same time, an ecology controversy even closer to UCSB broke out. Adjoining the campus is a slough. It is one of the three refuges for migratory birds still existing in California. Fes Parker of Davy Crockett fame wants to put a mobile home project in it; the local airport wants an access road running through it; and local commercial interests want to expand their industrial zone into this area.

The University has testified that it desires a freeway

access road to run through the present location of the slough. The students and others not tied to the commercial interests saw little need for another freeway and felt that the slough should remain as a haven for wild birds. The university chancellor is on the board of directors of the Savings and Loan Company involved in funding the projects.

Clever appeasers might have postponed making the decision to destroy the slough until after the heat of the ecology furor generated by the slicks had subsided. But not in Santa Barbara. With open support from the university, plans to destroy the slough were bulldozed through against a universal wave of protest from the community.

2) **Academic freedom:** Bill Allen is a professor of anthropology at the university. He wears long hair, is friendly to students, and was a major leader in the struggle against the ecological horrors which were being perpetrated on the area. The university terminated his contract.

In response, almost 8,000 students, a clear majority of the student body and twice as many as have ever voted in a student body election signed a petition that Allen be granted a public hearing to determine whether or not he be rehired. The university administration refused the request, at the same time denying that the termination was politically motivated. Mass peaceful demonstrations were organized. Up to 5,000 students participated.

Non-violence was the theme, but police attacked the demonstrators. Though many were arrested, and though the overwhelming majority of the student body was involved, the university remained adamant. No hearing was permitted. The movement petered out in frustration. The contract termination stands.

3) **Repression:** During the demonstrations to get Bill Allen rehired, the police devised new techniques. Rather than arrest student demonstrators for their participation, leaders were systematically sought out and served with warrants.

The Radical Union is a small group. It has been, however, the only general radical organization on the campus. A majority of its members were served warrants for having refused to disperse during a rally on campus. It was obvious to all that a membership list of the organization, stolen by some infiltrator, was the basis for preparation of the warrants. While thousands had participated in the demonstrations to support Bill Allen, those who had been members of the organization were the ones charged with unlawful assembly.

The result of all this was the creation of a police state atmosphere. Students became afraid to participate in organizations or attend meetings. They believed that anyone who did would be automatically arrested on some charge or other the next time there was any trouble in Santa Barbara. As a result, the growing level of frustration found it increasingly difficult to take on a directed or focused political expression.

Police harassment of students, particularly longhairs, became very intense following the Bill Allen demonstrations. Black students who are attending the university with E. O. P. (Educational Opportunities Program) grants

have been led to believe that participation in protests or militant organizations might mean the end of their funds. There have also been a large number of pot busts in Isla Vista, a community in which almost everyone smokes.

4) **Housing:** Most of the students live in the 1.6 square-mile community of Isla Vista. The architecture is, almost, 100% cracker-box-modern. Rents are high, service poor, and exorbitant deposits are rarely returned. The standard lease includes ten monthly payments for nine months' occupancy. Almost all the property is managed by a few large real estate agencies, and attempts to alleviate the problems have failed.

5) **Tuition:** The statewide University of California has just announced that for the first time in its history, tuition will be charged. Students have been given no say in a matter which greatly affects them. They felt that there was nothing they could do.

6) **The War:** At UCSB there is an almost universal feeling that the U.S. has no legitimate business in Vietnam, and that it should end the war immediately by pulling out the troops. While this is the consensus at most universities, it has been one more factor raising the overall level of frustration and desperation.

7) **The Conspiracy:** The treatment of the Chicago 8, the contempt charges, and the convictions, had the same infuriating effect on students at Santa Barbara as it had on students throughout the country.

Fuse and Powder

On Wednesday, February 25, attorney William Kunstler and Nancy Rubin, Jerry Rubin's wife, were scheduled to speak at 3:00 PM. At noon that same day, two students were arrested. The arrests stemmed from an incident which had occurred the day before. On Tuesday, police as a part of the harassment campaign, arrested a black student leader for "profanity". Rather than watching passively, students tried to rescue him. A small battle followed in which others were arrested. Some of those arrested were rescued. Windows at Bank of America were broken Tuesday night.

Following the Wednesday rally, 4,000 students began a march toward Perfect Park, in the center of Isla Vista.

Police cars patrolled the marchers. One student hurled a profanity at a passing police car. 12 police jumped out of 3 cars and attacked him. While 8 formed a perimeter to keep the other demonstrators away, four beat the student viciously. Then, still in view of the student demonstrators, they pinned him to the ground and beat him repeatedly in the balls. The powderkeg had finally been ignited.

Students picked up rocks and bottles and drove off the police. Angriily they converged on Perfect Park, a large grassy area next to the Bank of America. 3 or 4 police cars circled the park, but were driven off with rocks. The students began milling about. They were restless and pissed off.

The first target they chose was Isla Vista Realty. They broke into it, broke windows, tore up desks and dumped file cabinets. Some started yelling, "burn it down." It was argued that there were other businesses in the same building with which the students had no gripe. This prevailed.

The group then proceeded to the other large Real Estate office in town, Income Property Management. Windows and signs were destroyed, but there were employees inside the building, and the students chose not to pick a fight with them. Since the windows at the Bank of America were boarded up, (they had been broken the night before), the students did not immediately choose it as a target.

There were no more logical targets in downtown Isla Vista. But there was a hard-core group of about 1,000 still looking for action. They had only begun to unleash their months of pent-up frustration. A question started passing through the crowd: "Where are the pigs?" At this point, people began moving out of the business district of Isla Vista toward the apartment areas looking for police. Spotters would climb onto apartment roofs and yell: "a police cruiser, two blocks away and yell: "a police cruiser, two blocks that way". With that, a group would run toward the police car and drive it off with rocks. Other tactics such as waiting at corners to ambush police cars as they drove past were devised. The police were driving around 4 to a car with helmets and visors on.

After about an hour and a half of this, people began heading back downtown. Though there were still a good many students in the apartment district playing ambush, about 1,000 gathered in front of the Bank of America. Some students argued that they should all move onto the campus and "take the administration building," because there was nothing left to focus on in Isla Vista. There was lots of adrenalin flowing, lots of energy gathered in that crowd, but no clear direction.

At that moment, one student walked up to the plywood covering the Bank of America door and kicked at it. The whole crowd heard it crack. People converged on the building, kicking and pounding on the plywood. They broke the bank open, tearing down the wood from the windows. Attempts were made to set the plywood afire, but it wouldn't catch. The curtains caught, then some of the wood caught. The building filled up with smoke, and a guard exited thru a side window. He was not attacked or hassled by the students.

Some students who had not participated in the demonstration showed up with fire extinguishers and put the fire out. No one interfered with the volunteer firefighters, though there were still at least 700 demonstrators on the scene.

15 minutes later, police (estimates given vary from 70 to 150) were bussed into the area. The police disembarked yelling, shouting, flipping the bird. They appeared ready for battle. They were showered with rocks and they threw rocks back at the demonstrators. A small unit went around to a parking lot behind the bank. The rest moved to the front of the bank and began a sweep of the street. Both groups were under a constant barrage of rocks and bottles.

In front of the bank, students slowly retreated, as police advanced. A firebomb, hurled by a student, exploded in the street at the feet of the advancing lawmen.

The police were stunned. The students charged at them, throwing rocks on the run. Police broke ranks and retreated. They joined the unit behind the bank and continued retreating until they had been driven out of the business district. They were met by their buses and were evacuated.

During the barrage, one patrolman, for some unknown reason, abandoned his patrol car. He was wisked away by another car, leaving his black and white behind. The car was overturned and set afire. For the next several hours, there were no police to be seen anywhere in the streets of Isla Vista.

There was a festive atmosphere in the streets. People bought snacks, built bonfires in the street, joked, congratulated each other for driving out the "pigs", and had a good time. During this period, cars roared through the downtown, hurling teargas canisters into the streets. Reports are confused as to whether it was plainclothes police, or a right-wing organization who spread the teargas. The gas was successfully hosed down by students. One cannister was thrown into the Bank of America, clearing out some volunteer firefighters who had returned to finish their job.

By 11:30 people began drifting home. One group reentered the bank, piled up wood and desks and started a huge bonfire inside. At 1:30 the bank's roof collapsed.

Meanwhile, 300 police were massed at the local fire station. A helicopter declared an illegal assembly from the air. "Anyone on the street is subject to arrest." Between 2:30 and 3:00 pm the police marched through Isla Vista arresting anyone they could get their hands on. Most of those arrested were merely watching the action. Most of the participants had already gone to bed.

Police-student conflict continued the next night. Police teargassed the business district. At about 11:30 they switched from CN teargas to CS gas. As opposed to regular teargas, CS burns and blisters the skin. The CS barrage was too much and everyone went home.

Friday night saw lots of arrests but little action, and Saturday was rather quiet. Isla Vista was rain-drenched. Word spread: "It's the night of the bamboo. The bamboo bends and blows in the wind to sprout again yet

another day." In other words, cool it.

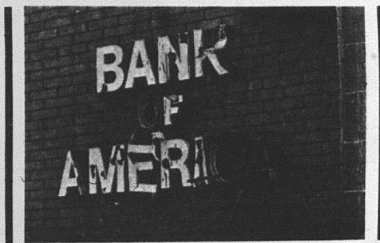
Students who had been fighting the police agreed that they had no quarrel with the National Guardsmen, and didn't want to start one. By Sunday, the "disturbances" were over. The National Guard left; the curfew was lifted; but the bamboo remained dormant.

While the fighting with police raged, almost any door in Isla Vista had been open to students fleeing arrest. Still, when the events were over, large numbers of students at the University were upset by what had happened. A mildly-worded "condemn-the-violence-of-both-sides" petition was circulated, receiving 8,000 signatures on the campus. It functioned as one part of a campaign to crystallize political sentiment against the demonstrators.

The university chancellor has said he will suspend students who had been involved in the "riots". At the time of this writing, it is not yet clear whether he intends to suspend everyone arrested, those convicted, or the "leaders". Serious criminal charges have been leveled against several people, particularly members of the embattled Radical Union. More are certain to follow.

It is very likely that the repression will descend on Santa Barbara wearing a liberal cloak. Bank of America set the tone in a full-page ad entitled "Violence in America - One Company's Opinion," which has appeared in papers across the state. B. of A. is quite willing to entertain the notion that real grievances were involved in the uprising, saying: "Participants in the violence say it was a protest against the 'capitalist establishment'; 'the war in Vietnam', 'the Chicago trial', 'student repression', 'police brutality', and a list of other grievances against America in 1970. Some of these grievances are real, some are fanciful and others are false. But all deserve to be aired. To the degree they are not aired, are not taken seriously, Americans break faith with their young."

Most other accounts of the disorders likewise readily admit that serious grievances exist. The Los Angeles Times of March 6 lists a good number of the students' grievances, followed by a quote from UCSB vice-chancellor David Gardner: "Students have an inability to accept no for an answer. Their threshold of tolerance is very low. They have not learned to live with frustration. Hard-core radicals know this and feed off it."



What is the real meaning of Gardner's psychological verbiage? The message is as old as class society. Whatever the grievances are, there is something wrong with those who refuse to submit to authority. Less liberal ideologues of the ruling class than Gardner have used such labels as "seditious", "traitorous", or "heretical" as epithets for those who refuse to submit. Under less liberal circumstances, entire rebellious populations have been decimated as an object lesson to those who doubt that there is virtue in submission.

But while Mexican authorities were prepared last year to break up a mass student demonstration with machine-guns, killing 300, U.S. authorities are not yet ready for such a drastic move. Instead of "seditious", "traitorous" and "heretical", Gardner brands the majority of those unwilling to submit as "immature". He implies that they can be whipped back into line, if only the "hard-core" radical troublemakers who prey on the innocents can be dealt with.

Prior to B. of A. week, there were rather few at Santa Barbara who could have been considered "hard-core radicals". There were a large number of students who were extremely angry, extremely frustrated, and prepared to be quite militant. But only a small number of these had made a serious and on-going commitment to organizing and building a radical movement on the campus. Vice-chancellor Gardner has renewed the call for the decapitation of anyone who takes any political or organizational initiative on the campus.

The theory is, that if organizing activities can be intimidated, the students will become increasingly atomized and isolated. It will then become easier to indoctrinate the student body with the virtue of passivity. The student newspaper, "El Gauchito," has been systematically sympathetic to the demonstrators. Though no steps yet have been taken to force it into line, one

can be certain that as soon as the furor on the campus subsides, an attempt will be made to guarantee that radical sympathizers will never again control the paper.

There is a rumor that the UCSB administration plans to make the Book of Job compulsory reading. There are many parallels between that Bible story and the situation at Santa Barbara. It seems almost as if some celestial beings got together and selected a docile and content student body to see just how many frustrations it was capable of absorbing.

But the students didn't do quite as well as Job. The lesson of "Job" is that you should worship, not curse or question, your tormentor. The schools, backed up by the media and when necessary by police, courts, and the army, try to teach this lesson. But as the basic contradictions in American corporate capitalism continue to unfold with growing intensity, more and more people will shake off the apathy and passivity with which they have been indoctrinated.

Conspiracy?

While the destruction of the Bank of America and the intense fighting with police were spontaneous acts, there is a drive afoot to convince the public that it's all part of a sinister conspiracy. What appears to be proof of this has blared into newspaper headlines. From the LA Times, March 6, we quote: "At 3:00 PM on Tuesday, February 24, UCSB Vice Chancellor Ray Varley telephoned Don Paulson, the bank manager, and told him to expect trouble in the next two days. Less than 36 hours later, the bank was in ruins, burned to a shell by bands of rampaging young demonstrators."

This seems to be conclusive proof of conspiracy. How else could one explain the Vice-chancellor's warning that the bank should expect trouble? Easy. At UCLA and UC Berkeley, students had broken windows that week at B. of A. offices adjoining campuses in demonstrations protesting the trial of the Chicago 8. With Kunstler scheduled to speak at Santa Barbara, it was logical that similar attempts were likely to occur. The Vice-chancellor may even have heard that some students planned in advance to knock out a B. of A. or real estate office window if they got a chance. But that's a far cry from conspiring to bum a bank down or to drive a platoon of police out of Isla Vista.

In the same Times article are a number of testimonials from people who are supposed to know, that it had all been a conspiracy. According to Sheriff's Captain Fritz Patterson: "They would like us to believe it was spontaneous. It has to be more than that. There was a tactical network of lookout posts, and messengers were carrying messages back and fourth on bicycles."

"Supervisor Daniel Grant, who has represented the Isla Vista district since 1960, was more direct: 'It was well-organized and well-planned, and there was a central command post directing. What's more, there was a supply of rocks. They had to be accumulated. You don't just go down the street and find that many rocks!'"

The colored rock lawns which adorn many Isla Vista apartment buildings were handy. Spontaneous mass organization is something that supervisors and sheriffs rarely see. But whether or not they really believe there was a conspiracy, those with power understand that it is necessary to make it appear that there was one. They can then move to eliminate the "rotten apples", discipline their "dupes", and go through the motions of allowing the "decent majority" to air their grievances.

A serious attempt will be made to use the burning of the Isla Vista B. of A. as a means to build up increased popular support for the crushing of all radicalism. The B. of A.'s newspaper ad is a good example of this maneuver.

Its rhetoric is reserved: "Let us as a nation find once again our ability to distinguish between protest and revolt; between dissent and chaos; between demonstration and destruction; between non-violence and violence." It takes this tone because it is appealing to a very broad audience: "All of us, young or old, liberal or conservative, have for too long been silent on the issue of violence. We have been afraid of labels or slogans that would brand us either arch-conservatives or traitors to a liberal cause. Such sloganeering does all of us a grave injustice."

This appeal, however, is aimed largely at those with liberal or left leanings, who are upset by the "violence" but were also probably upset by Judge Hoffman's railroad in Chicago. The reaction understands that there are many such people, and they must be neutralized before it can really get itself rolling.

But while the rhetoric is subtle, the message is stark. In the first paragraph the image is projected that Isla

Vista is not an isolated compact community, 80% of whose population are university students, but is a normal American suburban community - perhaps very much like the one you live or work in." (Emphasis added) in effect they are saying, "Watch out. It could happen in your own backyard."

But the clincher comes near the end. "Every American has a right to walk the streets in safety. No polemic should be allowed to obscure this right. Your wife or husband, son or daughter ought to be safe in visiting a supermarket, a filling station, or a bank - regardless of whether another may choose to reject that institution as an onerous symbol."

The fact that people fear with good cause to walk the streets at night is a sad commentary on the degeneration of social relations in this country. But is Bank of America suggesting that student demonstrations lead to muggings, or that innocent bystanders were molested during the demonstrations, or what? And what do they mean when they refer to loved ones visiting supermarkets? Are they suggesting the image of a bomb going off in a crowded supermarket? But what does that have to do with the burning of an empty bank in the middle of the night?

The B. of A. ad is an expert piece of propaganda. It leaves those who read it with the idea that it was not the property of a multi-billion dollar financial complex which was destroyed, but it was an attack on the reader, his home, his family.

The amount that we on the Left can do to counter that propaganda is minimal. The ad probably cost B. of A. a sum of money equal to at least a quarter of the \$275,000 fire damages they suffered. (Both expenses are tax-deductible, so it will be the government that takes the loss - equal to, let's say, the cost of one small airplane shot down in Vietnam.)

Isolation

While we find it easy to understand and explain the Santa Barbara events, and even easy to identify with them on a personal level, that in no way means that we think that they should serve as a model for the student movement as a whole to follow.

The student movement throughout the country is isolated from the rest of the population. That isolation was intensified at UCSB by the location and physical layout of the campus itself. The students in the majority became conscious of the fact that there exists a rent-gouging, environment-destroying elite, which could continue to carry out war, repression, and oppression - apparently independent of what they or anyone else felt. The majority of students found themselves without even the power to get an open hearing on whether or not Bill Allen should be terminated. They discovered that trying to bring about change brought repression down on themselves, and trying to organize exposed any who were willing to assume that initiative and responsibility to particularly extreme forms of repression. They reached a point where they could take no more.

The actions in Isla Vista, and the burning of the Bank of America were the response by the student communi-

ty to a whole network of oppression. The community had reached the point where it was ready to fight back, and it very clearly chose politically symbolic targets to focus in upon: the police, the bank, and the realtors.

While it is necessary to defend the students' actions, we must at the same time recognize that they in part flow from, and occur in the context of, a very unhealthy political situation in the country as a whole. In this sense, what happened in Isla Vista is a reflection of the weakness of the American radical movement and not of its strength.

Radicalism in America exists for the most part in isolation from the majority of the population, and in particular, in isolation from the working class. Those groups and strata of the population in which radicalism flourishes have little real power. They cannot force more than the most minimal concessions from this country's rulers, even on the basis of mass militant actions which take on a majoritarian character within the particular community.

Realization of this powerlessness leads, on the one hand, to acts of pure desperation and to political philosophies which make a virtue of adventurism and terrorism. On the other hand, realization of this powerlessness leads to cynicism, apoliticism, and even to petty reformism and accommodation to the oppressor as the only "reasonable" means of getting something accomplished. We can expect in the months to come to hear more and more of those who advocate both throwing bombs and voting for Jesse Unruh against Ronald Reagan.

Students can not be blamed for the uneven development of political consciousness in this country. But they must still work to overcome the isolation that this uneven development has caused. Otherwise they will find that the hothouse in which their movement sprouted will become the tomb in which it suffocates.

In the context of a different society-wide political development, the kinds of things that happened in Santa Barbara could have a totally different content. For instance, in France, during the May-June days of 1968, students building barricades and defending them from the police in the streets of the Latin Quarter in Paris touched off a nationwide general strike of the entire working class. Such a response by the American working class is not yet even a remote possibility. And even in France, the radical development and revolutionary organization of the working class was far from sufficient to press forward to a clear victory.

A growing number of young revolutionaries are deciding to join the working class as a means of encouraging the development of conscious radicalism among workers and as a step toward building a revolutionary workers movement. While we consider this of the very highest priority, it does not constitute a strategy for the student movement as a whole.

A critical situation has developed at UCSB. The student movement there must still develop its political program for struggle. If it fails, a big carrot, and a vicious stick will be used to crush the political movement that is developing on the campus. Failure to or-

ganize in the face of the current level of repression will guarantee that the campus will face a reign of even greater repression.

The experience of the past month laid the political foundation for developing a large and serious ongoing radical movement at UCSB. It is still to be seen whether the Isla Vista demonstrations will lead to the development of such a movement, or whether they will prove to have been merely the letting off of steam.

Programs of Struggle

The job of radicals in the months to come is to develop programs of ongoing struggle and agitation around the very issues which led to the blow-out: rents, police, ecology, student control, tuition, repression, the war, racism and so on. A rent strike and stopping the construction of the freeway through the slough are two tactical suggestions. Others should be thought after and explored.

These struggles should not consist of independently-organized, fragmented actions, but should be integrated parts of a whole. The real estate interests are involved with the slough highway and the destruction of the environment. The university collaborates with both, cooperates with the police in fingering students, and is involved with the war effort. And so on.

The issues all tie together. Building a movement which bares these interconnections is building a movement which can develop a real understanding of U.S. capitalism. Such a movement can force some concessions, can roll back much of the repression, can counteract much of the co-optive machinery which will certainly be set up, and will help build conscious revolutionaries.

The movement must also continuously point out the interconnections between the oppression students face and the oppression confronting the majority of Americans. It is the same fiscal crisis which leads to the imposition of tuition, and to the deterioration of workers' real wages. In demanding an end to tuition, for instance, students must at the same time, demand that the needed money not come from the already-over-taxed workers, but must come from an increase in corporate taxes. Similarly, the demand must be put forward that university education must be made available to all.

The overwhelming majority of university students today come from middle-class homes. Those who rule do everything they can to make it appear that the student movement is directed against the rest of the population. It is imperative that the student movement neither become nor appear to become the movement of an elite fighting for the maintenance of its privileges at the expense of the majority of the people. Rather it must put forward a program in which its demands are tied to the needs of working people, and done so explicitly.

Such a strategy is a counterforce to the isolation which students face. At the same time, it makes the student movement much more powerful as a force which can help to further encourage a society-wide radicalization.



The Old Santa Barbara



... and the New

El Gaucho/LNS

Workers' Power



No. 5
April 1970

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST SUPPLEMENT



The Rape of the S.F. Mass Strike

Jack Bloom

What was the largest mass strike in recent California history, and was developing into the first General Strike in the country since the Oakland General Strike in 1948, was quickly put to an end last weekend by a series of maneuvers between union bureaucrats and San Francisco politicians, in what must be one of the most colossal sell-outs in labor history.

City employees had demanded a 10% wage increase, improved working conditions and the right of collective bargaining. Workers were forced to wait outside while secret discussions took place among the Board of Supervisors on what they would decide about the standard of living more than 14,000 employees would have for the next year. All anyone knew was that the Board of Supervisors had representatives from the Chamber of Commerce on it and was consulting the Downtown Business Association about proposed pay scales - two bodies that had a vested interest in driving workers' wages down.

They also knew that ("labor candidate") Alioto had promised to veto a much smaller raise recommended by the Civil Service Commission, in the unlikely possibility it should pass the Board of Supervisors. It came as no surprise when the Board slapped the workers with an end to the normal 5% increments in wages and a 5% wage "increase".

This "increase," when tied to the yearly 6% rise in the cost of living, actually meant a drop in wages over last year. With the increments ended, the prospect was for a drop of 25-50% in real wages over a five-year period.

Faced with this arrogant attack on their living standards, city employees had little choice but to go on strike. This was no ordinary strike. Almost 15,000 workers scattered throughout the city in virtually every department, armed with agreements with other unions not to cross their picket lines, crippled the city's functioning: schools, buses, hospitals, welfare departments, probation departments, libraries, city hall - even the San Francisco orchestra, scheduled to play Stravinsky - were closed down. The power of workers united was beginning to be felt.

From the very beginning the specter of a General Strike loomed in the distance. A General Strike would shut down the city entirely, and the Chamber of Commerce, which was playing the music Mayor Joe Alioto and Supervisor Diane Feinstein were dancing to, would have hurt.

The talk of a General Strike was part of the labor bureaucrats' strategy - to put a little beef into what they wanted to believe was just a normal strike. Of course, they never dreamed the tough talk would become a reality. But rank-and-file workers were taking it seriously.

Teamsters were respecting the lines. Muni drivers were militantly respecting the lines. The ILWU voted on Sunday - because of rank-and-file pressure - to respect the lines, and they were talking about going out on strike on their own demands. The American Federation of Teachers voted to respect the lines. Telephone workers were getting restless. The movement for a General Strike was picking up steam; if the strike had gone on for a few more days, it probably would have been un-

stoppable.

In San Francisco, traditionally a "union town," the attempt to hand the bill for inflation to the workers meant an attack on the fundamental rights of trade unions. In order to get away with it, every trick in the book was used. When teachers observed the picket lines, for example, all kinds of people who don't give a damn about overcrowded classrooms, rotting school buildings, or second-rate education any other day of the year suddenly got outraged because children were missing school.

From the beginning, Mayor Alioto tried to play the small property-owner against the worker (often the same person). "The property taxpayer has had it, and you can't get blood out of a turnip," said Alioto. What his Honor forgets to mention is that there are some pretty rich turnips around the City - the big businesses - who ought to pay the entire cost of the wage increases. But Alioto and the Supervisors owe a great deal in campaign money, friendships and business associations to those same turnips.

The labor bureaucrats did nothing to counter these ploys. They certainly weren't about to launch an attack on corporate power in America. Nor did they do anything to organize that General Strike they talked about, or even the strike that was already going on.

Not one mass meeting was held. Not only did this hurt morale, but workers had to find out how negotiations and the strike were going by turning on the news. Since the TV and radio stations, like the newspapers, are run by businesses, they don't exactly help to organize the strike.

The Labor Council ought to have held daily strike meetings for each shift of pickets, so workers from different unions could hear about the course of the strike and let their elected officials know how good the offer was. After all, they are the ones who have to live with it.

But, of course, the union "leaders" would do no such thing. Far from letting the workers in on the decision-making process, they kept everything a secret. When it was clear that a General Strike was coming from below, and that the workers on the lines were getting together - when it was evident that if the strike went on just a few days more it would be out of the hands of the officials and under the control of the workers themselves - they settled.

It was a rotten settlement, and as might be expected it was carried out in a rotten way from the very first.

It restored the increments; it gave most workers a 5% raise and a few of the higher-paid workers 7 1/2%. But given inflation, it meant that real wages for most workers were still less than last year, and for a few others, they had barely risen.

Alioto didn't give himself a raise - that was supposed to make us feel good. Alioto - the millionaire corporate lawyer, who thinks nothing of taking hundreds of thousands of dollars in split fees from the taxpayers - kept himself to his humble \$20,000 plus salary. Very nice. So how could those greedy \$6,000 per year employees be dissatisfied? Come off it, Joe!

John Geoffrey, representing at least three of the striking unions, described it as "the best deal we can get". He might have added, "without making any fight".

With such a sell-out agreement, it was apparent that the only way the unions could get it ratified by their members was by forcing it down their throats. The first step was to break the back of the strike.

Despite Alioto's claim that his first public statement was at 9:00, by 7:00 Monday morning announcements on the radio were proclaiming that the strike was over, and that employees should return to work. This was obviously calculated to get the word out before the 8:00 shift change - the aim being to discourage the pickets and to make employees believe they should go back to work. The unions remained silent; they gave no direction to the membership.

At 9:00 Alioto surfaced; the strike had been settled, he said, and part of the deal was that pickets were to be pulled down in front of the Muni barns to allow the drivers to take the buses out. Tim Richardson of the Teamsters, an ex-cop and one of the negotiators, followed him, saying virtually the same thing. No word that this was only a tentative agreement; that it had yet to be ratified - that was assumed. Therefore, the lines could come down. A sure sign of sell-out when the lines come down before the members see the terms.

As planned, confusion reigned. At 9:00 pickets were called off at the Muni barn at Presidio and Sutter. They returned at 9:30, stayed until 11:00, and then left. Lines were folding in several places because no one knew what to do. Cable cars began running from the Washington and Mason and the Northpoint and Bay Stations. Schools were running sporadically, using scab "substitutes".

At the Potrero muni station around 10:00, drivers began to show up to get their buses. No pickets were up - they had been told to go home. The drivers went in and started the buses up. A few workers then appeared, picked up their signs and stationed themselves in front

(Con't. on page 8)

Labor's Friend?



Workers' Power

WE STAND FOR WORKERS' POWER, that is, for socialism: the collective ownership and democratic control of the economy by the working class. Those who produce the wealth must own and control the means of production. We stand in opposition to all forms of class society, both capitalist and so-called "Communist" as well, and in solidarity with the struggles of all exploited and oppressed people.

America is faced with a growing crisis. War, racial strife, inflation and taxes are the price paid by the working class for a crisis it never created or wanted. This crisis is the result of the rule of the tiny minority that controls industry, wealth and politics alike, the capitalist ruling class. This class perpetuates its rule by dividing the working people against each other - white against black, male against female, skilled against unskilled, etc. The result is ever greater social chaos.

Workers' power is the only alternative to this crisis. Neither the liberal nor the conservative wings of the ruling class have any answers but greater exploitation. The struggle for workers' power is already being waged on the economic level, and the International Socialists stand in solidarity with these struggles over wages and working conditions. To further this struggle, we call for independent rank-and-file workers' committees to fight when and where the unions refuse to fight. But the struggles of the workers will remain defensive and open to defeat so long as they are restricted to economic or industrial action.

The struggle must become political. Because of its economic power, the ruling class also has a monopoly on political power. It controls the government and the political parties that administer the state. More and more, the problems we face such as inflation and unemployment, are the result of political decisions made by that class. The struggle of the working people will be deadlocked until the ranks of labor build a workers' party and carry the struggle into the political arena.

The struggle for workers' power cannot be won until the working class, as a whole, controls the government and the economy democratically. This requires a revolutionary socialist, working class party at the head of a unified working class. No elite can accomplish this for the workers. Nor can any part of the working class free itself at the expense of another. The struggles of specially oppressed sectors of the class - black people, Spanish-speaking people, women, etc. - are in the interest of the entire class and must be supported. We support the independent organization of these specially oppressed groups as a step toward genuine class unity based on mutual respect and the struggle against a common enemy.

The struggle for workers' power is world-wide. Class oppression and exploitation is the common condition of humanity. Whether capitalist or bureaucratic-collectivist ("Communist") in nature, the ruling classes of the world fight desperately to maintain their power, often against each other, always against the working class and the people. No existing society has anything in common with socialism, the direct rule of the working class itself.

Through both domestic repression and imperialist intervention (the U.S. in Vietnam, Russia in Czechoslovakia), the ruling classes perpetuate misery and poverty in a world of potential peace and plenty. We oppose all forms of imperialism, and support struggles for national self-determination, including the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism. However, nationalism alone offers no long-range solutions. Only socialism, established through world-wide revolution, can free humanity from exploitation and oppression; and the only force capable of building socialism is WORKERS' POWER.

Editorial

The GE Settlement: Victory or Defeat?

Many people have called the outcome of the GE strike a victory. We don't think so. The basic cause of the strike was inflation which had eaten away at the GE workers' salaries, to the point that in 1970 they were making 35¢ an hour less than in 1966, the year before the last contract was signed.

In the electrical industry, workers receive as much as \$2 an hour less than workers in such industries as petroleum and rubber. Of the 82¢ an hour (which is the increase they "won"), only 47¢ is an increase over the low average for the industry, and in all likelihood this increase will be wiped out by inflation before the present contract expires.

It is not demands for more wages which have caused inflation, but rather the rising prices in the past several years which have necessitated demands for higher wages. In fact, GE raised its prices both before and after the strike. This inflation has been increased by the Vietnam war spending, but the war is not the most basic cause. Rather, the "permanent arms economy", a whole sector of industry which produces vast amounts of waste material (such as bombs and guns), material which serves no human needs, is at the root of the general inflationary trend.

Prices have never dropped significantly since the second world war, when war spending became a permanent part of the national budget. The direct war-spending on Vietnam only serves to increase this inflation.

But the issue of wages was not the only reason for the strike. The recent rise in militant strikes, wildcats, work slowdowns, etc., reflects a general worsening of working conditions in recent years. Here again, the speed-ups, lack of adequate safety precautions, forced overtime, and other poor conditions are not directly due to the war, but have been greatly exacerbated by it. In the GE strike, one of the major rank and file demands was the establishment of an effective grievance procedure. "This is a necessity in all shops, the only way to fight deteriorating working conditions. But it was not pushed by the unions, and uncorrected work grievances will continue - part of the price the GE workers will have to pay for this settlement.

Another important issue was the differences in pay-rates between workers. Women, for example, often make \$1.50 an hour less than men doing the same work (but under different job titles). This discrimination was opposed at first by the unions, which demanded equal pay for all. The existence of a marginal labor force, such as women, means that when one group of workers becomes too militant, the company can threaten to fire them and hire lower-paid workers.

GE has had the practice of actually moving whole divisions in order to get out of an area of militant workers and into a much poorer area such as the South, where the labor force is more downtrodden and unorganized. So when the demand for ending all wage differentials was given up by the union, the workers lost something for which they will pay highly in the future.

Another example of the way union leaders helped "win" the strike was Meany's call for a boycott of GE. This would have been an excellent idea had he included in that boycott GE's largest buyer, the U.S. government. On the first day of the strike, the Defense Department ordered \$33 million worth of materials from GE (similar to its action when it purchased millions of dollars of grapes for Vietnam just at the height of the farm workers' grape boycott). But Meany ignored the question of the government's efforts to aid GE because he has too many connections with the government, and is one of the strongest

supporters of the war and of U. S. foreign policy.

The capitalist state increasingly intervenes against workers' actions. In recent months we have even seen a steady attack on one of the workers' most basic rights and primary defensive weapons: the strike. Nixon has continually used bureaucratic and "legal" means to stall off the railroad strike, and has finally had congress pass a law banning a railroad strike for 37 days. Meanwhile, in N. Y., Rockefeller has invented a special law forcing cemetery workers to accept binding arbitration and return to work after two months on strike. These are just two examples; there have been many more in the past and there will be more in the future. The state is not a neutral body acting between the companies and the workers; it consistently sides with the employers.

Some liberals will say the reason for all this governmental interference is that the Democrats are not in power. But this is not the case. No Democratic mayor has hesitated to send in cops to escort scabs across picket lines. And the Democratic presidents and congresses in the 1930's and '40's didn't hesitate to pass anti-labor legislation which the Democratic congresses of the 1960's left on the books.

Neither of the major political parties represents the interests of workers. Both are responsible for anti-labor laws (the vote in the Senate banning a rail strike was unanimous), for protecting scabs, and for the arms economy which is responsible for many of the problems facing workers on the shop floor. George Wallace's racist campaign was also counterposed to the interests of workers; hidden behind his anti-big business rhetoric are the same anti-union politics possessed by Nixon and Humphrey.

But as workers more and more come into conflict with the government and have to deal with broader political issues, a party to represent them will be a necessity. Such a party must be based on rank-and-file controlled workers' groups. In occasional instances, these will be local unions, but for the most part the unions have become so bureaucratic that they no longer can lead the fight for workers' interests. In such cases, it will be necessary for the workers to build other shop-based committees to fight for better working conditions and other issues that the unions constantly ignore. Such committees would be outgrowths of local rank-and-file led actions such as the miners' black lung wildcats. This has already happened in isolated cases for short periods of time.

It is on these groups that a workers' party must rest. And it is through the vehicle of a workers party that these local groups will be able to reach other members of the working class. It is only in this way that future "victories" such as the GE settlement can be avoided, and it is only this direction that leads to the struggle for WORKERS POWER.

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Inflation: Who Pays? Who's to Blame?

Jack Bloom

ing no raise whatsoever to anyone, and actually cutting back wages of others. In the context of a 6% yearly rise in the cost of living, 'hold the line' really means a full-scale effort to roll back gains that were fought and won previously, and to drive down the standard of living of workers.

'Hold the line' can mean cutting costs in other ways - like increasing the amount of work each worker does. This puts an intolerable burden on the workers and further reduces the quality of social services in the case of public employees. Social workers, for example, are tremendously overburdened and are supposed to act as spies on welfare recipients. In some hospitals, there are 80 beds in wards meant for 30 with no increase in the number of nurses.

Nationwide Attack

This effort is part of a similar nationwide attack. Nixon, when faced with a choice of freezing prices or cutting back wages in order to end inflation, had no difficulty making his decision. He launched a broad attack on wages and on the ability of workers to withstand wage cuts. Its cutting edge is provided by the artificial recession that is throwing people out of work right and left.

Nixon's recession is forcing many on welfare and vastly increasing the pool of unemployed. Tied to that has been the government-induced cutback in construction which throws more people out of work, and drives up rent and the cost of buying a home as the shortage of housing increases.

Shifting the tax burden has been part of the program as well. Taxes generally have been rising to the disadvantage of workers. In 1950, individuals paid 39.2% of federal taxes (about 70% of which came from working-class people) and businesses paid 47.8%. In 1967, however, the comparable percentages were 42.5% and 33.4%.

In California, taxes in 1964 on working people made up 44.7% of the state budget; by 1969 they had increased to 51.9%. Meanwhile taxes on the corporations declined from 14.7% - a ridiculously low figure itself - to 11.9%. Nixon's new tax "reform" law increases taxes on low and middle income people and lowers those of the corporations and the rich.

All that, added to a tremendously inflationary economy, has meant that working people have had to run rapidly simply in order to stay in the same place. And, despite numerous strikes real wages have dropped since 1965, the year the war in Vietnam was escalated and the economy began to heat up.

The result has been heightened worker militancy on the one hand, and efforts to crush the ability of labor to resist on the other. Nixon's recession was one such measure. His legislation to prevent the railway workers from striking is another, and gives an indication of how strikes will be handled in the future.

It will be a national "emergency" if the railway workers go on strike - therefore, they must be forced into compulsory arbitration. And where do we go from here? When is it not a national "emergency" when there is a big strike? For the crucial thing about collective bargaining is that workers have the power to shut down an industry or the whole society if they choose. That's why they can win their struggles.

No Right to Strike

The Nixon administration recognizes this: that is why the new labor legislation, endorsed by the labor bureaucracy, has been proposed: it effectively ends the right to strike and the right of workers to vote on contracts. (Workers have rejected 14% of the contracts negotiated for them in the past few years and militancy is rising.)

All of this is done, they tell us, for the purpose of stopping inflation, which as we know hits working people the hardest. Alioto, Nixon and politicians generally are trying to tell us they're doing us a favor: they're fighting to keep prices down. Of course, "we" (meaning us, not them) have to make some sacrifices. Like our jobs. And our working conditions.

All of it hinges on their theory of what causes inflation.

They try to sell us the myth that inflation is the result of rising wages and welfare costs. The fact of the matter, however, is that workers have been losing, not gaining. Every time a wage gain has been won, the corporations, because of the fact that they are monopolies or virtual monopolies, have been able to pass the cost on to the consumer (another label for worker). So, for example, when the phone company raises its rates, all working people pay, including phone workers. Such a cycle very quickly ends up by nullifying all wage increases.

As a matter of fact, workers have been forced to fight for higher wages because prices have been rising, not the other way around. Real wages have declined by 1.4% since 1965. During the same period corporate profits after taxes and inflation have increased by 4.4%. And the squeeze is getting worse.

The attempt to blame welfare costs for the inflation is equally ridiculous. Total combined federal, state and local welfare costs come to only about 4¢ on each tax dollar. Health and hospitals, which we all need, are about 4¢, and housing barely more than a penny.

At the same time, "defense" costs amount to about 34¢ on every tax dollar, federal, state and local. Over half of this money goes directly to the corporations for arms production. In fact, the largest recipient of governmental subsidies is big business.

Here is where we have to look to find the source of the inflation. It is the permanent war economy that forces prices up. Massive military spending employs hundreds of thousands of workers who receive wages to buy goods, but who produce armaments which do not enter the economy as goods to buy. We don't go out to buy Minuteman missiles or army helicopters.

Junk

What is produced by the war economy, then, in terms of our needs is junk. Junk that is replaced every year. In the meantime, there is a relative shortage of consumer goods produced, and their prices are driven up as a result.

The escalation of the war in Vietnam - at a cost of \$30 billion per year - only accentuated this long-term tendency and heated up the economy to the boiling point. Now, workers are being asked to pay the price for the attempt to impose a reactionary, exploitative regime on the working people of Vietnam.

In the long run, the only way we can end the inflationary tendency in the economy is to demand an end to the war in Vietnam and an end to the Permanent War Economy. War production industries should be reconverted to produce the goods needed and wanted by working people.

Freeze Prices

More immediately, we should fight for a freeze on all price increases. They should be made illegal - but they won't be. The government - Republican or Democratic, Nixon's or Alioto's - has made it clear which side it is on. The inflation must end, they say, but by cutting wages, not profits.

So, we must all fight for the same demand in our contract negotiations: wage increases without a price rise. For example, hospital employees should demand that besides their raise and better patient care, the cost of hospital care not go up. If the hospitals can't afford to let the city raise the taxes of the corporations whose profits have been booming while wages have been falling back.

The struggle that is going on now will help to set the tone for future struggles. The demand for price freezes is one which should be written into contracts generally. Each such fight is a struggle both for all workers, and for those workers at a particular workplace.

Employees of private employers should recognize that the public employees' battle is their own, and that the outcome will affect their own living standards. They should push to make the strike a general strike - to show Alioto and the corporations he is representing that they cannot get away with shifting the burden of an inflation for which they are responsible onto the shoulders of workers - that they will have to pay for it themselves.



The real issue behind this strike of public employees - the largest in San Francisco since the San Francisco General Strike of 1934 - is the growing national crisis of inflation. What is being fought about is the question of who is going to bear the brunt of paying for inflation. Alioto and the Board of Supervisors are in the front lines of the battle to place the burden on the backs of working people.

Like the recently-settled GE strike, this strike of San Francisco employees and its outcome will have a great effect on the strikes that are yet to come this year - strikes that promise to involve four and one half million workers nationwide before the year is out. The word is out from private employers: hold the line, otherwise we too will be forced to give concessions. This was the thrust of the message sent from the Chamber of Commerce to Alioto and the Board of Supervisors.

Hold the line means just that: chop the pay raise demanded by the workers from 10% to 5% (2 1/2% for some), and stop all automatic pay raises, thus in effect grant-

Women's Liberation

Jenny Mathews



Recently there have been all sorts of stories in the newspapers about women working in steel plants or becoming mailwomen or taxi drivers, or being hired for a whole variety of jobs that they have traditionally been barred from. But the reason that a woman steelworker makes the news is not because women "have come a long way", but because finding women in jobs other than in "women's" jobs like secretaries, waitresses, etc. is still an oddity. (And even though she does make the news, the stories never talk about her real problems as a woman and as a worker, but instead ask her all sorts of stupid questions like whether or not she wears lipstick to work or what her measurements are.)

Today, when women make up 1/3 of the work force at any given time, the overwhelming majority of women work in traditional "women's" fields such as clerical, service and domestic work. Their jobs are the least skilled (other than secretarial work) and the lowest-paid. Women earn on the average only 40-60% of what men earn, with black women earning the least. (In fact women with a college education earn less than men with a high school education because of the gap between the kinds of jobs they can get.)

As the number of women increases in a given job, the pay seems to decrease. For example, in the construction trades, which hire no women at all, the hourly wage is \$3.87 - while in the retail trades, which are almost 50% women, the average wage is \$1.91 per hour. Often women are paid less for the same work as men. In the electrical industry women assemblers make up to \$1.50 less per hour than men assemblers. This is justified by calling one group class A assemblers and another class B assemblers - in essence the same job only with two different names and two different pay scales.

The list of inequities between men and women workers is almost endless, and needs little more proof than a glance at the different jobs and salaries listed in the "Help Wanted - Male, Help Wanted - Female" columns. (I do not mean to imply that working men have it so great either - just that in a bad situation it is almost twice as bad for women.)

Yet, as bad as things are for working women, to focus on sexual discrimination against women on the job as an explanation of their oppression is to somehow miss the point. Discrimination against women in the labor force is maintained and justified by the all-pervasive notion that women are inferior to, or at least less important than, men.

This kind of thinking comes about by defining men by the work they do and women by the fact that they are mothers: "Men have always been the producers in society and are therefore the force behind history; women, on the other hand, have had babies" - an essential role, of course, but somehow less important. "Common sense" has always assumed that a woman's role is in the home and that this is the way it has always been and this is the way it should be, that women are happiest caring for their husbands and children and taking care of their homes (women, unlike men, take pleasure in doing the dishes three times a day, scrubbing the

floor, cooking, ironing, etc.).

This mythology justifies keeping women in the position of servants by saying that it is the "natural and just" way of things. It is true that in primitive societies the division of roles according to sex was essential for survival; women were pregnant or nursing most of their adult lives, and were therefore dependent on men to do most of the hunting. But today, the average woman is incapacitated by childbirth and nursing for no longer than four years - which, subtracted from the 40 or so years that the average worker is employed is hardly worth noting and need be of no consequence to employment.

The high level of contemporary technology means that few jobs require the kind of brute strength that would justify the exclusion of most women from their ranks. Clearly, reasons that may have once been valid for rigid divisions according to sex no longer exist. To simply describe what is, without a discussion of whether or not it is still either justifiable or practical, only begs the question.

The problem with the whole traditional approach is that it totally denies the potential of women to be, or even to want to be, anything other than what they have always been (housewives and mothers); it permanently subordinates women to men.

Moreover, as long as it is believed that the only legitimate place for a woman is in the home, it is very easy to justify doubly exploiting her on the job. Reasons such as "women are only working to buy a few luxuries, they're only working temporarily or part-time, or they're going to quit soon to get married or have a kid", etc., are used to justify excluding women from most decent-paying jobs and for paying them less for the jobs they can get.

In fact, of course, most women are working today not to buy a few luxuries, but just to keep their families above the poverty level. During the recent GE strike, a reporter from *Business Week* was told by most of the male strikers interviewed that a major reason for the strike was that their incomes plus their wives' incomes were not enough to live on. (All of the men interviewed had working wives - most of whom paid \$20-30 per week for a babysitter.) Another fact that is not acknowledged is that one out of every ten families is headed and therefore supported by a woman.

Not only are the reasons given for the superexploitation of women false, but even if they were true, they

would not be valid. Workers must be paid fair wages for the work they do independently of the reasons they have for working (whether to support a family or simply to buy something "extra").

If one sector of the labor force is paid a low wage, it keeps the wage level of all working people down. If men workers demand more money, the employer can always threaten to bring in lower-paid women workers (or black workers). It is in the interest of all workers to fight against the superexploitation of any segment of the working class, either black workers or women workers.

Although demands such as "equal pay for equal work" are absolutely necessary, they are not alone sufficient to end the special oppression of women. It must be recognized that most women who work today have two jobs instead of one. After putting in a full day's work, they must come home and care for a home and family or they must put most of their salary towards paying for many of the services they would usually perform. We must demand free childcare facilities, controlled by the clients and staff, open 24 hours a day and paid for by taxing the banks and corporations.

Moreover, we must demand equal access to all jobs, and an end to sexual tracking in the schools so that women will be able to get the kind of training necessary for skilled technical jobs. Also it must be understood that women have the right to control their own bodies. A demand for free and legal abortions is basic to women's liberation, because without control over their own bodies and the right to choose when to have children, women remain unable to control their own lives.

These sorts of demands are just the beginning of what is necessary to liberate women, to allow them to fulfill their full potential as creative productive human beings. In order to win these demands, women must begin to organize independently. The growing women's liberation movement on the college campuses is one part of that organization. Another essential part will be the development of a movement of working women, whether in women's caucuses within their unions or in totally new organizations that will fight for women's demands on the job and in the broader community.

Men workers must quickly come to understand that to oppress any section of the working class hurts all working people. Everyone must support the demand of women workers for equal treatment and liberation. Women's liberation is in the interest of all working people.

... to get
where you've
got to, today



Nixon's Offensive Against Rank and File Revolts

The government of the United States has begun a major attack on the ranks of American labor. The continued growth and success of the rank and file union revolts which broke into the open on a large scale in 1964 made such an attack inevitable.

The character of the government's offensive - at least in its opening stages - was revealed in the first major announcement of President Nixon's Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Commission (CICBC), released on January 20. The twelve-man tripartite Commission was established by Presidential executive order in September, 1969, with the appointment of four members each from labor, management, and the government. It adopted a nine-point program based upon a tripartite staff committee of six lawyers which was submitted one month prior to the formation of the Commission.

If put into practice, the Commission's program will end the right of the rank and file to ratify the collective bargaining contracts they live under; qualitatively strengthen the position of labor bureaucrats attempting to crush opposition in the ranks; formally institutionalize collaboration between top labor leaders and employers; accomplish a giant step toward making international unions a formal arm of the government's labor control apparatus; and finally, create a precedent which would be used to try to force the rest of organized labor's ranks into submission. The exact and official text of the nine-point recommendation designed to "strengthen collective bargaining in the industry" adjoints this article.

The Commission does not now recommend that legislation be enacted to enforce the first eight points of the program. For now it expects the top officers of the eight cent major construction unions to win the lower levels of leadership to the program, who in turn will be expected to sell it to the ranks.

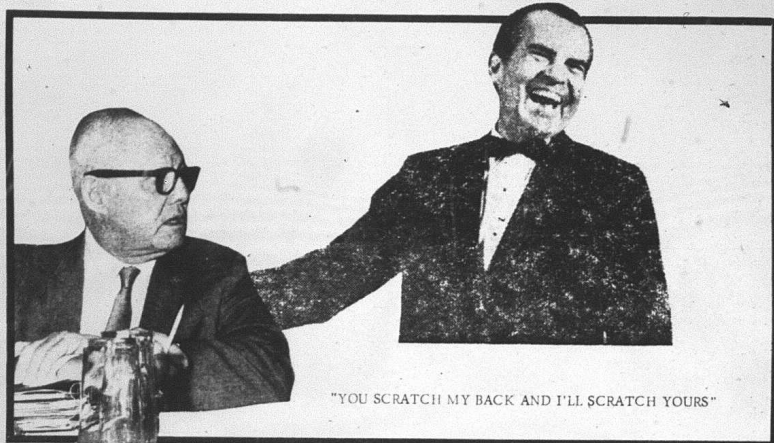
But attempts to sell this program will only bring wide scope and greater depth to the revolts. Simultaneously in many unions, the question of centralized power and of the nature of collaboration between government and employer and bureaucrat will be put on the agenda. The bureaucracy has but one argument to use in making the "sell": the possibility of rejection in every ratification vote increases the resistance of the employers to the union's demands; give us a free hand and we can get more for you, and easier, without the expense of a strike.

Militancy and Wages

It is improbable that large sections of the ranks will be won over by this argument. Very recent experience once more proves it false. Since 1964, contract rejections have soared. According to Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service (FMCS) figures, they peaked at 14.2% in 1967 and have remained at all-time highs (never below 11%) ever since. But during the same period, the building tradesmen have obtained the largest wage and economic fringe increases since the mid-1920's.

In larger and larger numbers, union militants are fighting those leaders who attempt to sell them out. They have the weapons to win business agents and local officials to their side, although winning the district or regional officials will be far more difficult, for the paychecks of most at that level are issued from the offices of the international union. The Commission has anticipated the escalation of this fight and so is preparing to arm the top and regional officials with legal weapons which will enable them to crush opposition from local leaders and ranks dictatorially. This is the reason for the ninth point in the program. The Commission knows that Titles I and III of the Landrum-Griffin Act, the backbone of the "Bill of Rights" section, have become liabilities. These portions of the law (passed in 1959) eliminated, to a large degree, weapons that many top labor officials had learned to use effectively in their efforts to police their ranks.

Title I, Section 101 (a) (2), made unlawful that type of union constitutional by-law which allowed officials to expel members who made "slandorous" or "libelous"



statements about them and also put restrictions on the ability of officials to victimize union members who sued them in civil court. Title III eliminated some of the ease with which powerful bureaucrats placed rebellious local unions under trusteeship, thereby denying the ranks the right to elect their own officials and to conduct their own affairs. The Commission is recommending that the Landrum-Griffin Act be amended so as to restore these advantages to the top labor leadership. It is probable that attempts to enact legislation that would accomplish these changes will occur in 1970.

Looking back, it now seems odd that a piece of anti-labor legislation like Landrum-Griffin could contain sections that would in any way protect rank and file unionists from a conservative officialdom. It does, and the reasons why it does and soon may no longer do so, in their sum, are evidence of one of the most significant victories yet achieved by the revolts.

The principal purpose for the passage of Landrum-Griffin was to establish the foreclosure sections of the Act. They apply almost totally to local unions, to international unions in small part, and to federations like the AFL-CIO not at all. They allow the government to "open the books" of any local union; and the government has not yet even begun to exploit the authoritarian potential of this power.

To divert attention from and ease anxieties about the foreclosure sections, a sop was needed. The legislators also wanted to break the power of Teamster President, Jimmy Hoffa (and any more like him at any level of leadership in any union) who, while no champion of rank and file democracy, preferred to remain as free as possible from cozy cooperative relationships with governmental leaders. The congressional authors of the Act held before their colleagues the spectre of the Hoffa's leading good American working people astray like so many sheep.

Villanous Leaders

Since revolutionaries were no longer a presence in the unions, a villainous type of labor leader had to be the main source of danger to the system. Like the sections of the Taft-Hartley Act which, under certain circumstances, guarantee union members the right to secret balloting, the "Rights" section of Landrum-Griffin was based on a "notion ... that union members were more reasonable and less militant than union leaders". (From a speech made at the Graduate School of Business, University of Chicago, on November 17, 1967, by William E. Simkin, director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service under Lyndon Johnson's administration.)

By the mid-1960's, the more sophisticated government leaders realized that the source of "the labor problem" was an entire class instead of a portion of the labor union leadership. The theory that so many in high plac-

es had eagerly purchased from liberal power servants in university social science departments was based on no more than an illusion. It was now apparent that American workers had not become integrated into the middle class by beer-barbecue-television affluence.

The revolts of labor's ranks against both employers and top union leaders had destroyed the illusion. They demonstrated that "common" workers had not lost the ability to take the initiative and to supply their own leadership. The "sheep" for whom the "Rights" section was legislated existed in the minds of some congressmen and college professors and not in the workplaces.

Willing Allies

The leadership of the AFL-CIO, somewhat fearfully, did not oppose the passage of Landrum-Griffin. They were assured, and hoped, that it would only hurt James Hoffa. They found their hopes ill-founded - it hurt their ability to rule as well. Employers and the government's professional experts, however, have since realized that the top union leadership is the only ally they have in labor and are finding some willing collaborators.

Serving on the Construction Industry Commission are C.J. Haggerty, President of the AFL-CIO Building Trades Department; Maurice Hutcheson, President of the Carpenters; Peter Shoemann, President of the Plumbers; and Hunter Wharton, President of the Operating Engineers. All are ardent George Meany-supporters, a long time away from the trade. Hutcheson has the burden of having inherited his office directly from his father, William Hutcheson.

The publicity that the "sweetheart" arrangement, which is the Commission's program, has received has distracted attention from one of its proposals which was put into effect months before the Commission was formally created by executive order.

At a May 1, 1969 meeting of representatives of contractor associations and building trades unions, it was agreed that all regional offices of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service would report all construction contract terminations to their national office who, in turn, will alert the national unions and contractor associations. Thus, the central powers will be alerted to ready themselves to intercede more effectively.

At the present time, the constitutions of half of the 18 construction unions require international union approval of local contracts; in 13 of the 18, local strikes must be approved by the internationals; in five of the 13 the approval is necessary only if strike benefits are requested.

Labor militants must mobilize to meet this danger. The ranks of the construction unions in particular must demonstrate to their local officials that they (the of-

(Con't on page 7)

Rail Workers Wildcat

Kevin Bradley

The Act of Congress stopping a railroad strike for 37 days provoked numerous wildcat strikes across the country. The Establishment press tried to play down their importance, but the issuance of federal subpoenas to individual strikers against Southern Pacific, with the federal marshal staying up half the night, indicates otherwise.

Southern Pacific was particularly hard hit at the Taylor Yard in Los Angeles, the Sacramento Yard, and the important Roseville Yard on the main trunk line. Union Pacific was hit, as was the Chesapeake & Ohio, the Chicago & Eastern Illinois, the Missouri Pacific and the Kentucky & Indiana. Wildcats were particularly effective against the Chicago, Rock Island Pacific Railroad at Kansas City and Silver, Illinois.

400 workers blocked traffic at the Sante Fe Yards in Kansas City and 2000 stopped work on the Louisville & Nashville at Louisville and Corbin, Kentucky. Norfolk & Western went to court for injunctions in Bellevue, Ohio, as did the Southern Railway at Chattanooga. The Southern Railway was also hit in Pittsburg, Kansas. And these are not all the instances.

Musical Chairs Injunctions

Such militancy resulted from fifteen months without a contract and a musical chairs series of injunctions issued by compliant federal judges. First the unions said they would strike the Union Pacific Railroad, The 128 carriers (giant railway companies) said they would lock out the entire industry if any one carrier was struck, so a judge issued an injunction to safeguard the "national interest".

Once that injunction expired another took its place. This time the unions were prevented from striking Union Pacific on the grounds that they had carried out negotiations against all the carriers. But a strike against the entire railroad system would be against the "national interest". Too bad!

The unions involved are the shop craft unions which cover workers in the repair yards. Rather than the Railroad Brotherhoods, they are the old AFL craft unions, the Machinists, the Electrical Workers, the Sheetmetal Workers, and the Boilermakers. Their average wage, unchanged since 1968, is \$3,60 an hour.

Railroad electricians, who repair the complicated wiring of the diesels (the diesels turn generators which run electric motors which in turn move the wheels) are paid about half what their counterparts in the housing industry get, even taking into account the seasonal nature of construction work. Yet the shop craft worker's job is more difficult. Furthermore there is no sick pay and no premium pay for swing shift or graveyard shift.

A major issue was the work-rule change the carriers demanded, which would allow machinists to do the work of a sheet metal worker. The carriers are aiming at a composite mechanic, which would cut across craft lines and eventually be used to prune down the work force. Layoffs for shop craftsmen have been infrequent in the past, but with a composite mechanic and the current recession, the workers knew their jobs were on the chopping block.

When the union officials of the shop craft unions negotiated the recent contract, they were sure of their members' approval. They made confident predictions to the press. The Sheetmetal Workers, however, had had to bear the brunt of the work rule changes, had other ideas in mind. Those who voted rejected the contract 2,203 to 1,267.

According to Secretary of Labor Shultz, only 2,000 out of 6,000 sheetmetal workers voted. But the low turnout wasn't because the workers were too apathetic to vote. Just the opposite. At the Taylor Yard in Los Angeles, which has seen the most determined wildcat strike the workers were never given the opportunity to vote on the contract. Thus, the overwhelming "no" vote may have, if anything, underrepresented the opposition to the contract!

William W. Wimpfing, chief negotiator and vice-president of the Machinists, was disappointed at the contract rejection and was surprised at the magnitude

of the opposition in his own union. The Sheetmetal Workers' negotiator said he never would have recommended the contract if he had known of the rank and file opposition to it. He had to be reminded by angry telegrams from all over the country.

Nixon decided to demand of Congress that it make compulsory the settlement which had been rejected by the rank and file. At about the same time, he introduced to Congress legislation to change existing labor laws affecting transportation industries (rail, air, truck), instituting compulsory arbitration.

This announcement pointedly followed George Meany's call at the AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting in Miami for wage and price control. Until Meany's speech, there had been no clear move by either business or government toward wage controls. They realized that the patriotic atmosphere of submission to government control was missing from this war, unlike the Korean War and World War II when wage controls existed. Meany, a fervent supporter of the war in Vietnam and increased taxation to pay for it, felt he could ignore that fact.

The night Nixon called for compulsory arbitration in the transportation industry, the rumor was released that contracts may have to be imposed without rank and file vote. "Democracy" in labor relations has become too costly and must be dropped. Nixon's proposed railway settlement was the first substantiation of this rumor.

The chief negotiator for the shopcrafts, Wimpfing, said that Nixon's proposal to impose a contract which he had negotiated only to have it turned down by the ranks "seems to make the most sense," though he disliked all the options available. (Wall Street Journal, March 5, 1970) It is not surprising that the union bureaucracy finds Nixon's proposal fairly unobjectionable. After all, it is they who negotiate the contracts which are so unceremoniously rejected. As the wildcaters against Southern Pacific said, the union officials pocket the workers' \$15 a month dues in the form of fat salaries, and they aren't going to lose their jobs if workers are laid off through job consolidation.

Secretary of Labor Shultz's arguments before Congress for compulsory arbitration deserve examination: "The strike's impact would be immediate and pressures would build up each day if continued. Pressures would be felt immediately in coal mining, major chemical industries, perishables and foodstuffs, mail and passenger service." Thus, the first components of the "national interest" are the coal and chemical interests. When

Shultz expresses concern about perishables, what he means is, those scab grapes must get through! There are alternate forms of transportation such as truck and rail. It must be asked if a government which imposes import restrictions on Mexican tomatoes to raise the price of home-grown tomatoes, which has numerous restrictions and tariffs on foreign grown produce to protect a handful of great shipping companies, is really concerned with the availability of cheap produce to the population, or with the welfare of the agribusinessmen.

Shultz continues with an ecology pitch: "Within a week, water purification would be hampered, automotive production cut back and the construction industry seriously curtailed. If the stoppage continued, the impact would be felt in wider and wider circles of the economy." But has the government ever declared corporation-produced pollution against the national interest and issued federal injunctions and jailed their officers? Has it stopped offshore drilling despite multiple disasters? Hardly.

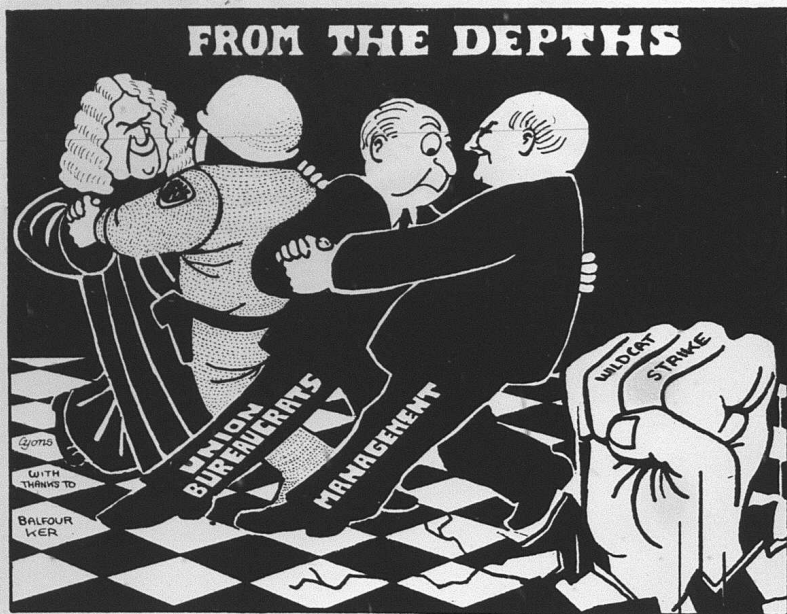
When the government-created recession throws thousands of workers out of work (in February aerospace and auto workers led the growing unemployment figures), and "fight money" lays off tens of thousands of construction workers and makes it practically impossible for the average worker to buy a house, that is in the "national interest". The "national interest" seems to be tied to an unspeakable six-letter word - profit.

The shopcraft union leaders held off a strike threat until Congress was scheduled to meet in January (Wall Street Journal, December 24, 1969). Congress didn't have time to consider Nixon's proposal for an imposed settlement once a strike seemed immediate, so it contented itself with simply outlawing the strike for 37 days. The vote in the Senate was 83 to 0. On this vote, Edward Kennedy didn't find it necessary to cast a well-publicized "No," nor did McCarthy, Goodell, or any other well-known liberals. The House vote was 343 to 15. In both Houses, virtually all the labor-endorsed Democrats joined with the Republicans to break the railroad strike. They thought they were doing Labor a favor by voting simply to postpone the strike, rather than to suppress it altogether as Nixon had proposed.

In fact, this government strike-breaking is not something introduced by the Nixon administration. Virtually the same thing happened under Kennedy and Johnson, although the labor officialdom would have us forget this fact, and the ranks tend to think that Johnson may have done it, but not Kennedy.

At the time of the massive March in Washington for Civil Rights and Jobs in 1963, President Kennedy signed the first compulsory arbitration act affecting interstate commerce in peace time. The issue then was over work rules, at that time affecting firemen.

The vote in the Democratic Senate was 90 to 2, with the Republican Tower voting against, joined by Wayne Morse, who wanted the entire package sent to compulsory arbitration! Again under Johnson in July 1967, a strike was blocked for 90 days and compulsory arbitration imposed if no voluntary agreement was reached. Nixon is just following the Democratic Party lead.



During the recent wildcats, some engineers and firemen honored the lines, but not all. Many shopcraft workers consider the engineers and firemen relatively well off. But just last December 200 engineers on the Penn Central called in sick objecting to the heat in diesel cabs and unexplained shortages in their pay checks. (The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers refused to take responsibility for the stoppage of the New York-Pennsylvania run.)

The workers who ride the rails, carmen, switchmen, conductors, etc., face terrible hours and working conditions. They can be called day or night and have to lay over in distant cities. Their unions, like many others, have swapped higher wages for worsening conditions, and they have plenty to struggle over.

The division of the work force into many crafts (Brotherhoods of Railway Trainmen, Firemen, Clerks, Switchmen, Conductors, Cooks, etc.), plus the various shopcraft unions) plays into the hands of the carriers. The carriers try to pit one union against another, as in the current work-rule dispute (the Sheetmetal Workers are blamed for keeping everyone else out).

The wildcat strikes united the workers of all four shopcraft unions in the streets, in front of their various yards. Their bureaucrats, local as well as national, didn't dare show their faces - they are united in the national negotiations far removed from the rank and file.

The shopcraft workers should unite in struggle groups around the issues of the wildcat strikes. They must demand full back pay for all fifteen months they have gone without a contract (The national negotiators may well settle for six months or three months back pay, if there is a lack of pressure from the rank and file), and a vote on the acceptance of any contract.

Today the shop craft workers nationally are still isolated from each other. They cheer when they hear on the radio or TV that some others of their 48,000 members have gone on strike. But shopcraftsmen who work at Southern Pacific in LA haven't gone across town to solidarize themselves with Sante Fe workers, or vice versa. They remain isolated from each other, with only the union bureaucracy having regional and national connections. The next step must be building regional and national rank and file connections.

Moreover, struggle groups are going to have to deal with the problem of politicians who seek the votes of the railroad workers and then go off to break their strikes in Congress. This means running workingmen's candidates independent of the Democratic and Republican Parties, responsible instead to the struggle groups. Ultimately, a new political party of the working class must be built. The time is now to begin to organize rank and file militancy for the next round.

Southern Pacific "Protest"

On the night of Wednesday, March 4, a strike of skilled railway shopcraft employees was scheduled to occur. The strike, if it had come off, would have shut down all railroads in the country. But no one really expected the official strike to happen. It is now over 15 months since the contract between the railroads and the four shopcraft unions has expired. But the government has moved time and again to prohibit strike action by the workers.

True to form, on that very Wednesday, congress passed a 37 day extension to the no-strike, no lockout law which had been in effect, and Nixon signed the bill into law. The votes were lopsided. The House voted 343 to 15; the Senate, 83 to 0.

By Friday, shopcraft employees of the Southern Pacific Railroad up and down the coast walked off their jobs. Pickets were set up at entrances to Railroad yards. Though the signs said "Protest" not "Strike," the effect was the same. Shopcraft employees and many others refused to cross.

The walkout lasted until late Monday, after which time, the men returned to work. It is difficult yet to determine what has been accomplished, though it is very possible that the SP workers were pawns in a cynical game.

The "protesters" at the SP yards expressed hope that their action would spread across the country and to different yards. They expressed confidence that the railroad could not continue to operate long without them, and that it was working very inefficiently already.

Several engines that had stalled on the tracks were pointed out with explanations why they could not be moved. One of the younger workers said: "I was watching the trains go by last night. I had a flashlight on and I was looking at brakes. They are not meeting the ICC requirements on brakes right now. They couldn't stop completely if they had to. They've got too much brake travel and not enough brake shoe. And they don't have enough personnel to change them."

Another man pointed out that they were hooking together engines with different horsepower ratings which would lead to great loss in operat-

ing efficiency. That also wasn't safe because the brake air hose connections on the two kinds of engines are not compatible and cannot be properly and safely hooked together.

What was clear to all was that while strikers must be careful to obey the law or be punished, the railroads are given license to break the strict laws governing railroad safety when a strike is occurring.

The last contract was imposed by the government on the railroad workers. The same promises to be the case for this next contract unless something unforeseen occurs. It seems clear that only the independent activity of the railroad workers, possibly activity in direct opposition to their international unions, could win a better deal.

For a while the Southern Pacific "protest" seemed like it might have developed into that independent activity. Examining how it was ended is instructive. On Sunday night, U.S. District Court Judge Philip Wilkins issued an injunction against picketing and maintaining the "protest." Federal Marshals then served subpoenas to pickets carrying signs at Southern Pacific facilities. Throughout the state, 114 subpoenas were served. Each subpoena, no matter where in the state it was served, ordered the picket to show up in Judge Wilkins' court in Sacramento 9:00 AM Monday or Tuesday morning.

One man who had been served with a subpoena explained what happened to him next. He contacted the union's lawyers who told him they were willing to handle his case. They told him not to worry and that they would make the appearance in Sacramento for him. This was a relief because he didn't have the spare money for the trip.

On Monday, representatives of the railroad, the lawyers, and union officials met in the judge's chamber. By evening, the union leaders were prepared to announce their settlement. No reprisals if everyone goes back to work. They told the men that it had really been a great victory. One official told some "protesters" "The S.P. saw how much effect an unorganized ef-

fort can have. Now they know what to expect if we call a real strike." Hints were dropped that the SP had given some concessions which are still to be announced and even that the union is now prepared to up its wage demands over the package the leaders recommended last December.

If any of these things have occurred, it is the "protest" movement and not the cleverness of the negotiators which is responsible. But it seems unlikely that the railroad men will get anything more than a few days lost pay for their troubles. This could only demoralize them further, create cynicism in the ranks, and make fighting back more difficult in the future.

It seems almost as if the union leaders were playing with their men, letting them "get off a little steam," then tying them up in a package with a big bow and sending them back to work. They might even have been in on the conspiracy with the Sacramento judge and the Southern Pacific. But even if they weren't, they provided no visible leadership at all until the time came to lead the men back to work.

Those at the protest didn't even have such elementary information as accurate knowledge of how far the protest had spread—knowledge the union had easy access to and could have provided. The sentiment for the action ran so high, that with the use of absolutely no coercion, the boycott by Shopcraft workers was virtually 100% effective in Los Angeles' S.P. yard. When laws are passed which cripple the rights of the union, it is time for the union leaders to provide leadership. They should have been the ones carrying the picket signs—they should have been willing to risk jail. With a little courage they could have spread the "protest" nationwide, and no one would have had to hesitate to call it a real strike. With that kind of leadership, railroad workers could catch up with the other skilled crafts. They could earn a more decent wage and protect their job security. Without it, they will find that they haven't yet reached bottom.

JACK WEINBERG

Los Angeles Free Press

Nixon Offensive

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

ficials) cannot remain in office unless they make every effort to depose those international officials who persist in conducting this criminal collaboration. There is not a local union in or out of the building trades which is not threatened.

Locals which have the right of ratification vote must keep it. The time to fight for the right of ratification in unions that don't have it (like the Steelworkers) is now. There should not be a labor official in or out of the construction trades whose ranks have not put him or her on notice that the Commission poses a threat to all leadership careers as well as to rank and file democracy. The word will rapidly get passed along and up the line.

The Commission was put together by an old-line corporate liberal, Dr. John T. Dunlop, Yale University professor of Industrial Relations and counselor to all presidential administrations since Harry Truman. It has inadvertently served one progressive purpose: by designating the ranks of labor as the enemy of industrial peace, it has accelerated the clarification of class relationships in America. For this as well as its reactionary feats it now deserves to be put to rest. It can be dismantled by a united offensive conducted by militant workers who understand that expansion of rank and file control over the bargaining process is an immediate need.

TEXT OF THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY COLLECTIVE BARGAINING COMMISSION PROGRAM

1. National labor unions and contractor associations should be empowered to approve or disapprove strike or lockout actions of their subordinate bodies.
2. Unions and contractor associations in the construction industry should review their constitutions and by-laws or procedures of collective bargaining to permit national organizations to assist in local negotiations where appropriate and warranted.
3. Agreements negotiated at the local level should be submitted to the international president for approval; local contractor association chapters should furnish to the national office a copy of new or modified agreements or the terms of settlement.
4. Arrangements should be developed to provide a greater exchange of collective bargaining information between local units and national contractor associations and national building and construction trades unions. This should include an obligation on the part of the local contractor chapters and local unions to notify their national affiliates of their desire to amend the collective bargaining agreement at the same time that they notify the other party. (60 days prior to expiration.)
5. National unions and contractor associations should undertake a review to determine the ade-

quacy of their staff resources in the collective bargaining and economic analysis areas and their capacity to provide assistance to local units in particular or significant negotiations.

6. The Department of Labor should develop annually a calendar of construction industry agreement expirations in the ensuing year and provide such information to the national offices of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, the building trades unions, and the contractor associations.

7. Local unions should be encouraged to delegate binding authority to a team of bargainiers chosen by the rank-and-file in order to reduce the uncertainties attached to contract negotiations requiring ratification.

8. Local unions which continue to require contract ratification should be encouraged to review their procedures to assure that only those members covered by the agreement are permitted to participate in the ratification process.

9. A comprehensive review should be undertaken by the Department of Labor of the unions' experiences under Titles I and III of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act (provisions relating to the union members' "Bill of Rights" and trusteeships established by a national union over subordinate bodies.). If warranted by the findings of such study, legislative proposals should be developed.

Strike

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

of the gates. The drivers refused to cross the lines, as did those still coming in.

It wasn't long before Alloto's baby, the Tac Squad showed up and tried to intimidate the pickets into moving. Pickets refused and the Tac Squad stayed, waiting for a wrong move that would give them an excuse to pounce. This was the first known instance where the Tac Squad was brought to bear against workers; up to this point, its attacks had been directed only against rebellious students and blacks - that, the honorable mayor had implied, was supposed to be its main function. Now, however, it was being used against workers. This was but the first of several incidents involving the Tac Squad on Monday - the day set for smashing the strike.

At 1:00, shortly before the Board of Supervisors was scheduled to meet to ratify the settlement, one lone picketer stood at City Hall. The unions ought to have called a huge demonstration and forced the Board to cross a picket line of thousands of angry, militant workers demanding a decent settlement. But how could they? They had nothing to offer the workers. So, instead, they collapsed the lines entirely. The lone picketer, a militant shop steward, was there on his own decision.

Meanwhile, at the General Hospital, picketing continued. The workers there had no inkling of what the terms of the settlement were - their first indication came at about 1:00 when the San Francisco Examiner appeared on the stands.

A demonstration for Los Siete, a group of chicanos who are being railroaded to the chair for the supposed murder of a racist cop, was moving toward the hospital. At 1:15, two cops in an unmarked car pulled up to the pickets and warned them to have nothing to do with the demonstrators - they would only try to start fights. A patent lie, of course, but one that might be believed by those who had been fed with horror stories from the press and the politicians about wild-eyed, crazy blacks and Mexicans.

As the demonstration came into sight, ten Tac Squads appeared. They refused to permit the demonstrators to cross to the pickets, nor would they allow the pickets to join the demonstrators. The demonstration paraded up and down on the sidewalk across the street from the hospital. In the meantime, members of the Tac Squad kept arriving, until fifty of them had formed a corridor on both sides of the demonstration and forced the demonstrators to march single-file between them.

What was it all about? Were they afraid that radical chicanos might talk to the striking workers? That, certainly. But, they didn't need such a force to prevent that. They were using that pretext as an opportunity to put across an unsuitable message to the workers: "Watch out, buddy. You step out of line and we'll get you, too."

By 3:00 the Supervisors had ratified the contract. The union officials agreed to pull down all the lines, despite the fact that the union members had made no decision about ratification. But at the muni bus station at 16th and Bryant, workers refused to leave - they kept their lines up; some even lay down in front of the buses. The Tac Squad appeared almost immediately; apparently their job for that day was to run around intimidating strikers.

Meanwhile, the unions began their ratification meetings. Meetings were arranged in such a way as to give the impression the strike was caving in. Those locals judged easiest to convince met first, those hardest last, with tough local 400 starting its meeting at 5:00, three hours after the first meetings had begun.

Local 66A which had barely voted to go on strike to begin with, was first. Representing 1500 janitorial employees, the officers claimed the vote went for the contract, 146 to 38. The Nurses Association also is supposed to have voted overwhelmingly in favor of accepting. How much support there really was may be gauged by the meeting at local 250, the hospital workers union.

Tim Twomey, the Secretary of the local, began the meeting by white-washing the whole situation. It was a great deal, he said. They had really forced the Board of Supervisors to back down. He praised himself and his fellow bureaucrats; how brave they had been sticking their necks out by calling for a General Strike, an illegal action.

Very brave, when that was what was on everyone's minds. Very brave, when that was what was happening in spite of the union leadership, who had acted to sabotage it. Twomey might have forgotten that it's il-

legal for public employees to go out on strike, as well. Hadn't he been brave to "lead" that?

Twomey's crediting himself with taking the risk for the strike is as fantastic as those characters who run around claiming Ho Chi Minh freed the Vietnamese. Someone always wants to claim credit for doing things for people; very few are willing to acknowledge that people are perfectly capable of doing things for themselves.

Twomey went on to praise Alloto for having persuaded the Board of Supervisors to accept the contract. Alloto, who had promised to veto even the Civil Service Commission proposal, which was unacceptable to the workers; Alloto, who had sent the Tac Squad to intimidate the workers; Alloto, who was endorsed by all the labor bureaucrats and who regularly ate lunch with them, was being cast once more in the role of "labor's friend".

After Twomey, other bureaucrats spoke and gave a similar line. Then the mike was opened up.

Speaker after speaker rose to attack the leadership, calling them sell-outs, and each of them was rewarded with loud applause from his fellows. After each person spoke, the officials answered, making full use of their control over the microphones. Many people wanted to know why all the workers were not getting the same raise, since they had all been on strike together.

Twomey rose to squelch this talk by claiming that if it were a sell-out no one would be given the right to speak and ask questions, and vote - implying that there was a choice and ignoring that the whole day had been spent trying to crush the strike.

Some accepted the bait and rose to ask what would happen if they didn't accept and other unions did. Dangerous business - this, too, had to be quashed. Twomey responded with a long lecture about how weak this local was. He claimed that if they didn't accept the settlement, they would lose all labor support. All support of the labor officials, he meant - certainly not of the rank-and-file. A neat trick. Divide the workers, set them against one another, and weaken and control them. This is essentially what happened in each of the meetings.

One person raised the political question of getting rid of the Supervisors. Twomey got very excited and shouted him down - that question wasn't on the agenda. It could be discussed another time, he said. But it's unlikely that Twomey, a man tied hand-in-glove to the Democratic Party, will want to have any talk at any time of dumping his partners in crime.

By this time it was clear that there was nothing to be done. Even militants stomped out of the hall, kicking and battering the ballot boxes as they went. Twomey and the others rushed off the stage to protect them. Their anxiety about the boxes being knocked open provoked the question, were they stuffed? People milled around on the corridor outside, talking about the sell-out, but no one had any clear idea of what to do. Several had left without bothering to vote.

When the vote was announced, it was 369-173 in favor of accepting. But most people felt there were no more than 300 people in the hall. No, it wasn't a sell-out; it was a rape!

The labor officials bear the responsibility for it. These guys, who live on fat salaries and have plush offices with nice hours and working conditions - and have no hawk-eyed supervisors hanging over their shoulders - have no difficulty selling the people they are supposed to represent down the river. After all, it's no skin off their backs. They face no organized opposition of any consequence in the unions, and thus their supposed accountability to the membership is really only a farce. They are free to do anything they like, and if someone doesn't like it they bludgeon him with lectures claiming that they are beaten and can hope to do no better.

These labor leaders are tied hand-in-glove to the Democratic Party politicians. They endorsed the majority of the present Board of Supervisors, including Tamaras, who was one of the main driving forces behind the proposal to screw the city employees. The San Francisco Labor Council, with local 400 playing a major role, endorsed Alloto for Mayor, and they were running head-over-heels in front of themselves to get him endorsed for Governor.

They are so intertwined with the Democratic Party that the only tactic they can think of is to use the Democratic Party "friends of labor" in office as mediators. The last thing they would think of is to act independently. When their "friends" no longer act like friends, they posture about independent activity. When that starts to become a reality, they turn tail and run.

Books written in the last few years about the labor movement have talked about the change from militancy to "maturity" (perhaps senility is a better word). They tell us that today's labor leaders are "responsible",

but they never tell us to whom they are responsible. The fact is that they are responsible to the Joe Allotos, Richard Daleys and Lyndon Johnsons who make up the Democratic Party. Already, the attempt is being made to build up Alloto as the statesman of the strike, as the man who mediated between the Supervisors and the unions. Those involved know the real role he played.

The fact is that Democrats work for the same people the Republicans do. The same banks and corporations foot the campaign bills and the newspaper ads and reward "pro-business" politicians by bringing money into their districts and cities. Of course, workers don't see much of that money. Part of being a good politician from a businessman's point of view is the ability to keep wages and corporate taxes low. If you can get the working people to pay taxes through sales taxes and taxes on small homeowners, that's even better. If you can get some workers to blame other workers for the high taxes, that's best.

If Democrats were really different, they would be demanding that the corporations pay for the necessary improvements in housing, hospitals and schools that we all need. Instead, just like the Republicans, they ask the workers at election time, "How do you want us to take it from you: by lowering your wages or raising your taxes?" It is the low-paid workers like those who were on strike who get the worst of both.

As long as workers depend on the politician who talks the best line, or trust the labor leadership to deal with the most sympathetic-sounding politician, they will get nowhere. What is needed is the political defeat of political shysters like Alloto and the Board.

It's about time the labor movement started planning some tricks of its own. Students and black people have been shaking this society up in the last few years. Even though students and anti-war protesters don't have the muscle or numbers of organized labor, they have put a few kinks in the machinery because they dared to go out and do things for themselves rather than waiting for Democratic politicians to do it for them.

When the labor movement makes such an effort, it can do much more. Its members are the people who make this country run, and they ought to be the ones to say how it is run. Instead, for thirty years labor officials have run from one set of Chamber of Commerce politicians to another. Each time they got nice talk and no action. In fact, they got less action each time as the politicians found out how easily they could be charmed.

Workers will have to fight to take control of their own movement. They will have to build organizations that are capable of acting independently of the official bureaucracies and can provide alternative leadership. Had such organizations existed, it would not have been so easy for the leadership to divide and splinter the opposition. The building of such organizations is an indispensable beginning for an independent labor movement. Likewise essential is the formation of a party supported by, controlled by and responsible to workers.

If the labor movement stopped begging for favors from the likes of Alloto, Tamaras, and Feinstein, and began to outline its own idea of how this city could be run and showed it had the courage to act on its own ideas, San Francisco might become what it was in the 1934 General Strike; an example for American labor.

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Marx and Engels on Women's Liberation

Hal Draper

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In view of the frequent references to the views of Marx and Engels in current articles on problems of the women's liberation movement, we are herewith publishing the chapter on that subject from a work-in-progress on Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution, by Hal Draper. References to other chapters have been left standing, indicating points of contact with other material.

It should go without saying that acquaintance with Marx and Engels' views is useful only in order to tackle the added knowledge and problems of our own day. However, the aim of this chapter is simply to present what they really had to say on the question, as against some of the less-than-knowledgeable summaries that have seen the light recently.

The numbered reference notes offer only source and bibliographic information; the general reader may skip them. Footnotes, marked by asterisks, are intended to be read as part of the text.

Not paradoxically, discussion of the revolution in Man begins with woman.

The perspective of eventually abolishing the division of labor in society, and therefore also the distortion of human relations which it imposes, leads back to what Marx and Engels pointed to as the very starting-point of the social division of labor: the division of labor between the sexes.* And this in turn raises all of the questions about the past and future of the family, forms of marriage, sexual relations, etc.—the complex of questions relating to what was then called "the woman question."

Once this question is seen within the context, not simply of a social psychology and attitude (like "male chauvinism"), but of the primordial division of labor, then it is clear that for Marx its roots go more deeply into man's past than capitalism, or the state, or the division between town and country, or even private property. By the same token, it should be expected, the social attitudes which result from this division of labor will be most resistant to uprooting.

1 MARX'S EARLY VIEWS (1842-1846)

Before Marx became a socialist, let alone a "Marxist", it is clear that he held more or less traditional attitudes on marriage, the family and related issues. This appears from two articles he wrote in 1842, his first year as a left-liberal journalist, both of them for the *Rheinische Zeitung*, the Cologne newspaper of which he became editor in October.

In what was only the third article he had ever published up to then, a criticism of the "historical school of law," the young man attacked Gustav Hugo for taking a relativistic attitude toward the institution of marriage:

But the sanctification of the sex drive through exclusiveness, the restraint of the drive through law, the ethical beauty which turns nature's command into an ideal moment [aspect] of spiritual union—the spiritual essence of marriage—this is what is suspect in marriage for Herr Hugo.¹

* Cf. ME: *German Ideology* (see Ref. n.10), 42-43. In this early manuscript (1845-46) the sexual division of labor is still largely ascribed to the supposed inherent physical weakness of women—a notion Engels later rejected; in many societies women worked harder than men. (Cf. Engels' letter to Marx, 8 Dec. 1882, in ME: *Selected Correspondence* (N.Y., 1935), 406; and his *Origin of the Family*, in ME: *SW* 2:209-10, which we quote below.) Bebel, in *Woman and Socialism* (see Ref. n.53), 26-27, devotes over a page to refuting the "weakness" theory. In any case a distinction must be made between ability to work "hard" (involving stamina) and ability to exert bursts of strength (as in combat); also between "weakness" and the child-bearing function, which is relevant to the type of work feasible for women rather than strength.

To rebut this "frivolous shamelessness" of Hugo's viewpoint, Marx offers a prissy passage from the French liberal Benjamin Constant; and finally he reprovingly quotes Hugo's further opinion that our "animal nature" is opposed to the convention that "outside of marriage the satisfaction of the sex drive is not permissible."²

But there is no attempt at analysis here.

THE ARTICLE ON DIVORCE

Toward the end of that year, an article by Marx "On a Proposed Divorce Law" sheds more light on his pre-socialist ideas. He states he will "develop the concept of marriage and its implications" in accordance with a "philosophy of law," but the short article does not carry that ball very far.³

To be sure, his first interest is in arguing for a purely secular approach to the question.⁴ Not "spiritual sacredness" but rather "human ethics" is "the essence of marriage"; not "determination from above" but "self-determination." He also makes the point that a human-ethical divorce law will be guaranteed "only when law is the conscious expression of the will of the people, created with and through it." His starting-point is radical democracy.

But his views are still cast in typically Hegelian-idealist terms, about the immanent "will of marriage" and "the ethical substance of this relationship," etc.; he still thinks of marriage, not as a historical social institution, but as the realization of an ethical norm derived by thought from the "nature of man." This leads him to criticize "the numerous and frivolous reasons for divorce" in the existing Prussian code, and to look askance at permissiveness.

The following gives the crux of his approach, as he chides those who "always talk of the misery of spouses bound to each other against their will":

They think only of two individuals and forget the family. They forget that nearly every dissolution of a marriage is the dissolution of a family and that the children and what belongs to them should not be dependent on arbitrary whims, even from a purely legal point of view. If marriage were not the basis of the family, it would not be subject to legislation, just as friendship is not.⁵

And in fact, it is going to be through a historical reappraisal of the family, and not merely of the relation between the "two individuals," that this pre-socialist approach will be abandoned by Marx by 1845. Then the last sentence in the above passage could cease to be conditional.

FIRST SOCIALIST OPINIONS

But in-between, the first impact on Marx's views made by his reading in socialist and communist literature in 1843-44 concerned precisely the "two individuals," that is, sexual relations and the place of woman in society. (It may also be relevant that he had himself entered the institution of marriage in 1843.)

The influence of Fourier is evident in one of the first lucubrations of this newfledged socialist, his "Paris manuscripts" of 1844. He enthusiastically adopts the view that "man's whole level of development" is, in a basic sense, measured by the man-woman relationship in society. In these notes, his first criticism of "crude communism" is directed against its (alleged) advocacy of "community of women." He attacks it with the following line of thought:

The direct, natural, and necessary relation of person to person is the relation of man to woman. In this natural relationship of the sexes man's relation to nature is immediately his relation to man... In this relationship, therefore, is sensuously manifested, reduced to an observable fact, the extent to which the human essence has become nature to man... From this relationship one can therefore judge man's whole level of development. ... It therefore reveals the extent to which man's natural behavior has become human... the extent to which he in his individual existence is at the same time a social being.⁶

This relationship is put forward as the acid test of the real human-ness of any and all interpersonal relationships.

In *The Holy Family*, written later the same

year, Fourier is quoted at length on the subject. The context is Marx's dissection of Eugene Sue's novel *The Mysteries of Paris*, in which Marx debunks the aristocratic philanthropism of the hero, Rudolph of Geroldstein. For one thing he points out that this noble paragon of virtue is capable of pitying the lot of a servant girl but is unable "to grasp the general condition of women in modern society as an inhuman one."

It is against this bourgeois-philanthropic attitude that he quotes Fourier at some length, including the following:

"The change in a historical epoch can always be determined by the progress of women toward freedom, because in the relation of woman to man, of the weak to the strong, the victory of human nature over brutality is most evident. The degree of emancipation of woman is the natural measure of general emancipation."⁷

Thirty-four years later, in *Anti-Dühring*, Engels was again going to pay homage to Fourier as the first to express this sentiment.⁸ Twenty-four years later, Marx was going to echo it, perhaps without thinking of the source:

...great progress was evident in the last Congress of the American "Labour Union" in that, among other things, it treated working women with complete equality. While in this respect the English, and still more the gallant French, are burdened with a spirit of narrowmindedness. Anybody who knows anything of history knows that great social changes are impossible without the feminine ferment. Social progress can be measured exactly by the social position of the fair sex (the ugly ones included).⁹

There was still an element of condescension in the citation from Fourier: woman is "weak," man is "strong," etc. This element is going to be eliminated by the theoretical underpinning which the later work of Marx and Engels gave to this question.

The Holy Family does not deal with the problem of the family. On the "woman question" it is still mainly a reflection of what was best in then well-known socialist opinions.

A new note about the family first appears in Engels' book *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, also written in 1844, independently of Marx. Here the facts lead him to the condition of the working-class family as a result of the widespread employment of women and children.

The transposition of women from home to mill and mine "breaks up the family," makes it impossible for married women to care for children or household, engenders "unbridled sexual license" and illegitimate children, even though it has not "sunk to the level of prostitution." The most pertinent passage is not any of those that assert the working-class family is "being dissolved" but that which discusses how it is "inverted," "turned upside down" when the employed wife is the breadwinner and the unemployed husband must become the housekeeper.

This, says Engels, is an "insane state of things"; it "unsexes the man and takes from the woman all womanliness"; it "degrades, in the most shameful way, both sexes, and, through them, Humanity..." But the new note is struck when he shows that he sees this as a socially conditioned result of historically determined attitudes:

...we must admit that so total a reversal of the position of the sexes can have come to pass only because the sexes have been placed in a false position from the beginning. In the reign of the wife over the husband, as inevitably brought about by the factory system, is inhuman, the pristine rule of the husband over the wife must have been inhuman too. If the wife can now base her supremacy upon the fact that she supplies the greater part, nay, the whole of the common possession, the necessary inference is that this community of possession is no true and rational one, since one member of the family boasts offensively of contributing the greater share. If the family of our present society is being thus dissolved, this dissolution merely shows that, at bottom, the binding tie of this family was not family affection, but private interest lurking under the cloak of a pretended community of possessions.¹⁰

It is not until *The German Ideology* (1845-46) that Marx and Engels begin laying the basis for

a distinctive analysis, just as it is first in this work that the materialist conception of history is well developed. To be sure, Marx at this point apparently believes that some kind of family always existed, but at any rate the family is clearly viewed as a historically changing product of changing material conditions. It "must then be treated and analyzed according to the existing empirical data, not according to 'the concept of the family,' as is the custom in Germany"¹⁰—a direct hit at the Marx of 1842.

The family is taken to be the first form of social relationship, indeed the "only social relationship" to begin with.¹¹ The division of labor begins in the family, which is headed by "patriarchal family chieftains." "The slavery latent in the family only develops gradually..."¹² The family is made virtually responsible for the rise of private property:

the nucleus, the first form of [property] lies in the family, where wife and children are slaves of the husband. This latent slavery in the family, though still very crude, is the first property...¹³

This conception is also used to hit at the double standard in sexual behavior. In Prussian law, says Marx, "the sanctity of marriage is supposed to be enforced both upon men and women" but this is a juridical fantasy. The real bourgeois relationship is encoded in France: "in French practice, where the wife is regarded as the private property of her husband, only the wife can be punished for adultery..."¹⁴

"ABOLISHING" THE FAMILY

The family is not linked to private-property economy in *The German Ideology* anywhere near as thoroughly as Engels did later, but Marx evidently thought the connection required little "empirical data," for he had no hesitation in drawing the drastic conclusion that, with the abolition of private property, it follows that "the abolition of the family is self-evident."¹⁵ Further on, it is taken as equally self-evident that this means "the abolition of marriage." But there is no hint of what relations are supposed to replace the present institutions, though it is made clear that "the fantasies by which Fourier tried to give himself a picture of free love" are not to be taken seriously.¹⁶

In Marx's "Theses on Feuerbach," written before *The German Ideology*, the fourth already announces the opinion that the family "must... be destroyed in theory and in practice."¹⁷

So intent is Marx on the "abolition of the family," in fact, that he practically has it abolished already in 1845. He announces "the bourgeois dissolution of the family", admitting only that the family still exists "officially" as a property relation. By this "bourgeois dissolution of the family" Marx appears to mean such things as: "The dissolute^{***} bourgeois evades marriage and secretly commits adultery," etc. It is not a very convincing demonstration of dissolution. With the proletariat "the family is actually abolished," he emphasizes, and "There the concept of the family does not exist at all!"—a proposition for which no "empirical data" are given at all.¹⁷ Engels' book on England is not referred to as evidence, nor is the problem linked to the employment of women. In any case Engels' book had offered no ground for the extravagant claim that "the concept of the family does not exist at all" among the proletariat; just the contrary.*

This annunciation of the all-but-economic disappearance of the family exists in the exposition mainly as a piece of rhetoric; there is no organic explanation of why the family's existence should already be so tenuous, not only under capitalism but under undeveloped capitalism—quite a distance from the abolition of private property. When Marx writes, "the family still exists although its dissolution was long ago proclaimed by French and English socialists,"¹⁸ he betrays that he is again echoing the socialism of the time, and has not yet worked it out himself.

To round off this period: there is the curious and little-known article which Marx wrote while working on *The German Ideology*: the article "Peuchet on Suicide," in which he summarizes the conclusions of a book by Jacques Peuchet on the sociological meaning of the increase in sui-

** This is what Marx wrote as thesis no. 4. The edited version published by Engels in 1888 softened this to the formulation that the family must be "criticized in theory and revolutionized in practice"—a change that Engels felt certain reflected the mature Marx too. This question comes up again below. (For the two formulations, see *ME: German Ideology*, 646, 652.)

*** The accidental pun involving *dissolution* and *dissolute* exists only in the English trans.

* There is no extant record of Marx's reaction to the publication of Engels' book, though he must have read it immediately.

icides in France.* One passage goes as follows—the emphasis (is by Marx, as is the selection:

Among the reasons for the despair which leads very oversensitive persons to seek death... [Peuchet] have uncovered as a dominant factor the bad treatment, the injustices, the secret punishments which severe parents and superiors visit on people dependent on them. *The Revolution has not overturned all tyrannies; the evils which have changed against despotic power continue to exist in the family; here they are the cause of crises analogous to those of revolutions.*

The connections between interests and feelings, true relationships among individuals, are still one day to be created among us from the ground up, and suicide is only one of the thousand-and-one symptoms of the general social struggle always going on...¹⁹

Apròpos of the case of a girl driven to suicide by a man's jealousy, Marx summarizes: This was really a case of murder—"The jealous person is in want of a slave; he can be in love, but this love is only a feeling of luxuriating in jealousy; the jealous person is above all a private-property owner."²⁰

Of these analyses of 1842-46, some elements were going to be retained, some were going to be modified or refined, and some were going to be dropped, when Marx and Engels came to a mature formulation of their historical theory.

2 THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION OF THE PAST

The historical-materialist approach to the history of man showed that the current form of the family was no more "natural" than any other variable social institution, and that the family (with attendant sexual mores) had changed form along with changes in property relations. One immediate conclusion was: it can therefore be expected to change in a future society which has changed all other social institutions. Change to what?

EVOLUTIONARY VIEW OF THE FAMILY

The *Communist Manifesto* mainly announced flatly that "The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course" with the disappearance of capitalism.²¹ It contained other echoes of 1845. Engels' draft for the Manifesto had been more pointed:

It [communist society] will transform the relations between the sexes into a purely private matter which concerns only the persons involved and into which society has no occasion to intervene. It can do this since it does away with private property and educates children on a communal basis, and in this way removes the two bases of traditional marriage, the dependence, rooted in private property, of the woman on the man and of the children on the parents.²²

Thus (he adds) communism will also abolish prostitution, the bourgeois form of "community of women."

In 1850 Marx and Engels had occasion to pin-prick the "woman-cult" approach, in a review of a book by one Daumer advocating a new religiosity. "Nature" and "woman" are exalted as "divine," and "the sacrifice of the male to the female" is called for in the name of virtue and piety. In both cases, Daumer is fleeing from today's threatening reality to, on the one hand, a "mere rustic idyll" (which has nothing to do with real nature) and on the other hand to "effeminate resignation" (which has nothing to do with real women).

The position as regards the worship of the female is the same as with nature worship. Mr. Daumer naturally does not say a word about the present social situation of women; on the contrary it is a question only of the female as such. He tries to console women for their social distress by making them the object of a cult in words which is as empty as it would find be mysterious. Thus he puts them at ease over the fact that marriage puts an end to their talents through their having to take care of the children... by telling them that they can suckle babies until the age of sixty... and so on.^{22a}

His "ideal women characters" turn out to look very much like aristocratic patronesses of men of letters like himself. For Daumer, the abstraction of femininity is made "divine" in order to elevate the problem of real women in real society to cloudier realms—the outcome of one form of "feminism." In contrast, Marx's *Capital* takes up the profane woman.

In *Capital* Marx generalizes only at one point (though he pays much attention to the murderous exploitation of women's and children's labor, and therefore the necessity of legislative protec-

* The peculiar form and content of this article are explained in the preceding chapter.

tion). He quotes an English government commission report to the effect that "against no persons do the children of both sexes so much require protection as against their parents." Parents must not have power over children. This power has been abused for exploitive purposes.

However terrible and disgusting the dissolution, under the capitalist system, of the old family ties may appear, nevertheless modern industry, by assigning as it does an important part in the process of production, outside the domestic sphere, to women, to young persons, and to children of both sexes, creates a new economic foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes. It is, of course, just as absurd to hold the Teutonic-Christian form of the family to be absolute and final as it would be to apply that character to the ancient Roman, the ancient Greek, or the Eastern forms which, moreover, taken together form a series in historic development. Moreover, it is obvious that the fact of the collective working group being composed of individuals of both sexes and all ages must necessarily, under suitable conditions, become a source of humane development...²³

It is not possible "that the modern-bourgeois family can be torn from its whole economic foundation without changing its entire form," wrote Engels in 1878.²⁴ But the strongest exposition of this view came in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Although Engels wrote it up the year after Marx's death, this book was the result of previous close collaboration between the two; Marx had intended to do it himself, and its broad views should be considered the joint work of both men.²⁵

In this book, the chapter on "The Family" closes with the words of the anthropologist Lewis H. Morgan, on whose researches it leaned.^{**} Morgan concluded that the family

is the creature of the social system, and will reflect its culture... Should the monogamous family in the distant future fail to answer the requirements of society... it is impossible to predict the nature of its successor.²⁶

So the family and sexual relations will change—from what, to what?

THE DEFEAT OF WOMAN

In *The Origin of the Family* Engels emphasizes the evidence for a primitive stage of female dominance in the family, based on the then conditions of existence.^{***}

The division of labor between the two sexes is determined by causes entirely different from those that determine the status of women in society. Peoples whose women have to work much harder than we would consider proper often have far more real respect for women than our Europeans have for theirs. The social status of the lady of civilization, surrounded by sham homage and estranged from all real work, is socially infinitely lower than that of the hard-working woman of barbarism...²⁷

He traces the transition to the dominance of the father, on the basis of the change in the nature of the main type of property held by the family (agriculture to cattle-breeding); but it is not the anthropological exposition we are interested in now. This transference of power (dominance) within the framework of the family division of labor was a "revolution"—"one of the most decisive ever experienced by mankind." It "was the world-historic defeat of the female sex." The woman was "degraded," in effect enslaved, turned largely into "a mere instrument

** There is a myth, widely accepted among the half-informed, that Morgan's anthropological work is now simply "outmoded," like Ptolemaic astronomy, and is rejected by "modern anthropologists." (In part this is as true as the statement that Marx is rejected by "modern sociologists.") Before merely parroting this myth about Morgan, one should go to the article on him in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (1968—very modern) by Prof. Leslie White, not only for the article itself but esp. for the appended bibliography. The issue is not this or that detail or aspect of Morgan's views—in this respect Darwin and Newton are "outmoded" as well—but rather the conflict between evolutionary anthropology and the "modern" dominant anti-evolutionary school of the Boas type, which rescues established institutions from the subversive conclusions suggested by an evolutionary approach to man's prehistory. A separate issue is the extent to which particular conclusions by Engels are based on particular details in Morgan; cf. next footnote.

*** Engels discussed his sources in his preface to the 4th edition of 1891 (in *ME: SW* 2:172 & sq.)—J. J. Bachofen, J. F. McLennan, R. G. Latham, J. Lubbock, etc. besides Morgan. The modern reader should go to Robert Briffault's *The Mothers*. At the end of this preface, Engels distinguishes between holding to "Morgan's hypotheses pertaining to particular points" and maintaining "his principal conceptions."

For breeding children. This lowered position of women... has become gradually embellished and dissembled and, in part, clothed in a milder form, but by no means abolished.¹² Or in Marx's words:

The modern family contains in embryo not only slavery (*servitudo*) but serfdom also, since from the very beginning it is connected with agricultural services. It contains within itself in miniature all the antagonisms which later develop on a wide scale within society and its state.²⁹

The institution of monogamy arises, together with private property and class divisions:

It is based on the supremacy of the man; its express aim is the begetting of children of undisputed paternity, this paternity being required in order that these children may in due time inherit their father's wealth as his natural heirs.³⁰

As a rule, only the man can dissolve the marriage, and in practice the monogamous restriction applies to the woman only. In this sense, it is not even a genuine monogamy.

It was not in any way the fruit of individual sex love, with which it had absolutely nothing in common, for the marriages remained marriages of convenience, as before. It was the first form of the family based not on natural but on economic conditions, namely, on the victory of private property...

Thus, monogamy does not by any means make its appearance in history as the reconciliation of man and woman, still less as the highest form of such a reconciliation. On the contrary, it appears as the subjection of one sex by the other, as the proclamation of a conflict between the sexes entirely unknown hitherto in prehistoric times.³¹

Engels then sums this up with a strong statement:

The first class antagonism which appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamous marriage, and the first class oppression with that of the female sex by the male. Monogamy was a great historical advance, but at the same time it inaugurated, along with slavery and private wealth, that epoch, lasting until today, in which every advance is likewise a relative retrogression, in which the well-being and development of the one group are attained by the misery and repression of the other. It is the cellular form of civilized society, in which we can already study the nature of the antagonisms and contradictions which develop fully in the latter.³²

This "cellular" form of the social struggle produces its characteristic counter-institutions, symbolized by "the wife's paramour and the cuckold" on the one hand and prostitution (in various forms) on the other. The former is the oppressed group's "revenge" for the masculine double-standard; the latter "demoralizes the men far more than it does the woman."³³

Thus, in the monogamous family, in those cases that faithfully reflect its historical origin and that clearly bring out the sharp conflict between man and woman resulting from the exclusive domination of the male, we have a picture in miniature of the very antagonisms and contradictions in which society, split up into classes since the commencement of civilization, moves, without being able to resolve and overcome them.³⁴

LOVE AND EQUALITY

Out of this development, in which "every advance is likewise a relative retrogression," a new step emerges in Europe out of the breakdown of the Roman world:

This, for the first time, created the possibility for the greatest moral advance which we derive from and owe to monogamy—a development taking place within it, parallel with it, or in opposition to it, as the case might be—namely, modern individual sex-love, previously unknown to the whole world.³⁵

It arises contradictorily. On the one hand, the dominance of bourgeois private property reinforces the prevalence of the marriage of convenience, and of "marriage...determined by the class position of the participants."³⁶ On the other hand, bourgeois ideology, especially in the Protestant countries, emphasizes freedom of contract and equality of status for the freely contracting parties. As happened with "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," not to speak of "democracy," the ideological extrapolation is in conflict with the economic reality—of bourgeois society. The ideology reinforces at least lip-service to individual sex love, freely and equally accorded, as the foundation of monogamy. But the bourgeois economic reality, in which the man is still the economic master, maintains the marriage of convenience, the limitation of possible partners by class strata, the restriction of women's economic independence and therefore their independence as human beings, etc.³⁷ Literary history reflects the advance of in-

dividual sex love mainly in channels outside of bourgeois matrimony, that "wedded life of leaden boredom, which is described as domestic bliss"—from the "chivalrous" love stories of the Middle Ages to the French novel of institutionalized adultery. Engels especially emphasizes the view that individual sex love could develop most easily among the propertiless working classes; and here also working-women could begin to assert first steps in economic independence. And a marriage with a woman who "has regained the right of separation," because she can leave and support herself economically, is "monogamous in the etymological sense of the word, but by no means in the historic sense."³⁸

To be sure, this does not yet change the juridical situation. "The inequality of the two before the law, which is a legacy of previous social conditions, is not the cause but the effect of the economic oppression of women."³⁹

The wife became the first domestic servant, pushed out of participation in social production. ... Today [1884], in the great majority of cases, the man has to be the earner, the bread-winner of the family, at least among the propertied classes, and this gives him a dominating position which requires no special legal privileges. In the family, he is the bourgeois; the wife represents the proletariat.⁴⁰

(That last sentence became one of the watchwords of the German socialist women's movement—as a strong metaphor, of course.)

Modern industry technologically undermines this pattern, as it technologically undermines capitalism itself. Then: "What applies to the woman in the factory applies to her in all the professions, right up to medicine and law." But the advance of legal equality between the sexes, even when achieved, will not yet establish real equality. A comparison (Engels'): bourgeois democracy only provides the field on which the class struggle is fought out—

And, similarly, the peculiar character of the man's domination over woman in the modern family, and the necessity as well as the manner of establishing real social equality between the two, will be brought out into full relief only when both are completely equal before the law. It will then become evident that the first premise for the emancipation of women is the reintroduction of the entire female sex into public industry; and that this again demands that the quality possessed by the individual family of being the economic unit of society be abolished.⁴¹

Let us note that the outcome is now posed not as the "abolition of the family" but as the abolition of the family as the economic unit of society, through the change in the role of women in the economy. The road to women's liberation then runs through the same field as saw their "world-historic defeat"—the process of production and the women's relation to it—and cannot be basically changed simply by ideological (including psychiatric) exhortations.

3
MONOGAMY AND/OR LOVE:
THE FUTURE OF THE FAMILY

What then happens to monogamy and the family under the impact of a socialist transformation?

The fact that monogamy did not always exist naturally raises—but does not settle—the question whether it will always continue to exist in the future.* Engels considers two possibilities, though clearly he personally expects the second.

The approaching social revolution will do away with "the hitherto existing economic foundations of monogamy" as well as its accompaniment, prostitution. The bourgeois anxiety about inheritance is reduced to a minimum. "Since monogamy arose from economic causes, will it disappear when these causes disappear?" Clearly the first answer is: *maybe*.

With the passage of the means of production into common property, the individual family ceases to be the economic unit of society. Private housekeeping is transformed into a social industry. The care and education of the children become a public matter. Society takes care of all children equally, irrespective of whether they are born in wedlock or not. Thus, the anxiety about the "consequences," which is today the most important social factor—both moral and economic—that hinders a girl from

* For the importance Engels attached to the historically limited character of monogamy, see his sharp reaction against the articles published by Karl Kautsky in 1882-83 on the prehistory of marriage, in which Kautsky suggested that at least a "loose" monogamy had always existed; it is ascribed to the psychological motive of jealousy, which is apparently taken as an instinct. (So also Westermarck was going to promote the counterrevolution in anthropology by the theory of the "monogamous instinct.") See Engels' letters to Kautsky of 10 Feb. and 2 March 1883, in *MEW* 35:432-33, 447-49. He wrote and published his *Origin of the Family* a year later.

giving herself freely to the man she loves disappears. Will this not be caused enough for a gradual rise of more unrestrained sexual intercourse, and along with it, a more lenient public opinion regarding virginal honor and feminine shame? ... Can prostitution disappear without dragging monogamy with it into the abyss?⁴²

That there is bound to be a basic change in the nature of the man-woman relationship is not in question. (That would be so even without the Pill.) But is that change bound to be the disappearance of the monogamous family in any form?

To make a comparison (not Engels' this time): modern democracy arose with the bourgeoisie; but the abolition of capitalism does not therefore mean the disappearance of democracy. On the contrary, as we have seen, it means, to Marxists, the full flowering of genuine and complete democracy, a new type of democracy. In effect, Engels' answer on monogamy is similar.⁴³

For one thing: "monogamy, instead of declining, finally becomes a reality—for the men as well."⁴⁴ The double-standard goes first of all.

But more basically, Engels puts the emphasis on what we have already noted [in the preceding chapter] about the transformation of society at large: *the future lies with a new individualism*.

Here a new factor comes into operation, a factor that, at most, existed in embryo at the time when monogamy developed, namely, individual sex love.⁴⁵

Our comparison was with "the full flowering of genuine and complete democracy, a new type of democracy." For "democracy" in this proposition, substitute *individual sex love*; and this is Engels' approach. In both cases, the best of bourgeois thought has done enough trumpeting; a socialist transformation of society is needed to open the gates of the City of Humanity.

Thus, full freedom in marriage can become generally operative only when the abolition of capitalist production, and of the property relations created by it, has removed all those secondary economic considerations which still exert so powerful an influence on the choice of a partner. Then, no other motive remains than mutual affection.

Since sex love is by its very nature exclusive—although this exclusiveness is fully realized today only in the woman—then marriage based on sex love is by its very nature monogamy.⁴⁶

The crux of Engels' argument for this expectation, then, is the inherent exclusiveness of individual sex love. Obviously this is a highly controversial area, and it is quite certain that Engels would not claim that this is the sole and inevitable conclusion from Marxist theory. It is his opinion; and it invites a short excursus on—

MARKISM AND LOVE

For is it not "un-Marxist" to lay so much store by, and assign such a basic role to, such a thing of the mind as "love," which cannot be summed up in economic formulas and may even evade sociological analysis?

The answer is a flat no; for, as we shall see [in the next chapter], one of the consequences of the ascent "from necessity to freedom" in a completely transformed society is precisely the pushing of economic and social factors into the background, and the emergence of the freed human spirit as a history-maker (social determinant) for the *first* time. Of course, we must still keep in mind that the "human spirit" in any given epoch is the product of a long material (bio-social) evolution.

But even today, in advance of such a social transformation, the fact that this element of the human spirit is prevented from being a decisive social determinant does not mean that it is not an active factor for individuals. "Sex love in particular," remarked Engels, "has undergone a development and won a place during the last eight hundred years which has made it a compulsory pivot point of all poetry during this period."⁴⁷ Of poetry—yes; but despite Shelley, poets are not the legislators of the world; they are individuals who more often belong to the anticipative department than the legislative. The further development is still ahead.

Nor is it "Marxist" to reduce love to physical sex alone. This reductionism is a classic example of vulgar mechanical-materialism, and in denying the efficacy of *ideas*, it is quite alien to the Marxist outlook. So much for the theoretical side.

Marx himself had no more doubt about it than Engels. As is well known, he did not consider

** The argument for monogamy that Engels vigorously rejects is that it is sanctified as the "highest" historical stage, etc. After which he philosophizes: "And if strict monogamy is to be regarded as the acme of all virtue, then the palm must be given to the tapeworm, which possesses a complete male and female sexual apparatus in every one of its 50 to 200 proglottides or segments of the body, and passes the whole of its life in cohabiting with itself in every one of these segments."⁴⁸

his own love for his wife as a petty-bourgeois deviation from orthodoxy. On the contrary, he took the emotional need—over and above the sexual need—as an integral part of the complete human spirit. "In the case of that which I truly love," he wrote in his first published article in 1842, "I feel its existence to be a necessary one, one of which I am in need, without which my being cannot have a fulfilled, satisfied and complete life."⁴⁸

This insight, set down before he became a socialist, was written up at much greater length afterward, in *The Holy Family*. One of the Bauer brothers, who are the butt of this book, had derided "childishness like so-called love." Love, replied Marx, is neither a goddess nor a devil, but simply an inseparable part of man as he is, "which first really teaches man to believe in the objective world outside himself"—hence is an "unchristian materialist." The trouble with Bauer is that he "is not love alone, but against everything living, everything which is immediate, every sensuous experience, and every real experience the 'Whence' and the 'Whither' of which is not known beforehand."⁴⁹

Nor did Marx change his mind about this latter, though he wrote no manifesto on the subject. In a letter to Jenny, written after thirteen years of marriage, he completely echoed his earlier words, in an unusual passage of theorization for a personal letter:

My love for you, when you are away, emerges as what it is, as a giant, in which all the force of my spirit and all the character of my heart concentrates itself. I feel myself again a man, because I feel a great passion; and the complexities in which we are entangled by study and modern education, and the skepticism which necessarily makes us critical of all subjective and objective impressions, are wholly designed to make us all small and weak and querulous and indecisive. But love—not love for the Feuerbachian man nor for the Moleschottian metabolism***, nor for the proletariat—but love for the loved one, and in particular for you, makes a man a man again.

You will laugh, my sweetheart, and ask how I suddenly break out with all this rhetoric...⁵⁰

The other side of this viewpoint we have discussed in a previous chapter: rejection of rhetoric about abstract "love" (of Humanity, etc.) as a type of reformist ideology. For love cannot be a social determinant today, in this society—a society which love cannot reform but which rather deforms love. When "love" is abstracted into a social ideology of general reconciliation, it is also emptied of all real content, in order to turn into its opposite: hatred of class struggle.

THE REVOLUTIONIZATION OF MONOGAMY

If individual sex love implies the retention of monogamy in some form, yet that form will certainly not be the same as today's. Some of the consequences Engels looked to are touched on in the following passage:

What will most definitely disappear from monogamy, however, is all the characteristics stamped on it in consequence of its having arisen out of property relationships. These are, first, the dominance of the man, and secondly, the indissolubility of marriage. The predominance of the man in marriage is simply a consequence of his economic predominance and will vanish with it automatically. The indissolubility of marriage is partly the result of the economic conditions under which monogamy arose, and partly a tradition from the time when the connection between these economic conditions and monogamy was not yet correctly understood and was exaggerated by religion. Today it has been breached a thousandfold. If only marriages that are based on love are moral, then also only those are moral in which love continues. The duration of the urge of individual sex love differs very much according to the individual, particularly among men; and a definite cessation of affection, or its displacement by a new passionate love, makes separation a blessing for both parties as well as for society. People will only be spared the experience of wading through the useless mire of divorce proceedings.⁵¹

It would appear, from the rejection of "divorce proceedings," that Engels is taking for granted something akin to simple registration of marriage and divorce; and even registration would depend on its relevance to some other matter of proper societal concern. Otherwise, Engels' general principle of 1847 would hold good—undoubtedly for him: "the relations between the sexes [will be] a purely private matter which concerns only the persons involved and into which society has no occasion to intervene." In his

book *Ludwig Feuerbach*, Engels delivers a passing thrust at the very notion of "state-regulated sex love, that is... the marriage laws"—"which could all disappear tomorrow without changing in the slightest the practice of love and friendship."⁵²

All this has been Engels' opinion. Very much the same picture of a transformation in sex morals, marriage forms and the place of women in society had been published in the book by the leader of the German party, August Bebel, *Woman and Socialism*, especially Chap. 28, "Woman in the Future."⁵³ Bebel emphasized that much of this was already taken for granted by advanced people for special cases like George Sand—"But why should only 'great souls' lay claim to this right...?"

For the rest, however, Engels inevitably winds up on the same note as on other speculations about future society. He leaves the question open to solution by those more qualified than himself, viz. the men and women to come:

Thus, what we can conjecture at present about the regulation of sex relationships after the impending effacement of capitalist production is, in the main, of a negative character, limited mostly to what will vanish. But what will be added? That will be settled after a new generation has grown up: a generation of men who never in all their lives have had occasion to purchase a woman's surrender either with money or with any other means of social power, and of women who have never been obliged to surrender to any man out of any consideration other than that of real love, or to refrain from giving themselves to their beloved for fear of the economic consequences. Once such people appear, they will not care a rap about what we today think they should do. They will establish their own practice and their own public opinion, conformable therewith, on the practice of each individual—and that's the end of it.⁵⁴

4 PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Looking a little nearer than the dim future, we have already mentioned that legal equality is a necessary, but not sufficient, precondition for the full emancipation of women. Of course, that includes first of all the right to vote and hold office.⁵⁵

Emancipation demands have also included opposition to any discrimination against women on bourgeois-moral grounds. A typical example came up in the Paris Commune of 1871 (in which the working-women played a prominent and militant role), and was noted by Marx in an early draft of his *Civil War in France* as one of the progressive acts of the revolutionary government:

Commune has given order to the *marriages* to make no distinction between the femmes called illegitimate, the mothers and widows of national guards, as to the indemnity...⁵⁶

BEGINNING AT HOME

In addition, socialist women militants have always pointed out that equality begins at home, i.e. in the socialist movement itself.* In 1868 Marx had to assure a correspondent that "of course" women could join the First International the same as men.⁵⁸ (In fact, not long after the formation of the International his correspondence shows him urging a couple of women to join the International as individual members independently of their husbands.⁵⁹ In the 1860s this could hardly be taken for granted.) Another letter anticipated another question: "In any case ladies cannot complain of the *International*, for it has elected a lady, Madame [Harriet] Law, to be a member of the General Council."⁶⁰

Later, it was Marx who proposed a resolution to the General Council calling for the "formation of working women's branches," or "female branches among the working class," without however interfering "with the existence or formation of branches composed of both sexes." At the 1871 Conference of the International, Marx moved this in the name of the General Council, stressing "the need for founding women's sections in countries whose industries engage many women."⁶¹

Writing to Wilhelm Liebknecht's wife Natalie while her husband was in jail, Engels urged that women have the same struggle to carry on as men:

* Less important is the fact that socialist women have also had to be reminded that equality cuts two ways. The old society's tradition of "chivalry" and "gentlemanly behavior," which assumes the inferiority of women, dies hard. After his visit to America, Engels related in a letter: "Mother Wischnewetzky is very much hurt because I did not visit her in Long Branch instead of getting well... She seems to be hurt by a breach of etiquette and lack of gallantry towards ladies. But I do not allow the little women's-rights ladies to demand gallantry from us; if they want men's rights, they should also let themselves be treated as men."⁵⁷

Fortunately our German women do not let themselves be confused and show by deeds that the much renowned soft sentimentality is only a characteristic class-disease of the bourgeois woman.⁶²

The socialist women's movement blossomed, under the encouragement of Engels and Bebel especially, with an autonomous leadership and press of its own. (In Germany, Clara Zetkin's organ *Gleichheit* eventually reached a circulation of 100,000.) In Germany it was the Lassalle wing which opposed socialist agitation for the emancipation of women and argued against the increasing entrance of women into industry. At the unity congress at Gotha in 1875 between the Lassallean and the semi-Marxist groups, the proposal of the Marxist wing (moved by Bebel) that the party go on record as favoring equal rights for women was rejected by the majority, on the traditional ground that women were "not prepared" for the step. But Bebel's book on woman was very influential. At the Erfurt (1891) congress of the Social-Democracy, which finally adopted a formally Marxist program, the majority also finally came out in support of women's-rights demands, at least the demand for legal equality. Yet the same year, at the Second International congress, the Marxist position was still opposed by that very embodiment of social-democratic reformism, Emile Vandervelde.⁶³

In England, the most promising socialist women's leader at the time of Engels' death was Eleanor Marx, whose remarkable career as a revolutionary organizer and agitator has been obscured by the label "daughter of Karl Marx" and by the tragic circumstances of her suicide in 1898.** Not only was she an extraordinarily effective political activist, working by preference among the most exploited workers of London's East End, she was also the ablest woman trade-union organizer in the "New Unionism" movement. After playing an active role in the building of the new-type Gas Workers' and General Labourers Union, which organized the unskilled into a militant mass organization—"by far the best union" in Engels' opinion⁶⁴—she also became the acknowledged leader of the women workers in the movement, whom she organized into what were the first women's trade-union sections in the country.⁶⁵

In addition she participated in discussions on women's-liberation policy in the socialist women's movement on the Continent⁶⁶, and co-authored a pamphlet for England on "The Woman Question."⁶⁷ In the intellectual circles of the decade, the "woman question" was often spelled *Ibsenism*; Eleanor was one of the pioneers in spreading the reputation of the dramatist of the "New Woman," and she was one of the first translators of both Ibsen and his fellow Norwegian Kielland.

Typically, Engels, already over 70, began to study Norwegian in order to read both of these writers in the original.⁶⁸ It is perhaps as a result of Nora's door-slaming in *The Doll House* that Engels remarked, in a letter of 1893, on hearing that Hermann Schlüter's wife had left him: "it is always gratifying to hear that a woman whom one knows has had the courage to go independent... But what a prodigal waste of energy is bourgeois marriage—first till one gets that far; then as long as the business lasts; and then till one is rid of it again."⁶⁹

OPPOSITION TO BOURGEOIS FEMINISM

But, like the socialist women's movements in the main, Engels had little use for the bourgeois women's-rights leagues. For one thing, the latter (then as now) commonly counterposed abstract equality to the protection of women workers in industry. Engels explained to a feminist***:

Equal wages for equal work to either sex are, until [wages are] abolished in general, demanded, as far as I know, by all Socialists. That the working woman needs special protection against capitalist exploitation because of her special physiological functions seems obvious to me. The English women who championed the formal rights of members of their sex to permit themselves to be as thoroughly exploited by the capitalists as the men are mostly, directly or indirectly, interested in the capitalist exploitation of both sexes. I admit I am more interested in the health of the future generation than in the absolute formal equality of the sexes during the last years of the

** With the publication of C. Tsuzuki's *The Life of Eleanor Marx* (Oxford, 1967) a modicum of justice has been done at least to the facts about her work as a revolutionary socialist—all the more strikingly since Tsuzuki's own ideas are utterly alien to her Marxism.

*** This was Gertrud Guillaume-Schack (*née* Countess Schack). She had been a leader of the bourgeois women's movement in Germany, then was active in the socialist women's movement for a while (a blow from which it recovered), went to England where she moved on to anarchism and was active in blighting William Morris's Socialist League; also in the Anti-Contagious Diseases Acts Agitation. Cf. Engels' account of her in a number of letters in *MEW* 36, esp. 667, 723-24.

capitalist mode of production. It is my conviction that real equality of women and men can come true only when the exploitation of either by capital has been abolished and private housework has been transformed into a public industry.⁷⁰

Besides, on this question Marx had pointed out very early (1847) that gains made on behalf of women and children in the factories were then more easily won for men too. Writing of "the dogged resistance which the English factory owners put up to the Ten Hours' Bill," he explained: "They knew only too well that a two hours' reduction of labor granted to women and children would carry with it an equal reduction of working hours for adult men. It is in the nature of large-scale industry that working hours should be equal for all."⁷¹

Opposition to protective legislation for women has, in the course of time, come from many different quarters besides the capitalist class itself; every ruling class learns to mobilize not only its beneficiaries but also its victims. Just as in *Capital* Marx had pilloried parents who exploited their children's labor, so also he had noted the resistance of poor working-women to a limitation of the working day out of fear of reducing their already meager earnings.⁷² Resistance had come from pure and simple unionists who did not want "meddling" legislation. Resistance had naturally come from anarchist rhetoricians of revolution: in a 1873 article Marx ridiculed the anarchist arguments that one "must not take the trouble to obtain legal prohibition of the employment of girls under 10 in factories because a stop is not thereby put to the exploitation of boys under 10"—hence was a "compromise which damages the purity of the eternal principles."⁷³ The bourgeois women's-righters took their place in this serried phalanx.

In general, Engels—like the revolutionary Marxist women leaders, such as Clara Zetkin in Germany, and Eleanor Marx in England—vigorously supported the organization of *socialist* women's movements and working-women's movements in the fight for full sexual equality, as against the bourgeois women's-rights groups for whom "the separate women's-rights business" was "a purely bourgeois pastime."⁷⁴ In the First International, Marx had had to fight the notorious crackpottery of the American "Section 12," led by Victoria Woodhull, which combined a pro-middle-class and anti-working-class "socialism" with "free love" cultism, spiritualism, "funny money" schemes, and almost every other fad of the time.⁷⁵ Referring to a group of British counterparts, Marx summed it up as "follies and crotchets, such as currency quackery, false emancipation of women, etc."⁷⁶

SOCIAL REVOLUTION COMES FIRST

As we have seen, it was not the demand or aspiration for extension of sexual freedom ("free love" or whatever the fashionable term of the moment might be) that was in question, but rather the social ideology in which this is embedded and the strategic place this is given in the overall work of the socialist movement. Writing of the similarities between the modern socialist movement and the first Christian communities in the days when the new religion was still subversive doctrine,⁷⁷ Engels commented wryly on the Bible's evidence for the proliferation of Christian sects and their mutual recriminations, such as charges of sexual immorality:

It is a curious fact that with every great revolutionary movement the question of "free love" comes into the foreground. With one set of people as a revolutionary progress, as a shaking off of old traditional fetters, no longer necessary; with others as a welcome doctrine, comfortably covering all sorts of free and easy practices between man and woman. The latter, the pharisaic sort, appear here soon to have got the upper hand...⁷⁸

The "curious fact" is due to

a phenomenon common to all times of great agitation, that the traditional bonds of sexual relations, like all other fetters, are shaken off. In the first centuries of Christianity, too, there appeared often enough, side by side with ascetics which mortified the flesh, the tendency to extend Christian freedom to a more or less unrestrained intercourse between man and woman. The same thing was observed in the modern socialist movement.⁷⁹

Saint-Simon (Engels goes on) called for "the rehabilitation of the flesh" and Fourier was even more horrifying to the ruling pharisees. "With the overcoming of utopianism these extravagances yielded to a more rational and in reality far more radical conception"—to "the hypocritical indignation of the distinguished pious world."⁷⁹

In Marx and Engels, then, there is nothing

of the later social-democratic cringing from the "accusation" that social revolution entails sexual revolution. What irked them and others from time to time was the ideological package that so often accompanied obsession with the sexual side of a world that is out of joint in general. On this, too, Engels consoled himself with the observation that the subversive Christian sects had had to go through the same problem:

And just as the working-class parties in all countries are besieged by all the types who have nothing to look forward to from the official world or have been enervated by it—antivaccinationists, temperance advocates, vegetarians, anti-visitationists, nature-healers, free-community preachers whose communities have collapsed, creators of new world-genesis theories, unsuccessful or unlucky inventors, victims of real or imaginary injustices labeled "good-for-nothing cranks" by the bureaucracy, honest fools and dishonest swindlers—so it was also with the first Christians. All the elements set free, i.e. at a loose end, by the process of the old world's dissolution came one after the other into the orbit of Christianity as the only element resisting that process of dissolution...⁸⁰

What was primary was the movement for social revolution, not the many and various reform movements directed against symptoms of social dissolution.

This attitude did not counterpose socialism to the fight for women's rights, any more than Marxism counterposed socialism to the fight for reforms, but it established a relationship between them. In this field, reforms were just as necessary as in economics or politics, and socialists would fight for them in the same spirit. But in the last analysis, the historic forms of the division of labor between the sexes could be uprooted for good and all only by as profound an upheaval as it had originally taken to impose "the world-historic defeat of the female sex" of which Engels had written.

REFERENCE NOTES

English translations are cited, wherever possible, from the two-volume Marx-Engels *Selected Works* (Moscow, Foreign Lang. Pub. House, 1955), abbreviated ME:SW. Untranslated German texts are cited, wherever possible, from the Marx-Engels *Werke* (Berlin, Dietz, 1961-68), abbreviated ME:W. In other cases, full bibliographic data are given on first appearance of a title, and abbreviated afterward. Volume and page number are abbreviated as follows: e.g. 3:207 = Vol. 3, page 207. In all abbreviations, M = Marx, E = Engels, ME = Marx & Engels.

¹From "The Philosophical Manifesto of the Historical School of Law," *Rheinische Zeitung*, 9 Aug. 1842; in *Marx: Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society*, ed. Easton & Guddat (Garden City, Doubleday, 1967), 101-102. But this section, headed "Chapter on Marriage," was not in fact published at the time since it was excised by the censor; first published in 1927 from Marx's ms.

²Ibid., 102.

³This article, "On a Proposed Divorce Law," appeared in the *Rhein. Zeit.* 19 Dec. 1842. It is quoted here from *M: Writings, Yg. Nr.*, 137, 141, 139.

⁴The *Rhein. Zeit.* had earlier, on 15 Nov. 1842, carried an editorial note, written by Marx, appended to another's article on the bill. Here Marx called for a purely secular analysis of the divorce issue, based on "human ethics," &c. and already set down some of the ideas of the 19 Dec. article. For this editorial note, see ME:W Erg. Bd.1, 389-91.

⁵"On a Proposed Divorce Law," 139.

⁶*Marx: Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* (Moscow, For. Lang. Pub. House, n.d.), 101.

⁷Fourier as quoted in ME: *The Holy Family* (Moscow, For. Lang. Pub. House, 1956), 258-59.

⁸Engels: *Anti-Dühring*, 2nd ed. (Moscow, For. Lang. Pub. House, 1959), 357.

⁹Marx: *Letters to Dr. Kugelmann*, Marxist Lib., 17 (N.Y., International Pub., 1934), letter of 12 Dec. 1868, p. 83.

¹⁰Eng. *Cond. Wk. Cl.*, in ME: *On Britain*, 2d ed. (Moscow, FLPH, 1962), 179-180; other citations are from p. 175, 177, 225, 234, 243, 287.

¹¹ME: *The German Ideology* (Moscow, Progress Pub., 1964), 40. (This ed. contains all three parts, not only Parts I and 3.)

¹²Ibid., 40. ¹³Ibid., 33. ¹⁴Ibid., 44.

¹⁵Ibid., 369. ¹⁶Ibid., 190. ¹⁷Ibid., 564.

¹⁸Ibid., 192. ¹⁹Ibid., 195.

²⁰ME: *Gesamttausgabe* (MEGA), I, 3:395. Also cf. A. Cornu: *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (Berlin/Weimar, Aufbau-Verlag, 1968), 3:174.

²¹Ibid., 402.

²²In ME:SW 1:50.

²³Engels, "Principles of Communism," in ME: *The Communist Manifesto* [et al.] (Modern Reader Paperbacks, 1968), 80.

²⁴"Review of G.Fr. Daumer's *The Religion of the New Age...*," Feb. 1850, in ME: *On Religion* (Moscow, FLPH, 1957), 95.

²⁵ME: *Capital* (Moscow, For. Lang. Pub. House, n.d.), 1:489-90. See also Marx's remarks on the subject at the meeting of 28 July 1868 in *The*

General Council of the First International 1868-1869: Minutes [v.2] (Moscow, Progress Pub., n.d.), 232-33.

²⁶E: *Anti-Dühring*, 438.

²⁷E: Pref. to *Origin of the Family*, in ME:SW 2:170.

²⁸In ME:SW 2:241; here corrected after L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society* (Chicago, Kerr, n.d.), 499 (end of Chap. 5 of Part III).

²⁹E: *Orig. Fam.*, in ME:SW 2:209-10.

³⁰Ibid., 215-17.

³¹Marx, "Abstract of Morgan's *Ancient Society*," quoted by Engels in *Orig. Fam.*, *ibid.*, 217.

³²E: *Orig. Fam.*, in ME:SW 2:221.

³³Ibid., 224. ³⁴Ibid., 224-25. ³⁵Ibid., 233.

³⁶Ibid., 226.

³⁷Ibid., 227-28; for Engels' differentiation of this from the ancient *eros*, *ibid.*, 235.

³⁸Ibid., 229. ³⁹Ibid., 237-38. ⁴⁰Ibid., 228-30.

⁴¹Ibid., 231. ⁴²Ibid., 232. ⁴³Ibid., 232, 310.

⁴⁴Ibid., 234. ⁴⁵Ibid., 194. ⁴⁶Ibid., 232.

⁴⁷Ibid., 234. ⁴⁸Ibid., 239.

⁴⁹Engels: *Ludwig Feuerbach*, in ME:SW 2:377.

⁵⁰Marx, "Debatten über Pressfreiheit [8c.]" in *Rhein. Zeit.*, 5 May 1842, in ME:W 1:35. He has just remarked that one must love freedom of the press in order to defend it.

⁵¹ME: *Holy Fam.*, 32-34. I take it that Marx is making a similar point in a woolly passage in *Econ. Phil. Mas.*, 141 (end of "The Power of Money in Bourgeois Society").

⁵²Letter of 21 June 1856, in ME:W 29:535.

⁵³E: *Orig. Fam.*, in ME:SW 2:240.

⁵⁴E: *Feuerbach*, in ME:SW 2:377.

⁵⁵Bebel's *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* was first pub. 1879; his title *Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft* in 1883. An English trans. under title *Women in the Past, Present and Future* was pub. London, 1885. References in this article are based on the English trans. *Woman and Socialism* (N.Y., 1910, "Jubilee 50th ed.," trans. by M. L. Stern).

⁵⁶E: *Orig. Fam.*, in ME:SW 2:240.

⁵⁷For ex., see letter, Engels to Ida Pauli, 14 Feb. 1877, in ME:W 34:255.

⁵⁸First Draft of *The Civil War in France*, in *Arkhiv Marksa i Engels'a*, v.3 (8), 1934, p. 302. (The English is Marx's.)

⁵⁹Letter to Sorge, 12 Jan. 1889, in ME: *Letters to Americans* (N.Y., Internat. Pub., 1953), 209.

⁶⁰Letter, Marx to Kugelmann, 12 Oct. 1868, in *M: Lett. Kugelm.*, 78.

⁶¹Letter, Marx to Engels, 25 Jan. and 13 Feb. 1865, in ME:W 31:43, 72.

⁶²Letter, Marx to Kugelmann, 12 Dec. 1868, in *M: Lett. Kugelm.*, 83.

⁶³*Gen. Counc. P.I. 1870-71* [v.4], 442, 460, 541 (n.320).

⁶⁴Letter of 31 July 1877, in ME:W 34:284.

⁶⁵B. J. Stern, article "Woman, Position in society—History," in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 1937.

⁶⁶Cf. Engels' letters: to Laura (Marx) Lafargue, 10 May 1890, in *Engels-Lafargue: Correspondence* (Moscow, FLPH, n.d.), 2:375; to Sorge, 19 Apr. 1890, in ME: *Lett. Amer.*, 230; to Bebel, 9 May 1890, in ME:W 37:401.

⁶⁷For Eleanor's work as trade-union organizer among women, see (besides letters listed in n.64) Tsuzuki, *Life*, 198-99, 202-03; Engels' article "May 4 in London," 1890, in ME: *On Britain*, 2d ed. (Moscow, FLPH, 1962), 522-23; and his letters as follows: to Guesde, 20 Nov. 1889, in ME:W 37:312; to Sorge, 7 Dec. 1889, in ME: *Selected Correspondence* (Moscow, FLPH, n.d.), 490; to Natalie Liebknecht, 24 Dec. 1889, in ME:W 37:330; to Sorge, 30 Apr. 1890, in ME:W 37:396.

⁶⁸Cf. letter, Engels to Laura (Marx) Lafargue, 2 Oct. 1891, in *E-Lafargue Corr.*, 3:109.

⁶⁹Published London, 1886; cf. Tsuzuki, *Life*, 124-25.

⁷⁰F. Lessner, in *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels* (Moscow, n.d.), 180.

⁷¹Letter, Engels to Bebel, 12 Oct. 1893, in ME:W 39:142.

⁷²Letter, Engels to G. Guillaume-Schack, ab. 5 July 1885, in ME: *Sel. Corr.* (FLPH), 461-62, corrected after ME:W 36:341.

⁷³Marx: *The Poverty of Philosophy* (Moscow, FLPH, n.d.), 77.

⁷⁴ME: *Capital*, 1:554 and n.4 on same page; cf. also Marx's letter to Kugelmann, 17 March 1868, in *M: Lett. Kugelm.*, 66.

⁷⁵Marx, "Indifference in Political Affairs," in ME: *Scritti Italiani* (Rome, Ed. Avanti, 1955), 98.

⁷⁶Cf. letter, Engels to Bebel, 1 Oct. 1891, in ME:W 38:164; and to Laura (Marx) Lafargue, 2 Oct. 1891, in *E-Lafargue Corr.*, 3:109. Early in 1892, both Eleanor and Laura as well as Louise Kautsky had articles in the Vienna *Arbeitermenschenzeitung* on disputed issues.

⁷⁷For the story of the Woodhull-Clafin "Section 12" in general, see Samuel Bernstein: *The First International in America* (N.Y., 1962). For Marx's documentation on the anti-proletarian politics of the group, see his notes "American Split," in *Gen. Counc. P.I. 1871-78* [v.5], 323-32.

⁷⁸Letter, Marx to F. Boite, 23 Nov. 1871, in ME:W 33:328, referring to the "O'Brienite" sect.

⁷⁹Engels, "The Book of Revelation," in ME: *On Religion* (Moscow, FLPH, 1957), 205.

⁸⁰Engels, "On the History of Early Christianity," in ME: *On Relig.*, 329. ⁸¹Ibid., 330.

⁸²Ibid., 319-20.

* Engels liked to quote Ernest Renan's statement that anyone who wanted a good idea of what the first Christian communities were like should look up a local section of the First International. (See ME: *On Relig.*, 204-05, 315.)

...feedback...

DEVLIN AND THE PANTHERS

On March 2, 1970, Eamonn McCann of the Derry Labour Party of Northern Ireland, acting on behalf of Bernadette Devlin, formally presented a representative of the Black Panther Party with the Key to the City of New York which Mayor Lindsay gave Devlin in August. McCann described the presentation as "a gesture of solidarity with the Black Liberation and Revolutionary Socialist movements in America." He pointed out the parallels between the repression directed against the Panthers here and the repression in Northern Ireland.

McCann read the following message from Bernadette Devlin at a press conference with the Black Panther representatives in New York City:

"To those in the ghettos, those in the slums, those who are exploited because they are black, those despised because they are poor, those gagged because they dare not only to struggle, but to win, to all these, the common people to whom this city and this country belong, I return what is rightfully theirs, this symbol of the freedom of New York."

McCann emphasized that the presentation of the key was not intended to imply that freedom could be given to the people; the people have to take it for themselves.

Representing the Black Panther Party, Robert Bay said that what they would like to do with the key is "unlock all the jails in New York and let our brothers free."

McCann was in New York to begin a three-week tour of the U.S., during which he will speak in New Haven, Connecticut, Boston, Buffalo, Detroit, Philadelphia. He will return to New York to speak at the New School for Social Research on March 20, at a forum sponsored by the International Socialists. McCann brings with him a revolutionary socialist analysis of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland.

Jim Mott

THE PILL

A major point in the article on the pill and women's liberation was confused by a statistical misprint. The point was the greater safety to the woman of any local means of contraception (condom, diaphragm, foam, or coitus interruptus) backed up by free available abortion on demand. The figures are: the death rate from pregnancy is about 1 woman per 4,000 pregnancies carried to term; the death rate from abortion (by the new vacuum aspiration method) is less than 1 per 40,000.

Thus the increased risk of pregnancy for women who do not use the pill would be more than balanced if safe abortions were available. Statistically, if 1 million women take the pill, about 20 will die per year because of it; if 1 million couples use diaphragms or condoms, fewer than 100,000 women per year will become pregnant, and if all these pregnancies are aborted by modern meth-

ods, about 2 women will die.

Knowing the facts, and given the current unavailability of abortions, the problem of what birth control method to use remains. A woman who wants to use the pill should make certain to have biannual medical check-ups, consisting of a thorough history, a physical examination, and appropriate laboratory tests. No one should have to tolerate medical care dispensed in a cavalier or indifferent fashion.

Susan Daum, M.D.

SON OF BILL BAILEY

Old Leftists will remember the song about Bill Bailey, the Ultimate Sectarian. It seems that Bill has a son in the SDS...

Bill Bailey belonged to every SDS fraction, that ever came to be
Till he finally decided to start his own caucus so he wouldn't disagree
He got himself an office and the sign outside the door said SDS!
in letters Red
But to everyone who came along, these were the words he said:

"Well you may be a friend of Mike Klonsky, Pat Forman may agree with you
You may get along with Bernadine Dohn, and with the I.S. too,
You may have been there at Port Huron, and think Bob Avakian's fine,
You may be a comrade to all of those folks, but you ain't no comrade of mine!"

For 17 years Bill Bailey kept his office with the sign outside the door
But he never, ever, got a new member, everybody made him sore
But then one day there came a great fire, and through the flame and smoke
As the firemen rushed in to save Bill's life, these were the words he spoke:

"Well you say you support the Black Panthers, PRG and Albania too,
You may get along with Mao Tse Tung, and with the ASU, the Chicago Seven too,
You may have defended every Third World foco that ever had a line,
You may be a comrade to all of those folks, but you aint no comrade of mine!"
And so on that day Bill Bailey passed away, and his soul to Red Heaven flew.
He was met at the door by old Karl Marx and Frederick Engels too.
They said "Welcome Comrade" as they opened the gate, to let Bill come inside
As he slammed the door back in old Karl's face, these were the words he cried:
"Well you may be a friend of Karl Kautsky, and a pal of Ferd LaSalle,
You may get along with Wilhelm Leibnecht and the First International,
You may have inspired every socialist movement from the Hudson to the Rhine,
And you may be a comrade to all of those folks, but you ain't no comrade of mine!"

Neil Chacker

SUPPORT GAY LIBERATION

In the past year or so, the movement has seen a new segment of society join its ranks, the Gay Liberation groups. They have carried their banners at marches, sold their papers, and participated in the general movement anti-war meetings.

At the recent SMC conference in Cleveland, the IS women's caucus, while presenting a minority position on women's liberation, yielded the floor to the Gay Liberation caucus so that they could present their resolution calling for support of the Gay Liberation movement by the SMC. IS women yielded the floor both to show their support of the Gay Liberation movement and to make the point that although Women's Liberation has at least received token support (allowing the issue to reach the floor), Gay Liberation has not yet won even that much recognition from the radical movement.

As distinct from older groups, such as Mattachine, Gay Liberation springs out of movement experience. Beginning in New York and San Francisco last summer, the movement has now spread to Los Angeles and Chicago, with good prospects for its development in other cities and colleges around the country.

The resolution printed below was passed by the national leadership of the IS. We recognize that almost no theoretical work has been done on this question from a revolutionary socialist perspective. This resolution is meant only as a statement of intent, not as a theoretical discussion. Those IS members who are active or interested in Gay Liberation, together with GL people we have worked with, will attempt to begin such a discussion as soon as possible.

IS supports the Gay Liberation movement and encourages IS members who are homosexuals to become active in it. Homosexuals are reviled and persecuted both in capitalist society and in bureaucratic-collectivist states (USSR, China, Cuba, etc.). In contrast, the socialist society we struggle for must be based on the free development of all. As with other oppressed groups, the liberation of homosexuals will not result automatically from a revolution; homosexuals must build their struggle now, and continue it after a revolution, if they are to be free in a revolutionary society.

In addition, the revolutionary movement must no longer force its homosexual members to conceal their sexual identity. We see Gay Liberation as intimately related to Women's Liberation; we see both as the wellsprings of a struggle for a more humane culture, and we see this struggle as one of the forces which will begin to shake the capitalist order. We are encouraged that Gay Liberation is already based on an awareness of the need to struggle against this order, not merely to seek a tolerated niche within it.

Of particular importance for revolutionary socialists is the question of how to integrate a working-class perspective with a commitment to Gay Liberation; while we wrestle with this problem, we also urge within the Gay Liberation movement the perspectives that only working-class action can lead to socialism, that of all homosexuals, working-class homosexuals are the most exposed to persecution and violence, and that the freeing of working-class culture from sexual chauvinism (as from racism) is an indispensable part of the process by which, through its struggles, the working class becomes capable of creating a new society.

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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 private and imperialist oppression. In the interests of racial 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 of 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.

Based on 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.

interested?

I would like more information about International Socialism and the IS.

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The Joy Rider

Charles Tweed

Sometime back I found a copy of my first novel. It ran to ten pages, typewritten. It was about a boy named Ernie, that I knew when I was a kid. Ernie was a Joy Rider. I spent two nights writing a novel about him.

That was when I was sixteen. Now I'm twenty-nine. Last month I wrote my second novel, about myself. I spent four nights on it, twice as much as for Ernie, but I never got to six pages, handwritten. The problem is, I never was a Joy Rider, and if you never were a Joy Rider you don't have that much to say about yourself. A Joy Rider is someone who takes the American Dream in his own hands and lives it. The American Dream is about cars.

I never had a car. I just hung around listening to gas station talk and reading *Mechanix Illustrated*. I read about how you could build a sports car for five hundred dollars. It seemed unreasonable because five hundred dollars was a lot of money, and the car you could build looked like a giant Crosley. I also read *Hot Rod* magazine, and joined George Harris's Kustom Kar Klub. For one dollar I got a glossy photo of George Harris posing near one of his cars, a cloth patch for my jacket, and a purple decal that said Kustom Kar Klub in gold letters. The decal was to stick on my car which I didn't have, not even the *Mechanix Illustrated* Home-Made Giant Crosley.

This made me a member of one of the two major groups in the world; the people who don't have cars. The other major group was the people who have cars. The people who have cars parked them at night in a thousand Indiana gas stations, under white lights. They parked them out front, blocking the entrances to a thousand grease racks, then stood around looking at them and talking about them, with their hands in their pockets. The people who don't have cars were there, too, with their hands in their pockets, listening and nodding their heads in agreement, stooping to look, peering under the hood, offering suggestions, and reflecting. "Boh God, ahm gonna get me a Olds-MOBEL!" The people who have cars started them up and rapped the pipes. Everyone had their jacket collars turned up.

My friend Ernie didn't have a car, but he didn't not have one either. He believed that other people's cars were his. Consequently, he took every car that he liked. Ernie was a Joy Rider. He was cars.

It all began when he took his father's Studebaker. The Studebaker was of the post-war variety. It was green and had a long nose with a large, dark hold at the end of it. From the front it resembled a fish coming at you. From the rear it also resembled a fish coming at you. The Studebaker made a loud hum and went about ten miles an hour.

Ernie stole his father's Studebaker each night for a week. The only excitement came the last night when two state police glanced idly at him, as he pulled out of a gas station. They thought no one would steal a car like that, and drove on. Ernie realized that the

Studebaker was a dog. He would get a car with class.

Most old cars you could start with a quarter. All you had to do was wedge the quarter behind the ignition switch. New cars, however, required more sophistication. Ernie made a hot-wire for them. It was long and slender, with an alligator clip at each end. Every morning Ernie looked at parked cars, his hot-wire coiled in his pocket. Every night he took the hot-wire out, and applied it to the car of his choice. The first night he took a great, moaning Buick, that wallowed like a balloon down country roads. The second night he switched to a Mercury Montclair, with black and white upholstery, push-button windows and power steering. The third night he moved up to a Lincoln beast, a bronze convertible with hooded lights and heavy, leather seats. It was like driving a library. "Oh, this has class," Ernie thought, and he grinned down backroad Indiana.

One night Ernie found his dream. It was a Corvette, low and white, and made entirely out of plastic. He had never seen a Corvette before, because they had just started making them. The Corvette had no roof, just a red plastic tarp that snapped onto the sides of the cockpit. Ernie unrolled the tarp like a surgeon, and oozed silently into the driver's seat. He fitted his hot-wire to the ignition, started the Corvette, and crept toward the edge of town.

As Ernie approached the edge of town he began to relax. He switched on the radio and tuned it to Cincinnati's all-night Country and Western show. Hank Snow boomed up and down the deserted streets. "It don't hurt any more, all my teardrops are dah-ri-ide." Ernie leaned back, dropped the Corvette into top gear and flashed past the last stop sign out of town.

Waiting near the last stop sign out of town was Billy Martha. Billy Martha was a deputy sheriff. He was a big, rural man with one hand, the left hand. At the end of his right arm he wore a hook. He used the hook to drive his deputy sheriff's car, wrapping the steering wheel in rubber so the hook wouldn't slip.

Billy Martha was a mean man. We called him Mean Martha. When he saw the Corvette flash by he knew what was happening. He pulled behind it secretly, his lights off, picking up speed. Then he rolled down his window, took his gun from his holster, and set it on his lap. The gun was a Colt .38 Police Special, with an extra thick grip for his good hand. Mean Martha was a one-armed cowboy.

Mean Martha slipped closer and closer to the Corvette, until he was almost on its tail. Suddenly he blazed on all his lights. Mean Martha's car became a 80-mile-an-hour fruit juice stand, with a big orange globe whirling and mixing away on the roof. "My God," Ernie said, "must be Mean Martha." Ernie drove on, Hank Snow sang. "I've forgot-ten somehow, that I cared so befo-ore."

Mean Martha hooked his right arm to the steering wheel. He picked up his .38, steadied it along the

side of his deputy sheriff's car, and opened fire.

Since the Corvette was made out of plastic, it blew away in great hunks. Mean Martha's first shot blew away the left rear fender. His next two shots blew away the trunk lid. The Corvette was flying apart like a child's spring-loaded toy car, the kind that explodes when something hits it. Mean Martha's fourth shot smashed the windshield, six inches from Ernie's head. Ernie stopped. Mean Martha pulled alongside the broken Corvette, and casually tipped his gun toward Ernie. "Boy," he said, "get out of that car." Mean Martha took Ernie to the county jail.

From the outside the county jail looked like a Masonic Temple. It was bulky and made out of limestone. On the inside it was cramped and hygienic. I had caught a glimpse of the inside once by accident, when I was with a group of Protestants. The Protestants had gathered to sing Christmas carols to the inmates. I was with them because I believed they comprised a party. A girl with hair growing out of her nose had invited me. "Would you like to come to a Christmas party?" she said, and I went.

It turned out to be a Protestant party. There were about seven or eight people there. They were all cheerfully drinking cocoa and eating cookies. Like good Protestants everywhere, they were intent on conveying some portion of this cheer to the less fortunate.

Consequently, the party formed into a group of carolers. We marched outside, into a paltry snow that melted shortly before it hit the ground, leaving the streets and sidewalks damp. Our first stop was the Old People's Home. We assembled in front of the home and began to sing. Everyone made round mouths, like Christmas carolers are supposed to. The Old People's Home was dark, but when we finished singing the door creaked open. A tiny voice from inside said "Thank you," and we moved on.

Our next stop was the county jail. The head of our group, a robust, crewcut youth, briefly informed the jailer of our mission, and we were allowed in. On the first floor was the sheriff's office. The inmates lived on the second floor. The carolers climbed uneasily toward the top of the stairs, stopping halfway. Mouths were made round again, and we began to sing. The inmates, surprised at first, quickly joined in. The first carolee went like this:

Hark the herald FUCK YOU sing
Glory to the newborn UP YOUR ASS

The hearty strains of Christmas vibrated through the county jail, chasing the carolers back into the streets and churches.

When Ernie arrived at the county jail, he refused to talk to anyone. He wouldn't talk to the sheriff and he wouldn't talk to the deputies. So they locked him up. Ernie lay on his bunk face up, with his eyes open. In the morning the trusty brought Ernie some food. The trusty was a wino, at least 60 years old. He had spent half his life down on the levee, slipping muskateel. The other half he spent drying out in the county jail, sentenced to long terms as an incorrigible. The sheriff let him roam about the jail performing small tasks. The trusty unlocked Ernie's cell and peeked in. "You wanta eat?" he said. Ernie sat up, and looked at him. The trusty produced a tray, and bent his head over it. Ernie picked up a chair, and hit the trusty's head. The trusty fell into the tray.

Ernie stepped quickly from his cell and stood by the door. He stood for five minutes, then returned to his cell, removed the trusty, and lay down in his bunk.

That afternoon the local newspaper came out. It had a feature story about Ernie. The headline said, "BOY PRISONER ATTACKS TRUSTY." In the middle of the front page there was a large picture. The picture showed a 60-year-old wino lying on a cot, his head wrapped in soft bandages. He looked like the soon-to-be-hand-some patient of a plastic surgeon, but really he would always be the same. It was the only picture ever taken of the wino. In the background, Ernie lay on his bunk. Outside the county jail, an American Dream was patched up and returned to its rightful owner.



i.s.

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The Politics of Ecology

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Women and the SMC

Gay Semel

At the recent SMC conference in Cleveland, a resolution entitled "Women and the War" was adopted by the women's liberation workshop and then passed by the plenary. The professed aim of the resolution was to link up the women's liberation movement with the anti-war movement. However, once we get beneath the very up-to-date 1970 movement style of the resolution, we uncover a very old idea -- the "ladies' auxiliary".

In the end the resolution, rather than raising demands which relate to the oppression and exploitation faced by women under capitalism, states that the women's liberation movement should bring its "vital forces, energy and ideas to the anti-war movement". (In other words, bring more bodies to do the work.) For the women's liberation movement to link up with the anti-war movement on that basis would be a major step backwards in consciousness and place the politics of women's liberation in the same place it has always been hidden.

The resolution begins with a paragraph tracing the struggles of women in the United States. At best this chronology is an overenthusiastic, lopsided account of American history: "Historically, women have been in the forefront of every major struggle in the U.S." At worst it is a patronizing con, focussing on the few times when the struggles when the struggles of women have come to the fore and totally ignoring the conditions of their oppression and its basis in class society. The paragraph ends with possibly the greatest sham of the entire document, stating that "Women all over the country have been leaders in organizing anti-war demonstrations" -- implying that somehow the anti-war movement, as opposed to the radical movement as a whole, has managed to deal in a meaningful way with the male chauvinism within its ranks and allow women to play equal leadership roles.

Actually, the exact wording of the statement is far more accurate than its intended implication -- women probably have been leaders in organizing anti-war demonstrations in the sense of doing much of the shitwork. The question is, have women played an equal role in the theoretical and tactical development of the anti-war movement? If the SMC conference itself can be taken as an index (very few women spoke from the floor, since few tried to begin with and those that did were repeatedly ignored by the male chairmen), the answer is clearly no.

The resolution lists ways in which the war affects women, some of which are quite accurately described: war-caused inflation hits women the hardest since they make less than men, and women whose husbands are forced to go to Vietnam are faced with the additional burden of assuming sole responsibility for the children (black and third-world women are the doubly-disadvantaged -- it is they who are stuck with the lowest-paying jobs and it is their men who are called to fight the most often).

However, the list also includes ideas that are false by implication. By stating that the "War stands in the way of the just demands of women to control their own lives. As long as the money is spent on war, free 24-hour childcare facilities, free abortions . . . will not be implemented", the resolution implies that it is the war which keeps these things from happening, not capitalism, that once the war is over all these things will come about.

If one is to talk about why the war stands in the way of needed social reforms, one must talk about control of society -- who rules and in whose interests. More than that, one must also talk about who pays. It is working people who are paying for the war and who would still be paying for those much-needed social reforms if it were possible to simply redirect funds from the arms economy. We must not only demand 24-hour childcare facilities, free voluntary abortions, free adequate medical facilities, we must also demand that they be paid for by taxing the banks and corporations.

Ultimately, only when working people control society will we be able to redirect the nation's wealth from production for profit to production for human needs.

Since the document fails to analyze the roots of the oppression of women or the economic role that the family plays under capitalism, it gets on to shaky ground when trying to deal with the fact that wars have often allowed women greater latitude, in the ease with which they can get jobs and in the greater variety of jobs open to them. Point #5 states that war "reinforces the traditional roles of men and women; even when she does work in a defense plant performing a role formerly assigned to a man, she is covering the job on an emergency basis." This may indeed have been the only time that she could get such a job, and rather than reinforcing traditional roles, war does tend to grant women greater leeway. But this is not to say that the key to women's liberation is to send all the men off to fight a war however. The point to make is that women are perfectly capable of doing their jobs but are pulled in and out of the labor force according to the needs of the social system, not their own needs and abilities.

The resolution continues by saying that "an end to the war would set a new stage not only for Vietnamese liberation, but for women's liberation as well" -- a statement which the author makes no attempt to prove and can only be taken as pure demagoguery (especially if one considers that four million women lost their jobs in the eight months following the end of World War II -- hardly a step forward for the cause of women's liberation).

The resolution concludes by calling for one day in the April week of anti-war activity to focus on women and the war (we can only assume that the other six days will deal with men and the war -- hardly an equal distribution). It does not attempt to discuss the politics of these activities or to raise demands necessary for the liberation of women.

Not only are the specific points (or the lack thereof) in this resolution wrong, but, in fact, its entire thrust is misguided. If we are to talk about women's liberation and the war, we must analyze the integral relationship between them, not just allude to it. Basic to the oppression and exploitation of women and basic to the war in Vietnam and the whole foreign policy that created it is the dynamics of capitalism as a social system. We must address ourselves to the whole system, not just to its various separate manifestations such as the war or the oppression of women. We must make clear where power lies, and what will be required to defeat those interests which perpetuate exploitation and oppression. We must make clear that in the end only socialist society will bring an end to war and enable women to achieve their liberation.

The anti-war movement must begin to address itself to the only power capable of overthrowing class society -- the working class. We must raise demands relevant to the needs of working people -- both men and women. We must develop links between women's liberation and the anti-war movement, but on an honest basis, continually stressing that both movements must fight the capitalist social order to win their own demands.

The anti-war movement -- if it is to bring women in on a legitimate basis, around the struggle for their own liberation as well as against the war -- must raise demands such as those pushed by IS women and other radical women at the SMC conference. We must demand equal pay for equal work, an end to sexual tracking in the schools, and on the job, free 24-hour client/staff-controlled day-care centers, free, voluntary abortions on demand. We must also demand that the funds for meeting these demands be raised by taxing the banks and corporations. Only in this way will we be able to link up the anti-war movement and the women's liberation movement in a meaningful way.

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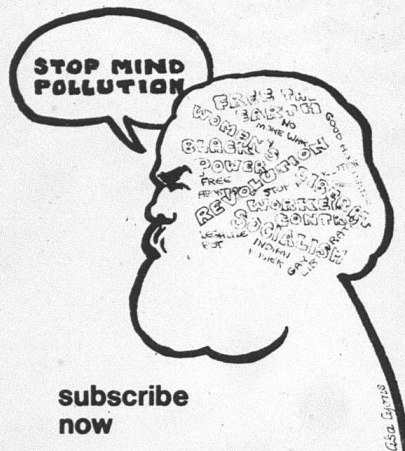
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