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Nixon's New War



**Augusta and the Movement
Maoism and Women
Violence and Social Change**

Augusta, Jackson and the Movement

With the Kent State murders, the anti-war movement experienced the same brutal repression which Blacks meet time and time again as they fight for their liberation. One week after the students' deaths, we saw another vicious attack on the Black community: six Black men were murdered by pigs in Augusta, Georgia.

Just as officials excused the shooting of anti-war demonstrators by claiming they were part of a mob, so they justify the Augusta slaughter by saying the Blacks were "rioting." The "riot" occurred in response to the fatal beating of a 16-year-old Black prisoner. Three hours later two black students were killed by police strafing of a women's dormitory in Jackson, Mississippi.

So far there has been no public outcry against the murder of six people - yet the nation was shocked to the core by the deaths of the Kent four. It is the job of our strike movement to show both Black people and those who rule in this country that the anti-war movement will not stand by passively while our brothers are murdered - whether in the courts of New Haven or in the streets of Augusta. We have to respond to this new racist assault.

The student anti-war movement has been unable to break out of its isolation - tragic testimony to this fact was the confrontation last week between anti-war demonstrators and New York construction workers. The neanderthal flag-waving of these construction workers - an especially conservative sector of the working class - goes hand in hand with the racism that so glaringly deforms many building trades unions. Both pro-war senti-

ment and racism flow from the same constricted social vision, and we must counter both if the anti-war movement is to become a mass popular force that can put a stop to this war and prevent future wars.

The anti-war movement cannot afford to moralize about racism or pro-imperialist attitudes among the American people. If we cannot convince the working people of this country that our movement has an answer to the present social crisis which creates unemployment and job insecurity, then we will lose all chance of winning them to our side. More and more workers will crystallize around racist and war-mongering attitudes, and ultimately embrace the reactionary response of the N. Y. construction workers.

As part of a struggle to present a coherent alternative to the status quo, the anti-war movement must speak clearly on the issue of Third World and Black Liberation movements here at home. Otherwise we play into the hands of those who profit from the racial antagonisms fostered by a capitalist system that pits blacks against whites against each other in unequal competition for decent jobs and decent wages.

An attack on black people fighting for justice in the streets of Augusta is an assault against all who are trying to build popular movements to end the war and transform this society. We have to unite in solidarity or we will certainly be crushed separately. If anti-war sentiment in this country is ever to be heated to the boiling point, the fight against racism must be escalated as well.

AFTER A PUBLIC ADDRESS FROM THE WHITE HOUSE ON APRIL 30, IT SNOWED ON MAY 1

Richard Lyons

Good God, again,
again this opening of May
anemic balls of small snow come down
half-heartedly, it seems to hearts divided,
comes down slowly,
comes down intermittently but always,
comes down too like cold words,
the cold disastrous verbiage
from Washington-mumblin in the forest
of blind morality, among the marble
Parthenons and temples
of frozen, lifeless grandeur,
all that dear and bloodless unreality
like May snow falling on wet dead grass,
through ever-budless branches--
city of stone and plastic people
whose eyes like mirrors of official illusion
see and say delightful petals
of dry morality in the dead air.

Good God again!
All my life I have been
awaiting some human season
in vain, as wars dribbled
like red blossoms through snowwhite teeth
infertilely upon the icy mind,
and spring never-to-be-born

smothered under the compost of dead words
or flowed only a sterile sap
of sticky verbs of cyclamate honey
to make the blood taste good.
Washington again now sings,
like grackles in the snow,
officially of sweet and good death
forever and for always
to keep us coldly great.
The more we kill the better will
our warm compassion flow
in the world's coffers.

Good God, again,
Richard, your words float heavily
like white cold dust in May,
polluting the powdered atmosphere
with moral haze.
They tinkle down like icicles
stabbing the May-cold mind,
slipping like ignorance
through the make-up artist's smile
that never splits nor crinkles
while the camera burns.
Your high-school-history phrases slither,
Richard, down, freezing in dreams
of victory gleaming with decay
like a rotten stump in a sunless spring,

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The New War and the New Movement

Dick Arneson



LNS

After simmering for months in anticipation of the results of Nixon's Vietnamization program, anti-war sentiment in this country was heated beyond the boiling point by the invasion of Cambodia and the Kent State murders. A student strike mushroomed across the country.

Campuses that had previously been quiescent now exploded into militant demonstrations. The National Guard had to be called in to quell disturbances at such seemingly unlikely places as the University of North Carolina and the University of New Mexico. Anti-war protest suddenly commanded the active support of a clear majority of students on most campuses throughout the nation.

Stirred by a sense of participation in a nationwide strike engulfing over 450 campuses, and by the feeling that it is now possible to do something about the war, thousands have involved themselves in grass-roots organization, community-wide canvassing and factory leafletting. Never has the anti-war movement been more alive.

Dead-End Strategies

A sign of the fact that an entirely new layer of students has been drawn into the struggle is the enthusiastic attempt to revive proven dead-end strategies. In particular, given the intransigency of the President and the upcoming fall Congressional elections, the movement has riveted its attention on Congress as on a potential savior.

President Kingman Brewster led 1,000 Yale students on a pilgrimage to Washington to convince pro-war senators of the depth of student concern and the unreasonableness of their hawkish voting records. University of Oregon students collected 20,000 signatures for a petition supporting the McGovern-Hatfield amendment to the Military Appropriations Bill. (The amendment would cut off funds for U.S. military operations in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam.)

Write-your-Congressman projects flourished on hundreds of campuses. At San Fernando State College 8,500 postcards were sent to Senators deemed to be question marks on the upcoming vote for the McGovern-Hatfield Amendment.

In the absence of independent political action by any segment of the anti-war movement, a tremendous flood of energy is being channeled into the primary campaigns of dovish-sounding Democrats. The President of Duke University announced his intention to close down that university for the ten days prior to the November

election so that students could ring doorbells for peace candidates; other college administrations have echoed the call.

Political movements do not automatically learn the lessons of their own history. Two years ago the McCarthy-for-President campaign trapped the anti-war movement within the Democratic Party, and as a result the movement hibernated for a full year after the 1968 election. Today liberal Democrats seek to tame the fury of the popular response to the invasion.

The primary commitment of politicians like McGovern and Hatfield is to maintain order in this society. They are willing to oppose a losing war that is giving rise to popular movements that threaten this capitalist order, but their allegiance is to the status quo, not to the goals of these movements that dissent from the status quo.

McGovern and Hatfield support the imperialist premises of American foreign policy from which the Vietnam War and similar wars against national liberation struggles have been derived. No Senatorial doves are for cutting off altogether the military appropriations bill, which would mean dismantling the entire military apparatus that sustains the world-wide American empire. Not a single Democratic Party "peace" candidate will call for disarming the repressive National Guard which is used to bludgeon the anti-war movement (as at Kent State) and suppress black uprisings (as at Augusta, Ga., or Jackson, Miss.).

So long as the anti-war movement confines itself to building support for the liberal wing of the American ruling class, the movement will remain isolated and fragmented. It is more than just a coincidence that the same college presidents who enjoined students to work within the system by campaigning for peace Democrats also tried to cajole students out of militant strikes and back to business as usual on the campuses.

The drift into the Democratic Party, however, is just one unfortunate aspect of a generally healthy tendency of the new anti-war movement to try to spread itself into the community. Almost everywhere the anti-war impetus has flowed off the campuses. The slogan "Go Into the Community" reflected a turn of the movement away from simple venting of moral outrage and toward strategies that promised to be politically effective.

The content of this slogan has varied incredibly. For many it meant "Go to Suburbia" - to upper-middle-class doctors, dentists, and shopkeepers, or even to liberal business executives. For others, however, the idea of community-canvassing implied an attempt to convey an anti-war message to the ordinary working

people who form the bulk of the American populace and who will ultimately decide the outcome of our Asian military adventures, and the future course of this society after the war ends.

Work stoppage and labor committees are flourishing from City College of New York to U.C. Berkeley. At UCLA hundreds of students went out on the picket lines to demonstrate their solidarity with a city-wide Teamsters strike. A hastily-called National Student Congress meeting at San Jose ratified a proposal calling for agitation toward a nationwide anti-war work stoppage.

The urgency of spreading anti-war sentiment among workers was tragically underscored last week when 200 construction workers armed with clubs and crowbars attacked anti-war demonstrators in New York City. If we fail to build the kind of movement that can connect the felt discontents of American workers with the war and its social crisis, then what is likely to happen is that more and more workers will crystallize their resentments into racist and war-mongering attitudes and ultimately embrace the reactionary response of the New York construction workers.

Workers cannot be won to an anti-war position simply on the basis of moralizing about the evil of the war. Nor can they be moved by New Left sermons about the need to give up one's "white-skin privilege". The movement will have to be able to counter the arguments of labor bureaucrats who argue that expanded war in Southeast Asia is in the interest of the American trade unionist. George Meany's enthusiasm for the war and indeed for U.S. imperialism generally is notorious.

The basis of hawkish attitudes among workers was expressed last week in a speech by Joseph Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America (a union which can count 500,000 members). Beirne said: "Suppose last night instead of escalating into Cambodia, President Nixon said we are pulling every man out in the quickest manner, with airplanes and ships; if he had said that last night, this morning the Pentagon would have notified thousands of companies and said 'your contract is cancelled,' by tomorrow millions would be laid off. The effect of our war, while it is going on, is to keep an economic pipeline loaded with a turnover of dollars because people are employed in manufacturing the things of war. If you ended that, tomorrow those same people wouldn't start making houses."

To the Working Class

If workers are to be wooed from jingoistic social attitudes to the side of the movement, we must put forward a clear radical program that shows working people how an immediate end to the war could be part of a humane solution to the crisis that confronts this society on every level. Workers do not benefit from this war and in fact it is in their interests to oppose it. To galvanize this opposition, the anti-war movement must seriously take up and fight for pro-workingclass demands like the following:

- 1) Jobs for all;
- 2) End all military spending; turn our resources to provide housing, mass transit, education, medical care, and other needed social services;
- 3) No war taxes on working people; 100% tax on corporate war profits;
- 4) Abolish the National Guard, used to crush the strikes of students, workers, and Third World people; no government strikebreaking;
- 5) Universal free higher education for all; end the tracking system in our high schools.

Students concerned to broaden the anti-war movement must orient to ongoing strikes, whether or not those workers initially support our opposition to the war. Workers in action are people who are willing to listen to radical ideas. It is necessary to work toward a politically conscious movement among workers, which means convincing them of our politics, not just exhorting them with calls to action.

It is possible now to show workers that radical political opposition is essential if their economic struggles are to be successful. They must be won from the cynicism which impels them to vote for the "lesser-evil" Democrats. They must be convinced that racism, mindless

Maoism and Women

Laurie Landy

Women in Chinese society have endured centuries of subordination and inequality. The failure of the 1948 Communist Revolution to liberate women, (despite Maoist claims to the contrary) is only the latest episode in this tragic history.

Women in Chinese society have endured centuries of subordination and inequality. The failure of the 1948 Communist Revolution to liberate women, despite Maoist claims to the contrary, is only the latest episode in this tragic history.

The twentieth century saw the beginning of a massive revolutionary upsurge of hundreds of thousands of women from the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia - part of a more general popular struggle to overthrow the ancient Chinese state and the foreign imperialism which bolstered it. This revolutionary movement was met with successive massacres - in the twenties when the Kuomintang turned not only against its Communist Party collaborators and the urban proletariat, but upon the independent women's movement and the peasantry; and in the early forties when the "popular front" position of Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party again resulted in the dismembering of the independent woman's movement at the hands of the Kuomintang.

While a detailed history of these struggles in which Chinese women played a prominent part is beyond the scope of this article, let it suffice to say that thousands of women gave their lives during the revolutionary struggles in China in the twentieth century. The revolutionary woman's movement in China, especially among the students and the women workers in Shanghai and other large textile industrial centers, was large, highly conscious and well-organized, with a long history of struggle.

The tragedy is that this once-powerful and independent movement has been placed under the thumb of the Maoist state, and as a result the liberation of Chinese women has been short-circuited.

Women in the New Society

The early years of Communist rule were a period of consolidation, bringing all classes under the hegemony of the bureaucratic state, and reshaping all institutions. Initially neither land nor capital was collectivized. Then gradually the state tightened its reins on the private sector in both industry and agriculture, until by the initiation of the Great Leap Forward in 1957, the means of production were totally in the hands of the monolithic state apparatus controlled by the Communist Party.

At first the Communist Party encouraged the women's associations to challenge the traditional Chinese family and its enslavement of women. Women were also encouraged to take part in production in order to gain economic equality with men. However, after power was consolidated and the state needed stability for the sake of industrialization, the liberation of women was subordinated.

As under capitalism, women were treated as a marginal sector of the work force, to be used in times of need and sent back to the house when unemployment crept up. A new family structure was imposed, along with an ideology which saw the family as a production unit subservient to the state. Chinese women had at best a tenuous hold on their new-found social and economic equality.

The 1950 marriage law abolished the legal basis for the subservient role of women, institutionalizing many gains which women in capitalist society had won sometime earlier. Family-arranged marriage, polygamy, and concubinage were abolished; women could obtain divorces and remarry; children born out of wedlock had the same rights as other children. The legal marriage age was raised to 18 for women and 20 for men in order to eliminate child marriage. The ancient doctrine of filial piety was replaced with mutual responsibility be-

tween parents and children for care and assistance.

In 1950, all houses of prostitution were closed, and prostitutes were given health care and integrated into productive activity (clearly an advance over capitalist civilization).

However, the struggle of women to gain in reality what they had been granted on paper by the government was a difficult and bitter one. The traditional values of male supremacy and women's subordination did not fall easily. William Hinton in *Fanshen*, a book based on the author's experiences in the peasant village of Long Vow in 1948, describes the struggle of women for emancipation:

"... (most of the men) regarded any activity by wives or daughter-in-laws outside the home as 'steps leading directly to adultery'. Family heads, having paid sound grain for the women, regarded them as their private property. Many young wives were badly beaten up when they got home."

The militant women's associations played an active role in the first years, giving women the confidence to break the tyranny of the husband. Sometimes, as Hinton describes, the only way to deal with a tyrannical husband who beat his wife was for the women's association to confront him and physically attack him.

For many Chinese women, liberation from the ancient family structure was literally a matter of life and death: in 1952, in eight districts of Shantung Province alone, 504 women committed suicide or were murdered by their families. The total number of women who lost their lives during the struggle for freedom probably numbers in the thousands.

The official attitude of the Communist Party in 1948

was:

"The freeing of women can't be isolated from revolution as a whole. Two wrong tendencies were to be guarded against: one was to think that all would be well with women so long as general revolutionary aims were fulfilled and that there was therefore no need to pay special attention to women's problems or to have separate women's organizations; the other was to think that women's emancipation was a cause in itself, not part of the revolution."²

This viewpoint, which recognized the need for an independent women's movement and the inadequacy of "legal equality," stood in sharp contrast to the official line only seven years later when the control of the Communist Party was secure:

"The new constitution has guaranteed women's equality with men in political, economic, cultural, social and family interests, and the state has come to protect women's right in marriage, in the family, in motherhood and in the welfare of children. HENCEFORTH WOMEN NO LONGER NEED TO INITIATE A MILITANT STRUGGLE FOR SUCH THINGS." (emphasis added)³

What then is the current role of the women's movement? It has become an arm of the state to mobilize women for production and to increase their "enthusiasm" to spend all their time (even spare time) in productive work. Women are now told that the state will take care of their needs - they no longer have any reason to struggle.

The once-militant women's movement has been stripped of its former role in leading women in the struggle for emancipation and has been redefined as a propaganda agent for bringing women-power into the productive process.

In 1953 the bulk of the All-China Women's Congress was spent listening to "labor heroines" relate how they had surpassed quotas and cut down wastage. The Vice-President of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation, Ting-Ying Chao (Mrs. Chou En-Lai) reported to the Congress:

"This is the first year of our Five-year Construction Plan. The central task of the women's movement in the future is to fully mobilize and organize the broad



masses of women to participate in industrial and agricultural production in every field of national construction."⁴

Although the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party, after debate, rejected the recommendation to disband the national women's organization, it was made clear that the organization could be nothing more than a tool for the regime.

Jan Myrdal's Report From A Chinese Village contains an interview with the head of the women's organization in Liu Ling. She describes how its original functions were to activate women in social work (such as the implementation of legal equality for women) and to get them to accept political responsibility and go to different meetings and speak. The organization was abolished in 1961, and replaced by a women's work group with the following five tasks: organize women to take an active part in production, spread literacy, help do domestic work effectively, teach personal and public hygiene, and give help and advice over marriage or other personal problems.⁵

The New Family

In the early years of Communist control, when property was still privately-owned, the attack upon the traditional family structure was fought on several different levels. The economic basis of the family was undermined by giving women the legal right to own and inherit property, as well as equal status with their husbands in the possession and management of property and wealth. As a consequence a woman no longer need remain bound to a brutal husband because she had no method of supporting herself. A woman's wages were now paid directly to her rather than to her husband.

The final deathblow to the economic power of the family came with the collectivization of all private property in the late 1950's, the means of production now being transferred to the state.

The new family unit, without economic power and without support from a large kinship organization, could not perform the multiplicity of socio-economic functions and retain its traditional position as the core of Chinese society. Thus the family ceased to be a self-contained autonomous unit, becoming part of the wider unit, the state, to which it owed its first allegiance.

A new family structure developed and one of its primary functions was to be a work unit for the state. The "Red Star" or model family was described in terms of the contribution each member made to the functioning of the state and raising of productivity:

"The father was a model cook in a restaurant, the son was a model student, the grandmother a model for her age in doing field work, Wang Yun herself was a field worker and probationary member of the Communist Party."⁶

In order to break down the ideology of the traditional family - filial piety and male supremacy - children and wives were urged to denounce their relatives for "counter-revolutionary activity." The denunciation campaign was a frontal attack on the concepts of kinship loyalty and face-saving.

Mutual suspicion among members of the family weakened old ties. Home spying was widely used in the "3-Anti" and "5-Anti" campaigns in 1952. A typical article in this period appealed to women on the following basis:

"Sisters, if your father, brother, husband, or child has committed any of the above-mentioned crimes, you must rid yourselves of any scruples and courageously prevail on them to confess or you must report them. . . . everyone must understand that it is a glorious thing to induce your own relatives to confess or to report your own relations, the only shameful thing is to protect them."⁷

For those who were unwilling to transfer their total and complete loyalty to the state, penalties were imposed. The New China News Agency reported on August 27, 1955:

"The people's Court of Kwang Chi in Hupeh Province recently sentenced Lan Jang-li to five years imprisonment for shielding his counter-revolutionary father, Kan Hua-fan over a long period."⁸

Even as recently as September 1968, Liu Ping Ling, daughter of purged Communist leader Liu Shao-chi, attacked her parents as "dog father and mother".

Marriage and Divorce

The 1950 Marriage Law gave both parties the right to dissolve the marriage upon mutual consent (if contested by one party, the affair would be taken to court for a decision). The Communist Party at first encouraged women who were bound in unhappy marriages to dissolve them. Divorce was used as another lever in undermining the traditional family.

The divorce rate soared from 186,000 in 1950 to 409,000 in 1961 and almost double that in 1952. In Peking and 21 near-by cities the number leaped from 9,300 (January to April 1950) to 17,763 (May to August 1950).

However, as the party consolidated its power and created a new family structure, they began putting stricter curbs on divorces, which they feared would have a disruptive effect both on production and the society. Articles such as "Let Us Correctly Enforce the Marriage Law to Abolish the Feudalistic Marriage Institution" (New China Monthly No. 19, 1951) appeared with greater frequency.

Although women legally had the freedom to marry whomever they chose, in fact the Communist Party had very definite ideas about the role of marriage and standards of eligibility for a prospective husband. A husband should be sought who would create a union so that the couple could fulfill the obligation to the state both for total loyalty and productive involvement:

For such improper acts, during a specific period of time and to a definite extent, will influence the normal feelings of certain people and the work entrusted such people by the State and the people. . . . To consider marriage and family problems merely as individual problems of private life is unilateral and incorrect."¹¹

Helen Snow, in her book *Women in Modern China*, views the relationship between the Communist Party and marriage in the following way:

"... the new marriage had to be put on a stable basis or it would have ruined the prestige of the new society. The whole group in fact was taking a hand in trying to guarantee the success of every marriage, with the Communist Party inheriting the role of matchmaker."¹²

Marriage for members of the Communist Party was even more closely scrutinized; approval from the Party was mandatory, and forthcoming only when the Party was convinced of the political soundness of both partners (including such considerations as their class origins and production records).

In March of 1953, a month-long campaign was initiated to acquaint every household with the 1950 marriage law. An initial family-by-family investigation to see how well people were abiding with the provisions of the law met with such resistance that it was quickly limited to government officials and party members.¹³

Although the official age for marriage is 18 for women and 20 for men, the unofficial age which the government sanctions, and in the case of party members approves, has slowly crept up over the years. In 1966, a reporter interviewing a young woman in Canton during the Cultural Revolution was told that she considered 27 the correct marriage age for women and 31 for men. Only three years earlier the unofficially sanctioned age was 23 for women and 26 for men.¹⁴

Early marriages mean more pregnancies, which deprive the regime of an important source of labor power by temporarily incapacitating young women. Moreover the economy does not have the social facilities in the form of adequate day care centers to take care of the children while their mother works, nor does it wish to devote a large section of its labor power to the production of agriculture and commodities (necessary to feed and clothe a rapidly expanding population) at the sacrifice of primary industrialization.

Women in China have been legally freed from their former slave-like existence, in which marriage was an economic contract arranged by their parents, and they certainly have greater freedom in choosing a husband. However, within that context new barriers have been erected in the form of discouraging "young marriages" and shaping the marriage in terms of its accord with the ruling political power.

Helen Snow said that marriage had to be placed on a "stable" basis or it would have ruined the prestige of the society. What is actually at stake is not prestige per se, but the ability of the new family to fill the vacuum left by the chaotic rupture of the old during the first years of the regime. Therefore, marriage in China has become a political contract which must be sanctified in accordance with the subordination of all individuals and institutions to the centralized state.

Morality

The family historically has served as a conservative bulwark of society, a force for stability which acts as a transmission belt to the people for the inculcation of the myths and ideology of those who rule. This is why, in virtually every class society, sexual relations which fall outside the established family institution are frowned upon by the state, and often punishable by prison. Such relationships undermine the legitimacy of the family and therefore tend to deprive the ruling class of an important means of social control.

In China, too, a state which by its very structure cannot allow any independent or spontaneous movement to arise outside of its control, because of the fusion and concentration of political and economic power, sexual relations must be kept within the established family framework. China has fashioned a rigorous, puritanical ideology of marriage and sexual relations.

The following excerpt from *China Youth*, April 1, 1955, indicates the state's attitude towards sex:

"The way part of our youth now devote themselves to love-making is quite incompatible with the great era in which we live. During this period, if some of our youth take too much interest in love and devote too much of their time and energy to this problem, it would be detrimental to the national interests."¹⁵

In an interview with a Communist Party member who teaches at a University in Peking, Mary Endicott, a Canadian writer who is sympathetic to the Maoist regime, was told that the Communist Party strongly condemns sex intimacy outside of marriage, and the problems of "free love" do not arise except when conditions were unstable and party discipline lax.¹⁶

There are conflicting reports as to whether pre-marital relationships are against the law. Helen Snow states that premarital sex is a statutory offense which carries a six-month prison term for the man.¹⁷ Edgar Snow received contradictory answers when he asked Communist Party members about pre-marital sex - one person claiming it is officially frowned upon.¹⁸

The combination of state pressure for late marriages together with the condemnation of sexual relations before marriage may create a tension within the society that eventually imperils not only the stringent morality but also the use of that morality as an instrument of control.

Only in a socialist society, where the family is not an institution of social control, will women be freed to fashion their relations with men as they choose.

Women's Role

Any tensions within the family which take on organizational dimensions, such as generational or husband-wife conflict, will tend to undermine the stabilizing and indoctrinating role played by the new Chinese family. Consequently, since 1953, there has been a noticeable tendency to tone down the political mission of women while at the same time putting a higher value on family life, on the need to create harmony between man and wife. Previously, the emphasis on engaging women in production in the early 1950's led to the social ostracization of the "family woman" (so-named because she did not work in production). A woman who put her family duties and personal happiness above the state was looked upon as "bourgeois" in this first period.

However, in 1955, a new Communist Party line appeared, which stressed "the building of a democratic and harmonious family, united for production and devoted to the cause of socialist reconstruction," as the main responsibility of women. Whereas the role of housemaker had been looked upon with contempt, articles began appearing in the official press glorifying the "family woman" for her motherly duties and housekeeping role.

Here was the mission, because of the consumer goods shortage in the country, to economize in the home.

Model housewives were chosen who had drastically cut down their families' consumption pattern. An editorial in the *Shanghai Daily News*, April 1, 1956, told women explicitly that their responsibility lay in homemaking.

Much of the reason for the change in the official Party attitude towards the role of women in the society lay in the problems of assimilating women into the work force. In November, 1957, the *People's Daily* stated that only part of available labor-power in the urban areas could be absorbed in industry, in spite of its rapid expansion, and thus housewives should learn to content themselves with housework which was "as honorable as any other kind of work."²⁰

Women, because of their primary role as housekeepers and child-rearers are the first to be fired when employment is scarce; their role in production is of a marginal nature, to be used only when the economy requires it.

In 1958, the Great Leap Forward was initiated, aimed at the rapid expansion of China's industrial capacity through intensive use of "human capital". Party propaganda about women did a complete turnabout. Women were once more urged to take part in production and their role as homemaker and mother was de-emphasized. At the National Heroines meeting, the ideal Socialist Woman was described as unselfish, hardworking, thinking only of group welfare and contribution to the state, instead of personal and family happiness.

Women of China, the largest journal put out by the

National Women's Democratic Federation, ran a series of articles, letters, and editorials from April to September, 1960, which criticized women who concern themselves too much with family matters. It was reminiscent of the line taken by the Party against the family woman in the early Fifties. One editorial in the series says:

"The party has taught us a revolutionist ought to establish the philosophy of revolution no matter when, one ought to put the career of revolution first and individual family matters second."²¹

After the failure of the Great Leap Forward to industrialize the country as quickly as expected, the "family duties" of women again gained prominence in the party press. In late 1965, *Women of China* carried the following:

"Most housewives were used to doing the family laundry. But oil workers' clothes are full of mud, dirt, oil and grease. To make it worse, the clothes have a bad smell. However when the housewives think that this is a direct service for the oil workers and is a revolutionary work, they no longer regard the job as filthy and tiring."²²

Reproduction

The development of effective contraception has been of world-historic importance in the emancipation of women. As long as reproduction remained an uncontrollable phenomenon, women were not masters of a large part of their lives, having no choice over how often or even whether they chose to have children. Their existence was subject to events largely outside their control.

Once sexual experience was separated from reproduction, women were freed from many of the anxieties and taboos that had placed fetters upon their existence. With reproduction voluntary, child-bearing no longer needed to be the ultimate reason for existence, or the only vocation for women. Motherhood became instead one of many choices.

However, in China the availability of contraception has been determined not by its importance as a basic condition for women's emancipation, but rather, by the productive needs of the state.

There were at least four different stages in the official Communist Party attitude toward birth control through the early sixties. At first, birth control was opposed as Malthusian and thus counter-revolutionary. In April of 1952, an editorial in *People's Daily* described birth control as "a means of killing Chinese without shedding blood."²³

However, as the pressure of an expanding population and the need to preserve scarce capital for heavy industrial production became more pronounced, birth control slipped in through the back door in the early fifties. In August of 1953, birth control was given unpublicized approval by the State Council. The first public advocacy of birth control by Shao Li Tzu, a member of the National People's Congress was delayed until September 1954.²⁴ Even then, information on contraception was still largely unavailable to the vast majority of Chinese women.

Throughout the fifties, improved health care had meant a decline in infant and child mortality, and an increased life expectancy for the old. Furthermore, the high rate of conception meant that most young women were withdrawn from production. In one Shanghai factory, in the mid-1950's, 17% of the women were pregnant twice a year, 53% once a year, and 22% twice in three years.²⁵

The society could not provide enough facilities to take care of the children, nor did they care to direct their industrialization to commodity goods for that end. Therefore, in March of 1957, a party edict went out that "all areas in our country must promote appropriate birth control." Two months later, the abortion law was greatly liberalized to allow abortions within the first three months of pregnancy, whereas previously abortions had been granted only upon a doctor's legal advice.

The Party press also put out material on family size, describing the ideal number of children to be three or at most four, spaced at long intervals. Birth control clinics opened up throughout the country and contraceptives were distributed freely.

The campaign was suddenly stopped eight months later. Precisely why is not clear, but like the "enforce the marriage law" campaign in the early fifties, birth control had met strong resistance from the peasantry because of the ideological remnants of the consanguineous family system, in terms of which many children meant security for the parents in old age. According to Edgar Snow, the party cadres were "overzealous" in their enthusiasm for the campaign just as they had been during the marriage campaign.

The end of the birth control campaign coincided with the beginning of the Great Leap Forward, when the state felt that rapid collectivization would enable it to absorb the expanding population. At the Eighth Party Congress in 1958, Mao Tse-tung said: "Our rapidly expanding population is an objective fact and our asset."

Liu Shao-chi, at that time a top party leader, praised China's large population as a virtue. Birth control clinics were closed down and women were encouraged by the official press to reproduce.²⁶ The effect was to again deprive Chinese women of information and ready access to contraception.

After the failure of the Great Leap Forward in the early sixties, China was faced with severe food shortages, lack of consumer goods and a falling living standard, plus a tremendous population upsurge which would add 100 million people to the labor force by the late 1960's. The Party again began to legitimize birth control. Chou En-lai said in this period: "Planned parenthood is conducive to raising the people's standard of living." Old birth control clinics were reopened and advice on contraception was again available. An important part of the program was agitation for late marriage. The number of marriages in 1966 was about the same as 1965 despite a 19-million population increase.



Although the legal age for marriage was eighteen for women and twenty for men, the party tried to discourage marrying this early. At a Canton exhibition in 1965, the section on planned parenthood recommended marriage at 28-30 for a "better spouse, happier household and vastly superior production record." Abortion and sterilization, birth control methods applied solely to women, were recommended.

Pressure was imposed by the state to limit the family size to two children (five years earlier, three had been urged) as the "ideal" number, by giving a children's allowance only to the first two children, denying subsequent children clothing coupons, and denying the woman her two-month paid maternity leave after the first two births.³⁰

Women and Production

Involvement in production plays an important role in the liberation of women. Engels, in *Origins of the Family*, makes the following point:

"The emancipation of women becomes possible only when women are enabled to take part in production on a large social scale, and when domestic duties require their attention only to a minor degree. And this has become possible only as a result of modern large-scale industry, which not only permits of the participation of women in production in large numbers, but actually calls for it."³¹

After the 1948 revolution, vast numbers of women were mobilized for productive work in both urban and rural areas. *China Reconstructs* claims that there were 1.3 million women employed in industry in 1953, a 128% increase over 1950.³² Other sources place the increase of women employed in industry from 420,000 in 1949 to 1.9 million in 1954.

Although women were employed in industry before the revolution, they were largely limited to the textile industry where wages and working conditions were notoriously poor. Since the revolution, women have had access to most of the jobs traditionally held by men, including heavy labor. In the early 1950's, for example, 300,000 women took part in the Chingliang Flood and Control Project in the Yangtze.

There is no doubt that the introduction of large numbers of women into production has meant tremendous

social gain for them. Women for the first time had economic independence from their husbands and the opportunity to acquire an education and to gain technical skills and self-confidence.

Before 1948, the difference between the literacy rate for men and women was vast: in a 1942-3 census of nine counties in Szechwan Province, 48% of the men and only 19% of the women were literate.³³

Legally at least, women today receive equal pay and have access to the same jobs as men. Other social benefits the law has established for women are retirement at fifty (provided they have worked for twenty years) with a pension of 50-70% of former wages.

Women are formally given eight weeks maternity leave (for the first two children) and thirty minutes off every four hours to suckle their baby. Any woman who has a miscarriage after seven months of pregnancy is given a thirty-day leave.³⁴

However, the introduction of women into production is viewed by the Communist Party as an end in itself and not as a pre-condition for women's liberation. The Party's propaganda apparatus constantly extols the virtue of production, through articles like "How We Chinese Women Have Acquired Independence - Work - That's The True Key to Women's Liberation".

Because participation in production by women is viewed as the totality of women's liberation, the stress is on "model workers" who equal or surpass men, in a manner reminiscent of the Russian Stakhanovite. "Labor Heroine" and "model worker" awards are given to women who overfulfill production quotas.

This emphasis has led Chinese women to move in the direction of trying to become replicas of men. Women emulate men in dress and style. Feminine dress, makeup, or any other values held to be "womanly" are regarded with contempt by the Chinese women. As Juliet Mitchell says in her article, *Women: the Longest Revolution*:

"In China, still another experience is being played out today. At a comparable stage of the revolution, all the emphasis is being placed on liberating women in production. This is produced an impressive social promotion of women. But it has been accompanied by a tremendous repression of sexuality and a rigorous puritanism (currently rampant in civic life)."³⁵

Equal opportunity to work is certainly a pre-condition for liberation, but it is not an end in itself and is colored by the societal context within which it occurs. Certainly no one would claim that women were liberated by capitalism when the industrial revolution incorporated them into the workforce under the most cruel and exploitative conditions.

Liberation of Chinese woman does not mean giving her an equal opportunity with men to be exploited for industrial development. Women in China now have the triple responsibility of worker, housekeeper and child-raiser, since the state does not spare scarce capital in sufficient quantity to provide adequate child-care centers and collective housekeeping arrangements. Consequently, the toil of the Chinese woman, with her entrance into production, has been heightened.

By 1956, reports started trickling down about discrimination against women by employers because of the additional expenses incurred through employing them. The Chinese economy is run on the basis of stringent quotas sent down from the Central Planning Agency to the factory manager. Both the job and salary of the factory manager are contingent on his ability to meet and surpass the quotas. Therefore, any added expense or loss of worktime by employees seriously jeopardizes the manager's position.

Managers are not anxious to hire women who receive a two-month paid leave when they have children. Many working women in fact do not get the full 56-day pregnancy leave.³⁶

Collectivization

The Great Leap Forward increased the number of women in production from three million in 1957 to seven and one-half million in 1958. In the cities, urban communes were initiated and run largely by housewives who were not otherwise employed, especially by older women. In order to release women from individual family and child-care work, collectivized methods were initiated. In the Chengchow urban commune, public mess halls, nurseries and wet-nursing stations were set up, and shopping was done collectively.

The center of the family became the neighborhood collective rather than the individual household, during the last half of 1958. However, by the end of the year the attempt to turn the urban communes into an integrated living and working community was abandoned because of resistance from the urban population.³⁸ An article in a 1964 issue of *Women of China* indicates

Con't on page 24

Peru: the Junta and the Working Class

"In our opinion, the military movement in Peru is different from those which exist in the other Latin American countries. Its action is going in the direction of progress, and the decision to nationalize an imperialist petroleum company is an act of patriotism and courage." -- Fidel Castro

This declaration of Fidel Castro in favor of the Peruvian Junta, which the Cuban leader pronounced in July 1969, brought to its height the confusion of those who, in Latin America or elsewhere, have taken as their mentor the Cuban chief of state.

In Europe, certain left intellectuals, who have always protested against the imprisonments and the tortures which the Peruvian army has inflicted on leftist militants, have become more circumspect. Each protest against the repression must, for them, be accompanied by homage to the Junta for the struggle which it leads towards agrarian reform, national independence, etc.

In Peru, even the movements which are favorable to guerrilla warfare, whose most important leaders have been assassinated or thrown into prison, keep a prudent silence on the fact of the divisions which appear in their ranks on the problem of support to the Junta.

And the Peruvian Trotskyists have no more been spared from the confusion. Two tendencies (the Pabloites and Posadists) give critical support to the Junta. The third and most important, the F.I.R., while condemning the Junta, supports "the progressive measures taken by the regime," which comes to almost the same thing.

A similar position was taken by another group, the Revolutionary Vanguard, which "affirms that the military government has not completely broken" from Yankee imperialism and the great bourgeoisie.

The debacle of the Peruvian revolutionary Left and its partisans essentially flows from the fact that they, although regrouping without doubt the most devoted and honest militants in Peru, have never fought on the terrain of the proletariat.

When one studies the texts of the M.I.R. (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) or of the E.L.N. (Army of National Liberation), one realizes that the fundamental demands advanced by these tendencies remain closely confined to a bourgeois-democratic framework: the recovery of national sovereignty, agrarian reform, the creation of an economy independent of imperialism, decent wages for the workers, etc.

And, in their very safe fashion, the Peruvian generals have taken them up and applied them. This is what Major General Ricardo Vassi said in an interview granted to some Venezuelan journalists during his visit to Caracas: "We have very good relations with the parties of the Left and even with the extreme Left. Many support us, but we know that we are going to lose their support because we have taken their program which they have defended for so many years." In this witty remark, there is, unfortunately, a great deal of truth.

The collapse of the revolutionary Left in Peru is in the last analysis the collapse of all "Third World" conceptions which put the accent on "anti-imperialism" and not on social revolution, on the peasantry and not on the proletariat.

It is this lesson which the Peruvian revolutionaries, who languish in the jails of the Junta, must draw from their experiences. They possess the courage, the will, the self-denial which are the qualities of true revolutionary militants. Their only need is to renew the tradition of the revolutionary proletariat, obliterated for more than forty years by Stalinism.

"Anti-Oligarchical"

A year ago the Peruvian military Junta established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and concluded a commercial agreement with Moscow. If the import of such acts was, on the whole, limited, they nev-

ertheless took place in the context of an "anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchical revolution" which the Peruvian generals pretend to have effectuated.

On October 3, 1968 General Velasco Alvarado, head of the Junta, overthrew Belaunde Terry, leader of the little right-wing party "Popular Action" and president of the Republic since 1963. Except for the inhabitants of the large cities, the population was little interested in the hazards of parliamentary life - more than 60% of them don't know how to read and don't have the right to vote. The coup d'etat met hardly any opposition, except for some students who attempted demonstrations which were rapidly dispersed.

A week after its arrival in power, the army rallied large sections of the population by sending troops into the oil fields belonging to la Brea y Parinas, an affiliate of Standard Oil of New Jersey. The motion of the Junta provoked explosions of enthusiasm in numerous towns. In Trujillo, in Cuzco, in Arequipa, as soon as the news was known, the people went out into the streets and congratulated each other. It was this one blow which established the credibility of the "revolutionary" and "anti-imperialist" label with which the generals adorned themselves.

The soldiers did not stop there. Successively they decreed the nationalization of all the water resources (rivers, lakes, etc.), the telegraph and telephone companies (including the Peruvian Telephone Company which belongs to International Telephone and Telegraph) and the sugar companies of the coast which, also, are directly linked to American capital.

But what wasn't said by the new Peruvian government, and was learned as an afterthought, was that all the nationalizations would take place through substantial indemnifications for the capitalists so affected. For example, the Peruvian Telephone Company receives \$18 million (but is obligated to invest more than half of this sum on the spot). As for the indemni-

fication which la Brea y Parinas receives, if the exact total is not yet known, it is likely that it will contain the same clauses.

The second part of the military Junta's program concerns land reform. This is a question which galvanizes public opinion in a country where 50% of the population obtains its living from agriculture. Up to now no more than 1% of the Peruvian territory was reclaimed.

In Peruvian agriculture, there coexists two different sectors, the old one constituted by the great estates of the feudal sort (the latifundias), and the other industrialized and built on the industrial crops of the coast (cotton, sugar), etc.

Both of these sectors are dominated by a handful of great landlords. In the whole country 2,000 landlords monopolize 73% of the land and 40 families possess 40% of the haciendas of the coast. Against the 83% of the peasant properties which have less than twelve acres, the latifundias of more than 2,500 acres represent 70% of the cultivable land.

In this context, it is obvious that the announcement of agrarian reform would excite certain hopes in the Peruvian peasantry. But this reform, if it effectively touches the great estates at all, will be based on the principle of repurchase of the lands of the great estates. The great majority of the peasants, who don't have the means to buy the land, won't benefit at all. On the other hand, such a reform will favor the richest part of the peasantry who, until now, have been kept in the background by the great proprietors.

The reform has precise economic goals: to force the great landed proprietors to reconvert and invest a part of their property in industry. This is why the indemnification of the great landed proprietors assumes a particular form. Part of their property is indemnified in cash (essentially the cattle), the rest with bonds redeemable in twenty years at 5% interest. But the agrarian reform stipulates that bonds paid out will be immediately redeemed in cash by the state bank if they are used, to the amount of 50% of their value, for the financing of an industrial enterprise.

In fact, all the reforms decreed by the Peruvian Junta, in the agrarian domain as in the industrial domain, work toward the same goal: to develop and consolidate the Peruvian economy, on the one hand by obliging American imperialism to cede the most important part of the profits which it extracts from the exploitation of



Peru, and on the other hand by introducing capitalist reforms in the countryside, enlarging the interior market of the Peruvian bourgeoisie.

As for American imperialism, it seems to be very well accommodated to the "anti-imperialism" of the soldiers who from now on lay down the law in Peru. At no time have the American ruling circles envisaged a military intervention directed against the Junta, such as they launched in June 1954 in Guatemala, against General Arbez who had effected comparable reforms, and more recently against Cuba.

Moreover, they have not even utilized the economic weapons which they possess to make the regime yield. For example, the Hickenlooper amendment, which provides for the suspension of economic aid, has not been applied, nor has the threat of immediately stopping the imports of Peruvian products (the majority of Peruvian exports are destined for the American market). The sole measure of retaliation taken until now has been the suspension, on May 19, 1969, of the sale of military material from the US.

Indeed, the American magnate Nelson Rockefeller, although touched in his own pocketbook by the agrarian reform, has declared that "giving the landed property to the farmers is a good thing" and the *Wall Street Journal* has also praised the "new Peruvian nationalism."

In fact, all this proves that American imperialism has resigned itself to the decisions of the Peruvian Junta. The example of Cuba has shown it that, in this area, the politics of economic sanctions are not necessarily effective and can push into the Russian camp a state which, in the beginning, only desires a greater independence vis-a-vis imperialism. It was no doubt in an effort to underline this point that the Peruvian generals chose to establish diplomatic relations and conclude a commercial agreement with the USSR at the time when certain North American business circles were speaking of economic reprisals.

Vis-a-vis the laboring masses, the military Junta has tried to reinforce the illusions which the nationalizations and agrarian reform have excited. But the poor peasants and workers of the cities will soon learn that the reforms of the Junta will do nothing to ameliorate their condition.

Meanwhile the army has systematically expanded the repression against workers and peasants guilty of protesting against the scandalous conditions of life in which they are kept. In March 1969 soldiers opened fire on miners who, with their families, had organized a protest march against wage conditions. Result: twenty dead, of whom twelve were women. In June, the police and the army repressed in blood peasant demonstrations at Huanta and Ayacucho. The official toll: fourteen dead, dozens wounded.

At the same time, the Junta has declared strikes illegal, prohibited all political activities in the universities, and then shut them down, and suppressed the elections of city councils to replace them by authoritarian appointments. They don't even mention legislative elections. In September four thousand strikers were dispersed by the police, and in October militants of the revolutionary left were arrested and have joined the hundreds of militants already in prison.

The fierce anti-working class character of the Junta is unmistakable. But what else should be expected of people who, under Belaunde Terry, organized the pursuit of the guerrillas and peasants who seized the land which the great landlords had stolen from them.

All its acts, past and present, prove that the Junta remains resolutely in the camp of the bourgeoisie and of imperialism, against the workers and poor peasants.

Translated from *Lutte Ouvrière*, a French revolutionary socialist weekly, by Kevin Bradley.

AN ENGLISH VIEW

Women Workers

Sheila Rowbotham

Equal pay has raised all kinds of questions about the pay structure and the actual nature of the work women do. Many of the questions do not have answers yet because no one bothered to ask them before, but it is possible to trace the general pattern of pay and employment and foresee some probable dangers in the future.

More than a third of the labour force are women. Just over 50 per cent of these working women are married.

The rising proportion of married women working has been among the most noticeable changes in industry since the beginning of the century. This is partly due to earlier marriages and partly because there are now more men than women in the under-forties age group.

It looks as if this trend is going to continue. The married woman worker will become a crucial element in the labour force as a whole and not simply a feature of particular areas.

Equal Pay?

Something like one in ten of these women get equal pay for equal work. They are among the more privileged, in the professions or in particular jobs where they fought and won it in the past, like bus conductresses.

Sometimes, where there is only a minority of women working - park gardeners for instance - they get treated as men and paid the same for convenience. There are cases, cigar-making for example, where women had equal pay but, with expansion and mechanisation, they dropped behind and are now paid only a percentage of the men's rate.

In 1966 the woman's basic hourly rate was only about 75 per cent of the man's. A woman manual worker's average gross earnings were £9.19s (9 pounds, 19 shillings) for a 38.5 hour week. The man's were £20.5s for a 46.4 hour week.

Women administrative, technical and clerical workers are not much better off and the difference between their earnings and the men's was actually greater.

The cost of ending this discrimination has been estimated at between £600 and £1000 million. This is what employers owe women workers. Not only is pay low, but the majority of women are in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs.

This is partly a question of the type of work women do. The decline of the traditional textile industry, which employed 72 per cent of all skilled women in 1911 has meant the proportion of skilled women has actually gone down. The growing new industries like metals, engineering and chemicals generally take on men in the skilled categories, not women.

Employment expansion for women has taken place in the service industries - in the administrative and welfare sections. Often these are small production units difficult to organise and with no tradition of union militancy.

In larger places like hospitals, workers are restricted by the effect on the patients. This means everyone stays badly paid and women remain on the off. Even the women in charge of large kitchens and laundries get less than the men working under them.

Here again women are concentrated in the lower grades. They are virtually excluded from managerial, scientific and skilled technical work in non-manual occupations.

It's not just the kind of work women do - it's what the job is called. Women in engineering can actually work on the same machines as men on a different shift but be classed at a lower rate.

Draughtswomen get equal pay. But if you're a woman you are likely to be called a tracer and get lower pay unless the union is willing to fight your case.

Less formally, this happens to administrative and clerical workers. Women classed at a low-grade because they do not have official educational qualifications are often found holding offices and departments together with a lot of unofficial responsibility.

Apprenticeship and the nature of training shows that the situation is not changing significantly. 40 per cent

of all girl school leavers go into clerical work and few get any training at all.

Only a small percentage are apprenticed. The girl in a minority in a man's job can find herself pushed into the background, clearing up or waiting on the men because she is not taken seriously.

Most apprenticeships are in hairdressing and even here, where there are relatively few men, the girl apprentices often get less than the boys. They also have to stay and sweep up after the boys have gone home in some hairdressing establishments.

Apart from making a few progressive snorts, the Industrial Training Boards have done very little for young girls starting work or married women trying to return. Even the retraining schemes that exist tend to train women not for skilled jobs in the expanding industries but for those occupations they have done traditionally, which are contracting in any case.

All these factors clearly reinforce one another. Low pay, unskilled and monotonous jobs are synonymous with 'women's work'. This makes it appear natural for tasks to be defined differently when women do them and be paid at a lower rate.

Training opportunities reflect and perpetuate this situation. The devaluation of certain operations through the introduction of new machines and processes and the tendency for these to pass to groups of workers in a weak bargaining position has been a constant feature of capitalism.

Women have been a prominent section of the underprivileged even within the working class. It is not surprising that employers want to keep women as a separate category of labour.

A woman doing a skilled job at unskilled rates can be subsidising her employer by as much as 50 per cent of the value of her work. By making a job 'woman's work', he can get more for much less.

"Femininity"

All the nonsense about 'feminine', 'unfeminine', 'effeminate' helps in all this. It is funny how ideas change. In the 19th century, office work was considered most 'unfeminine'. As soon as the secretary got a machine - the typewriter - it was seen as less skilled, i.e., requiring a different type of skill, and became 'women's work'.

It is particularly important to understand both the economic and political realities of power behind the way tasks are divided in society and the way in which boundaries of the area defined as 'women's work' have shifted, because automation is already beginning to affect these definitions.

Sometimes hopeful but rather naive people talk as though automation will inevitably mean that more women will pass over into skilled categories. This is part of the idea that capitalist society will sort itself out and everyone will be able to rise within the system.

It's an old rule that whoever gets most and whatever you're strong enough to fight for, you're likely to get. It's all too likely to apply here.

Just as working-class boys are in danger of being at a disadvantage in the changing division of labour because of their general educational situation, working-class girls will find it even more difficult to make it into skilled and highly specialised technical work. Women could, in fact, be more securely contained in unskilled areas, becoming confined in an industrial class/sex ghetto.

The only way to prevent this is not to sit back and wait, but to recognise the danger and fight it, educationally, industrially and politically.

As a woman member of DATA told the TUC in 1968, 'For too long the women workers of this country have been fobbed off by pious resolutions, cosy chats and cups of tea in the House of Commons. We want more than the promise of a dream.'

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Velasco Alvarado

The Los Angeles Teachers Strike

Jerry Habush

The crisis in the Los Angeles city schools, the second largest system in the country, came to a head this month with the first full-scale teachers strike/walkout in the city's history. By the middle of the second week of the action (April 20-24), the strike was 55-65% effective and what seemed like a substantial majority of the community and students supported the picketing teachers.

The Board of Education's claimed to have no funds available to meet even the most elementary of the teachers' demands. A long strike, perhaps even to the end of the spring term, was being predicted by some.

Urban Nightmare

For many years, the crisis in social services in the United States has been taking on nightmarish proportions in Los Angeles. Only New York has been hit harder in welfare, education, transportation, and similar services - but in L.A., the intensifying polarization of the community, particularly the growing strength of the right-wing, has magnified the problem.

In recent years, one after another, funding proposals for rapid transit and schools have gone down to defeat by the voters because of the already crushing property tax burden. Meanwhile, industry's lobbyists have been successful in keeping open the tax loopholes that benefit their clients (oil depletion allowances, etc.), while the expanding need for services has fallen on the regressive sales tax and on local sources of funding - i.e., on the property tax administered by the county.

The city school system is in a desperate state. Class size average is largest in the nation (35-40) and growing year by year; many school facilities (particularly in the inner city) are badly antiquated; resources are minimal at best; and the crisis is, of course, at its worst in the black and Mexican-American-inner-city schools, where many students cannot even read adequately at the high school level.

To put it bluntly, the schools are rotten in L.A. - perhaps among the worst in the nation for comparable cities. Drop-outs, crime, drug use, etc., are approaching and even surpassing the New York level. With the mushrooming student enrollment and rapid deterioration of much of the system, not only are there insufficient resources to anticipate growth, but funds are so tight that massive cut-backs in athletics, remedial programs, school nurses and doctors, and maintenance services were recently announced by the schools superintendent - along with a projected cut-back in teaching and administrative employees. All this while school enrollment increases by leaps and bounds.

After a two-day demonstration/walk-out in September 1968, the small (3000) American Federation of Teachers local 1021 and the 21,000-strong Association of Classroom Teachers (National Education Association affiliate) finally buried the hatchet and began negotiations on a merger. Following years of bickering, the leadership of the two organizations managed to manipulate the rank-and-file into supporting the merger.

Representing almost 25,000 of the system's 27,000 classroom teachers, the new United Teachers-Los Angeles (UTLA) awaited the results of a special tax override election in March. Despite support by the school board and almost all civic agencies, politicians, and newspapers, etc., the tax override was defeated by almost two to one.

The inevitable drew closer. A walk-out received a two to one approval by UTLA members and picketing began April 13. While the school board took an increasingly hard-line stance on the supposedly illegal public employees strike, as much as 65% of the teachers walked out - despite the active counter-strike organizing of a recalcitrant group from the old NEA affiliate and the wide-spread opposition to classical "unionism" and strikes by "professionals" in the teaching field. (Many striking teachers maintain this attitude and declare that they are not really striking in the labor-sense of the term, but rather are walking out as a demonstration of the schools' needs to the legislature and the public.)

Many schools have been, for all extents and purposes, non-functioning as teachers have been joined on picket

lines by parents and students, while other students cause disruptions by sitting in in administration buildings and generally milling about. Many have been wandering on and off campus, and fire alarms have been set off.

The high school Radical Students Union has taken a leadership position in student support of the strike. Schools in certain sections of the city have seen less support (from both teachers and parents) for the strike; but, in general, the strike has been very successful thus far, with both teacher and community support. The lessons of the New York strike were consciously applied by UTLA leaders and frequent community-support meetings have been held - especially in black, Chicano, and white working class (largely transplanted Southern) areas.

The main reason for the large measure of community support and the apparent success of the strike thus far has been more a matter of the nature of the strike and its demands than of its conduct. The tragic situation in New York in the fall 1968 teachers strike - where the drive for community control was viewed as a threat by a majority of teachers - never came up in Los Angeles. While the Chicano community, in particular, has raised this demand from time to time (mainly because of the need for a comprehensive bilingual instructional program), the issue has not been paramount in L.A.: UTLA leaders have gingerly stepped around it while supporting the bilingual program for East Los Angeles.



Some of the demands, of course, have dealt with increased pay and benefits for teachers (inflation and greatly increased withholding tax have reduced salaries by almost one-half of the gross); but the main thrust of the strike has been for immediate aid to the strangling educational system: smaller class size, better qualified teaching personnel, better guidance and counseling (though the issue of "tracking" has been raised only by AFT radical Caucus members), and - in particular - drastically-reduced class size and improved facilities and resources for the inner-city schools.

UTLA made much propaganda use of the Board's strike-busting highly-paid negotiator's attempt to buy them off with a 5% salary increase offer with no other demands being met. Teachers' morale is strong, and job-consciousness (if not class-consciousness) is at an all-time high (for teachers). Teacher "professionalism" has been dealt a blow in many quarters.

Despite the picture painted above, the future of the strike's goals remains in doubt. Governor Reagan and many legislators are adamantly opposed to "rewarding" a public-employees' strike, and maintain that they couldn't find the money for the schools even if they wanted to - which they don't. The Board of Education is split and embroiled in its own political games. As of April 22, the Board had voted down every attempt to resume negotiations on substantive issues, as proposed by UTLA and the two (sometimes three) moderate-liberals on the Board.

Many politicians and others are saying that everything should ride on a June state-wide ballot proposal to force the state legislature to supply 50% of the funds needed by the L.A. schools (L.A.'s subsidy has dropped, over the years, to its present 28%). This, however, would demand a massive attack on tax loopholes if a giant

increase in the poorly-graduated state income tax and/or the sales tax is to be avoided - Sacramento would need millions to supply the L.A. city schools. Whether or not this can be done remains to be seen. The state political machinery is lock, stock, and barrel under conservative Republican control. A massive groundswell of dissatisfaction would be necessary to close the loopholes.

The problems of the L.A. schools are not isolated ones. They are a reflection of the nation-wide decline in social services (hospitals, housing, welfare, transportation) that has been exacerbated by the war in Vietnam. While the largest corporations are directly subsidized by arms contracts which guarantee profits, all levels of government scream "poverty" when confronted by demands of their employees for decent wages to meet the spiralling inflation and taxes that result from the permanent arms economy.

Corporate needs have damaged the educational system in other ways. The "tracking" system which channels blacks, Chicanos, and white working-class students into vocational courses (and many women into secretarial and home economics courses), spends disproportionate amounts of money on special programs to best prepare middle-class kids for college.

The class, race, and sexual inequalities of our society are perpetuated, while overcrowding, inadequate materials and facilities - and the lack of motivation these breed - increase drop-outs, crime, and drug use, making the schools prisons for the students and forcing most teachers into the role of cop.

Teachers cannot win the fight for better pay and better schools alone. While even job-consciousness is a new progressive gain for them, they must ultimately rise beyond the limits of teacher unionism. The struggle must be broadened if the boards of Education and the court injunctions they use, and the legislative inactivity and opposition to school improvement, are to be overcome, making these institutions responsive to the needs of the people.

To do this, rank-and-file teacher groups, in L.A. and elsewhere, must be set up and given a life-blood of their own. They must avoid the union bureaucracies' inevitable attempt to control dissident militant elements; and, in strike situations, they must struggle to keep control of the strike in their own hands. Contacts must be made with other sections of the working class to broaden the struggle. Wider community identification must be achieved for teachers, and the problems and struggles of the black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities must be addressed. Finally, teachers (and other workers) must make it clear that they will not tolerate the cost of their demands being borne by working people. Schemes that call for increased taxes on those least able to pay must be opposed.

Tax the Corporations

Money for better schools and other services is available. Many cities have tax havens like Beverly Hills. Wealthy residents of these independent suburbs (who make their money off the larger city) must be forced to pay for services for the total metropolitan community. There are many tax loopholes that can and must be plugged, and many sections of industry and finance that must be taxed to support the community off of whom they feed.

In the long run, however, the entire arms economy must be overhauled with radical changes in priorities and power distributions. Production must be converted from profit for the few to the welfare and use of the many. The Democratic and Republican parties are, of course, not about to support such a program since they are controlled by the people who profit from the system as it stands now.

Those who control industry will not gladly give up their meal tickets and instruments of power. We must therefore begin to build a movement controlled by and responsible only to working people. This is a precondition to any real effort to meet the problems of our society.

The GE Strike and the Myth of "Progressive UE"

Ted Dibble

Officials of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE) have long claimed for their union a leading position in the "progressive" wing of the American labor movement. This argument has been accepted by many radicals involved in support of the CE strike. However, even a brief examination of UE history is sufficient to dispel this illusion.

The UE was a founding member of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. After a series of militant drives, the union organized virtually the entire electrical industry, including GE, Westinghouse, and RCA. Within a short time, the UE ranked as one of the CIO's Big Three.

The CIO arose out of the conditions created by the Depression. Forming as the Committee for Industrial Organization within the older American Federation of Labor in 1935, it represented an important extension of union influence into production line factories. It opposed the conservative ideas and extreme bureaucratization of the AFL.

The AFL, under the influence of its narrow craft orientation, had long considered industrial workers unorganizable. The AFL leadership, already used to the comfort of its own domain, was frankly opposed to new innovations, and refused to mount a campaign to attract workers it considered outside its jurisdiction. The fight for industrial unionization could only be carried on within the AFL against the resistance of the old guard. The CIO was officially formed in 1938, when industrial unions were expelled from the AFL. CIO success quickly began to prove wrong the out-lived ideas of the AFL leadership.

Militants of all hues, united only by the desire to see the rise of strong unions where none had previously existed, participated in the fight for the CIO, including members of the Communist Party. In its early years, the CIO experienced rapid growth and expansion. In this situation, it was not difficult to rise to positions of power in the newly-formed unions. This rise was especially easy for those political parties possessing disciplined cadre and clearly-defined goals, as did the CP. In accord with its customary bureaucratic maneuvers, one of the CP's major goals of this period undoubtedly was to accumulate positions of influence within the CIO, and many of the new unions became top heavy with members or fellow-travelers of the CP.

Within the CIO, the UE became the major base of the CP. In fact, the CP was able to control the UE more tightly than any other CIO union in which it was active. Most of the top echelon leaders were either members of the Party or closely under its influence, the kind of men who were said to "cheat the Party of dues." After 1941, the union was headed by Albert Fitzgerald, President, James Matles, Organization Director, and Julius Emspak, Secretary-Treasurer.

Stalinist Partnership

The Stalinist partnership of Emspak-Matles actually ran the union; Fitzgerald served as little more than a slow-thinking cover. Whether either Matles or Emspak ever actually joined the CP is of little importance, since both followed the Party line in all things. These men in turn appointed business agents and lower-level union officials. The precondition for holding these posts was substantial agreement with the official leadership.

The early years of the UE were its best. The union pursued a militant course in its drive to attract workers. It could have done less only at the risk of failing to organize the electrical industry. After 1937, however, the UE, and the entire CIO, had passed the days of its most rapid growth. The wave of sit-down strikes in which the CIO was born occurred during a period of relative prosperity from 1935 to 1937. In 1937, the economy broke down again; this time, the depression was more severe than it had been in 1929. Only with the mobilization of the economy for war production was the depression overcome in 1941-42.

Throughout this period, the Stalinist line in the CIO followed every turn made necessary by the foreign policy needs of the Russian state. The period of the found-

ing of the CIO corresponded to the "People's Front" interlude, when the CP urged all those opposed to fascism, from "progressive" capitalist to factory worker, to combine into one happy family for the purpose of defeating fascism. The "People's Front" was proclaimed because Russia was seeking an alliance with western capitalist powers against Nazi Germany.

A prerequisite to the successful culmination of this alliance was moderate and respectable conduct by Communist Parties in the West. Thus as early as 1937, the American CP was loudly proclaiming its opposition to "unauthorized" strikes which were detrimental to the "national interest". Shortly thereafter, the CP opened a campaign in the CIO to gain support for Franklin Roosevelt's third term.

The signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact changed this. The Pact was a mutual non-aggression treaty designed to give Hitler a free hand with his western opponents while protecting his eastern flank and which ratified the division of Poland between Russia and Germany. In accordance with this new development, the line of the CP took the required turn. Even though the CP never publicly renounced their support of FDR, they now loudly opposed American entrance into the war on the side of the Allies. The new propaganda was anti-war, anti-militarist, and pro-class struggle. "The Yanks are not coming," was the CP watchword.

The Hitler-Stalin Pact was to last less than two years, and was broken in 1941 by the German invasion of Russia. Now at war with the Axis Powers, Russia was thrust into the camp of the Allies. This new turn in the world necessitated a change of course for those Communist Parties in countries which, until yesterday, had been lined up against Russia, but now found themselves on the same side in the war. Formerly opposing intervention in the war, all of these adjunct Parties rushed to support their own national war effort.

Obediently, the American CP changed camps. The Party had been against American entrance to the war only for the brief interval of the Hitler-Stalin Pact. Now it found itself back in familiar territory, and the most vociferous of interventionists. Patriotism became the new order of the day, and the Party rivaled the Ameri-

can Legion in waving the flag.

The logic of this position finally led to the dissolution of the Communist International in 1943. In this country, a burst of enthusiasm for capitalism saw the Young Communist League subsumed into a student front group, and the CP itself was reorganized as a "political association". These actions were taken to strengthen the alliance between the USSR, Great Britain, and the United States.

"Equality of Sacrifice"

Within the UE, 1941 and the invasion of Russia coincided with the election of Fitzgerald as union president, signalling the assumption of complete control over the union by the Stalinist faction. The UE having become a pliant tool in the hands of Matles and Emspak, the official leadership played its role in support of the war by issuing pleas for "national unity," and "equality of sacrifice" between worker and capitalist in the war effort.

Workers were to give up the right to strike, thereby losing the only means by which they could defend their standard of living. Capitalists, on the other hand, were to make the "sacrifice" of converting from peace production, which had ceased to be lucrative during the Depression, to war production and astronomical profits. UE officials claimed "equality of sacrifice" was a burden imposed on all by the necessary tribulations of the Second World War.

These arguments provided the smokescreen behind which attempts were made to suspend the class struggle for the duration. Strikes hurt the war effort, so the UE bureaucracy signed blanket no-strike pledges with management, and was able to introduce piece-work and "incentive pay". The result was a vicious speed-up of the work process, pitting worker against worker and seriously damaging labor solidarity.

At one point, UE officials urged all workers to make a contribution to the war effort by increasing their productivity 15 per cent. The Matles-Emspak leadership even went so far as to expel UE members who failed to meet war-time production standards, and asked management to lay-off workers for the period of their expulsion.



Cops move against GE strikers in 1946

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Escalate the Strike— Shut Down the War

Jack Bloom

Nixon's arrogant and vicious escalation of the war in South East Asia came at a time when the anti-war movement was in a greater state of disarray than ever before. The April Moratorium demonstrations were disappointingly small after the turn-out in November. The strategy of demonstrations of increased duration with no effort to confront the government with a challenge to its power had proven itself totally ineffective. The Moratorium Committee, recognizing that the movement either had to change the struggle from petitioning to fighting, or to give up, quietly gave up and dissolved itself.

Anti-war sentiment has consistently grown in this country since Lyndon Johnson began the bombing of North Vietnam almost immediately after he took office in 1965. More and more sections of the society have been struggling against their own oppression: blacks, chicanos, students, women, and, increasingly, workers.

Nonetheless, the movement proved itself incapable of linking the deep resentment of the war felt by all these groups to their own particular struggles, to create a unified, cohesive movement capable of bringing about significant change in American society.

The anti-war movement never sought to weld these disparate movements together, into a movement with stable roots in a social base, which could launch a struggle for power. It was incapable of devising a strategy toward that end because it offered no analysis of how the separate crises in American society fit together, of how American foreign policy was rooted in the U. S. social system.

The invasion of Cambodia, the renewed bombing of North Vietnam, and the threat to invade Laos should prove to anyone who still has doubts that the war in South East Asia is not a "tragic blunder" or a "senseless error". It is part of a systematic policy which has given us (to mention only a few): 1957's invasion of Lebanon; 1962's invasion of Cuba; 1965's invasion of the Dominican Republic; support of a fascist and brutally racist regime in South Africa; support of a military take-over in Greece; the whole-sale murder of 300,000 to a million people in Indonesia, done with American arms and ammunition, done under the name of anti-communism.

When Nixon appeared on television to justify the Cambodian invasion, he gave as his reason the fact that he did not wish to preside over the decline of America from a first-rate to a second-rate power. What that pretentious rhetoric really meant is that Nixon refuses to permit U. S. corporations to be kept from exploiting the world's resources and population.

Nixon understands quite clearly that what is involved in Vietnam is the question of whether or not a people struggling for their own liberation can defeat the mighty power of the world's greatest military machine. If the answer is yes - which up to this point it has been - then it will give impetus to such struggles all over the world.

It is only an analysis of the systematic oppression and

exploitation of people around the world and at home that enables people to understand the society in which they live and to devise a strategy to confront it effectively. The leadership of the anti-war movement failed to give this analysis - indeed, fought against it - and so built up a moralistic movement aimed simply at stopping the war. This enabled the movement to be channeled into the Democratic party - the traditional graveyard of protest movements in America.

Negotiations rather than immediate withdrawal was the solution put forward by the anti-war candidates. This, of course, implied that there was something to negotiate about, that the U. S. had a right to be in Vietnam.

As the anti-war movement grew, some called for withdrawal from Vietnam, but made it clear that this was a tactical retreat: we would make our stand in Laos or Thailand or Formosa, instead, maintaining our basic hegemony. It was only the latest massive upsurge that pushed even Democratic party liberals to talk of putting some teeth into their ideas by ending monetary appropriations for the war.

Because as an organized movement, the anti-war forces never sought to counterpose themselves to the Democratic party, they were never able to concretize a struggle against negotiations strategy of the Democratic party liberals. And that meant no strategy directed against the whole thrust of American foreign policy, the permanent arms economy on which it is based, the economic effects of the war on people in this country, or the repression that was necessary to curb the rising protest movements against the war and against the effects of the war felt by blacks, workers, women and others.

In just a few days all of that has been turned around. The invasion of Cambodia has produced a mass movement of enormous proportions. Nixon, of course, knew that there would be protest at home. His comment on television that he was willing to accept it and to be a one-term president was also a warning to the American people: "You can protest all you like. It doesn't matter what you want - there's absolutely nothing you can do about it."

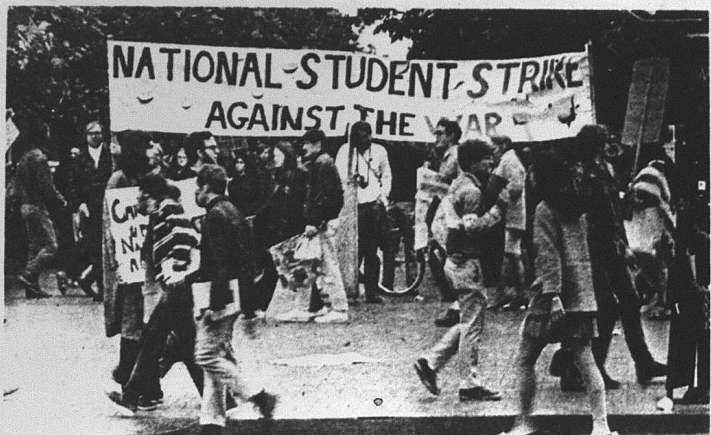
The decision to expand the war was also a decision to increase repression. Nixon's military strategy cannot tolerate a "neutralist" America any more than it tolerated "neutralist" Cambodia. Police and National Guard were deployed all across the country. Four students were murdered at Kent State in an "accident" that was bound to happen when loaded guns were used. It has happened before; it will happen again.

But the breadth and depth of the protest movement has far surpassed anyone's expectations. Schools have closed down all across the country - even extending to such unlikely places as New Mexico and Kentucky. Over 400 colleges and universities at last count have closed down, not to mention junior colleges, high schools, junior highs and grammar schools.

Students, often joined by the faculty and staff of the schools, have not only shut down the schools; they have often taken them over. People have begun to change the institutions that for so long have channeled them and have begun to run them for themselves. If what has been happening in the schools were to happen in the factories it would be called a revolution.

The authorities are powerless; decisions are being made from the bottom; the normal channels are being bypassed. People who have always lived closed-in lives and who

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The New Anti-War Movement and the Working Class

Mike Friedman

Perhaps the healthiest aspect of the mass anti-war upsurge on the nation's campuses is the new realization by thousands of students of the need to broaden the base of the movement. In many places this has taken the form of organized factory leafleting and the beginnings of a real orientation toward the working class as a force for progressive social change.

In Berkeley, this tendency to orient toward workers has been enhanced by two factors. First of all, there is the nature of the struggle itself. Since Governor Reagan closed the universities and state colleges for several days, the students and faculty have been engaged in what amount to occupations of their institutions. At Berkeley, the idea is to "reconstitute" the university as a base for anti-war organizing. Departments are mobilized, buildings are being kept open, university resources are being used to organize for community anti-war work.

In itself, the self-organization of students and faculty to appropriate the institution where they study would raise important social questions concerning property relations. Yet it is the second factor in the Berkeley struggle that brings these questions into focus and offers them up for generalization. The non-academic employees on the campus who constitute the staff of the university have entered the struggle.

AFSCME 1695, the union of clerical, technical and professional employees at the Berkeley campus voted to participate fully in the "reconstitution" of the university. Although the union represents only a minority of employees, the intent is to organize the staff in the departments to take part in the "strike," demanding if necessary full rights within the strike organizations.

The idea of campus workers appropriating the resources and materials of their institution provides a concrete basis for relating to workers off the campus. And it also poses most sharply the questions of property relations and social ownership which define the very basis of our society.

At the well-attended AFSCME meeting which deci-

ded to join the mass movement, a question was raised by a skeptical employee about the propriety of our appropriating the resources (typewriters, paper, computers, etc.) of a "tax-supported" institution. This, she felt, was unjustified, since the university is owned by the public and we, the employees, hadn't the right to take it over.

Of course, the fact is that we are part of the public, we who daily operate the university also help pay the taxes that keep it running. The "public" is a concept used by demagogic politicians to pit one section of the population against another in times of social struggle. Most of the population off the campus is composed of workers like ourselves, and this struggle on the campus gives us a real opportunity to talk to other workers about the need for them to take control of their institutions.

In the meantime, the movement on the campus of faculty and students is by no means free of class bias and elitism. The staff faces a real fight within the "reconstituted" university for full rights of self-determination. In many departments, the faculty and students still treat staff as second-class citizens, who are expected to conduct "business as usual," so that the "struck" departments are maintained for the enlightened fighters for peace who are taking time off. Some faculty members who were not teaching notified the departmental staff to report to work as usual when the campus re-opens.

Even when employees are recognized as participants in the struggle, they are often denied equal rights in the organization of departments. A lot of this discrimination, though an instinctive defense of class privileges within the departments, also is a reflection of male chauvinism, since most of the clerical staff is female. The secretaries are seen as the servants of the movement, but without real self-determination. AFSCME has decided to wage a total fight for full participation and decision-making rights for the staff in the "counter-university."

Although sentiment among students for reaching the working class is stronger than ever, and although campus workers are beginning to move, the political question of how to relate to workers is by no means solved. Within the committees organized to do factory leafleting, differing perspectives are being fought out on a political basis. There are still many illusions held by students about the nature of the "outside" community to which they want to relate. Many see workers as just one more group of people to be convinced that the war is bad, along with businessmen, housewives and ministers.

This attitude is reinforced by certain political tendencies such as the Communist Party. A leaflet offered by CPers for factory leafleting suggests the following actions to workers who oppose the war: "Phone, write or wire your city council, congressman, senator, state and international labor organization and demand them to speak out as our representatives. Wear black armbands to work, put a sign in your window... Vote for candidates who have spoken out against the war." In other words, workers are just another batch of people to be fed into the liberal political machines.

It must be the job of activists on the campus, students and campus workers, to go out to the factories and offices with the message of workers' power. Now is the time for workers who are fed up with the war, and with the government that conducts it in the name of lying justifications that change from day to day, to take matters into their own hands. This means organizing on the job where they have real power, and building for job actions such as a work stoppage against the war. These actions could be linked up with demands already being made by militant workers against their bosses over the concrete effects of the war, such as inflation.

The construction workers in New York who roughed up anti-war demonstrators may have thought they were defending something real (although there is evidence they were offered bonuses by their employers for "breaking heads"). Yet, who will be their allies when they are forced into struggle against Nixon and the construction industry? On which side will they find the great patriots and "fighters for democracy in Southeast Asia"? These workers, too, will have to be won to the side of the movement - not by moral appeals, but in the course of common struggle.

In the meantime, Teamsters in the Bay Area, who in the past have been the strongest supporters of the San Francisco Tactical Squad now are looking more sympathetically upon students after having confronted the police forces during recent militant strike activities. The signs of ambivalence still remain: one Teamster was quoted as saying, "now I know why they call them pigs, but also said the police should be over at the campus "where the trouble really is". On the other hand, another Teamster, speaking for a group of fellow workers in a TV interview, said, "If the labor movement gets together with those college students, this country is going to come to a crushing halt."

Support the Rank and File

It is the job of anti-war activists, radicals and revolutionaries to point out to workers who have been involved in militant struggles (and their numbers are increasing daily) the real connections between the war and their own grievances. We must work on a consistent basis to support militant rank-and-file strikes when they occur. In the next few weeks, we'll be seeing walkouts by Telephone workers, postal employees, longshoremen and others who are fighting back against inflation and corporate arrogance. In addition, there may be work stoppages against the war, organized by unions such as the United Auto Workers.

Those who consider themselves part of the serious anti-war movement must begin to address themselves to the most powerful social force in this society. The working class, female and male, black and white - when conscious and organized - not only can bring this war to a halt, but can reorganize this society on a non-exploitative, humane and democratic basis.



LNS

The War Comes Home

INTERVIEW WITH A PROFESSOR AT KENT STATE

IS: What kind of school is Kent State; where do most of its students come from?

A: Kent is a conservative campus of about 1500 students located in Northeast Ohio. Approximately one-third of the students are commuters and almost all of them are from Ohio. Most are what you would call middle-class, although there are some working-class students. There are a few hundred blacks.

Kent is much more conservative than many colleges and there has been very little political activity until the past year. In fact, four years ago at an anti-war demonstration, I had to wear sunglasses so that I wouldn't be easily identified - anti-war sentiment was so unpopular. One of my colleagues once said he could gather more students to go over and fight in Vietnam than the anti-war people could gather for a demonstration, and I refused to bet him on it because I figured he would win!

IS: When did political action start to develop?

A: I guess the first major incident occurred last spring when SDS held demonstrations demanding the end of ROTC and opposing the development of a law enforcement program at Kent. One of the demonstrations was against the Oakland Police from California coming to Kent to recruit. There were scuffles with the police, a lot of arrests, and many students were suspended from school. But activity died down after that until this fall.

IS: What happened then?

A: On October 15, several thousands participated in Moratorium demonstrations. A UAW official gave a very rousing anti-war speech which really excited the students. A lot of people, including myself, hoped that this was the beginning of cooperation between the students and the workers - with a force like that demanding the end of the war, it would have to end.

IS: Can you tell us about the recent outbreak that led to the calling of the National Guard?

A: The basic impetus came from the expansion of the war in Cambodia. There were a few other things in the background, however. There had been a walk-out of black students, who were at first suspended and finally granted amnesty. A small group of supporters had to undergo disciplinary hearings which were closed. About a hundred students gathered outside demanding that the hearings be opened, the police were called, and about 60 arrests were made.

Police Harassment

Some of these people, after being released on bail, were immediately arrested again on new charges. People were very resentful of the police harassment that went on at this time. Even the official student leaders who are extremely conservative wanted to set up a committee to see that student rights were protected.

IS: When did demonstrations begin?

A: On Friday night, without any explanation, a curfew was imposed on the downtown area. In response, the kids spontaneously began to break the windows of banks and some local businesses on the main street. On Saturday at the request of the mayor, Governor Rhodes called in the National Guard to the city. That night, one of the ROTC buildings was burned down, after which the National Guard moved onto the campus.

IS: Did people try to talk to the National Guard?

A: Yes, but it was almost impossible to do so. Attempts were made to contact guardsmen, but they had their bayonets drawn, and students were chased by some of them and hit in the back with rifle butts. One student was bayoneted. It was difficult for students even to move on campus; any gathering was heavily gassed.

On Monday, word spread that there was to be a noon demonstration in the commons against the war in Cambodia. In the meantime, more guardsmen were called onto campus. They took over the whole gym and set up tents on the athletic field, which was located where everyone coming onto campus could see them.

The university officials had refused to call off classes - the governor wanted them to continue.

IS: What happened at the demonstration?

A: The rally was relatively peaceful. The guard order-



Kent State . . . William Schroeder, 19, shot on campus, died in hospital

ed the crowd to disperse, they refused, and tear gas was fired. The students, who numbered about 100, retreated up a hill and were followed by about fifty Guardsmen with their bayonets drawn. At this time there were a few stones thrown at the troops. Then it looked as if the Guard were walking away, when suddenly about a dozen of them turned around in unison, knelt down, and fired into the crowd.

No Warning

IS: Was any warning given?

A: No there was no warning at all. At first, many students thought the shots were blanks, because no one realized the Guard was carrying loaded guns. Even the president of the university claims he didn't know the guns were loaded. Four students were killed - three were dead on arrival at the hospital. Three more were in critical condition, although they are getting somewhat better; one student is almost completely paralyzed. Many more had minor wounds.

One local radio station, right after the incident took place, announced that two National Guardsmen had been killed and one student. This got out over the wire services and played a role both in arousing the townspeople and in keeping the students quiet by concealing the fact that four students and only students had, in fact, been killed.

IS: Has any evidence been presented for the charge that there was a sniper who fired at the Guards?

A: There have been various conflicting reports on this story about a sniper. The whole idea is preposterous; the sniper was supposed to have been in a building - if a shot came from above, you wouldn't turn around and fire at students on the ground. After the students were fired upon, no effort was made to get into the building. In fact, the Guardsmen walked away afterwards and didn't even call for ambulances - the students did that. All the students there, and even some lower-level university officials, said that they did not see or hear a sniper.

There was a helicopter circling overhead which had sent three guardsmen to search one building. But very indication is that a sniper was extremely unlikely - no one heard anything, there were no volleys of shots. Actually most people thought the rally was over. One of the girls killed had looked out of a building, saw the Guard was leaving, and walked outside to go to her next class.

A friend of mine who works on campus said it appeared that the Guard deliberately charged the kids, and this has been confirmed by other eye-witness reports. She pointed out that when an ambulance finally did arrive, it went over to where the National Guard were standing

with two stretchers covered with blankets. She had assumed that someone there was hurt, but when they took the blankets off, there were tear gas canisters on the stretchers.

The Guardsmen are very young and most of them were both exhausted and terrified. They are very inexperienced and untrained and tend to handle any incident by drawing their guns. A student who used to live in an off-campus apartment is now staying with us and is avoiding going out because of the harassment. Even if you are out during non-curfew hours, if you have a beard, long hair, or an old rusty car, you'll be stopped.

IS: What was the immediate reaction in Kent?

A: Well, as I said before, there was a local radio station which kept repeating over and over that two guardsmen had been killed. They stated repeatedly that their news was carefully screened and had official approval, and of course, everyone kept listening to local news in order to find out what had happened. The whole city was cut off, people couldn't travel at all - our children were kept at school and we had no idea when they would be coming home. All the university phones were cut off - no calls could go in or out.

The city's only newspaper, which is owned by the Chairman of the Board of Trustees at Kent, had the headline that evening: "Two Guardsmen, One Student Dead in KSU Violence". All these people were taken to local hospitals and it would have been a simple matter to check.

IS: Then you think there was a deliberate attempt to cover up what had happened?

A: Yes. There was one Guardsman who had fainted before the whole incident and he was listed as being among the wounded.

Also, I didn't mention that one TV newscaster here pointed out that one individual identified as a police photographer was with the group of students and that he was carrying a gun with him from which four bullets were fired. There is a possibility that if any shots were actually fired in advance, they came from this police photographer. This individual is a law enforcement major at the university, and when he testified before the Security Commission on campus, he spoke of the demonstrators as animals.

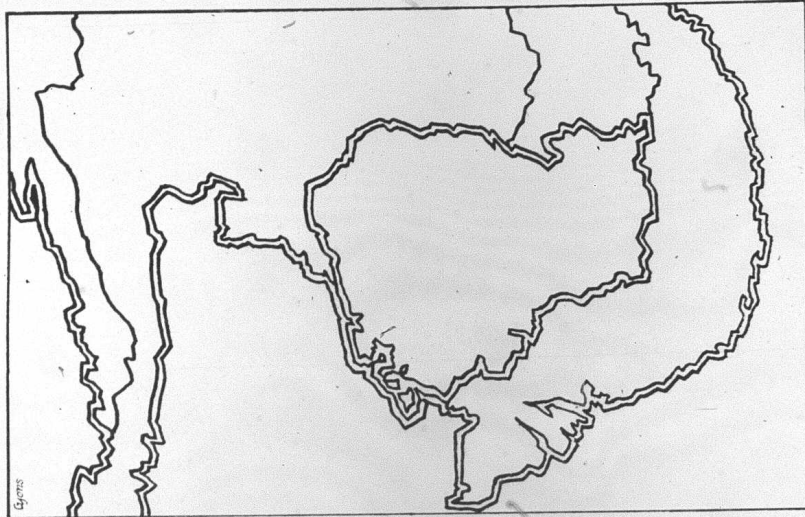
IS: I know that all the students have been told to leave and that all the dormitory students have been sent home. What is happening now among those remaining and among the rest of the people in Kent?

A: It is hard to tell if classes are going to resume. The head of the Board of Regents in Ohio wants to have classes again - he thinks it will be a big victory for the anti-war movement. The students who remain in town are constantly harassed, they're stopped on the

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Anatomy of an Invasion

Kevin Bradley Kit Lyons



Richard Nixon's stated pretext for his invasion of Cambodia was a desire to safeguard American troops - "during the period of withdrawal" - by cleaning out the Cambodian sanctuaries of the NLF. Nobody took this argument very seriously.

The NLF has plenty of sanctuaries in Vietnam itself which the US has never been able to clean out. If the Cambodian sanctuaries represented such a threat, why hadn't the US attacked them before? And in any case, the NLF has never shown any desire to interfere with a genuine US withdrawal.

A few days after the invasion, Secretary of Defense Laird came closer to revealing the truth. It was not the sanctuaries, he said, but "international policy considerations that have been involved. The political situation changed and this opportunity was presented." Later in the same press conference, he repeated his remark: "We did not ever have the political opportunity that we have now." (San Francisco Chronicle, May 7, 1970)

To understand exactly what opportunity he was talking about, it is necessary to review the overall situation in Southeast Asia prior to the US invasion.

Stalemate

Until the day the Sihanouk regime in Cambodia was overthrown, there was a stalemate in the war. The NLF has won the Vietnamese people; in a very real sense, it is the de facto government of the vast majority of the people of Vietnam. Nevertheless, the US is still there - barricaded in the cities and in its fortified enclaves, isolated from most of the countryside, hated by almost all - and yet its bombers are free to devastate the nation at will. The US cannot win, but the NLF cannot, by itself, expel the US either.

This military stalemate has been reflected in the deadlock at Paris (illustrating the basic bankruptcy of the contention that negotiations in and of themselves could end the war - independently of a resolution of the conflict in the field or a settlement imposed by the imperialist powers).

The US government can hardly tolerate a clear-cut defeat. There is more than a kernel of truth to the famous "domino theory." A victory for the Vietnamese people would encourage other national liberation movements, not just in Southeast Asia but around the world. The credibility of the US's hegemony over the underdeveloped world would be severely compromised. US imperialism would receive a major setback.

At the same time, the strength of the US opposition at home has tied the hands of Nixon and the generals. A wholesale escalation to win the war simply by atomizing Vietnam has been ruled out by the anti-war move-

ment - which, while not strong enough to bring the war to an end, has been disruptive enough to make the government think twice about an uncamouflaged escalation.

Nixon's strategy of "Vietnamization" has amounted to a kind of holding action, not a de-escalation. It has meant a shift in the forms and focus of the war, not a genuine withdrawal: a limited replacement of US ground troops by ARVN forces; a pull-back into enclaves, with a greatly increased tempo of bombing inside South Vietnam replacing the search-and-destroy missions; a re-routing of the B-52's from North Vietnam to Laos.

Holding Action

"Vietnamization" bought Nixon some of the time he wanted; after almost a decade of war and with the anti-war movement at an impasse, large numbers of people were willing to grasp at a straw - they took Nixon at his word and hoped against hope that a withdrawal was really in progress. "Vietnamization" helped keep people quiet, but, on the other hand, it offered Nixon only limited room for maneuver; he could not break the stalemate, and popular patience inevitably would wear thin, later if not sooner.

In this context, the overthrow of Cambodia's Norodom Sihanouk (the "Progressive Prince") - whether organized by the CIA or not - was seen by the US military and the Nixon Administration as presenting a "golden opportunity" to demoralize the NLF.

Sihanouk himself - a man feted in Moscow, Peking and Hanoi who remained a good "personal friend" of Democratic Senator Mansfield and other US notables - was a King, put into power by French imperialism in 1941, over the head of some royal relatives. What Sihanouk called "Royal Socialism" everyone else calls "absolute monarchy".

All the elected members of Cambodia's National Assembly were members of the Prince's Party. A few years ago, he allowed all parties to run in an election and then jailed all the Communists who were elected. His power was based on the landlord class (including the French rubber planters).

The giant landowners, several of them Sihanouk's relatives, keep the Cambodian peasants in grueling poverty - and the King was perfectly willing to bomb rebellious peasant villages and then send in his army to burn them down.

However, Sihanouk made keeping Cambodia out of the war the focus of his career. This he did by courting both the capitalist and bureaucratic "Communist" blocs, trying to play both sides against each other.

While Sihanouk was in power, he allowed the NLF sizeable military sanctuaries along the border of South Vietnam, where after a raid they could rest and recuperate,

relatively free from attack since the US was restrained by the pressures at home and on the world scene from attacking a neutral country.

This did not mean, of course, that the US refrained from bombing the sanctuaries from the air. Saturation bombing raids were repeatedly directed against the suspected sites of the sanctuaries. But, as has been demonstrated on many occasions, even saturation bombing of an unmarked jungle has only limited effectiveness.

Sihanoukville

More important to the NLF than the sanctuaries, perhaps, was the role played by the port of Sihanoukville. The Cambodian Haiphong, this port, 150 miles from the west of the frontier, is the major entry point for Russian and Chinese weapons. These come by sea and are transported across Cambodia, thus supplying the Southern part of South Vietnam with arms for the NLF. No amount of bombing of the Ho Chi Minh trail could halt this flow of arms through neutral Cambodia.

Thus, when Sihanouk was overthrown by his own generals, the NLF had to respond. The new regime of Lon Nol said the coup had been organized because Sihanouk was giving too much leeway to the Communists inside Cambodia. It began negotiations with the NLF about withdrawal of their troops from Cambodian territory. It called for US aid to beef up its army, and (despite the fact many of the very generals who made the coup d'etat had earlier opened up warehouses in Sihanoukville to profit from the trade in arms) threatened under US pressure to close the port.

It seems likely that the NLF drive toward Phnom Penh, the Cambodian capital, was only designed to restore the status quo, the Sihanouk regime. The Cambodian counterparts of the NLF, the Khmer Rouge, are very small, and given the antipathy between the Cambodians and the Vietnamese, it is doubtful that the NLF could use its own cadres to carry out a social transformation in Cambodia.

Also, the Pathet Lao in Laos has held back from a push toward total victory, despite the fact that most observers have been convinced that it could take control of the Northern part of the country from the CIA's "Royal Laotian Army" at any time. The NLF and the North Vietnamese have apparently made a conscious effort to avoid giving the United States any pretext for further escalation.

A Sihanouk put back into power by the NLF and the North Vietnamese would be more dependent on them than ever before. But this does not mean that landlords would be expropriated, the French plantation owners driven out, businesses nationalized, etc. Cambodia would remain a capitalist country with feudal flavoring - but firmly allied to the NLF and North Vietnam.

Golden Opportunity

So far as the US was concerned, the overthrow of Sihanouk in itself was seen as an important victory. Conversely, a Sihanouk return to power on the shoulders of the NLF would have represented a big defeat - especially since most of the world has assumed that the US underdrew the Lon Nol coup.

Not surprisingly, then, reports allege that Nixon initially was willing to trade the Cambodian sanctuaries for the regime of Lon Nol. According to Stuart Lory, a Washington correspondent for the Times Post News Service:

"After the downfall of Prince Norodom Sihanouk as Cambodian chief of state, Mr. Nixon had sent word secretly to Hanoi through several channels that he would respect the Cambodian sanctuaries in which the enemy garrisoned 40,000 troops if they would make no effort to move out of the havens and threaten Cambodia."

Nixon's protestations to the contrary, there seems no reason to challenge the obvious assumption that the immediate precipitant of the US invasion of Cambodia was the fact that NLF and North Vietnamese troops had moved to within 15 miles of Phnom Penh. The ludicrous and necessarily futile search for a secret Viet Cong head-

quarters - abruptly abandoned after the first few days - was no more than a feeble cover for the US effort to prop up the tottering rule of the Generals. The more recent convoy up the Mekong River has brought that attempt wholly out into the open.

However, it also seems clear that Nixon and the Joint Chiefs have much more on their minds than simply the safety of their two-bit Cambodian puppets. What they had in mind was an American Tet. This was the "opportunity" which they believed that the coup and the NLF response to it presented.

What Nixon and his advisors envisioned was a swift, showy victory, to galvanize some real support at home and demoralize the NLF. He hoped that by destroying the Cambodian sanctuaries and cutting off the supply of arms from Sihanoukville, he could throw the NLF off balance and shift the stalemate in the direction of a much stronger US position - if nothing else, paving the way for a negotiated settlement on much more favorable terms.

As Nixon himself said, in answer to charges that every previous escalation had also been intended to shorten the war, the difference between his escalation and those of Kennedy and Johnson was that his was more audacious and dramatic. The Cambodian invasion was to be the pay-off of the "Vietnamization" holding action, the new departure he had bought time for.

"Dare to struggle, dare to win," one can almost imagine the President whispering to himself. "Seize the time."

An American Tet

As the invasion proceeded, of course, it was not the NLF that was demoralized, but the US troops and the American people. The NLF has simply pulled back, harassing and sniping at the vanguard of the invasion, but taking no real losses. US public relations officers have scraped up some supply dumps to boast about, but no one has been listening. In military terms, the invasion has almost been a farce.

It is the anti-war movement which has undergone a massive and dramatic escalation. The very people who had accepted Nixon's word when he said he was trying to end the war now turned against him doubly enraged. Nixon's histrionics about becoming a one-term president may well turn out to have been prophetic, but, much more importantly, the focus of the movement has expanded well beyond the particular question of the future of the Nixon Administration.

The tide of rage that has swept back and forth across the country in the wake of Cambodia and Kent State has washed the myth of the "silent majority" into the gutter of history. If the new upsurge of the anti-war movement can be sustained, if the 400-odd campuses that have been closed by strikes can be used to extend the movement into the community and sink roots in the working class, the Nixon invasion of Cambodia may indeed have been a turning point.

In a real sense, the explosive popular response to the invasion of Cambodia may prove to be an American Tet - a precedent-setting victory for the American people.

Democratic Party Politics:

A Long Road to a Dead End

Walt Castle

This is the birth of our power. For the first time in the history of the United States, students have forced a governmental crisis. The administration in Washington can no longer maintain its war policy abroad and peace at home; the myth of its consensus is broken, the small minority of dissenters has become an army.

This is an army that goes beyond letters to its congressmen, marches in the streets, demonstrations at Federal buildings. It is a movement that refuses to be halted by miserable concessions of verbal rhetoric by the President, or by the bullets of that President's soldiers.

We have reached the servicemen in the armed forces, and wreaked havoc with the loyalty and functioning of the army. Washington has shown its hypocrisy and we have shown our strength. We are growing every day. We are reaching out to other segments of the society whom we have never reached before. We finally have our first real chance to reach working people across the country.

Moreover, we have organized this movement on our own. No politician, no university administrator, no damagogue organized it for us. And yet, tragically, prominent professors, national student leaders, and others have already taken up the old refrain about channeling their efforts into supporting Democrats in the coming Congressional elections, about subordinating the anti-war movement to Democratic party liberals who will vote against war appropriations, against this and that aspect of the war.

The Secretary of the Interior, Hickel, speaking from a Republican standpoint, has even accused the President of forcing an entire generation into the hands of the Democratic party. It would be a horror if this were true.

However well-intentioned these pro-Democratic Party strategists may be, they are leading us down a long, well-traveled road to a dead end. The problem we face is not one of an individual evil man (Nixon) or a particular evil party (the Republican Party), but rather of a whole social system that has made war not just in Vietnam and Cambodia, in Laos and in Thailand, but in Bolivia and Guatemala, in the Dominican Republic and in Cuba.

The problem is that the United States government is engaged in a world-wide struggle to dominate the underdeveloped countries and arbitrate the fate of all mankind. There is method in the U.S. madness of world oppression. That method is this. The United States is the bastion of world capitalism. It does not matter to it if it has little concrete economic interests in a particular country, if its geographical boundaries are not under attack. It is its social hegemony that is threatened.

The American government in general, and the Democratic and Republican parties in particular, are committed to the maintenance of capitalism as a social system, of a society and an economy geared for exploitation, for production for profit, not human needs. Their day-to-day functioning is the solving of the various problems this social system faces, of containing foreign and domestic opposition to it.

The Alliance for Progress, the Peace Corps, and for-

eign aid - no less than the war in Vietnam - are all ways of maintaining that system on a world scale. Every administration in the last thirty years has come into conflict with the desires of the peoples of the world for freedom, regardless of the expressed desires or wishes of the politicians or parties in office. They were all bound by an ideological and institutional loyalty to a system whose long-run interest was inimical to the advancement of the rest of the world.

The Democratic Party - even more than the Republican, because people, especially working people, have more illusions about it - is the chosen political instrument of the ruling class that runs American capitalism. A vast vote-gathering machine, it is no more controlled by its "members" - i.e., people who vote Democratic - than the army is controlled by the troops.

The Democratic Party apparatus is wholly owned and controlled by business, agribusiness, real estate, financial and military interests. The whole role of Democratic Party liberals is not to challenge that apparatus but to suck people into it, to maintain the illusion that real change can be brought about through the institutions of the establishment.

This war will not be ended by electing "good" men to office, because defeat is not in the interests of those who control the Democratic Party. The war will be ended only when this society is so disrupted by the American people that the social costs of waging the war become higher than the costs of losing it.

The current drive to channel protest into electoral politics within the Democratic party works to dissolve our movement into the institution that created the war in the first place. If we recognize that the social system must be fundamentally altered, indeed, overturned by our own independent efforts, then we must also realize that such a transformation can only be carried out outside of the boundaries of the Democratic Party.

Concretely, the cost of success in the Democratic party is too high. The cost of "success" is failure. The cost of success, that is, of election, is the reduction of our program, of our opposition, to limits acceptable to the system of which that party is a part. If you refuse to abandon your program, you cannot "get anywhere" inside that party.

If our strength is sufficient to move this government, then it is sufficient to do it on our own (and only on our own) and to do it without destroying the content of our opposition, our intent to totally dismantle this system and build it anew, so that no more Vietnams occur, so that the people of the world will be able to make their freedom in their own way.

We have learned one vital lesson. The only way of influencing this system, of bringing any effective change about, is through people in motion. Our goal must not be to lead them into the passive pastures of the Democratic party.

If we are to restructure America from below, we must change the consciousness of the American people. The road to that change must be a road away from every dead institution, every dead-end channel that has blocked us heretofore, must mean bringing people out of the present rut of their lives, into the freedom-giving existence of their own independent activity.

i.s.

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Women and the War

Lois Weiner

The new escalation of the war in Southeast Asia is not only an intensification of American imperialism abroad, but also an attack on the working class at home. It is working people who will pay for the corporations' war through higher taxes, exorbitant inflation, speed-ups, and layoffs. And women workers, who hold the lowest-paying jobs, usually in non-union service and clerical fields, will pay even more.

What the war economy means to women workers who on the average bring home paychecks 40% smaller than those of men is that they will be forced to stretch their already small earnings to cover rising living costs as well as soaring child-care and maternity expenses.

The myth that women shouldn't work outside the home and aren't capable of doing the same work as men allows big business to doubly exploit women. First women are paid less for the same work which men do (or shoved into lower-paying positions); second they are forced to use a substantial part of their meager wages for vital services, like childcare, which the employer should provide.

Most women work because they must. Almost half support a household alone, and most of the others work because their husbands' earnings can't be stretched to pay for necessities. Moreover, when women work outside the home they're actually holding down two jobs at once, both of them usually menial - i.e., managing their own homes, and working for someone else from nine to five.

The war economy means an added strain to women, who do the buying for the family, for now the task of making ends meet is even harder. Financial tensions in working class families fall most heavily on the women and make their job of holding the family together even more burdensome.

Students are beginning to realize that it is the working class who can finally shut the society down and end the war and war economy. And women workers, who dominate the work force in certain crucial sectors of the economy, such as clerks in banks, telephone operators, and workers in the electronics industry, can play an important part in the struggle to end the war. Student strikes can hurt the universities, but only the campus employees, the vast majority of them women in poorly-paying clerical positions, can totally shut them down.

Women's Liberation must direct itself to women workers, to mobilize them into struggle against the system which denies all women the opportunity to fulfill themselves as human beings, exploiting their labor to pay for a brutal war in Southeast Asia. By struggling against capitalism Women's Liberation can help defeat the system which oppresses women, Vietnamese and other Third World peoples, both home and abroad. By directing the movement to working women and mobilizing them to fight for their social and economic liberation, we can help shut down and crush the system which is waging imperialist war.

The way to support other revolutionary movements is not by dissolving our struggle into theirs, but by building a revolutionary movement of working women here. Only women will raise and struggle for women's demands, and we must not subordinate that struggle to others. A revolutionary socialist women's movement based on its own demands will aid all liberation struggles.

STRIKE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

had no vision of anything different began to stand up and feel free. That, of course, is what a revolution is all about.

But, it is a circumscribed sense of freedom, and everyone knows it. It is circumscribed because so long as the schools remain isolated in their protests, the freedom is only temporary and the protest is doomed to be ineffective. Students all over have realized this, and have begun to use their schools as a base to reach out into the society-at-large.

Offices have been turned into bases of operation. Typewriters are used to type up leaflets; mimeograph machines to print them, using office paper. Rooms are used for committee meetings; larger rooms for mass meetings where democratic decisions are made.

It was because of all this that Reagan closed all the state colleges and universities in California and that governors and administrators nationwide have closed down their campuses. The takeover of schools and, in some cases such as in Berkeley, the decision to run them democratically - one man, one vote, students, faculty and staff - plus the effort to reach out into the surrounding community, was a threat to constituted authority. So, schools were closed in hopes of dissipating the movement.

But it has not dissipated; it continues to grow because, for the first time in decades in American history, people have some sense that by their united action, they can exercise some political control. In most places students have recognized the necessity of continuing the struggle and of continuing to reach out. The question is how, and to whom?

Classes in the schools must be kept from continuing for the rest of the year. The perspective, however, should be not to close down the campuses, but to open them up. Liberation classes should be set up to teach people about the war, imperialism, capitalism; the oppression of women, blacks, chicanos, Asians, Indians and workers; what a human socialist society would look like, how it could be attained, and so on. People from the outside should be invited to these classes, and some should be held at night so working people could attend them if they choose.

Meetings should continue to be held where basic political decisions could be made about the direction of the movement, and leadership should be elected, subject to immediate recall, to implement the decisions.

Moreover, the strike should be spread to other campuses and to the community. The question has already arisen, where in the community to go? A variety of answers have been given: churches, businessmen, workers, etc. Each is seen as equally good as any other. But, in fact, as some sections of the movement are beginning to recognize, the place to turn for allies in the struggle to make significant changes is toward the working class.

It is working people who have had to face most di-

rectly the effects of the war: runaway inflation has forced workers' real wages down by 1.4% since 1965, while corporate profits have increased by 4.4% (after taxes and inflation) in the same period; Speed-up in the plants, an attempt to get more work out of the same people, has often been at the expense of their health, not to mention their nerves. Deteriorating safety conditions present them with constant danger to life and limb.

The rate of inflation - result of the war - threatens to weaken America's competitive position on the world market, forcing U.S. corporations to lose customers abroad and at home. Consequently, inflation has to be slowed down. Any effort to do so must involve either an attack on prices (and profits), or on wages. Nixon has chosen the latter, and is trying to force down workers' living standards in several ways. The tax burden has been steadily shifted onto workers. Now with the new drive into Cambodia, the government is talking about a new tax boost. Needless to say, it will not be directed at the corporations.

Nixon's artificial recession is planned to throw some workers out of work and onto welfare, and to weaken the bargaining position, and so drive down the wages, of the others. The cutback in construction not only increases unemployment, but it also drives up the cost of buying or renting a house or apartment.

These actions are taken rather than freezing prices for the same reason that this country is embroiled in Southeast Asia: the corporations control the government and use it to maintain their profits and control over people abroad and at home.

These factors lie behind the working class explosion of this year: the GE strike, the San Francisco city workers' strike, the postal workers' strike and the Teamsters' strike, to mention only the more important ones. It is not wild-eyed dreaming to turn to workers; many of them deeply dislike the war, just as do students, and many more of them dislike what the war is doing to their standard of living.

In addition, workers are not simply another large mass of people. They have a strategic power by virtue of the position they occupy in society. They make the society run; they can stop it from running. The example of struggle and united action has been given by students who have begun to wring some small concessions from the government. The workers can see that; what they must be made to see is their much greater potential power.

Already workers have begun to move: on Friday, the UAW called a one-day work stoppage in Boston; on the same day Teamsters shut down Oakland. On Saturday the Teamster strike spread to San Francisco and San Jose; UAW and Western Electric workers in New York walked out - others are expected to follow suit. The California Nurses Association voted to go out, as did the postal workers in New York. There is much talk of new strikes building all over the country.

Many of these strikes are not explicitly anti-war; they are in opposition to the felt effects of the war. What is undeniable, however, is the fact that workers are struggling and that their struggle is coming to a head now. The anti-war movement can link its struggle to theirs. To do so, a program and an analysis must be projected that relates the war and its causes to the oppression and exploitation of working people. We have the opportunity now to build the kind of mass movement that can really bring this war to an end. That opportunity must not be lost.

NO MORE WORK! NO MORE WAR! THIS SOCIETY MUST NOT RUN AS LONG AS THE WAR GOES ON!

KENT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

street, their houses are broken into; if they're on their front porch during curfew hours, they're told to go inside or be arrested for curfew violation.

IS: There's been no possibility for a public meeting then?

A: No.

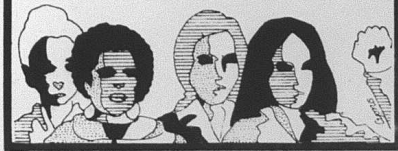
IS: Do you think there will be a movement for a student strike if they attempt to reopen school?

A: University officials are trying very hard to prevent that. The faculty came out with a resolution after the killings saying that they would not go back to classes

unless the National Guard was gone and it was safe to go back on campus. The Guard is gone, but I don't think it is safe to go back on campus - the prosecuting attorney will call in police if someone sneezes. They are trying to have a controlled faculty meeting excluding teaching fellows and research fellows who had spoken up strongly previously.

Student government leaders are completely delinquent: the only thing they have done was to issue a statement asking that any information about participants in the demonstration should be reported to the police. Many students who would act won't be allowed by their parents to come back. I anticipate that if classes do resume, an attempt will be made to bar all types of political activity.

The incident did radicalize the campus. It grew from a demonstration of a few hundred students to an issue that involved everyone, especially since the people killed were not participating. It forced the students to recognize certain things about the leadership of this country and the laws.

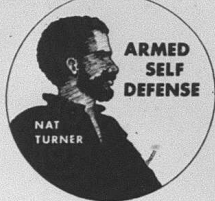


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program in brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Based 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.

Violence and Social Change

Dick Arneson

The shooting of four Kent State students by National Guardsmen last week, together with the often combative demonstrations staged across the country in response to the invasion of Cambodia, poses sharply the question: does violence help or hinder movements of protest politics?

When people express skepticism about the efficacy of violence in promoting social change, the image of violence that is usually foremost in their minds is that of individual acts of terrorism or sabotage. Terrorism as a political strategy has been much in vogue lately among would-be radicals. In Berkeley over the past three years, more than a hundred power-line blowups and similar acts have been attributed to, and sometimes even claimed by, radicals. The Weatherman bombings in New York City a few months ago dramatized the attractiveness of terrorism to some elements in the New Left.

Terrorism--hysteria-creating acts of violence carried out by individuals in isolation from any mass movement--expresses the politics of frustration. It's no accident that the ideology of terrorism--first discredited more than 50 years ago--has been resurrected in this country at a time when the anti-war movement was faltering, the student movement seemed to be heading into a dead end, and prospects for building a mass radical movement in this country appeared (to more pessimistic activists) to be virtually nil. Terrorism is the last resort of those who see no way of altering for the better a society they correctly perceive to be in crisis.

A chief stumbling block preventing the growth of mass movements is the conviction of ordinary people that no matter how bad things are, there is no way that they can improve their condition by their own self-activity. This conviction of powerlessness is inculcated by capitalist society, reinforced by the schools, the media, and the job environment. For its own protection, capitalism attempts to instill in the vast majority of people a sense of docility and passivity. For example, electoral politics is structured in such a way as to induce the populace to rely on charismatic heroes, rather than their own initiative, for the solution of social problems.

Terrorist acts carried out by individuals as a substitute for mass action reinforce people's feelings of impotence. The political message conveyed by such acts is: don't struggle for yourselves, struggle vicariously by identifying with this heroic individual act. But vicarious struggle is just a euphemism for not struggling at all. That's why Lenin always referred contemptuously to terrorists as "liberals with bombs."

Terrorist acts express liberal politics in another sense as well. Individual acts of violence against the authorities say, in effect, that the trouble with the world is that bad guys are in power, and must be deposed. After a police-station bombing in San Francisco killed several policemen, an underground newspaper interviewed people in the neighborhood about the bombing. The answers centered on the personal character of the cops who were killed. A typical response was: "The desk sergeant was a good guy, so it was bad karma to bump him off." The bombing diverted attention away from the social role of the police.

In response, Marxists have always pointed out that it is the social system that's the problem, not the individuals who staff that system. If you assassinate the czar, you don't get democracy, you get another czar. If you assassinate Nixon, you get Agnew, and so on.

An even more telling objection to individual acts of frustration is that they presuppose the futility of mass action. The idea lurking behind terrorism is that since there is no chance of winning the vast bulk of the American people to the side of the movement, the only available mode of protest is individual heroism.

Not surprisingly then, the nationwide eruption of protest triggered by the invasion of Cambodia has lessened the political appeal of the ideology of terrorism.

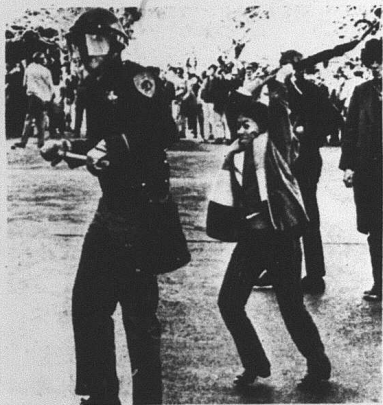
At the other extreme from terrorism, which characteristically glorifies violence in the abstract, is pacifism, which abstractly condemns all forms of violence, irrespective of the social context in which violence occurs.

The absolute rejection of violence as a tactic for the

movement is associated with roughly the following position: violence breeds more violence. Responding in kind to a violent attack leads to a violent counter-attack, and another violent rejoinder in turn. The only way to break that vicious circle is to step outside it by refusing to engage in violence of any kind. Applied to politics, this position entails that the way to create a non-violent society is to build a principled non-violent movement.

The trouble with pacifist theories is that they necessarily fail to explain adequately the causes of violence in the world today. Nothing is explained by saying that violence or aggression is engrained in human nature like some sort of original sin. Violence is rooted in the clash of conflicting social interest. The precondition of a truly non-violent society is the creation of a society that is based on the elimination of the social antagonisms that are the most fundamental causes of social violence.

Meanwhile, back in the world we inhabit today, it is not the case that all men can be won over to progressive ideas through peaceful persuasion as pacifists suppose. The people who control this society have different interests than the rest of us--they have a stake in remaining in power, for instance--and they will use all the violence at their disposal whenever violence is needed to maintain their position at the top of society.



The Vietnam War demonstrates the genocidal steps that America's rulers are willing to take in order to preserve capitalism as a world system. The task of those who desire world peace is to build a movement that can force the ruling class to stop the war and dismantle the imperialist war economy. Any such movement will be attacked by the police forces of the state and to shrink from self-defense and confronting the police is to give up the struggle.

Those who eschew all violence as a tool of the movement fail to discriminate adequately between violence harnessed to a mass movement against oppression and violence employed by those who benefit from that oppression and seek to sustain it. Nobody in his right mind wants peace at any price. One way to obtain a peaceful world would be for everybody who suffers from injustice--from Vietnamese peasants to American workers--to give up struggle and accept an unjust status quo. But such a world, though peaceful, would be a moral nightmare.

The goal of the anti-war movement must be not just peace, but peace-and-freedom. Where violence is necessary in order to defend social movements working towards a truly free and just society, it is immoral to abstain from the use of violence. When the Bolsheviks in 1918 were accused of using the same terrorist methods as the counter-revolution, Trotsky stated this point forcefully:

"The terror of Tsarism was directed against the proletariat. The gendarmerie of Tsarism throttled the workers who were fighting for the socialist order. Our extra-

ordinary commissions shoot landlords, capitalists and generals who are striving to restore the capitalist order. Do you grasp this distinction? Yes? For us communists it is quite sufficient."

Burning a bank is not the same as napalming a Vietnamese village. Trying to disrupt a university or a draft board is not the same as trying to destroy a country or a people. Panthers organizing to liberate black people is not the same as police organizing to annihilate the Panthers. And breaking the windows of an Administration building is not the same as killing or bayoneting demonstrators.

Liberation or Oppression

Organized self-defense or even an aggressive, disruptive demonstration is not terrorism. There is violence and then there is violence. Liberation is not the same as oppression.

Non-violence may often prove to be a useful tactic in many circumstances, particularly where people's understanding of the system they are fighting is confused or where the adoption of militant tactics would yield a military disaster. A non-violent sit-in that galvanizes thousands of people against some evil may be preferable to a combative demonstration that attracts only a few hard-core radicals.

No tactic is sacred and no principle says that a movement must be disruptive at all times. The criterion for deciding what tactic to adopt is simply: will it succeed in building the movement, in raising popular consciousness?

The recent anti-ROTC demonstrations on the Berkeley campus provide a case in point. On April 15, thousands of students staged a militant march against ROTC headquarters and battled the police with rocks for four hours after police attacked with clubs and tear gas to disperse the crowd. However, in subsequent days the demonstrations lost their political focus and almost took on the character of a rumble against the police.

Some vandalism ensued which was not directed at any political target--for example, the breaking of windows at random throughout the campus. This minor vandalism provided the pretext for indiscriminate denunciations of the demonstrations for their "violent" character, and many students were sufficiently confused by these denunciations to abstain from the struggle. The "trashing" of university buildings was politically mistaken precisely because it allowed people to confuse the central question posed by the militant demonstrations: namely, the right of the movement to defend itself from police attack.

When a mass demonstration against ROTC is confronted by the police whose basic social role is to defend institutions like ROTC, the protesters have basically three options: (1) go home; (2) submit passively to arrests and beatings at the hands of the police; or (3) continue the demonstration and defend themselves as best they can from the cops.

Alternative (1) means giving up the struggle. Alternative (2) in effect puts the demonstrators at the mercy of the police and grants the legitimacy of the state's use of police against the movement. Neither is an appropriate response to police violence.

The right of a mass movement for social change to use whatever force is necessary and appropriate in order to achieve its goals is not intuitively obvious to people newly drawn into social struggle. At a mass meeting of 15,000 students, faculty and staff to organize a strike on the Berkeley campus against the invasion of Cambodia, hundreds booed when a speaker suggested that it will be necessary for the movement to fight in order to win the political freedom to organize on the campus against the war.

Very quickly, in the course of the struggle itself, those who hissed will learn that the violence of this society perpetrated at home and abroad arises from its social structure. In order to eliminate violence from this society, it will be necessary for the ordinary people of this society to revolutionize that defective social structure--by any means necessary.

Often workers who were careless enough to voice dissatisfaction with piece work at union meetings were expelled on charges of engaging in a "slow-down".

The UE war policy was made explicit by Harry Bridges, longshore leader and ranking Stalinist spokesman, when in a speech before the San Francisco CIO Council, he said, "To put it bluntly, I mean your unions today must become instruments of speed-up of the working people of America." In a short time, wages in UE-organized plants were among the lowest in the CIO.

Under the influence of round after round of anti-labor measures, profits boomed as never before. The most successful businessmen were able to raise their average after-tax profits 200 to 300 per cent above pre-war levels. Workers' productivity increased during the war by more than 25%, while wages rose less than 1%.

With a government-imposed wage freeze, and inflation induced by the war economy, real wages plummeted downward. Cains fought for and won in the early days of the CIO were lost, sometimes irrevocably. As living standards declined, the number of strikes closely followed profits in an ascending spiral. This new rash of strikes was but a foretaste of the post-war strike wave.

The end of the war was preceded by a wave of wildcat strikes during 1944 and 1945. While the war was still on, workers had to fight not only the government and their employers, but the unabashedly frank alliance with them into which their own unions had entered. Although workers had fought hard to maintain their standard of living during the war, their efforts were hampered by the no-strike pledge, a wage-freeze, and incessant patriotic propaganda in the bourgeois press. The war-time strike wave gave warning that old grievances would soon be settled.

The end of the war brought with it the specter of mass unemployment, thus fueling an already-tense situation. During the less than four months between the surrender of Germany and the surrender of Japan, more than one million workers were laid off. Within a month after the war ended, more than two million additional workers had been forced out of work.

V-J Day swept away the last restraints and ushered in the greatest labor offensive in American history. In the year after the war ended, over five million workers participated in strikes in all major industries. This strike wave came closer to a general strike than anything the US has ever witnessed.

The Communist Party had seriously misjudged the mood of the working class. Even before the war had ended, the *Daily Worker*, organ of the CP, had begun to press for the adoption of a permanent peacetime no-strike pledge. A permanent pledge, so the argument went, would make production continuous and thus ensure a steady wage for all workers.*

This orientation inevitably found repetition within the CIO. Such labor savants as Harry Bridges were quick to pick it up. No less quickly, Albert Fitzgerald, UE president, began arguing for retention of the no-strike pledge after the war. In a 1945 speech before UE members in Minneapolis, subsequently reported in *UE News*, Fitzgerald stated, "As far as I am concerned, the no-strike pledge was not made just for the duration of the war."

Even though they wished to follow their old course, UE officials were subject to the same tensions which beset every other union bureaucracy. Under pressure from the rank and file, UE leaders were forced to adopt at least a verbal militancy. In this atmosphere, union posts could only be retained by acquiescing to the demand for action. In short, leaders could either ride the crest and accede to the strike demand, or be swept out of office.

Open the Books

The strike against General Motors in 1946 was the outstanding strike of this period. In an effort to regain ground lost during the war, the strikers, led by Walter Reuther, demanded that wages be increased without any price increases by the corporation. The workers hoped to raise the level of real wages, and to slow down or stop inflation, which had been playing havoc with their incomes throughout the war. This could only be done if their gains were not eaten up by a new round of price increases set off by GM. When the industrialists complained of their inability to meet this demand, the strikers demanded that GM open the books, and try to prove its case.

The central demands of the GM strike: "Wage increases without price increases," and "Open the books of the corporation," went far beyond the usual strike issues of wages and hours. The strike linked together wages, prices, and profits, challenging traditional methods of industrial decision-making, and questioning the exclusive right of the capitalists to fix the rate of profit.

The logic of these demands went even further. Ulti-

mately, they raised the prospect of the direction of the entire economy by organized labor. If the corporations proved themselves incapable of raising wages without setting off a round of price increases harmful to the entire population, if they were incapable of running the economy without throwing it into chaos, the logic of the strike demanded that the unions call for the nationalization of industry under workers' control.

Although the conservatism of the UAW leadership prevented them from pursuing this logic to its conclusion, the GM strike nonetheless remains the most political strike in the history of the American labor movement. For 113 days, one of the largest of industrial giants was

tract tended to be the basis on which CM and the other employers pressed for an end to the strike. By their actions, UE officials betrayed not only their own membership, but the UAW workers as well.

This attempt to break the GM strike was not an isolated event. During the period of the People's Front, and the Second World War, Stalinists in the CIO had also acted as scabs and strikebreakers. Never breaking with their reactionary, anti-labor policies of the past, the UE leaders simply extended them into the post-war period.

However, the overriding consideration which motivated UE officials was the attitude of the Communist Party



G.E. MACHINE-GUN SHOP AT SPRINGFIELD ARMORY

completely shut down.

The role of UE officialdom in the CM strike was anything but salutary. The GM strike was only one of a number of strikes called in virtually every basic industry. The CIO, however, failed to coordinate these strikes, so that the workers' full power was not applied simultaneously throughout industry. The UE was a prime offender in this regard. The 275,000 UE workers in the electrical industry were scheduled to go out a full two months after the auto workers. The GM strikers were thus allowed to bear the full force of the back-to-work movement initiated by Truman and the bourgeois press.

Betrayal

Even worse, the Matles-Empak leadership refrained from calling out the 30,000 UE workers in the General Motors Electrical Division. These workers were to be called out with the rest of the workers in the electrical industry, two months after auto workers in the same plant had gone out on strike. Even the most elementary considerations of labor solidarity dictated a different course, but UE officials remained adamant even after CIO officials had issued a public strike appeal to the UE workers. Matles and Empak thus prevented the auto workers from applying maximum pressure against GM. These Stalinist officials proved, if nothing else, that they knew how to be first-rate scabs.

Following close on the heels of this betrayal, the UE bureaucracy was to match it with another. CIO leaders at first demanded a 30% increase in wages in each of the strikes in which their unions were involved. Under pressure, this demand was scaled down to a minimum increase of 19 1/2 cents an hour.

In the third month of the GM strike, after electrical workers had been out less than one month, UE officials negotiated a settlement with GM behind the backs of the other strike leaders. James Matles met secretly in Detroit with representatives of General Motors. There he agreed to a wage increase of 18 1/2 cents an hour, a full one cent-an-hour less than the UAW was demanding, thereby accepting a wage increase below even the minimum demand of the strike and far less than the original demand.

The premature UE settlement helped to boost back-to-work pressure, and deprived the auto workers of valuable material aid during the strike. For the second time since they went out, UAW workers were forced to watch as the electrical workers crossed their picket lines and returned to work. In addition, the Matles settlement cut the ground from under the other striking unions, since their new con-

tract tended to be the basis on which CM and the other employers pressed for an end to the strike. By their actions, UE officials betrayed not only their own membership, but the UAW workers as well.

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completely shut down.

The striking thing about UE's conduct in the GM strike is that it occurred several months after the CP's highly advertised, post-war "left turn". It occurred after Earl Browder, national secretary since 1929, had been expelled for leading the Party on a "revisionist" course - after a new program had been adopted which promised a return to "Marxism-Leninism" and "militant struggle" in the workers' interests.

Despite its blatantly reactionary and unpopular practices, the UE bureaucracy was able to retain power during the war years. In this, it was aided by Phillip Murray, president of the CIO.

Murray was not a Stalinist, and, during the interval when the Hitler-Stalin Pact was in effect, had frequent skirmishes with CPers in the CIO. After the German invasion of Russia, American and Russian imperialism, while still in conflict, formed a marriage of convenience to fight a common enemy. When this turn was reflected in the CIO, Phillip Murray once again became the staunch, though silent, ally of the CP.

If the UE leaders and Stalinists like them in the rest of the labor movement, were able to retain their union posts, it was only because they had the tacit support of Murray. Workers were never able to break this alliance. While it existed, it prevented widespread discontent from breaking into effective action.

With the end of the Second World War, however, American and Russian imperialism ceased to be bound together by the necessities of self-preservation. Internationally, the Cold War was coming on apace. As the East-West gulf widened, it altered the stance of the American Communist Party. The Soviet Union wished to extend its war-time alliance with Western capitalism into the post-war period. This required the CP to adopt a "left" course, in order to apply pressure to the Democratic Party and the government to preserve the old alliance.

The Moscow-Washington split was mirrored in the CIO. Largely because the CIO had always been a major



Union pickets clash with scabs at a General Electric plant in Schenectady, New York

arena of CP involvement, the Cold War was to take its first victims in the labor unions. For its part, the CIO Executive Board took the first tentative steps to remove Stalinists from positions of power, inaugurating a fierce faction fight. In this way, Murray and the other "labor statesmen" were to demonstrate once again their extreme sensitivity to the needs of world capitalism.

The guiding consideration of both Murray and the Stalinists was the desire to preserve their power, and with it their control over the workers. Different purposes motivated them both, but these purposes could only be served by the maintainance of their power. In this may be seen the essential identity between Murray and his opponents.

The CIO and the Cold War

Once they had been allies, and had helped each other to preserve their union positions. However, that was possible only when the different goals which they served had been compatible. Now, these goals were antagonistic, and each moved to deprive the other of his power. The CIO was not large enough to contain within itself support for rival imperialisms.

In his campaign to drive the CP from the CIO, Murray was emboldened by the victory of the Reutherites over the Stalinist faction in the UAW. Reuther's accession to the presidency was an important precondition for Murray's success, since it strengthened his position considerably. On the other hand, the Matles-Empak leadership of the UE was at a disadvantage. When confronted with the extent of CP domination of union affairs, these officials feebly lamented that they were being red-baited.

Disgraced by their conduct during and after the war, they were incapable of mounting a vigorous campaign in their own defense. Instead they prepared to take the UE out of the CIO. The climax of the faction fight was reached when Matles demanded that the CIO Executive Board protect UE autonomy and guarantee that the UE would not be raided by other CIO unions. UE officials attempted to back up their demands by threatening to withhold the per-capita tax owed to the CIO. This threat constituted sufficient grounds for expulsion and Murray responded by suspending the UE.

The final stage of the fight consisted of bureaucratic maneuvering in which Murray assured himself of sufficient strength at the coming convention in order to deal with the UE as he pleased. Once support was obtained, the outcome of the proceedings could only be anti-climactic.

A short time later, the 1949 CIO convention met, and declared that positions of union responsibility were not compatible with membership in the Communist Party, specifically naming, and expelling, the UE and one other union.

Expulsion would probably have occurred in any case. However, the UE not only provided the pretext for the split by threatening to withhold the per-capita tax, but thereby demonstrated that the leadership was willing to split the union and the CIO, rather than risk losing their positions of power. Thus while the UE was expelled from the CIO, it was already half way out under its own power. Its officials didn't bother to show up at the convention to defend the union against the pending ex-

pulsion.

Within the next year, some ten unions were to be expelled from the CIO. These Stalinist unions were expelled not because their leaders had engaged in anti-labor practices (with this criterion Murray and the rest of the CIO tops should have been expelled as well), but because their politics could no longer be tolerated.

The expulsions represented the opening round of the Cold War, as well as the final bureaucratization of the CIO. The center of power had long since moved upward from the ranks; now it came to rest exclusively in the leaden rumps sitting on the Executive Board.

After 1949, UE strength in the electrical industry rapidly disintegrated, and membership in the union declined at a fantastic rate. Even before the split in the CIO, the policies pursued by UE officials had driven over 100,000 workers from the union in less than a year. After the split, membership continued to dwindle, and the UE was particularly vulnerable to raiding by other unions. Because of its past record, the union lost many workers to a new CIO affiliate, the International Union of Electrical Workers.

The UE's former hegemony in the electrical industry was replaced by a crazy quilt amalgam of thirteen unions. The fight which began in the CIO was simply carried to a new arena, and continued after the split. For twenty years, these thirteen unions fought an exhausting fratricidal war, in which the only possible victor was General Electric. To this day, workers have not been able to overcome the legacy of UE officials: wages in the electrical industry are among the lowest of all production line industries, a tribute both to CE's power and to factional war.

Recent events, however, have made this conflict intolerable for rank-and-file members. The inflation normally connected with the permanent war economy was exaggerated by the war in Vietnam. Dating from the early sixties, war-induced inflation and taxation began seriously encroaching on workers' incomes. As real wages fell rapidly, the incidence of wildcat strikes and job actions increased.

New Coalition

Inevitably, along with this increase in the level of rank-and-file militancy, an end to union in-fighting and a defense of workers' living standards was demanded from the officials. This paved the way for unity between the labor bureaucracies in the electrical industry.

At the top, the thirteen-union coalition was made possible when James Carey was booted out of the IUE presidency in 1965. Carey had been UE president until defeated by the Stalinists, and was a major obstacle to UE-IUE rapprochement. In turn, Carey's defeat was a direct reflection of the new militancy in the union ranks. By 1966, the coalition had been forged, and the GE strike marked its first test on a national level.

Of all the old-line UE officials, only Julius Empak has disappeared from the bureaucracy. Fitzgerald and Matles are still the union's two top officers. Recent experience demonstrates their inability to learn new tricks. The contract they obtained during the GE strike provides a good example.

The wage package negotiated by union officials, chiefly under the direction of James Matles, will do little to improve the living standard of CE workers. The total wage increase provided by the settlement amounts to slightly more than 7% a year. This "increase" is barely enough to keep up with inflation. But GE employees already make about 2 dollars an hour less than other production line workers, so their living standard at best will remain at its present depressed level.

Ever since 1965, when the war in Vietnam was escalated, setting off the current inflation, union officials have proven themselves incapable of fighting for wage increases which are sufficient to meet the rising inflation. Foreign to their functioning is any attempt to improve real wages. UE officials are no exception to this general trend.

Along with wages, working conditions have rapidly deteriorated during the past few years. Because of this, one of the most popular demands of the strike called for an effective grievance procedure. This demand was never taken up by union officials, however, and was not included in the contract. In the coming years, union members will have to fight work speed-ups, and unsafe conditions without the aid of a real grievance procedure.

Another major issue of the strike was CE's practice of maintaining wage differentials, both sexual and regional. Women in CE plants, like women throughout industry, have always received a fraction of the wages paid to men. When the strike began, the UE-IUE coalition at first demanded an end to this practice. This demand, however, was never taken seriously, and was never publicized during the strike. It was added to the list of demands merely as window-dressing, and was one of the first to be dropped by union officials.

A similar wage differential is maintained by GE between its plants in the North and those in the South. In fact, GE has developed the practice of moving its factories to the South where a relatively unorganized, poorly-paid supply of labor can be obtained. Union leaders at first demanded an end to this practice, but soon dropped the issue. It too proved to be little more than a window-dressing in the minds of UE officials.

These officials have done nothing to close the gaps in a badly-divided work force, but instead have perpetuated the practice to the benefit of GE. Workers will be made to pay heavily for this in the future, since it damages their bargaining power, and tends to dampen militancy.

Struggle Groups

The only way to overcome the reactionary role of union officials in the electrical industry is to form rank-and-file struggle groups. These groups could function both within and without the unions and on the shop floor. They could lead the fight for better working conditions, and for those demands which union officials ignore. The labor bureaucrats, of course, have always been hostile to any manifestation of rank-and-file action.

Throughout that strike, the UE leadership's conservative outlook led to a policy of defusing the struggle whenever it might have become effective and gained support. UE officials have been fearful of initiating actions which they could not fully control at all times. In this can be seen the mainspring behind the behavior of UE officials; the desire to preserve their own bureaucratic power.

Instead of working to build workers' struggles, instead of pushing the strike forward, UE leaders have instead acted to hold back the struggle, and to confine it to the lowest possible level. The leadership has shown itself only too aware that in a militant struggle, UE workers might see the necessity of sweeping away the reactionary officials of their union. As in 1946, so today the course UE officials will follow is determined by the alternating relation of forces between themselves and the rank-and-file. If the leadership feels secure, it will follow its own course. When discontent is widespread, the bureaucrats will swim with the tide, while working to maintain themselves in power.

Thus, the record of the UE bureaucracy: strike-breaking, scabbing, and wage-cutting. For those who support unions, and look toward the revival of militancy and rank-and-file power within them, the UE, embodied in the policies of its officials, hardly merits the label "progressive".



Chicago: The Transit Crisis

James Coleman

In April 1970, a mass protest of Chicago bus and subway riders took place under the leadership - strange as it may seem - of the Chicago Transit Authority. The protest was orderly, of course. CTA took ads in all newspapers, and passed out leaflets, asking riders to "yell" or "scream" if they wanted a state subsidy to avoid a transit fare rise.

Riders could put a check mark beside either word and send the leaflet to the Legislature. 190,000 riders responded, with most checking both boxes. Latest guessing is that the Illinois Legislature will, for the first time in history, pass a subsidy for Chicago transit.

This looks as if the CTA, as a public-spirited corporation, were fighting for the interests of its riders. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Transit in Chicago illustrates problems faced by working people in every major city. The fare has risen from 25 cents in 1967 to 40 cents today, a jump of 60 percent. The daily rider spends \$190 a year for commuting to and from work - not taking into account extra costs if both husband and wife work, or if children ride the bus to school. Transit is one of the major living costs for most working families - and of course, those who drive to work pay out for gasoline what they save on bus fares.

Who Profits?

The CTA has never hesitated to raise fares in the past. The sudden organization of a consumer protest reveals worry about CTA's pocketbook, not the riders. Every time the fare goes up, some riders switch from bus and subway to other forms of transport (for two people riding a mile or less, it is now cheaper to take a taxi). The number of people riding the CTA fell from 523 million fares in 1966, when the fare was still 25 cents, to 420 million last year.

This means a big fare rise brings in only a little more money. In 1970, for the first time, CTA estimates that so many people would switch that even a fare increase might not cover the existing debt. This, and not the cost to the rider, is why CTA is desperately trying to avoid raising the fare.

But wouldn't a subsidy in any case help the riders? In fact, the riders lose either way. Chicago is one of the few large cities which run transit on a pay-as-you-go basis. Subsidies allow lower fares - 30 cents in New York and Philadelphia, 25 cents in Boston, 20 cents in San Francisco. This helps the transit companies because riders are not driven away by the high fare. But indirectly, the cost is passed on to the public. The reasons for this fact illustrate who has power in cities like Chicago, and who profits from public transit.

Like many city transit systems, CTA is a publicly-owned corporation. But it operates in the private interest. CTA was formed twenty years ago as private transit companies, losing money, sold out to the city. The sales were financed by bond issues. The bonds were



bought up by financiers and investors, and the largest bondholders are Chicago's major banks. First National Bank of Chicago - the city's second largest, and one of the twenty largest banks in the United States - is in charge of the affairs of all the bondholders.

For the bondholders, the bonds are an investment like any other - a way of making money. This means they begin to worry, not when CTA actually loses money, but much sooner - when profits fall so that their bonds bring in less money than another kind of investment.

Because CTA is controlled by its bondholders, its books show two kinds of "expenses" which are not operating costs at all. The first is interest on the bonds. In theory, interest repays the investors for their expense. In fact, back in 1950 they didn't shell out \$50 million in cash - which they might fairly expect to get back. They invested other profits in bonds, expecting a profit on the bonds.

The interest is pure profit, neatly spread out over twenty years. The riders, who must ride the buses to get to work, are simply forced to pay extra - above the cost of operating the buses - so that the bondholders don't have to work at all.

"Depreciation"

The second paper "expense" is called a "depreciation fund". Every year, CTA is supposed to put 8 percent of its revenue into this fund. The "depreciation fund" sounds as if it were used to buy new equipment. In fact, new equipment is usually financed by new bond issues. The fund actually guards against the "depreciation" of the investment - it is a cash cushion in the bank, which guarantees that the value of the bonds doesn't fall too much. Here too the rider is forced to pay extra to help the investor make his profit.

In the past, CTA has actually taken in more money in revenue than it paid out in operating costs. In 1966, for example, operating costs were \$129 million, revenue \$148 million. But when \$9 million in interest and \$11 million for the "depreciation fund" were counted in, CTA came out on paper \$1 million in debt. This was used as justification for raising the fare in 1967 - so the riders paid not to keep the buses running, but to keep CTA profitable for the First National Bank.

However, the situation is more complicated than this. Even without bond interest and "depreciation," CTA would be in trouble. According to one estimate CTA will only clear \$1 million over operating costs this year (even without a fare increase); according to another, it will lose.

CTA blames labor costs. And, although they use this argument to create public sentiment against their workers, the argument is true. Last year labor costs came to 82 percent of CTA operating expenses. This was more than in 1964, and nearly 90 percent of the rise in operating expenses since 1964 has been due to labor costs.

Needless to say, this doesn't mean the bus drivers, mechanics and office staff are rolling in dough. The basic wage is high - now about \$4.10 an hour for bus drivers - but high wages are needed to hire drivers to work 11-hour split shifts with defective buses and, until the recent adoption of an exact-fare system, the danger of being robbed. Until 1963, management was able to use sell-out union leadership to drive hard wage bar-

gains and totally ignore working conditions.

Early in 1968, a rank-and-file caucus began meeting, the Concerned Transit Workers, raising demands around conditions. The Concerned Transit Workers were almost entirely black - around 75 percent of working bus drivers are black. When the union leaders refused to consider the drivers' demands, a wildcat strike broke out over the issue of rank-and-file control of the union.

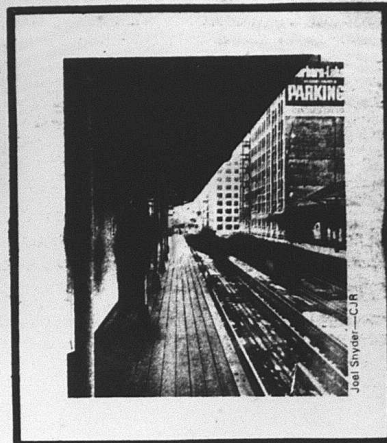
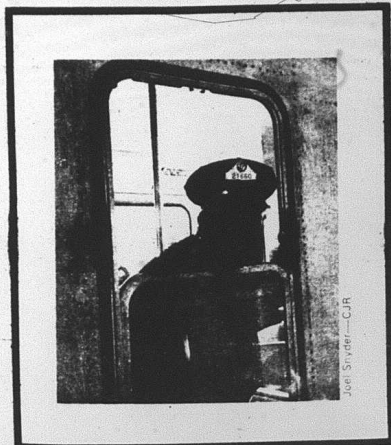
The strike began in the black garages on Chicago's South Side - and stayed there. The black drivers moved first and fastest, their militancy sparked by the struggles of the black community in the last several years. But to white drivers, or most of them, rank-and-file control meant black control. There was some participation by whites, but most stayed on the job. Their wages, conditions, and economic interests were the same as the blacks' - they simply put race first. As a result, the strike was crippled.

Two months later, the black drivers struck again. This time, knowing they would get little white support, they defined the strike as part of the struggle of the black community for equality - but the basic demand was still for rank-and-file control of the union, and still in the interest of all the workers. Support was high in the black community but white drivers scabbed again, and the strike collapsed after three weeks.

Both strikes were lost not because the blacks "went too far" - although errors were made - but because white drivers were too blinded by the race issue to fight in their own interest alongside the blacks.

But though the workers' determination was broken for the moment, the two strikes won an indirect victory. It was a contract year. CTA and the union leaders were both so scared that a bad contract would provoke another strike that they negotiated a good one. Wages advanced, split shifts were reduced, new equipment was promised.

All this CTA and the union did not because they were kind-hearted, but because they were up against the wall. CTA figured to pass the costs on to the public, in the process creating resentment against the drivers. The month after the contract, they announced a fare increase.



But they were still hurt. The new contract, as well as the losses in revenue from almost a month of strikes, wiped out most of the benefit of the fare hike. As a result, less than a year later CTA was desperately trying to get itself a subsidy from the legislature.

A subsidy is necessary. City transit simply can't pay for itself, and even if it could, there is no reason why the cost should be paid by people who must ride in order to get to work. For them, transit fare is just another kind of tax.

But who will pay the subsidy? In a capitalist economy, business runs for private profit; the state - far from shifting the balance in favor of working people - creates the best conditions for private profit. The theory is that this is good for everyone. In fact it means that the businesses which make a profit stay in private hands - while the state steps in to subsidize the businesses which lose money, like transit - and because the state is controlled by business interests, it subsidizes not just the costs, but also a tidy profit.

The CTA has proposed that the 8 percent "depreciation" payment be stopped. The state won't do this, however - that would be interfering with business. The decision rests with the bondholders, and First National Bank, speaking for the bondholders, has refused to give up its 8 percent. CTA of course isn't going to do anything so revolutionary as refusing to pay. The result is that if a subsidy is passed, it will cover not only operating costs, but also bond interest and "depreciation" payments.

In addition, the subsidy will be paid out of taxes, probably a gasoline tax. Like all sales taxes, this will fall most heavily on working people - many of whom, even in Chicago, have to drive to work because the CTA takes up to two hours for a ride across town.

The subsidy will restore the banks' profits, and be paid for by working people. The only change may be that some of the tax money will come from outside Chicago - but downstate legislators want to limit the new tax to Chicago. The fare will not rise, and thus CTA will not lose riders. It will gain the subsidy, and come out ahead. But the rider will pay the extra cost anyway, through a tax. Part of his gasoline tax will build new highways to get the bondholders to their offices, and another part will go into "depreciation" payments for them to count when they get there.

So CTA's campaign to have riders "yell and scream" is in the bondholders' interest, not the riders' at all. At most, the bondholders' profit will be paid for by a larger number of working people. At the same time, by taking the lead in organizing the campaign, CTA has avoided the danger of a genuine protest by riders, directed against CTA and the bondholders.

Protests have occurred when the fare was raised in the past. But the protests were run by liberals, who saw them as a way to pressure for a subsidy and did not ask who would pay for the subsidy, so they were no real danger to CTA. But the potential danger is there.

Chicago's problems are like those of other cities. In New York's subways have been subsidized for 20 years, but the fares rise to keep up interest payments to bondholders, and to pay for labor costs. Working people can't be expected to stop fighting for wages they need, and they can't be expected to like having to pay higher transit fares - or new taxes for a subsidy.

The solution is not to "yell and scream" under the

tions in general. Demands like these should be raised in the workplace - workers should form rank-and-file organizations which can fight both for their own needs in their own factory or office, and for demands which are in the interest of all working people.

This cannot be done just through strike action, or just in one factory or office. Rank-and-file organizations will succeed only if they join together on a city-wide basis - and later on a national basis. City-wide groups could not only strike, but also rally in the streets to back up their demands. They could not only fight the employers, but also present workers' demands to the government. Organizations like this would be a step



Joel Snyder - CJR

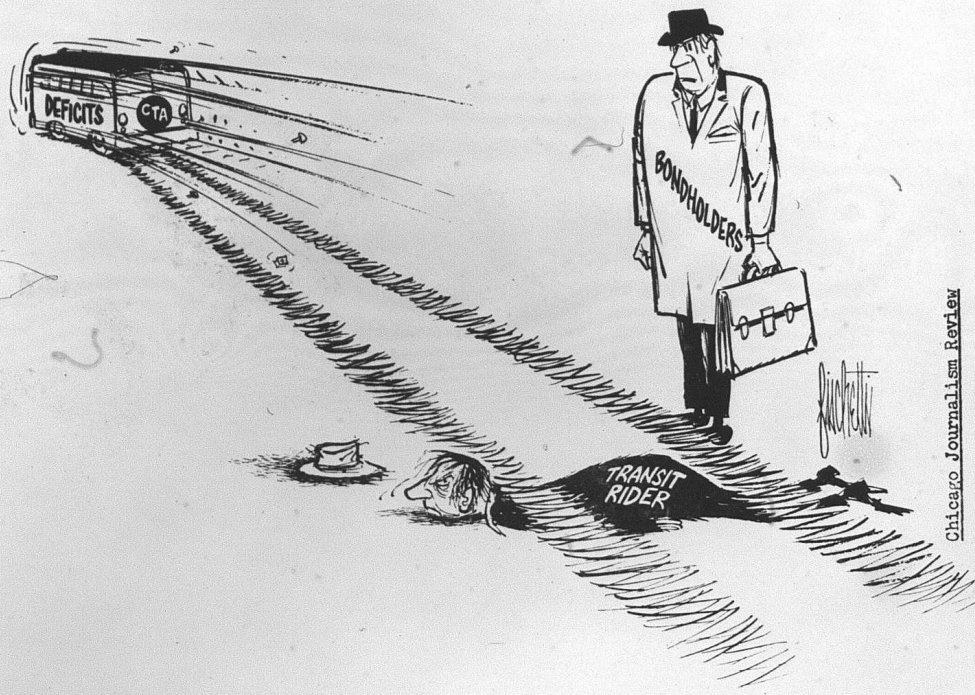
leadership of the transit company. It's not to oppose a subsidy - transit can't pay for itself. The solution isn't even simply to call for cancelling the bonds, although that should be done. And it certainly isn't to condemn transit workers who strike for higher wages. As long as the economy is run for profit, business will try to keep wages down and workers will fight to raise them. The solution is to insist that the raise comes out of profits.

For transit this means demanding (1) that bond interest and "depreciation fund" payments be cancelled, and (2) that the transit subsidy come from a tax on corporations, including the banks.

These demands cannot be won by an organization of transit riders. The riders are split up - impossible to reach or to unite. This is true of consumers' organiza-

tions towards a workers' party, which could fight both in the legislature and in the streets, steadily opposing working people's interests to the interests of business.

Such a party is a long way ahead. But the transit issue is just one example of the many ways in which capitalism, acting through the Republican and Democratic parties which are both controlled by business, uses the government to take back what is won in wages and collect it in the form of a tax. This shell game shows the need for new forms of organization, based in the workplace, but able to fight outside it; it shows the need to start now to form the rank-and-file groups and build the city-wide alliances that will make such a fight possible.



Chicago Journalism Review

"I'LL NEED YOU FOR A WITNESS - YOU SAW THAT BUS RUN RIGHT OVER MY TOES"

A Liberal Film About Homosexuals

James Coleman

In the last year a new, militant movement of homosexuals has sprung up. Unlike older homosexual organizations, which sought quietly to improve the public "image" of homosexuals, Gay Liberation has taken shape as a direct action movement against social discrimination and police harassment.

In about the same period, the movie industry has begun to touch the formerly forbidden subject of homosexuality: several films of increasing frankness have appeared, culminating in the release of *The Boys in the Band*. What are we to make of this coincidence? Is the appearance of homosexual films a rip-off of a new social current, a personalization and vulgarization of social issues, like *Che!* or *Zabriskie Point*? Or are these films honest? And if they are, what of our inbred suspicion that honest movies don't get made in technical or and for distribution to downtown theatres?

The reaction to *The Boys in the Band* among people in Gay Liberation has been mixed. In Chicago, a picket was considered, on the grounds that *The Boys in the Band* portrays homosexuals as unhappy, and indeed, as cruel and destructive. An outline will make this clear.

The film takes place at a birthday party attended by seven men, all gay. (The movie was adapted from a play, hence the single scene; in technical terms this may be a limitation in a movie, but this reviewer was not concerned about technical questions.) Unexpectedly, a college friend of the host turns up, with a secret to confide.

He never does confide it, but the seven gay people and the viewer soon have the impression that his real secret is repressed homosexuality. The host, Michael, begins to needle and probe him, trying to make him realize he is gay. There's nothing friendly about this - as Michael gets more drunk, he gets more and more openly hostile.

The hostility spills over onto his gay friends: Michael goads them into a "truth game" in which each is to telephone the one person whom he most truly loves. This is a recipe for humiliation and the first calls turn out that way - the homosexual telephones the man he has always loved, who has never known it or has forgotten him.

Then the game goes wrong: Alan, the college friend, calls not the man he is presumed to love, but his wife, and tells her that he loves her and is returning to her. His mind cleared, he exits, and it is his host who is left humiliated.

Then the birthday guest, Harold, who has stood aloof from the game, tells Michael his truth: he does not want to be a homosexual; that is why he attacks others and himself. "But you will always be a homosexual," Harold continues inexorably. "You may be attracted to women; you may even marry. But you will always be a homosexual."

Barbed Jokes

Thus *The Boys in the Band* seems to say that homosexuals are at worst savagely destructive, at best desperately unhappy. In many places it is brilliantly funny, but the jokes are barbed, jokes gay people make at each other's expense. "Show me a happy homosexual," Michael quips, "and I'll show you a gay corpse." Particularly objectionable is Alan's smug departure, which seems to say that if only you finally turn out to be straight, all is rosy. It would be easy to conclude that this was why the picture made first-run theatres.

But that conclusion would not be correct. The first and most important quality of *The Boys in the Band* is that it is true - almost unbearably true. Emory, the queen, recalling his adolescent love for an older student, his declaration of love, recalling with tears on his face the older boy's promise of friendship and betrayal; Bernard, who has grown up from boyhood loving another and never telling him; Michael, in his final col-

lapse at the end of the picture, likening himself to Old Man River, "tired of living, and scared of dying" - these are ourselves; all homosexuals have lived at least in part like this, we have all thought more than once of the irony of the word "gay".

But there are other truths in *The Boys in the Band*. One of them is love. Not just that of Alan for his wife - in fact, Alan's triumphal departure is the only part of the film that doesn't come off - but also that of the two roommates, lovers, who have been quarrelling all evening and finally discover, almost in surprise, that they do in fact love each other.

Love is handled with great delicacy and dignity. The roommates make their discovery by telephone (in Michael's game) and nowhere in the film is there a hot kiss, none of the screen devices of easy, "daring," cheap drama. Love in *The Boys in the Band* is intermittent and difficult, but it is there.

Finally, there is dignity. As foils to Michael, there is not only the prig Alan, but also Donald (once in love with Michael, still sometimes his lover) and Harold, the birthday guest. They are contrasting types - Donald youthful (and attractive), Harold by his own description "a 32-year-old ugly poek-marked Jew fairy." Both are acted with great sensitivity.

Donald presents an alternative to Michael's game simply by staying out of it, and comforting Michael in the last moments of the film. Harold, mincing and effeminate and at first seeming ridiculous, also stays out of the game, and gradually gains dignity by his aloofness, until his very mincing walk is stately. Both characters suggest the possibility of health - Donald by his capacity for kindness, Harold because he can face what he is. If I seem ridiculous to you, he seems to say, that's your problem, not mine.

The fault with *The Boys in the Band* isn't that it is un-true. Rather, it is liberal. There is no sense that the laceration it portrays is not inevitable, that this laceration has anything but personal causes, that it is caused by being a homosexual in this society. This point was made in a leaflet Chicago Gay Liberation distributed at the theatre: "The pain and cruelty typified by 'The Boys in the Band' should be understood as the expression of human lives damaged by an environment of condemnation, suspicion, job discrimination, and legal harassment."

There is no suggestion, either, than non-homosexuals also lead lacerating, cruel personal and sexual lives - that all sexual relations in this society are more or less sick.

Two further problems reflect the film's personal focus. It is about middle-class, male homosexuals. Fine; presumably this is the playwright's experience. But the film is also to be seen by a large "straight" audience who know little of homosexuals. To such an audience there's nothing to suggest that there are working-class homosexuals - a majority - or women homosexuals - a minority, according to statistics, but a substantial one.

Least of all does *The Boys in the Band* suggest that the pain and cruelty it portrays, and the condemnation and suspicion which they reflect, can be changed by collective struggle. In this respect, for those active in Gay Liberation, the film was no longer true of ourselves - we felt our identity with the people in the film, but felt we were looking not at ourselves, but at our pasts. *The Boys in the Band* is liberal, then, in that, focussing on personal pain and courage, it does not show them as inadequate responses to conditions which are not personal, but social.

Thus, to a straight audience, this film is likely to come off as a portrayal of how unhappy it is to be queer. At the same time, *The Boys in the Band* is not essentially written for a straight audience. To the homosexual viewer, the content is still only personal, and therefore not sufficient - but it is necessary, and dignifying, for its target is our denial of ourselves. "You will always be a homosexual. You may be attracted to women; you may even marry. But you will always be a homosexual, to the end of your life." It is the first lesson we must learn, and therefore the key to our liberation.



Women and Mao

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

that women still have responsibility for their individual household and for their children:

"Wu Lan-ying works in a cotton textile mill in Peking, does family shopping and leaves her children at a kindergarten while she works."³⁹

In the rural areas, the Great Leap Forward initiated huge irrigation projects, incorporating hundreds of thousands of workers to compensate for the lack of machinery. As a result, there was a shortage of manpower to work the farms. Women now took over primary responsibility for farming, while their husbands worked on irrigation and iron-smelting. For women in the North, who had not done field work, historically this represented a sharp break from tradition.

In order to release rural women for agricultural work, the communes initiated the collectivization of many household duties - mammoth communal dining rooms were set up and childcare became a collective effort; in some cases children only saw their parents on weekends. Felix Greene reports, however, that in the commune he visited in the early 1960's, only about 40% of the children were actually provided for by nurseries, and kindergartens, while the rest were cared for by their grandparents.



While the subject of socialization of children in China is beyond the scope of this paper, it is worth noting that the raising of children by their grandparents created problems of discipline among the youth, and was one of the reasons behind the Party's temporary return, in 1957, to the emphasis on the child-raising responsibility of women. The Communist Party hopes to eliminate this problem and still utilize its womenpower, through collective childrearing in the communes.

If the communization experiment succeeds in the rural areas, this will signal a new stage in the development of the Chinese-family structure" child-rearing and household obligations becoming a collective rather than individual responsibility. Form, however, should not be mistaken for content. Collectivization of work which was historically performed by women is not, in itself, the answer to the liberation of women, just as collectivization of the means of production through nationalization does not, by itself, mean socialism (Chiang Kai-shek was on his way towards complete nationalization of industry in the 1940's).

The nationalization of industry on a bureaucratic basis has usually meant a more efficient method of control from the top in order to fit the economic development plans of the ruling class. Nationalization is only socialist when political power is democratically controlled, not centralized in a ruling elite. Similarly, the mere presence of collectivized forms of household work or childcare in China does not necessarily mean that women are now liberated, but simply that a more efficient method has been developed for utilizing womenpower in the work forces.

The latest indications are that Chinese women still assume responsibility for household work in the rural communes so that the collectivization and usurpation

of family obligations is not as pervasive as originally planned. In Jan Myrdal's Report From a Chinese Village, his interview with a peasant woman in Li Yang Ching Commune in Yenan (a more remote part of China) indicates that the traditional division of labor between man and women still exists. In fact, she says, "Women work more than men. We have two jobs, we work both in the field and in our caves."⁴¹

This testimony was confirmed by interviews with other peasant women in Women of China. For example:

"Liu Yu Cheao is proud of the commune and holds dear the interests of the collective. She works well in the fields and is industrious and thrifty in the management of her home."⁴²

Despite the regime's emphasis on collectivization, it is clear that the commune has not displaced the individual family, in either urban or rural areas, and that the centuries-old division of labor still exists between "women's work" and "men's work".

Summary

The emancipation of women is not an abstraction, nor does the struggle for it take place in a vacuum: it is configured by the social struggles of the society. For centuries, Chinese women lived in a patriarchal society where they had an inferior social status, and were, in fact, virtually slaves. The patriarchal hierarchy was itself based upon the broader social relations of the society and was a vital institution in its maintenance.

The struggle of women against this tyrannical system is parallel with and incidental to the struggle in the society for the break-up of the semi-feudal land relations and the rise of an industrial-based class. This development has its analogue in Western society with the break-up of feudalism and subsequent rise in the position of women.

However, because of the retarded nature of the development of the Chinese bourgeoisie in the epoch of imperialism they were unable to carry through a successful revolution. In fact, they turned against the only class capable of destroying the old society with which they were bound up - the proletariat. Their way was cleared by the betrayal of the Chinese Communist Party which under Stalin's orders, supported the Kuomintang until it turned upon them.

It was left years later for the Communist Party, at the helm of a peasant-based fighting force, to finally destroy the old system and carry through the social revolution, which included the destruction of the patriarchal family. Women in China were then given equality - legal and to a great extent social and economic equality.

However, it would be a mistake to believe that this completes the emancipation of women as the Maoist regime claims. Equality with men is certainly a necessary requisite for emancipation, but it is only one component, for without "freedom to choose" the liberation of women is not complete. Just as it is the unity of collectivism and democracy which defines socialism, similarly it is the unity of equality and freedom which will signal the emancipation of women.

In China, the liberation of women has now become subordinate to the needs of the state and specifically to industrialization. Although the old family structure has been broken, a new one has been fashioned with rigid rules for marriage, sexual behavior, child rearing and reproduction, as well as an accompanying ideology which defines the role of women in the society. The once dynamic women's movement, which played an important role in freeing Chinese women from the old forms of family tyranny, has become a subordinate arm of the State.

The bourgeois revolution in Europe "freed" women so that they could be more easily exploited in accord with the needs of the new society. This was accomplished within the general context of freeing the plebian from the old serf relations so that he was able to become a worker. The "free" worker, made necessary by the capitalist mode of production, forms the basis of the destruction of that very mode.

So too in China the new society has "liberated" women so that she can be more easily exploited in the fashion dictated by a new and quite different mode of production and ruling class. The emancipation of women in China awaits a new social revolution in which the working class, conscious of its own ability to rule, conquers power in its own name.

In such a revolution Chinese women, through both their participation in a general workers' movement and through their own independent movements will participate in the struggle and depend upon neither the Communist Party, nor any other "condescending saviors" to bring about their liberation.

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42. Women of China, 1964, no. 1, p. 8.

This article is condensed from a pamphlet recently published by the International Socialists on the struggles of women in China for liberation during the twentieth century. Women in the Chinese Revolution is available for 40¢ from IS Book Service, 874 Broadway, Room 1005, New York.

patriotism, and male chauvinism are not in their interest in the deepest sense.

The new outward turn raises the possibility that exists of building a new, pro-workingclass radical movement, which seeks to win people to militant struggle toward a new society. But the success of this outward turn depends on the success of our on-campus struggles to turn the universities of this country into anti-war organizing centers. Our effectiveness in reaching working people in the community hinges on our ability to close down the universities, take them over and run them ourselves.

Already the nationwide student strike has had unprecedented political repercussions. The Nixon Administration is running scared, as is evidenced by the fact that popular pressure has caused even Cabinet members like Finch to turn on the President in public criticism. Nixon himself, obviously caught unawares by the breadth and depth of the protest evoked by his sudden invasion of Cambodia, was reduced to babble about how he was really on the same side as the anti-war protesters, since he desired peace as ardently as they. Nobody is fooled by such nervous rhetoric any more.

No Business as usual

The significance of the student strike lies in its symbolic challenge to governmental authority. The political message conveyed is "No Business as Usual Until the War Ends." The dynamic of a militant strike against government policy sets in motion the social energy that can make it possible to begin to relay this message to the community and spread the strike through example.

To maintain the initial strike momentum, it is absolutely crucial to establish a clear policy that "No Business as Usual" means just what it says: all normal functioning of the university must cease. Mass picket lines and mass demonstrations and rallies are needed to enforce this policy and build the morale of the strike.

Where this has not happened, the strike is beginning to peter out. On campuses where students have not organized to confront anti-strike professors in their classes, the old authoritarian classroom pattern prevails. On some campuses where the strike has become invisible, all that remains of last week's explosion is a flurry of extracurricular anti-war activities, and even these will die down as students realize that the strike itself is sagging.

When the strike movement begins to waver - swayed by faculty liberals who veer off into academic reform, and the hard-core academic mandarins, who want only business-as-usual - one would expect radicals and radical organizations to play a key leadership role in reviving the movement. By and large, however, this has not occurred. Campus radicals had become so decisively isolated from the mass of students that they could not adapt to the exigencies of a new and enormously volatile movement.

Many radicals have succumbed to elitist ideologies that preclude their playing any leadership role in the new anti-war movement. On some campuses, radicals distinguished themselves from liberals not by attempting to provide radical leadership, but merely by waving NLF flags at mass rallies. Students for a Democratic Society plodded ahead with its pre-planned anti-ROTC campaign as though the invasion of Cambodia had never occurred.

The overall sectarian response of radicals to the national crisis points toward the necessity of reconstituting a new radical movement rooted firmly in a commitment to democracy and a pro-workingclass orientation. The possibilities posed by the new anti-war movement are too immense to let its leadership slide into the hands of liberal college presidents and Democratic Party doves.



Gyros

News From the Irish Left

The Irish Socialist Liaison Committee is an informal organization formed by members of the National Association for Irish Justice from four cities, who functioned as the "Left Opposition" at the New York National Convention of the NAII in November 1969.

The ISLC is devoted to informing the American Left about the activities and objectives of the various democratic and revolutionary Left movements in Ireland, including the People's Democracy, the left-wing of the Northern Ireland Labour Party, the Young Socialists, the Dublin-based League for a Workers' Republic, and some left sections of the Republican Movement-Irish Republican Movement.

Elements in most of these groups are presently discussing the establishment of a common newspaper; People's Democracy, in addition to its newsheet, "Free Citizen," is planning a socialist theoretical journal. The periodical publications of these groups can be obtained from the ISLC.

The ISLC - which includes members of the International Socialists and the Labor Committee, but mostly independents - seeks the support of democratic and revolutionary socialists in this country for the same movement in Ireland.

ISLC's first public activity was the sponsoring of Eamonn McCann's American tour in March, which was co-sponsored by IS, AIM in New Haven, the Labor Committee and several others. McCann is chairman of the Derry branch of NILP and a leading figure in NILP's left-wing (see IS, "Feedback," April). The committee is presently providing speakers for student and left audiences.

For further information on the Left in Ireland, contact: Robert St-Cyr, 93-24 Queens Blvd., NY 11374; (Boston) Paul McNulty, Ashdown House, MIT, Cambridge, Mass. 02139; (Connecticut) Donal Hurley, 47 First-Ave., Branford, Conn. 06405; (Philadelphia) James Creegan, 4801 Locust St., Phila. 19131.

In the first week in April, Belfast, Ireland's industrial metropolis and the North's capital, witnessed street-fighting which approached the ferocity of the August days and resulted in almost as many casualties to the British Army (now numbering about 12,000 on duty in Northern Ireland) as that shocking weekend in October when the UVF (i.e., Ulster Volunteer Force, or Protestant fascists) attacked them with fire power.

The fighting began when an Orange demonstration deliberately sought to provoke the Catholic residents of the Ballymurphy housing estate. As a result, some Ballymurphy residents got into clashes with the army, while others managed to exacerbate communal tensions still further by attacking the homes of Protestant neighbors across the road.

It is the firm conviction of the ISLC and all Irish Marxists that the communal warfare in Ulster can only be overcome by a revolutionary working-class movement which honestly reconciles the legitimate cultural-historical differences between the Catholic and Protestant communities. This reconciliation cannot be achieved by a program solely for equal rights, which fails (or deliberately avoids) to confront the limitations of a depressed capitalist economy. The stark economic situation accounts for much - admittedly not all - of the vicious reaction of Protestant workers to the Catholic demand for "simple" democracy (see "Ulster," Feb. IS).

With this in mind, McCann's branch of the Labour Party, along with the Derry Republicans

(or rather its "official" section - as opposed to the "provisional council" split-off of 1969), organized some 150 youngsters into the Derry Youth Organization. These included some of the leading rioters of recent months against the British forces.

Their immediate goal is to protest the harassment of the youth by "pacification forces" (something which the Catholic bourgeois leadership is reluctant to tackle considering their dependence on these troops) and the lack of opportunities, occupational and recreational, for young people (the average age of school drop-outs is 15).

People's Democracy began similar organizing efforts among the youth of Ballymurphy. On April 26 a football match was arranged between the Bogside and Ballymurphy "hooligans," which was played in the street to dramatize the lack of adequate facilities. The organizers hope that these groups will pave the way for militant class action - as opposed to the present sectarian conflict. Sadly, the pattern of religious segregation and hostility is so great that inter-communal games are unthinkable at this time.

In the next riot, however - and in Ulster this is never far off - the members of these youth organizations will hopefully be able to act to re-channel sterile sectarian passions into constructive political directions.

Rightward Drift

The Northern Ireland parliamentary by-elections of April 16 returned Ian Paisley, leader of the pro-fascist Protestant Unionist Party, from the Bann-side constituency formerly held by "liberal" ex-premier Terence (now Lord) O'Neill, plus one of his sidekicks, Rev. Beattie.

Paisley's victory represents the further disintegration of the "bloc of Protestant solidarity" which has dominated Ulster politics for at least 60 years under the hegemony of the aristocrats and big capital. If this movement of the Protestant masses to the right continues, the British Army may well assume direct control before the summer is over.

CP Reconstitution

The Northern and Southern Irish Communist Parties have recently reconstituted themselves as the Communist Party of Ireland.

The CPI had dissolved in 1941 following Hitler's invasion of Russia. Its anti-war position had been popular with Catholic and Nationalist Irish who saw Britain as a greater enemy than Germany. (The Irish Free State remained neutral throughout the war.) Among the pro-British Protestants, however, the opposite was true.

After the entry of Russia into the war, the Southern CP felt it could not carry out the new pro-war line and dissolved. In order to increase its influence among the pro-partition, Protestant workers, the Northern section then renamed itself the CP of Northern Ireland. Their Southern comrades re-emerged in the '50's as the Irish Workers' Party. Now they are back together under the old label.

The CP and the IRA ("officials") now dominate the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association and are building the National Liberation Front which other "progressive national forces" are invited to join.

The CP, which tolerated the Special Powers Act and other repressive legislation during the "great anti-fascist war," is now vehemently in support of full civil rights in the North. Eager not to offend Catholic nationalists, however, it does not apply the same vigorous criticism to similar inequities under the Dublin regime.

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On Morgan

In a footnote to his first-rate piece on Marx and Engels on Women, Hal Draper refers to the place of L.H. Morgan in modern anthropological theory, further suggesting that Boas, along with his school, "rescues established institutions from the subversive conclusions suggested by an evolutionary approach to man's prehistory." In this Draper seems to endorse Leslie White's evaluation of Morgan and Boas, and fails to clarify which aspects of Morgan's work have stood the test of time, and which have not.

It is somewhat ironic that many Marxists believe that in order to defend our general method and world outlook we must defend the whole body of the work of a 19th Century businessman from upstate New York, who holds the franchise on Marxist anthropology. It is precisely this dogmatic adherence to the rigid evolutionary scheme of Morgan-Engels that accounts for the weakness of Soviet anthropological theory (aside, of course, from the social situation underlying this dogmatism).

While it is true that Morgan and Engels made important contributions to the development of anthropology, neither was immune from the influence, often deleterious, of the intellectual milieu of the 19th Century, and both made major errors in methodology and on substantive questions. It is, furthermore, a canard to dismiss Boas and his pupils as reactionaries and apologists for "established institutions."

For those who wish to explore this question more fully, I recommend Marvin Harris' "Use of Anthropological Theory", the only recent full-scale history of the field, and an explicitly materialist work. At the moment I will confine myself to some assertions on the most politically relevant aspects of the subject:

(1) Neither Morgan nor Engels was free from the tendency, prevalent in the 19th Century, to biologize history. For example, Engels, following Morgan, explains the putative rise of incest prohibitions by their beneficial racial effects. Morgan believed that cultural innovations could be transmitted in the blood. In any sense remotely approaching Morgan's formulation, we know today that this is sheer nonsense.

(2) There is no evidence for group marriage as the dominant type in any society, nor for a universal progression of types of marriage. Nor did matrilineal inheritance (mother-right) universally (or even generally) precede patrilineal inheritance (father-right). There is no correspondence between matrilineal descent or inheritance and matriarchy (rule of the society by women). In fact, there is no documented case of a society in which the sexes are fully equal, let alone one run by women. There is, however, widespread variation in the way tasks are allotted by sex, the degree of sexual inequality, the dominant personality structures of the sexes, etc., suggesting that sex roles are highly malleable and that culture is probably more important than biology in determining their form.

(3) There is every reason to accept the notion that the production system and property relations are crucial for determining the nature of family organization and sex roles. This emphasis of Marx and Engels, and to a much lesser extent, of Morgan on the relevance of the material base is undoubtedly their chief contribution to the social sciences.

(4) In the early 20th Century there was indeed a reaction against "evolutionism" in American,

British and French anthropology. While in part this reaction was directed against the highly speculative and arbitrary systems of many evolutionists, it was in fact even more a reaction to the consideration of material conditions as relevant to anthropology. The period did see a general emphasis on strict empiricism and a revival of idealist explanations.

It was only in the late Thirties and Forties that evolutionary concerns began to be revived on a large scale, but far more important was the revival of interest in the material conditions of life as essential parts of anthropological explanations. But this is the only sense in which we can say Morgan is not outmoded - aspects of his approach (which was far from his alone) have been revived in the work of some contemporary anthropologists. The substantive conclusions that were refuted by Love and the other "Boasians" remain, to a considerable degree, refuted.

(5) The effort to depict Boas as a villain is misguided, and even, in the case of White's criticism, tainted by genteel anti-Jewish prejudice. While he can legitimately be criticized for his methodologically anti-materialist stance, Boas made important contributions to clarifying the distinction between racial and cultural inheritance, and to demonstrating the importance of environmental factors (e.g., to the growth and development of the children of immigrants in the U.S.).

Boas was responsible for the establishment of anthropology as a reputable scientific discipline in the U.S. Among other things, he fought (against fierce opposition) the use of anthropological research as a cover for espionage, in World War II. For this sin, anthropology was relegated to a basement at Columbia University by arch-reactionary Nicholas Murray Butler. It took the department thirty years to reach the ground floor, and after the 1968 strike, so the joke goes, the administration wanted to send the department back to the basement. Boas, furthermore, along with his followers, fought courageously against the racialism of the Nazi period on scientific and political grounds.

(6) Leslie White, on the other hand, is so strict a determinist that he argues for total abstention from politics - since, in his view, individual volition counts for nothing. This position, while "evolutionist", has even less to do with Marxism and humanism than does Boasian anti-materialism. The general question of the validity of evolutionism in social science and politics is extremely important, but must be dealt with at another time.

David Epstein

Rejoinder

If Comrade Epstein will take the trouble to read my footnote, he will find that almost all of his often-interesting letter has little to do with what it says.

I am more or less aware of the controversies and views (including Epstein's view) which his letter refers to. As a non-anthropologist myself, I do not set myself up as a judge on them; nor did I think that the footnote (for we are discussing a footnote) should embrace an exposition of the present troubled state of anthropological theory.

The footnote was directed to the far larger number of people (also not anthropologists) who believe - as I have heard said flatly, time and again - that Morgan is "now simply 'outmoded', like Ptolemaic astronomy." This is the myth which my footnote

challenged.

On the contrary, certain aspects of Morgan's work are a continuing and fruitful subject of controversy in anthropology, not settled at all even in the minds of "modern anthropologists." One would never gather this fact from the completely one-sided dismissal of Morgan made, for example, even in Sidney Hook's Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx, not to speak of scores of other books on Marxism I could cite. In fact, in books on Marxism (written by non-anthropologists) this is the overwhelmingly common myth.

As the briefest footnoted way of indicating where a non-specialist could find that myth impugned, I pointed to Leslie White's article and bibliography in the prestigious International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. If - because White both helped to destroy, and documented the destruction of, the myth about Morgan - it follows that I have to endorse White's positive views on anthropology or anything else, then scientific thinking is in a bad way.

Furthermore, my note asked the reader to distinguish the "separate issue," viz. "the extent to which particular conclusions by Engels are based on particular details in Morgan." The next note referred the reader to where Engels made this point himself. I have never seen a book on Marxism which, in its ignorantly contemptuous disposal of Morgan, took this into account.

In fact, the disappointing thing about Epstein's letter (to me) is that he does not devote any of his space to discussing this more relevant question, on which he may be able to make a contribution. In fact, he complains that Draper (who is not an anthropologist) "fails to clarify which aspects of Morgan's work have stood the test of time, and which have not." I find this utterly astonishing. I would urge Epstein to attempt the task, not merely of clarifying how much of Morgan is living or dead, but of discussing how much of Engels' conclusions depend on this or that in Morgan, and the other anthropologists of the time whose work Engels used.

It should be clear then how very careless Epstein is in writing about "Marxists" who think "we must defend THE WHOLE BODY OF THE WORK" of Morgan, as well as some other ill-advised language in his letter. It is well-known there are such "Marxists"; but Epstein was presumably discussing my footnote, not the whole planet.

Then there are Epstein's remarks on my statement that the Boas anti-evolutionary school "rescues established institutions from the subversive conclusions", etc. I regret to say that Epstein shows no comprehension of what this statement means, but substitutes other ideas for it, which he proceeds to "refute".

He first makes my statement equivalent to calling Boas a "reactionary". I am afraid he thereby reveals that he does not understand LIBERALISM, and the role it plays in rescuing established institutions in its own sincere liberal way. He further makes it equivalent to calling Boas "an apologist" for established institutions. I am afraid Epstein does not understand that LIBERALISM acts to rescue established institutions (etc.) precisely by sincerely presenting itself not as an apologist for the system but as a critic of it. Thirdly, he makes it equivalent to calling Boas a "villain"; which means he does not understand that LIBERALS are effective only insofar as they are really not "villains" but honest, sincere, high-intentioned people who have even sometimes been "heroes".

In fact, I'm afraid Epstein shows no comprehension of the social-ideological role played by the Boas-type anti-evolutionary school in anthropology; nor, in general, of the relationship between the objective effects of a certain ideology on so-

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ciety, on the one hand, and, on the other, of the particular acts, ideas and character of particular individuals who spread that ideology. He seems to assume a very vulgarly mechanical correspondence between the two, though I am confident he would repudiate this methodology on thinking about it a little.

It is also the same methodology which makes him assume that if one gives due credit to Leslie White for his useful work in destroying certain prejudices and myths about Morgan and the evolutionary school in general, then one also has to be sympathetic with White's positive views on anything else, including apparently "genteel anti-Jewish prejudices" and other red herrings. (Epstein, I hope, is acquainted with Marxist discussions of mechanical-materialists, for example: their great contributions AND their great defects.)

This is the sort of thing which often makes me suspicious, as I read anthropological literature, of the anthropologists' ability to distinguish between whatever scientific research they carry on, on the one hand, and, on the other, their ability to think through this material in terms of social theory. For anthropology is a social science - it is not physics or chemistry. If it is true (as it is) that Engels was not "immune from the influence" of the 19th century milieu, then it would be well, even for would-be radical anthropologists, to understand that they are not immune from the deleterious and all-pervasive characteristics of the 20th century and American milieu, including its virulent and unscientific anti-Marxism and distortion of Marxism.

As for Epstein's flat and very dogmatic statements about the history of marriage and women, he will have to argue it out with Robert Briffault, not Morgan and certainly not me. I referred read-

ers to Briffault, where they will find a brilliant polemic against the orthodoxy of "modern anthropologists". I note that Epstein's letter does not mention him.

Briffault was an "outsider" - like Morgan, whom Epstein sums up, in a very interesting dagger-thrust, as a "businessman from upstate New York." In other words, he was not a scientist like us. This is the kind of falsification that Leslie White makes into small pieces of mincemeat. Candor compels me to state that, out of everything else in his letter, this little touch tends to convince me that Epstein approaches the question with a certain lack of that dispassionate search for scientific verity which social scientists pretend to.

In sum:

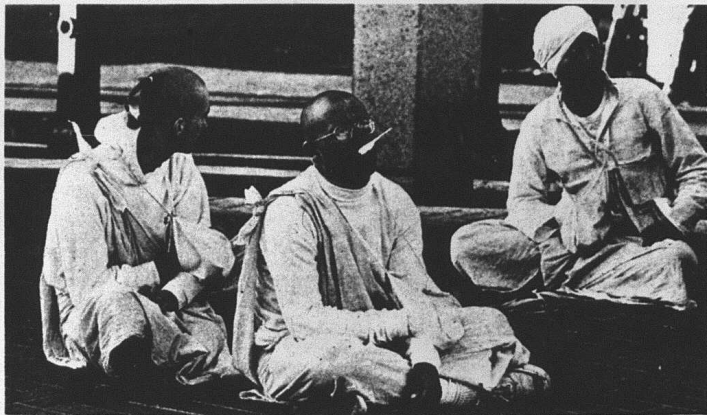
(1) The "principle conceptions" of Morgan - not this or that view or conclusion - are still controversial among "modern anthropologists". Morgan cannot be dismissed along with Ptolemy and phlogiston.

(2) The degree to which particular views in Engels are necessarily based on (stand or fall with) particular views of Morgan's, is almost never taken at the real point at issue - rather than any general evaluation of Morgan himself.

(3) The most basic conflict in anthropology is between evolutionism and anti-evolutionism. (Surely, anyone must realize that both big schools break down into differing varieties?) On this conflict, there are as usual two separate questions: (a) Which is scientifically correct? (b) What is the social-ideological impact of each on the "established institutions" of society? It is obfuscation unless one discusses the place of Morgan primarily within this context - whatever views one expounds.

Now: if Epstein will read my footnote again, he will find that these are the issues I raised, not most of what he discussed.

Hal Draper



KARL MARX? NEVER HEARD OF HIM.

Independent Socialist Press: New Publications

Following is a report to IS readers on new publications of the Independent Socialist Press--which, I should mention, is my private-enterprise sector, dedicated to re-publishing (now and then) important Independent Socialist and Marxist educational materials of the past.

Two new numbers in the "Independent Socialist Clippingbook" series have just been published; and two more are under way for publication later this year.

Unlike the first three Clippingbooks, new Nos. 4 and 5 are intended mainly for sale to university and research libraries. A number of university libraries now have standing orders for the Clippingbook series, and one of the objectives of the Press is to increase this number. The price of each of the new numbers is \$9.75 (high!); the format is large (letterize) and well over 200 pages.

No. 4 is Indexes to Independent Socialist Periodicals. About half the book supplies for the first time a complete, cumulative and detailed set of indexes to the important Marxist journal The New Internationalist (1934-1958)--by author, subject, and country, and a book-review index. This new index is not based on the inadequate annual indexes published by the magazine itself. The volume then reproduces the annual indexes to Labor Action (1949-1978) which were published in that paper. This section is neither new nor cumulative, but it does assemble the material in convenient form - with the exception of the 1958 index, which is new, none having been previously published. Finally, a couple of dozen pages provide author and subject indexes to two of the important socialist student magazines of the 1950's: Student Partisan (before its merger with Anvil) and Anvil itself.

No. 5 (Marx and Engels: Articles in the New American Cyclopaedia) collects and republishes for the first time the 67 articles which the two men wrote for that Dana enterprise, and which can now be found only scattered through several volumes of the old encyclopedia, unsigned and unidentified. (Except of course for their publication in German and Russian translation in the respective collected works.) A long introduction assembles all the facts about the writing of these articles, mainly from the Marx-Engels correspondence and from the editorial material in the German Werke edition. In addition, some dubious are reproduced, and some supplementary materials like the articles about Marx in two later editions of the same encyclopedia. These articles, mainly on military and biographical topics, are not of great interest or value for the general reader; hence the small library edition only.

Quite different are upcoming numbers 6 and 7, now in the works, which should be of considerable interest and usefulness for current political education.

No. 6 (tentatively titled How Mao Conquered China, by Jack Brad) reproduces a series of articles published from 1948 to 1950, analyzing the events as they were taking place. All of it adds up to a socio-political interpretation of the nature of Maoism, and its relation to Russian Stalinism, which is as relevant now as it was then. This one will be pamphlet-sized (only 30-40 pages) and correspondingly inexpensive.

No. 7 (The Permanent War Economy, by T. N. Vance et. al.) is mainly devoted to republishing the germinal work which, in my opinion, still represents the key Marxist approach to the analysis of contemporary late-capitalism, as against the approaches taken by such others as Baran/Sweezy, Gorz or E. Mandel. In addition to integral reproduction of Vance's six-part series which appeared originally in 1951, the volume also includes parts of three later articles by Vance, plus some short informational and theoretical supplements on the same subject. In large format and under 200 pages, the volume will be relatively low-priced.

No. 1 of the Clippingbooks (Introduction to Independent Socialism) is now completely out of print; a second edition, considerably shortened, in large format, and lower-priced, is under consideration. No. 2 (Independent Socialism and War) and No. 3 (Zionism, Israel and the Arabs) are still available.

Finally: Independent Socialist Press has a new mailing address--Box 6332 Albany Station, Berkeley, Cal. 94706. Business correspondence should be addressed there.

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The Russian Environmental Crisis

Wayne Price

The environmental crisis is a world-wide problem. The pollution of air, water, and food, the destruction of wildlife, the wastage of natural resources: these do not recognize the boundaries set by national governments. Every social system must be judged by its response to this problem, because the survival of the human species is in danger.

How have the so-called "Communist" nations measured up? After all, their economies are supposedly run for the public welfare, not profit. Their protagonists have argued that these nations cannot have the problems of market capitalism, because their economies are planned. This argument merges with the similar thinking of many "ecological" theoreticians, some of whom are very anti-Communist. These pro-Western thinkers see Planning as the big solution—right after population control.

Bureaucratic Planning

The Russians have long claimed that they prevented pollution by automobiles, factories, etc., by careful research and regulation. In 1965, they gave examples:

"Asked about the possibility that a new plant could affect existing housing (with air pollution), Dr. Izmerov explained the system of approval for new plants or products. No new substance can be introduced without prior approval health authorities. If a new factory or shop is planned, all documents are submitted to sanitary officers of a state commission. They study the plans for purification systems and estimated discharge into the atmosphere. The chief will not sign the approval form if, according to his calculations, the concentrations will be hazardous to health (NY Times, 1/9/65)."

This sounds good, but it turned out that these and many other such regulations have not had any better effect than American conservation and consumer protection regulations.

Just this year, a campaign has developed in which conservationists have exposed the ecological crisis in Russia and demanded new laws. A particularly revealing article appeared in a recent issue of the journal *Ekonomika Selskovo Khozvalstva* (Agricultural economy). It was written by Boris N. Bogdanov, head of the Ministry of Agriculture's department for the protection of nature (reported in NY Times, 4/9/70).

Besides showing the extent of the environmental problem, he also demonstrated the irrational nature of bureaucratic planning:

"The damage being done to the economy through improper use of natural resources and environmental pollution is immense," Mr. Bogdanov said, adding that current regulations, drafted by republics and ministries, had proved inadequate. "A nature-protection law covering the entire country must be passed. . . . Scientists have calculated, he said, that if wind and water erosion would be completely eliminated, the country could benefit to the tune of 4.5 billion rubles annually" (a ruble is officially valued at \$1.11). A scientist was quoted as having said that erosion control could give the Soviet Union an additional 250 million tons of grain annually. Last year's harvest amounted to 160 million tons.

"... Much land is wasted through its being allocated to industry," he went on. "Hundreds of thousands of acres of land in the Soviet Union have been lost to the mining industry. Open cut mining alone causes some 75,000 acres of land to be wasted annually. Losses due to water pollution are estimated by scientists at 6 billion rubles a year. Rivers are polluted by industrial and municipal sewage that is not subjected to purification. . . . "Smoke and dust control is becoming a pressing necessity. The use and control of detergents and pesticides that pollute the water, air and soil are becoming serious problems. Far-reaching measures are needed to deal with mountains of refuse and industrial waste accumulation in the cities and towns. . . .

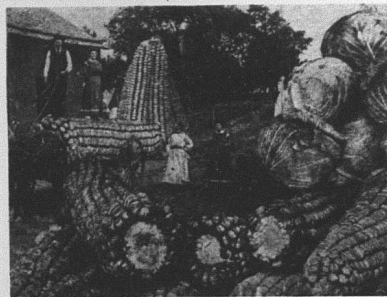
"Only about 50 to 70 per cent of the money allocated for purification work is actually spent" (NY Times, April 9, '70)."

Minister Bogdanov's account of a society in conflict with nature has been repeated in many places. Articles

in national and local publications have warned of increasing pollution of the Volga and every other major river, of the slow drying up of the Aral and Azov Seas, of the declining water level of the Caspian Sea and its pollution by the oil industry at Baku. The scientists have claimed that the lowered water level of the lakes is due mostly to the diversion of the rivers that feed them to provide water for irrigation and for hydroelectric stations. This has caused the salt proportion to increase, and destroyed the plant life that fish require (NY Times, 4/28/70).

Another Russian conservationist has written of the destruction of wildlife. Vladimir Peskov, writing in the newspaper *Komsolskaya Pravda*, told how two farmers killed more than 50 cranes, 200 rare great bustards, 11 gray geese, and 50 foxes by misuse of chemical pesticides.

This is only a "small part" of the abuse of pesticides, he said, "It happens everywhere. This question is worrying us more and more every year. Why do we see almost no flocks of geese and cranes in April? Almost all the partridges are gone. Our woods, gardens and fields are becoming quieter and quieter" (NY Times, 4/21/70). This sounds like a Russian *Silent Spring*. Meanwhile, Russian fishers have been killing whales faster than the whales can reproduce. Together with Japan and other capitalist countries, the Russians are exterminating the whales (Look, 4/21/70).



The conservation "movement" is not just the creation of outraged citizens, but is plainly being promoted by leading officials. They even had a movie made, by a leading Russian director, all about pollution at Lake Baikal (NY Times, 3/2/70). Their concern is not for a new relationship between human beings and the natural environment. They simply wish to prevent waste and keep costs down (perfectly proper goals, of course).

A new law has been announced which will provide for national controls and local sanitation organizations. It covers industrial pollution, sewage disposal, contamination of lakes, conservation of water, and fish breeding. It sets up criminal and administrative penalties for any individuals or agencies which violate the law (NY Times, 4/28/70). (Actually the new law has not yet been passed. It has only been printed in the government paper *Izvestia*, taking up a whole page, as an announcement that it will be presented to the Supreme Soviet at the next session. However, we confidently predict that it will be accepted unanimously.)

By passing this law, the bureaucrats admit to all the accusations of pollution and waste, but promise to do better. One Moscovite woman, upon reading the law, was quoted as saying that it was needed since "every few days I have to wash out my teapot because of the sand that comes in with the tap water." The question is not whether the law is needed but whether it will do much good.

It is doubtful that the new law will do much more than the previous conservation regulations, all of which were supposed to protect the environment in the interest of all the people. It is doubtful that the new ruling will work any better than the new "environmental" laws proposed by politicians in the U.S., and for the same reason. Just as in the U.S., the basic nature of the Russian state system puts it in conflict with the environment.

The Russian rulers need to maintain a military balance with the American armed forces; they want Russia to serve as an attractive alternative to the U.S.: they give economic and military aid to Egypt, Cuba, North Vietnam, and so forth; and they try to compete with American businesses in limited parts of the world market. All this impels the bureaucratic ruling class to place tremendous stress on building up the productive plant of the nation as rapidly as possible, regardless of the long-range overall effect on the environment, or on the workers.

That is why great forests are cut down faster than they can be restored, chemicals are used recklessly for large crops, rivers are dangerously drained for irrigation, and the unique scientific value of Lake Baikal is destroyed for . . . wood pulp factories. As in the U.S., conservation laws may lessen the damage, but cannot end it, because the economy as a whole is geared in a destructive fashion.

Russia demonstrates that Planning per se is not enough. It is planned, but by the bureaucracy for their power, which requires a quantitatively expanding economy—regardless of the quality of goods and services. Bureaucratic planning inevitably is bad planning. A relatively small elite of rulers, no matter how bright, cannot possibly run all the activities of a huge national economy. The people at the top may be committed to preventing environmental waste, but a local factory manager with a quota to meet will not worry about pollution. In 1964, for example, Khrushchev announced a new program that was designed to increase agricultural output. The idea was to plow up and sow 32 million acres of grassland in Siberia and Kazakhstan. This was supposed to provide the Russian empire with an additional 18 to 19.5 million tons of grain.

From the beginning, the "Virgin Lands" campaign ran into trouble, as officials involved in the new "consumer goods" program competed with "Virgin Lands" officials for labour and material. The main problem was the ecological stupidity of large-scale plowing of grasslands without any attempt at conservation.

Novy Mir, a major magazine, published a dramatic description in 1964 of the dust bowl conditions that had been created. "In the reports the area of arable land had increased. But in reality thousands of hectares are by now so eroded that they could not even grow a crop of weeds." It even praised a local agronomist who had saved lands from this fate by sending in false reports! (See R. Conquest, *Russia After Khrushchev*; and W. Leonard, *The Kremlin Since Stalin*.)

Socialism and Ecology

Many liberals refer to the evidence of Russian pollution as proof that "socialism won't solve pollution." They see this argument as a counter-weight to the plentiful scientific evidence that capitalism cannot solve pollution. However, all that Russia's example proves is that—regardless of the character of their respective elites—societies run by exploitative ruling minorities cannot plan the environment in the interest of all the people. Capitalist businessmen and "Communist" bureaucrats are both guilty of despoiling the environment.

Russia is not "socialist" or "communist". Socialism means a society in which the working people—white-collar and blue-collar, black and white, men and women—own and control the fields and factories. Plans in a socialist society would be developed and carried out from below by all the people, through elected national economic managers, elected factory committees and shop floor workers' councils.

Of course, elected officials would use scientific advisors to help in drawing up possible plans, but only the workers could decide, for example, between a plan with more spare time but fewer goods produced, and a plan with more goods but less leisure. Such societies would coordinate national planning in order to solve the problems of the international environment.

The environmental crisis is total. It will kill us if it is not resolved. It can be ended only by a total transformation of all the social systems that poison the people of the world.