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## *State of Emergency*



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# STATE OF EMERGENCY

by Mike Urquhart

A national experiment is being conducted, testing whether this movement or any movement so conceived and so dedicated can long endure massive military and political repression. Hanging in the balance is not only the fate of the movement but the future of higher education as well.

On November 6, a strike was begun at San Francisco State College. On January 22, a similar strike began on the University of California campus in Berkeley. In between, shock waves were felt at San Jose State College, the College of San Mateo, City College of San Francisco and Merritt Junior College in Oakland-- not to mention San Fernando State and other institutions in Southern California.

Subsequently, related struggles have broken out on dozens of college and university campuses across the country: at Duke University in North Carolina, at the University of Wisconsin, in Chicago, at Brandeis and elsewhere.

Common to these strikes and demonstrations has been an almost unprecedented degree of militancy and often bitterness-- and an equally unprecedented amount of physical and academic repression.

The strike at SF State, for example, has lasted longer and in many respects been more successful than any previous student strike in US history. Records set by the Berkeley strikes of 1964 and 1966 have long since been surpassed; even Columbia has been largely overshadowed.

At the same time-- following the lead of the unabashedly reactionary SI Hayakawa of SF State-- one administration after another, with few exceptions, has resorted to massive police violence and terror, mace and clubs, undercover agents, arbitrary arrests, suspensions and expulsions, even tear gas and the national guard (with fixed bayonets), in attempts to quell the "disturbances" (the University of Notre Dame wins the Wretched Excess of the Year Award for its promise of instant suspensions after five minutes of a demonstration, instant expulsions after ten-- and, no doubt, instant excommunications after fifteen).

A sizeable and growing quantity of state and national legislation has been proposed to institutionalize the de facto police state that has already been established on several campuses.

## NATION-WIDE EXPERIMENT

As Hayakawa and Governor Reagan have repeatedly emphasized, what is going on is a nation-wide experiment: a dialectical test of the effectiveness of open state repression of student upheavals, of the ability of the movement to survive and gain ground in the face of such repression, and of the usefulness of labor-student alliances as well, since, for the first time, American Federation of Teachers locals have more than once gone out in conjunction with students.

A "state of extreme emergency," as Reagan has proclaimed, does in fact exist-- a state of emer-

gency for the movement. Taken together, the body of power structure responses to the strike wave clearly constitute an attempt to roll things back to a pre-FSM state of affairs; cancelling of rallies, abolition of free speech areas, suppression of movement groups, purging of radicals-- all are in effect now or likely in several areas.

Also at stake is the future of higher education in America.

In the past, students have generally initiated fights over fairly specific and limited issues: for the right to organize against the war, against harassment of the movement, against university complicity with imperialism.

In many instances, of course, battles about specific issues have tended to escalate toward involvement with questions of a more general nature. With repression, people in the course of struggles are frequently radicalized; with success, broader and broader sections of the community frequently join the fight with their own demands.

What is distinctive about the current round is the fact that the concrete demands raised have a particular built-in logic-- a logic which can very quickly generalize of its own momentum, to the point where the whole nature of higher education is called into question. Consider the case of California, where it all began.

## EDUCATION AND RACISM

The higher education system in California has for some time been a model for the rest of the country (for the establishment, that is, as well as the left). Like the public school system, it is based upon a channeling principle.

There are three main channels: the university system, the state college system, and the junior college system. Each serves a specific purpose -- a purpose defined, not in the interests of the "whole community," but by the corporate interests which dominate the state and which, via the boards of regents and trustees, directly control the systems of higher education.

The university system takes the top 12% of high school graduates, has a large Ph.D. program, and trains professional people and future members of industrial, governmental and academic elites. The state college system gets the upper third of high school graduates, only goes as far as the M.A., and turns out for the most part white collar workers such as teachers and technicians. The junior college system is the lowest channel, accepts those excluded by the other two, and takes on many of the

aspects of a trade school, training people mainly for skilled jobs.

Meanwhile, the multi-channel public school system called "tracking" rather mechanically predetermines the student's rank at graduation on the basis of the socio-economic position of his parents. Children from black schools, for example, are normally never even considered for upper tracks.

Thus the channeling system as a whole is not only set up to refill the slots in the present structure of the status quo. It also works to guarantee that those who fill the slots tomorrow will be pretty much the children of those who fill them today.

Some "one-step mobility" is allowed for, but almost invariably the student ends up in the channel which corresponds to the segment of society he comes from. Children of more privileged groups are groomed for assumption of privileged positions; children of racial minorities are shunted into the lowest channels, if they get an education at all. Elitism and racism both are part and parcel of the system.

## AUTONOMY

For this reason, the current struggles, begun by black and other third world students, immediately tend to call into question this whole approach to higher education. Common to most outbreaks have been demands for autonomous departments of black and third world studies, to undermine the effect of the channeling system on minority communities. And if channeling is undermined, the whole structure of higher education based upon it will crumble too. The demand for unlimited admission of black and other third world students, by breaking down the current pattern in which only a tiny fraction of third world students ever reach the university, also contributes to ending the tradition that education is the realm of an elite.

It is possible, of course, to so structure a degree program in black and third world studies as to pose no basic threat to the racist character of the educational system.

So long as the US remains a class society, and so long as the class structure is jeopardized by the burning aspirations of oppressed national minorities, strong tendencies will be set to work on even the best conceived third world studies program, to portray the world from the point of view of ruling class ideology and interest.

Non-autonomous third world colleges would be responsible to the regents and trustees, direct representatives of the ruling class in California. Such departments would be carefully tailored to fit THEIR needs, not the needs of the third world communities.

As Chancellor Heyns put it, in his February 3 speech to the Berkeley Academic Senate, it would be unacceptable for "...any instructional unit on this campus" to be "free from relationships that all units have-- to the admission policy of the University, to the monitoring and review functions of the Academic Senate and the Administration."

That is to say, should anything get out of hand-- faculty selection, course content, administrative pro-





cedures, or what not-- more than adequate means of intervention will have already been established.

Overt intervention might never even be necessary, for those within a non-autonomous college would know what bounds dare not be crossed without threatening "what we already have." The process of continually policing oneself for fear of intervention by the powers--that be usually leads to internalization of the values of that power.

Third world studies, in short, COULD be structured as attempts to train an elite to control third world people, as research into ways and means of managing the threat they pose to the rulers of this society.

That does not change the fact that they can also be defined as attempts to train new leaders of the black and third world communities, as research into the ways and means of combatting racism, not reinforcing it.

Programs initiated from below (by independent third world groups like the Black Student Unions and Third World Liberation Fronts-- as opposed to select university committees even with individual third world members), programs which are crystallized and implemented in the course of a fight, have the potential of resisting the pressure of the establishment.

Thus the demand for autonomous black and third world departments, combined with an independent fight for those departments, has explosive implications for the future development of higher education. The struggle is infectious beyond the ranks of its immediate participants.

Third World students, by demonstrating that the educational process will not work in their interests unless they themselves control it, raise the question for all students-- high school as well as college-- of whose interests their education serves.

It is this infectiousness which has generated the extremely repressive approach of many administrations (even the officially liberal administration of UC's President Hitch and Chancellor Heyns-- publicly committed to bringing a certain modicum of third world people into the University-- turned things over to the cops without so much as a word of regret).

It is not that profits are lost immediately upon the closing of a campus-- although the large universities do represent major investments in terms of state and business sponsored research and so forth. Rather, it is the progressive weakening of their social authority, and thus of the system they represent, which worries regents and trustees around the country.

### THE KEY TO VICTORY

At the same time, it is also this infectiousness which holds the key to victory for the movement. Concessions will be made only to the extent that the cost of concessions appears less than the cost of continuing conflict. The strikers must seize every opportunity to open up new fronts, to broaden the radicalizing effects of the struggle. This means asking for community support, for one thing, but it also means encouraging others to begin their own struggles.

As it happens, the TWLF strike in Berkeley has in fact been hurt by tendencies that have hindered efforts to broaden the fight. Some of those involved in the original outbreak at SF State have argued against infectiousness from the beginning. Their point of view has been that since the strike began as a fight against racism, to raise other demands would dilute the focus of the struggle; other demands are "white demands," and thus objectively reactionary if not racist. On the contrary, as has been said, a successful attack on racism on the campus demands an attack on the authority of the regents and trustees. A broadening of the fight would reinforce, not dilute, the challenge to racism.

Insofar as this approach has been the operative one in any area, it has worked to impose artificial limits on the scope of the challenge posed by the strikes and demonstrations, and thus on their effectiveness.

A leaflet distributed at Berkeley even went so far as to oppose the raising of the slogan, "Cops Off Campus," because it "makes no sense... in the abstract"-- although it is precisely the very concrete growing police rule on the various campuses that has convinced many friendly but apathetic students that their necks too are on the line.

Also, the TWLF at Berkeley has at times tried to limit white participation in the fight strictly to "strike support," without the right to make policy decisions or raise their own demands. The TWLF veto over all white activity undermined the credibility of the white radical movement on the campus,

and made it difficult to build a real base for the strike among the majority of the students. Demands for support but only support fostered a feeling of alienation from the strike on the part of many white students who were otherwise in complete sympathy with the demands of the TWLF.

Recently, the TWLF has begun to encourage an increased role for white students and the situation has improved. It should be remembered that mutual autonomy and dignity are prerequisites to any alliances that are going to be worth anything at all.

The entry of the American Federation of Teachers into the struggle at SF State has minimized the effect of these problems there; the AFT, galvanized

into motion by the militancy of the students, has constituted an independent focus for white participation in the strike.

As of this writing, the Berkeley AFT Local 1570 (teaching and research assistants) has-- in the face of both temporizing by the Alameda County Central Labor Council and threats by the UC Regents to fire anyone that strikes-- just voted overwhelmingly to strike (in support of the TWLF and in opposition to military rule on campus). Their courageous decision has the potential to similarly strengthen the struggle at UC.

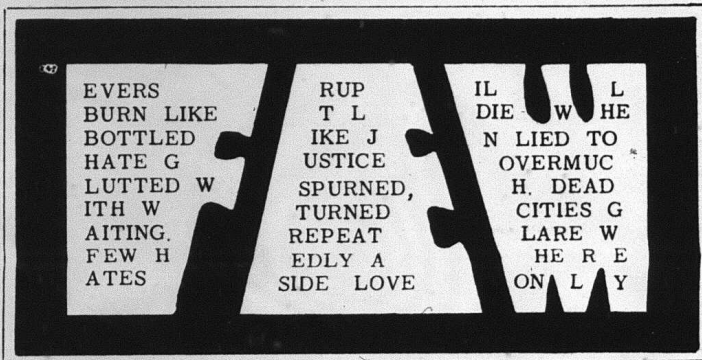
Also, the Berkeley clerical and technical workers union, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Workers Local 1695, has voted to honor the AFT picket lines and may soon strike itself.

The fact that the AFT and the AFSCME have joined the fray at Berkeley not only broadens the struggle, it also ups the stakes. Now the fate of the trade union movement on the campus is up for grabs as well as the survival of the movement and the development of higher education.

Earlier student explosions provided the impetus for the creation of the AFT and the AFSCME at Cal. If the unions are broken in the course of this strike, their defeat will be a major set back to efforts to organize colleges and universities around the country-- a setback, in fact, to the more general effort to reinforce and revitalize the labor movement through the organization of white collar workers.

On the other hand, if the AFT/TWLF strike is a success, the sacred anti-labor traditions of the rulers of the University of California will have been sorely compromised. Moreover, the embryonic but growing attempts to build worker-student alliances here and elsewhere will have received another shot in the arm-- not to mention the movement in general.

The current struggles have developed at a time when they were least expected. The movement nationwide appeared to be in a downswing in the wake of the election. Some people had come to feel that militant student struggles were more or less ruled out in the coming period. Whatever the outcome of this wave of confrontations, clearly that estimate was mistaken. 2/18/69



by Richard E. Lyons

## Tool or Danger by Ernest Haberkern

There are many similarities between the strike at SF State and the struggle at Berkeley. In one respect, however, the two can be quite clearly differentiated-- that is, in terms of the contrasting roles played by the respective faculties of the two institutions.

The UC Berkeley faculty has many grievances against the Administration and the Regents, who have steadily whittled down their professional prerogatives. Both the "liberal" administration and reactionaries like Reagan are as opposed to faculty power as they are to student autonomy or black power.

The faculty indeed has good reason to fear the Regents and the Administration-- but it is totally unable to fight them, to defend itself, for reasons which are directly connected to its position on third world demands.

The Berkeley faculty is opposed to the demand for an autonomous third world college. Indeed, it is opposed to even the most minimal student demands for participation in decision-making. The faculty fears the student movement because it threatens the authoritarian attitudes that prevail in the classroom, and because it challenges the elitist political attitudes toward the society at large that prevail in the Academy.

To open up the universities and state colleges to the majority of the population that is now funneled into the junior colleges, or out of higher education altogether, would create a kind of university for which most professors at this institution are unequalled.

Thus, when Chancellor Heyns announced his proposal for a non-autonomous white-controlled department of black studies, the faculty opposed him from the right-- not for tokenism but for "capitulation to black power."

They also resented his usurpation (only the latest of many) of traditional faculty control over educational policy. But, petrified at the thought of the educational revolution an autonomous third world college could precipitate, they could hardly turn to the students for support against the Administration.

Instead, the UC faculty reacted like the timid

employee of a tyrannical boss, who takes out his frustration by kicking the ground when he gets home from work. That is, instead of standing up to Heyns, they swallowed their resentment and denounced the students for violence (the violence in question being a stationary picket line that had forced scabs to walk a good two hundred feet out of their way).

Then the Academic Senate, acting with their traditional scholarly respect for the evidence, went on to throw in a slanderous charge of arson (despite the fact that, as a little research would have indicated-- a quick glance at the morning newspaper say-- there is as yet no evidence that arson was ever committed, that there are no suspects at all, let alone suspects who might be linked to the strikers, and that the strike leadership repudiated any such action).

Finally, the Senate voted down a motion to repudiate the calling in of police. That alibi violence, as Professor Wallace of Alabama has definitively argued, that's just law and order. The Berkeley faculty will never be able to fight for its rights so long as it looks to the Administration for protection against the students and the community outside the University. It is caught between the devil and the deep blue sea, between the immediate threat of an academic police state and the potential challenge of a frightening new kind of university, oriented toward a new kind of world. The SF State faculty, meanwhile, has confronted the same kind of choice and, organized as workers in a trade union, joined the strike. The action of the AFT at San Francisco State, and the response it has received from the labor movement as a whole, make it clear that the Berkeley faculty does have before it a real alternative to subordination to Heyns.

As Hal Draper wrote in 1964, just before the FSM, "It is easy enough to become a tool. There are all kinds of tools, and they can come without head, teeth, or point. On the other hand, there is danger in becoming a danger. Which will it be?"

# Under the Standard Sign

by Kit Lyons

"There was a time when we in the labor movement were widely respected as the champions of the underdog... We earned the support of the community—the minority groups in particular—by our actions in solidarity with people getting a dirty deal from the big corporations and the establishment... We are going to revive the old spirit of solidarity and identification with progressive social causes that characterized the historic movement of organized workers for justice and equality. We fully expect in time to strike a responsive cord throughout the length and breadth of American trade unionism. The strains of the old union song "Solidarity Forever" will be given renewed meaning and once again reverberate throughout the land."—Jacobs

On February 3 and again on February 10, students from all over the San Francisco Bay Area turned out on picket lines by the hundreds — at 6 A.M. The target of the early morning demonstrations was not a draft board or a university administration building but an oil refinery, the massive Richmond plant of Standard Oil of California.

Almost overnight a genuine example of a student-worker alliance has been built in the Bay Area — between, on the one hand, supporters of the Third World Liberation Front strikes at San Francisco State College and the University of California at Berkeley, and, on the other hand, predominantly white workers at a plant which showed significant support for the Wallace campaign barely three months ago.

For over a month, since Jan. 4, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, AFL-CIO, have been on strike against some of the true giants of American corporate capitalism, the nation's major oil companies. Leaders of the oil workers union have become convinced that the three big firms which have so far refused to settle (Standard, Shell and Texaco) are out to test the union's strength. Indeed, they have no little cause for concern. In 1946, the union lost a protracted struggle with the companies, and, as a result, open shops are the rule rather than the exception in the industry.

In the Bay Area, there can be no question but that, as in 1946, Standard Oil and Shell — proverbially anti-labor — are out to destroy the OCAW. The objections they raise to the workers' concrete demands ("72 plus," "72% plus fringe benefits") are in part a smokescreen for their desire to bust the union.

A standard subsidiary in Richmond, Chevron Chemical Company, is the sole section of the refinery complex where the union has held on to a "union shop" agreement. During negotiations with union representatives, since broken off, company officials of Chevron Chemical demanded nothing less than abolition of the union shop (as well as a reduction in the amount of overtime pay for showering and an end to premium payments for schedule changes without 40 hours notice).

## HEAVY ODDS

The array of forces lined up against the union is an impressive one. In the first place, the refineries are highly automated (in the 20 years since the last strike, the work force has been halved but production has been increased) despite its great size, the Standard Oil plant employs altogether less than 5000 men. No more than 3,700 OCAW members went on strike in the Bay Area.

Like many others around the country, the refinery is still running despite the strike, staffed by skeleton crews of "management and technical personnel" — although there are widespread fears that the installations, always hazardous places to work, are now dangerously undermanned.

(Standard Oil has hired a specialist on air pollution and screened its tanks with trees in an effort to build a public image as a "Good Neighbor Refinery." But its cavalier defiance of the requirements of public safety in the course of the strike demonstrate, once more, like the recent disaster at Santa Barbara, that so far as the oil companies are concerned, when push comes to shove, the public as well as its employees be damned.)

Another factor which weighs heavily against the strikers is the fact that, as another consequence of the 1946 defeat, Standard was able to divide up the work force at Richmond by pulling in a number of different unions to organize different parts of the plant. In many cases old craft unions, they have contracts with dates of expiration unrelated to that of the OCAW.

Although these unions honored the OCAW picket lines during the first week of the strike, Standard brought pressure to bear on the international office of the local unions: threats of lawsuits for "failure to perform work as contracted" (in Olean, California), such a suit aimed against the Building and Construction Trades Council — whose members refused to cross the OCAW lines at the Union Oil refinery there — was dropped only because Union Oil settled with the OCAW.

There are now as many as nine AFL-CIO unions crossing the picket lines, although a few individual militants from these unions have refused. Moreover, there are a number of unionists living in the Standard plant and getting stand-by pay along with the non-union scabs.

Finally, the entire power structure of the area is lined up in a solid front against the strike. The city of Richmond, on the eastern shore of San Francisco Bay in Contra Costa County (with a population of about 73,000), is one of the closer on-going approximations of the totalitarian company towns of the nineteenth century. Standard Oil of California is the biggest single taxpayer and employer in the city, and the politics of the community have long been dominated by the oil industry. The situation is much the same in Martinez (east of Richmond, with a population of 9,600). There the mayor's husband is a Shell Oil engineer and a strikebreaker.

A court injunction barring more than five pickets at each gate, five feet apart, thus came as no surprise to the union, which has had some prior experience with "impartial" administration of the law. Similarly, the Contra Costa County Board of Supervisors recently passed a loosely-worded anti-loitering law aimed at inhibiting and harassing picketers.

Another concrete example of the way in which the established institutions of the community all function to defend the company status quo may seem less important but in fact has had quite an impact on the individual workers out on strike. The Contra Costa County Social Service Department has been informing striking oil workers that they are ineligible to receive benefits while on strike if they have over \$600 in one of the stock sharing funds operated by the oil companies.

These funds are structured in different ways by the various companies, but they all seem to share the common characteristic that they are not presently available to the workers. Some allow withdrawals only once a year on the anniversary date. Others may be drawn from at any time, but in both cases it takes from 60 to 90 days for the worker to receive any money, once the process is begun. And workers who have been with their respective companies for only a few years lose the share contributed by the company when they withdraw their share.

In any case, these stock funds are not intended to be used for present needs. They are supposed to be saved for retirement, and if the workers are forced to attempt to withdraw their share of these funds now, they might find it necessary to apply for assistance when they retire. The oil company will be richer by its share and it will be two or three years before the worker is eligible to participate in the stock sharing plan again. The Contra Costa Chapter of the Social Workers Union, Local 535 brought the matter before the Contra Costa County Board of Supervisors but no action was taken.

## PIGS AND SCABS

It is wholesale police brutality and police-encouraged brutality, however, which has most dramatically highlighted the alignment of governmental bodies on the side of the oil power. Strikers and even their wives and children have been beaten and maced by police and sheriff's deputies. The refineries have been turned into virtual armed camps; unmarked police cars escort scabs in and out trucks out.

Scab truck drivers have run over or struck both men and women pickets — without even being cited. But on January 23, two strikers at the Standard complex were arrested for "felony rock-throwing," and when G.T. (Jake) Jacobs, Secretary-Treasurer of OCAW Local 1-561, went down to bail them out, he was beaten and arrested. After the students left on February 3, sixty company goons attacked pickets with chains and pipes while the police looked on "neutrally."

Demands by the OCAW locals and the Contra Costa County Central Labor Council that the cop strike-breaking be stopped were laughed off by the Richmond and Martinez City Councils and the Contra Costa County Board of Supervisors; their political souls have long since been bought and paid for with Wiki Wiki Dollars.

The reaction of the oil workers to the brutality has been vehement. In Martinez, they call cops "the SS" — meaning Super Shell, of course. Or as Jake Jacobs said before the Richmond City Council, "those five who beat me up unnecessarily are just what I have heard other people calling the police these days: Pigs!" "I sure got an education," said an office secretary for OCAW Local 1-5 in Martinez who was knocked down and throttled by two cops: "I've never paid any attention to all the talk about police brutality and mace and clubs, but now I know what they're talking about."

The rapid radicalization of the OCAW strikers is

only the most visibly remarkable aspect of a strike which, in other respects, as well, must come as a surprise to the establishment (and to parts of the left, for that matter)

In so far as industrial sociology is concerned, the oil workers should never have gone out in the first place. Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom, for example, is one of the best American studies of the sociology of work. Blauner himself, a professor at the University of California, has since become interested in the sociology of racism and played an excellent role as a consultant to the defense in the trial of Huey Newton. Yet in terms of the analysis in Alienation and Freedom, the militant and bitter strike against the oil magnates is really inconceivable.

Blauner shares the common assumption that "the economic question" under capitalism has been solved: "In the advanced industrial societies an absolute increase in wealth and a relatively more equal distribution of income has pushed economic problems into the background... the focus has shifted from a concern with economic and social justice to a concern with the quality of the inner life." Instead of exploring, as Marx does, the relationship of the "quality of inner life" to "economic and social justice," the links between alienation and exploitation, Blauner dismisses exploitation and relates alienation directly and only to technology. His concern is with the structure of work in "bureaucratic industrial society" rather than with the social organization of production under capitalism (and Communism).

In the context of these assumptions, Blauner's conclusion with regard to the oil workers is that the "continuous-process automated technology" characteristic of refineries makes for a high degree of "personal freedom in an automated work environment." The feelings of "powerlessness, meaninglessness, social alienation and self-esteem" so prevalent among workers in this society are reduced. And since "the chemical worker's freedom... reflects new conditions; and job requirements which result from the needs of management rather than the consequences of the worker's superior power position," thus "chemical operators are more functionally integrated with the goals of management."

"Although in this sense chemical employees are more dependent on their companies," he concludes, "the responsibility for automated production transfers a new source of dignity and worth on manual employment..."

## EXPLOITATION AND FREEDOM

The argument of Alienation and Freedom, based on research carried on in the early fifties, during the height of the Cold War-McCarthyite freeze on social struggle, sounds strangely archaic today. If you doubt the reality of exploitation, open up a conversation with any of the pickets on the OCAW lines.

Oil workers presently self-earn an average of \$3.80 an hour; and as Time magazine will tell you in a minute, U.S. workers are luxuriating in the midst of the greatest period of sustained prosperity in American history. But in fact, given ever-escalating prices, taxes and credit costs, \$3.80 an hour (around \$5,000 a year take home) is barely enough to get by. The actual life position of the oil workers has improved only marginally since 1948.

Press reports have as usual focused upon the wage dispute, and the demand for 72% is a critical one for the men. But some of the other issues that have been raised are actually more expensive in terms of the stability of company control. Not only are fringe benefits involved (including improved hospital plans, more vacations, and larger pensions) but also job security and working conditions (like differential pay for night and swing shifts and more safety precautions.)

Moreover, if there is really an underlying community of interest between the company and the men, one would be hard pressed to understand why the company is so determined to break the union and the strikers so determined to defend it.

In truth, exploitation is a daily reality for the oil workers; for the men and women under the thumb of Super Shell or "Big Daddy" Standard Oil, as they call it, the focus remains on both economic and social justice and the quality of life. As Blauner himself noted, the "individual worker in a continuous-process industry is more productive than workers in other industries, in terms of the value he adds to the product by his participation in the manufacturing process." But only a fraction of that value is returned to him as wages: Standard Oil expropriated over 500 million dollars worth from its workers last year alone.

On January 30, the Richmond Independent reported a call for a general strike to protest the police attempts to break the OCAW strike. That same day it also ran a front page piece on increased cash and stock dividends paid to Standard Oil stockholders. "Standard Oil Cuts Big Melon," said the headline. And so it has; the union has revealed that between 1963 and 1967 the profits of the petroleum industry as a whole grew at a rate of between two and three times the rise in average weekly earnings of the workers.

So the strike has been an educational experience for everyone. Industrial relations experts, for example must have learned (if they didn't know already) the fact that industrial disputes cannot be reduced to blocked channels of communication or

impersonal attitudes on the part of foremen. More importantly, the members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers have learned what groups and institutions in this society work to represent the interests of the companies, and what groups and institutions are open to alliances with unions. They have seen and rejected attempts to foster racism to divert the strike (i.e., someone spread rumors that young ghetto blacks were to be hauled in as scabs. But no one fell for it.) Up against a wall of corporate and state power, they have turned to students, teachers and the Third World for their allies.

On February 7, a press release announced that representatives of OCAW, the American Federation of Teachers at San Francisco State, and the Third World Liberation Front had "called for the formation of a mutual aid agreement in the best traditions of labor solidarity." Shortly thereafter, the agreement was extended to include the TWLF at UC Berkeley and the teaching assistant's union there, AFT Local 1570.

As of this writing, students have already joined the OCAW lines on three occasions: on the 3rd and 10th of February as mentioned, and also on the 5th, when, on a few hours notice, they were called to the oil workers' union hall in Richmond and given very small signs on very large sticks in response to the rogan squads that were being sent out periodically from the plant.

American Federation of Teachers members from San Francisco State, UC Berkeley and San Jose State College have also joined the line. At an AFT meeting at SF State more than 300 persons turned in their Standard Oil credit cards and sent an appeal to other universities in the Western states asking for a boycott of Standard, Shell, and Texaco.

In return, the oil workers first endorsed the strike of AFT Local 1352 at SF State, then extended their endorsement to include the struggle of the TWLF,

and other minorities confront various facets of a single enemy. It is the UC Board of Regents who have hauled cops onto campus to keep its students in line; the Regents who have maintained the racist status quo at the University that necessitated the TWLF strike at Berkeley. Those same Regents are heavy supporters of the oil industry: Regent Edwin Pauley, for example, heads the Pauley Petroleum Company; ex-Regent Samuel Mosher heads the Signal Oil and Gas Company — a Standard Oil Subsidiary. Almost four and a half million dollars worth of Standard Oil of California stock, 72,696 shares, has been purchased for the Regents' formerly secret stock portfolio (twelve of the Regents are among the biggest of Big Businessmen; Regent Alan Grant is a member of the anti-union National Right to Work Committee; labor is not represented on the Regents at all, any more than are the faculty and student.

Standard for its part, is a big supporter of U.S. imperialism (the converse, of course, is also true). It has played a role in various pro US coups and produces defoliation chemicals for Vietnam on the side. It has also done its bit for racism inside Standard refineries, recently planned a 'traineeship' program for young black workers — so long, that is, as they were willing to work for 70 or 80 cents an hour below regular union wages.

As Jacobs put it: "It is not just police brutality that unites us. We are all exploited, black workers more than white, but we all have the same enemy, the big corporations. And it is corporations like our enemy, Standard Oil, that control the Board of Trustees of the State Colleges the students are fighting."

In the second place, while workers were being reminded that they face the same basic oppressors as other groups in American society, students and blacks have increasingly come to understand that the working class can represent a potential mass

markable. It was only last fall that we witnessed a general demoralization of the left in the face of an election campaign at a critical time with no real alternative. Gripped by a profound sense of isolation, one whole section of the movement broke off and was swallowed up in the McCarthy campaign. Others dropped out of politics altogether via Yippee stunts and more unattractive forms of elitist cynicism.

Despairing of substantive aid from any section of white society some blacks like LeRoi Jones drifted toward reactionary forms of nationalism. Fed up with working just as much and enjoying it less and less — and frustrated by entrenched and conservative union bureaucracies — a number of white workers let their racist prejudices come to the surface and supported the Wallace campaign.

What has happened in Richmond is an unequivocal step in the opposite direction. The partners to the new alliance have pledged that this step will be only the first of many — that the alliance transcends the immediate struggles going on at this time, in any case a precedent has been set that we serve us in good stead as the crisis in the US worsens.

## INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION

At a rally begun with the clenched fist salute (now common both among blacks, students and strikers in this area) and closed with the singing of "Solidarity Forever," Jacobs went on to point toward another step that must be taken. "We must unite first to win the strikes, of course," he said, "and then to develop a continuing political movement to bring about social change in this country...the workers must realize that their struggle, their injustices, will never end until a new, dynamic political movement is created."

The point is that unions by themselves are not enough. The OCAW strike has once more demonstrated how important the union is to a worker, how dangerous it is to his boss. The union as an independent center of resistance on the job is the first line of defense workers have in trying to preserve and improve the conditions of their lives.

However, as the role of the cops, the courts, and the city and county administrations in Contra Costa County indicates, the sphere of influence of the corporations is by no means restricted to the shop floor. Labor must organize politically as well as on the job if a successful challenge to the power of the corporate system is to be posed.

Independent political action has for some time been opposed within the labor movement on the grounds that the Democratic Party is a "friend of labor," in fact just the opposite is true.

Like other establishment institutions, it functions in the interests of the "commanding heights" of American society, not of the rank and file. Indeed, its particular genius as a party has been its ability to control labor votes while keeping the working class bottled up within the framework of the status quo.

The experience of the oil workers provides a concrete example of this fact too. On January 29, an emergency meeting was held at the Oil Workers Hall in Martinez. In addition to the Executive Committee of Contra Costa County Labor Council, those in attendance included representatives from the Teamsters, the Building Trades and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

The upshot of the meeting was a call for a general strike throughout the whole county, to protest the use of police as strikebreakers at Shell and Standard. The Contra Costa call came on the heels of talk in San Francisco of a general strike to protest the threatened firing of striking teachers. Together, they underlined the new working class militancy that is coming to the surface in one place after another.

As of this time, however, the plans for Contra Costa County have been shelved. For the record, the President of the Building Trades Council has claimed that he backed out, and thus stalled preparations for the general strike, because the Building Trades were not consulted prior to the issuance of the call.

In fact, indications are that the Central Labor Council was only too ready to accept the first rationalization for collapsing that came along. It prefers to spend its money on energy working for the election of Democrat George Miller III to the California State Senate. Victory for Miller, said Contra Costa County COPE, was "essential to working people throughout California." As for ending police terror and defending the OCAW against union busting — well, that can wait. Once more a "good" Democrat has helped keep the lid on labor.

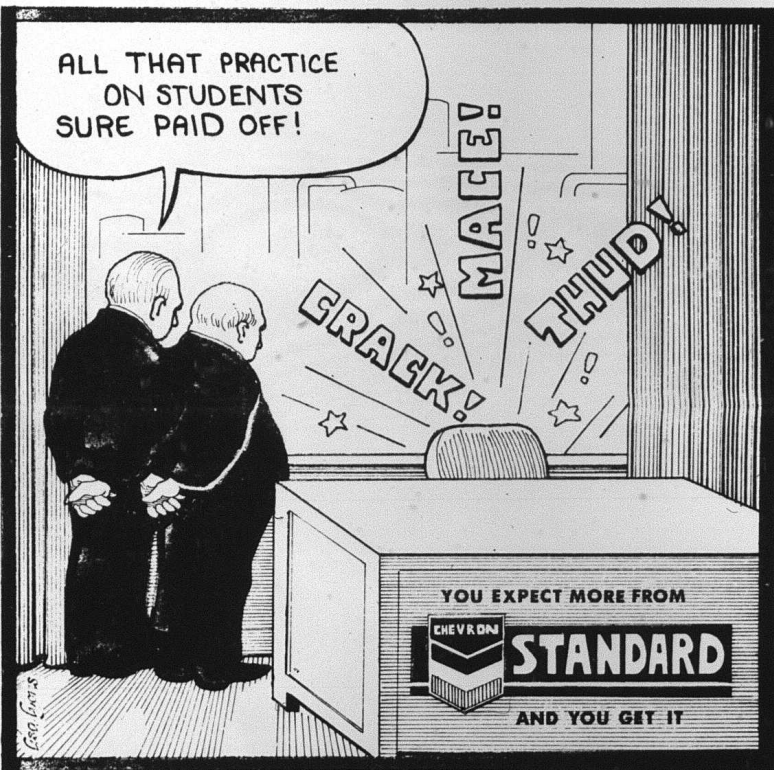
## A FIRST STEP

For more than twenty years, the American labor movement has been tied to the Democratic Party. The fruits of this one-sided "alliance" have been an all but unbroken series of set-backs and defeats for labor. Even the most minimal social welfare legislation has been defeated or emasculated. Anti-labor laws not only have not been repealed, they have been augmented. Using the war in Vietnam as a pretext, government intervention in strikes is becoming ever more common.

Indeed, the bureaucratization and stagnation of the labor movement, the difficulty it has encountered in organizing white collar workers, its manifold failure to meet its responsibility toward the black community all are related to the political box in which the working class has been imprisoned.

The Wallace Campaign exposed the reality of working class discontent with the Democratic Party. At the same time, it rewarned us of the penalty we will all pay if a left alternative is not developed. Independent political action — a complete break from both the parties of war, racism and strikebreaking — is a prerequisite today not just to labor's success but to its long-term survival.

The creation of a new mass party based on the white working class, the anti-war and student movements and the black community is a necessary first step toward any real solution to the many-sided crisis of American society today. The worker student alliance that is developing in the Bay Area is a necessary and important step toward that.



As Jake Jacobs put it on Feb. 7, "I pledge myself to exert every effort to rally the material and concrete support of my membership and labor generally behind the struggle of striking Third World led students and teachers in return for their help on our picket lines."

A lot of things have happened lately that have brought workers, students and blacks closer together than they have been for a long time. A gradual transformation of attitudes among all the various parties paved the way for the sudden emergence of the new alliance.

In the first place, events have demonstrated that the system meets militancy in the labor movement just like it meets militancy in the student, anti-war and black movements — that is, with brutal repression. In December, the Tactical Squad which got its practice on students at San Francisco State used what it had learned against strikers at the largely labor-black-patronized Kaiser Foundation hospitals and clinics (The Hospital Workers Union demanded that the strikebreaking Tac Squad be abolished; Mayor Alioto, the Democratic Party "friend of labor" did nothing).

Now in Richmond and Martinez, the oil workers and their families have also felt the brunt of "anti-riot" techniques perfected elsewhere — have run smack up against the fact that "law and order" is out to get them too (Martinez workers meanwhile were quick to note that the two black cops assigned to the Shell refinery refused direct orders to mace and club strikers and women and children, and were the only policemen who so refused).

The point is that workers, students and blacks

force for social change.

The May Days in France went a long way toward discrediting the line that workers as a group have been incorporated into the system. A totally unexpected catalysis, the French General Strike made it plain that the highly-touted bourgeoisieification of the working class is a relatively thin facade that covers a multitude of grievances that can explode without warning into a threat to the whole structure of the status quo. The rapid radicalization of the oil workers of Richmond and Martinez left the same sort of story on a smaller scale.

Among some sections of the New Left a contempt for the working class has persisted despite the developments in Europe. Now the example of Richmond closer to home may have gone a long way toward undermining whatever prejudices remain.

Even some of those who already support the idea of a worker-student alliance have couched their proposals primarily in terms of a relationship built around purely "youth" questions. The experience at Standard makes it clear that no such limitation is necessary (just as it demonstrates, on the other hand, that a mass entry of students into the shops is not a prerequisite for alliances and that support can flow in both directions).

The reciprocal "mutual aid agreement" between the OCAW, the AFT, and the TWLF at SF State and Berkeley involves, all the most basic issues of the crisis in American society, as the statement by Jake Jacobs cited at the beginning of this article makes clear.

Viewed in the context of American politics over the last couple of decades, Jacobs' statement is re-

# On Marcuse: A Critique of Pure Elitism

by Hal Draper

Admirers of Herbert Marcuse may have missed a recent essay of his which, perhaps more than any other of his writings, concisely encapsulates his distinctive contribution to contemporary radical confusion. We hasten to bring it to their attention.

It was published as an unheralded appendix to a new translation of Babeuf's speech to the court in 1797, in defense of his "Conspiracy of the Equals" to overthrow the French government. Marcuse's subject, then, is not exactly a contemporary one. But this is precisely the reason for the up-to-the-minute relevance of his brief essay. To explain:

The Babouvist conspiracy was the grandfather of the modern socialist movement. Here, for the first time in the modern era, the intellectual idea of a socialist society was wedded to an organized movement on behalf of that idea. A direct line of influence runs from this defeated movement (via Filippo Buonarroti particularly) through all of the revolutionary Jacobin currents of the next half century, including those represented by Blanqui and Bakunin.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the descendants of Babeuf seemed to be completely supplanted by a new socialist synthesis, represented by Marx and Engels. Historically, however, great honor is due to these revolutionists, who should not be blamed for representing a primitive first step, but rather admired for taking the first step at all.

## PUTSCHISM AND ELITISM

In the hindsight provided by Marxism especially, this primitive revolutionism has been recognized as suffering from two main defects: (1) putschism—the substitution of a small band of conspirators with excellent intentions for a mass movement of the working people themselves; and (2) elitism — revolutionary elitism — i.e., the conception of the revolution as "made" FOR the people (since the people were incapable of making it themselves) by a revolutionary coterie who were going to impose an "educational dictatorship" OVER the people (of course for the people's own good). It was just these aspects of the revolutionary-Jacobin approach that Marx rejected, well over a hundred years ago, though he remained an

"The Defense of Gracchus Babeuf Before the High Court of Vendome. Edited and translated by J.A. Scott. With an essay by Herbert Marcuse. University of Massachusetts Press, 1967.

admirer of Babeuf and Buonarroti as sincere revolutionists.

Recently, there has been a spectacular rise of what seems to be the very image of this outlived primitive-revolutionism, complete with its putschism and elitism. This is not the first time primitive-revolutionism has reappeared; in fact, in one form or another, it never really disappeared entirely at all. But it is only in the last decade that its hoary ideas, intact and unchanged, have been presented in full theoretical regalia as the program of a movement; in Che Guevara and, most crudely of all, in Regis Debray — both functioning as ideologists for practical Castroism — the ancient ideas of Babouvism-Blanquism have been resurrected in all their simple glory.

Naturally, the historical motivations and class content of the two phenomena are as different as a century can make them; that is not our subject. Their identity can be seen in the revolutionary strategy that they propose itself. In the course of that century, putschism and elitism saw other historical embodiments; they were still putschism and elitism; and they still are today.

## THE NEW BABEUF

It is one thing to make a historical comparison. It is quite another when the modern actors themselves carry it out as though following a prefabricated scenario. Political life would be simpler, if Guevara-Debray had called themselves Babouvists outright, instead of parroting the term "Marxism-Leninism" in the same way that Lyndon Johnson calls himself a "Democrat."

This is where Herbert Marcuse comes in — in fact, rushes in where serious politics fear to tread. In the essay under discussion, he explicitly clasps to his bosom precisely that side of the Babeuf conspiracy which Marxism relegated to the historical museum. In so doing, he is being utterly consistent, and honest too, for Marcuse has long been saying today just what those men first said in 1797.

Marcuse reiterates the basic rationale presented by Babeuf; we have no popular support, but what of it? Since the People are "misled," the will they express is not their "autonomous will"; since they do not understand their "true interests," their "free choice" is not freedom; since the People is "not

capable of acting by itself and for itself," we must therefore free the People by fighting against the People itself — though of course "on its own behalf." Obviously in such a case, democracy and popular sovereignty are invalid; society itself has made the People incapable of wishing its own emancipation.

## GRAND THEORY

So far, all this is not only Babouvism but also pure Marcuseism — just as if we were summarizing One-Dimensional Man rather than a 1797 speech. However, it is not presented simply as one-dimensional Marcuseism: "This strategy," says Marcuse, "in one form or another has become an essential part of all theories of revolutionary dictatorship..." "In various forms," he argues, "this conception has been operative in all continental revolutionary movements from the Jacobins to the Bolsheviks."

This is precisely what the whole establishment of American punditry tells us about Marx and Lenin, that they were Blanquists, putschists, elitists and merely anti-democratic Jacobins. Now Marcuse too identifies all revolutionary socialism with putschist elitism.

The reader should not get the impression that Marcuse gives any evidence for this identification. That is not his forte. He is a philosopher who asserts a Grand Theory, and those who want to believe will not be bothered by trifles.

So the first interesting thing about Marcuse's essay on Babeuf is that it explicitly presents this ancient museum-piece as the latest word in revolutionary strategy. The second is that he confronts the question of elitism which it raises, and gives his answer.

Hisself asks: since "confronted by the people must be achieved in the struggle against the people," according to Babeuf, and since we are justified in so struggling because "we" represent the "true" interests of the people, then "who determines the distinction between true and false interests?"

Indeed, who? It would seem like a pertinent question. Not to Marcuse. He answers by objecting to the asking in the first place, because "The problem is already distorted and obscured if it is formulated in personal terms."

## DON'T GET PERSONAL

That is, if Marcuse proposes to establish a dictatorship over us for our own good (which he would not in fact propose, for reasons to be seen later), and if we ask, "Who has determined that YOU know what is our own good better than we ourselves do?" he will not answer, "Why, I have determined it myself." He will reply, "Don't get personal." Or to quote him literally:

"For the problem is not one of persons (or groups of persons) but of objective and demonstrable criteria; once they are defined, the respective historical situations will determine which social groups could adopt these criteria and act accordingly."

Very well, there are "objective and demonstrable criteria." But a difficulty must occur even to a philosopher. To WHOM are the demonstrable criteria to be demonstrated, and by WHOM are the objective criteria to be defined? I know already that Marcuse's criteria are not mine; this will give him no pause, since he KNOWS he's right. But there are other "persons and groups of persons" who will disagree with both of us, with regard to the objectivity and demonstrability of (1) any given set of criteria, and (2) their application in situations when one seeks to "act accordingly."

These regrettable dissidents, who refuse to recognize the demonstrated justice of Marcuse's objectivity, may be liberals, old-line Stalinists, anarchists, Goldwaterite conservatives, or what-not, as well as revolutionary socialists; but whoever they may be, what is the political solution when there is no agreement either on the criteria, on their application, or on the social groups assigned to "act accordingly"?

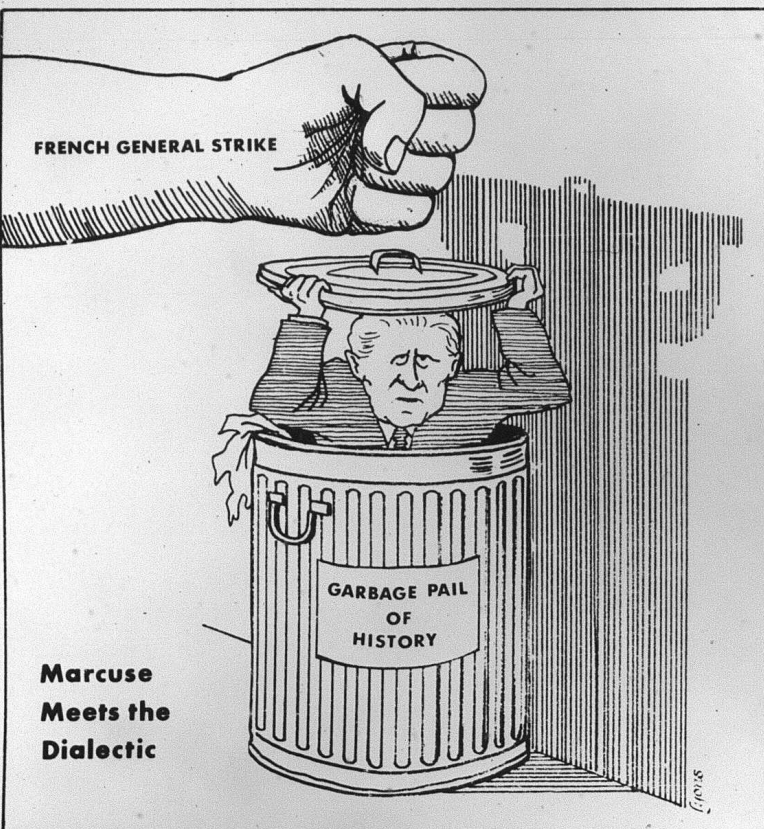
## BEGGING THE QUESTION

This difficulty is not exactly an unprecedented one. It happens to be the age-old problem before anyone who proposes any anti-democratic political solution. One would think that, exactly 170 years after Babeuf, a philosopher would have had time to think of a decisive answer. Marcuse's is given in just one sentence, which follows after the last quotation:

"The argument that such criteria, if they exist at all, are already invalidated because they would be those of an 'elite,' a minority, begs the question since it assumes that the majority is eo ipso right."

Let us analyze this as an exercise in question-begging. Is the majority always right? No; as a matter of fact, the majority is wrong most of the time. It becomes right, generally speaking, only at unusual times in history, technically called revolutionary situations. In fact, the problem of building a revolutionary MOVEMENT can be formulated in the following way: how to convince the majority that it has been wrong and your minority been right.

That begged question out of the way, we can now return to the elite minority which is going to deter-



mine the "objective and demonstrable criteria" which we have agreed that the majority is wrong at a given time. Now: WHICH MINORITY IS RIGHT? In Marcusean language, which minority has the "historical" right to define the "objective and demonstrable criteria" which social groups are to act on?

The answer cannot be that the "historical situation" will decide this; Hegel has been too long dead for that abstraction to make sense even to Hegelians. Living men make these decisions, even though not out of whole cloth; and they make them in struggle, including the struggle of those "groups of persons" known as classes, social groups, political parties or even less inclusive bodies.

## NEW, IMPROVED ALIENATION

The criteria which Marcuse would consider demonstrated are those which have recommended themselves to him and those who agree with him — to HIS elite. There is only one way by which this or any other elite can IMPOSE its criteria on the mistaken majority: by force and terror. Naturally, they will hope (as Babeuf did) that this period of terroristic imposition over the majority will be made as brief as possible by their ability to "re-educate" the majority; terror, after all, is an expansive way of maintaining your rule as against the cheaper way of brainwashing.

Marcuse knows all about societal brainwashing, since his specialty is explaining how our present society brainwashes all of us. It follows willy-nilly that his basic objection to this alienating state of affairs is not that it is maintained but that it is maintained by the wrong ruling elite (no doubt on the basis of the wrong "objective criteria"). It is doubtful whether all of Marcuse's New Left admirers understand that their mentor's often effective dissection of the existing basis of alienation — of how this society tries to condition our souls — is accompanied by a theory which envisions only a change in the alienators.

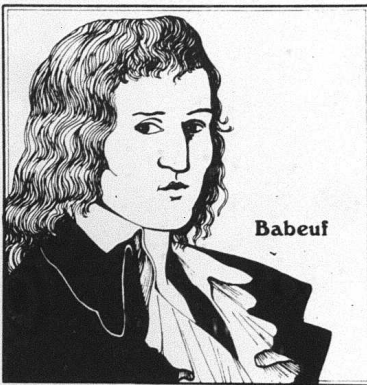
## WITHOUT REVOLUTION

We have mentioned that Marcuse in no case would actually propose himself for the onerous duty prescribed by his "criteria." This is not due only to his modesty; or to his desire to occupy his time in some other fashion; or to the kind of consideration which prevents even proponents of capital punishment from taking the job of executioner. It is due to the other well-known peculiarity of Marcuse: namely, that while he advocates the rule of a new elite, there is no one

more pessimistic today about the possibilities of any revolutionary change. He has made that quite clear, in his "Critique of Pure Tolerance" (see Independent Socialist no. 4) and elsewhere.

This pessimism accounts for the otherwise unexplained ending of his essay on Babeuf. He finished abruptly with the flat statement that what he has just advanced as the whole revolutionary strategy ("operative in all continental revolutionary movements" etc.) is "utterly utopian today." Those are the very last words of the essay, and a reader who was not already familiar with Marcuse's peculiarity might be somewhat bewildered.

His peculiarity is that Marcuse (unlike the Guevara-



Babeuf

Debray type) is an apologist for revolutionary-elitism WITHOUT the revolutionism. According to some reports, this is what is already disillusioning some of his European admirers, if the Guevara-Debray theory of putschism is a negation of the present capitalist system, then Marcuse in turn negates that negation; and the resulting Marcusean synthesis is a towering monument to Hegel — in the sense that it is about as politically meaningful as Georg Wilhelm Friedrich himself would be if he showed up in San Diego in the flesh.

There seems little likelihood that Hegel could manage to do that; but on May 23 last year, Marcuse did

show up in San Diego in the flesh (he teaches at the university there) to tell an audience all about the French general strike movement which he had witnessed himself in Paris. In one pregnant passage, he explained what he thought was the "decisive point" about the whole thing, the reason "why I think this event is of such great importance."

Was it perhaps the fact that, for the first time since the ferment of the immediate post-war period, there had exploded a genuine revolutionary upsurge of workers, peasants, and white-collar workers — the toiling mass in all their variety — out of the initiative taken by the students? No, it was just the reverse: the May Days in France, in the eyes of Marcuse, "should once and for all heal whoever still suffers from the inferiority complex of the intellectual." Why? Because it was the students who had shown the way, of course.

But this was not the first time that students and intellectuals had set an example. We have been seeing that in the United States for some time, from Berkeley in 1964 to Columbia in 1968 to San Francisco State today — and that is not to speak of Belgium, England, Japan and other countries. It would seem that, in Paris, even an intellectual with a monstrous inferiority complex might recognize that SOMETHING DIFFERENT was happening.

## PURE ELITISM

If the great French strike movement is to be viewed mainly as interesting therapy for the world's intellectuals, then, indeed, it is equally sensible to celebrate Babeuf not for his revolutionism but for his primitivism. Marcuse does report the fact that the workers of France joined the movement of struggle — and then he dismisses it as very hard to understand! Of course it was very hard for Marcuse to understand; his theory of social brainwashing had ruled all such facts out of the realm of possibility.

But what was notable about the French events was not the fact that the students showed the way but the fact that the workers followed their example and surpassed them. What was exploded in Paris was not some intellectual inferiority complex but the myth that the working class had been bought off and integrated into the system. What was demonstrated in May was not the need for a new elite but the potential for revolution from below.

How could such a philosopher as Marcuse so completely miss this point? The answer in a word is this: Marcuseism is revolutionary elitism which has been purged of revolution — bottled down to pure elitism in one of its most unattractive forms.

# The Changing Role of Students

by Tony Cliff and Ian Birchall

For more than a century the student community had identified itself with bourgeois society. The students were the more extreme exponents of middle-class values. During the rise of the bourgeoisie, when it headed the democratic forces, it was the students who waved the banner of liberty and progress most enthusiastically — as happened in 1789 in France. However, when the bourgeoisie turned its guns on the revolution, as happened in Paris in June of the same year, the students were on the same side of the barricades as the bourgeoisie, facing the workers on the other side. With the ageing of the bourgeoisie, the students became conservative and reactionary. In Britain student attitudes led them to strike-break practically as a body.

It was natural in those days for Marxists to consider the bourgeois intelligentsia as collectively hostile to socialism, although individuals could be won to the socialist movement. To Europe's intelligentsia as a whole but in its offspring, too, the students, who decidedly don't show any attraction towards socialism. ... the intensification of the struggle between labour and capital, hinders the intelligentsia from crossing over to the party of labour. The bridges between the classes are broken down, and to cross over, one must have a leap across an abyss which has deepened every passing day, this finally means that it is harder to win the intelligentsia today than it was yesterday, and that it will be harder tomorrow than it is today.

During the last decade or so the student scene has changed radically, from the Zengakuren in Japan — who in June 1960 led millions in massive demonstrations, successfully overthrowing the Kishi Government and preventing Eisenhower from visiting the country — to students in Birmingham, Alabama, Berkeley California, to the London School of Economics, to the SDS in Germany... to the Sorbonne and Nanterre!

Why?

First of all, there is the university explosion. Just before the Second World War the percentage of the student age group in Britain that attended university or a similar institution of higher education, was 2.7; today it is above 11. Similarly throughout Europe the number of students per thousand of population rose from 2 in 1950 to 6 in 1965, tripling in only 15 years. There are at present 6 million university students in the United States, 2 million in Western Europe, 11 million in Russia, and over a million in Japan. As a result of changes in capitalism and in the employment of intellectuals, the majority of students are not being trained any more as future members of the ruling class, or even as agents of the boss, with supervisory functions, but as white-collar employees of state and industry and thus are destined to be part and parcel of the proletariat.

A central aspect of the "third industrial revolution" is the integration of manual with mental labour, of intellectual with productive work; the intellectual element becomes crucial to the development of the economy and society. But this productive force comes into sharpening conflict with the irrational nature of capitalism. The conflict expresses itself in university life as a contradiction between the demands for the streaming of education dictated by the immediate needs of industry and the need to allow a certain amount of intellectual freedom. This applies especially to the social scientists, who have to "solve" capitalism's social problems — according to the theory of the ruling class — and at the same time have to understand, at least to a certain extent, what generates the revolt against capitalism.

The central contradiction of capitalism is that between the production of what Marx called use-values, and the production of value. The first are natural, the second are specific to the capitalist order of society. In the university this is reflected as a contradiction between the ideal of unlimited intellectual development, free from social, political and ideological restraint,

and the tight intellectual reins imposed by capitalism. The liberal mystique of education clashes with its social content.

Because students, or even more, graduates who have left the university, are progressively more pivotal to the development and salvation of all advanced industrial countries, it is more and more essential for these countries to ensure that students and technologists fulfil their assigned role. And this means that any attempt by these groups to put forward demands on their own behalf which conflict with the needs of capitalism will inevitably be resisted by ruling interests. With increasing international competition and the narrowing of profit margins on the one hand, and the need to produce more graduates on the other, the pressure is fierce to cut expenses per student, which involves greater streamlining of courses, regimentation of standards, and increasing resistance to students' claims.

Another factor fanning the revolt among students is the feeling of insecurity as to what the morrow of graduation will bring in their personal lives. The student of a previous generation knew in advance the slot into which he would fit in the higher brackets of society. Not so the student of today. At the university he has not found the kind of education he was looking for, and when he graduates he finds it more and more difficult to get the kind of job he was led to expect. The feeling of instability, of uncertainty, creates unease, which easily combines with other factors to create a revolutionary combustion.

Another important element encouraging student rebellion is that students are more and more concentrated in the same areas. This was particularly the case in Nanterre, where 12,000 students were gathered in the same buildings, many living on the university campus all the year round.

The special medium in which the student is trained — theorising and generalising facilitates the synthesis of the different elements of unease and rebellion. Students at present rebel more readily than workers because they are less shackled mentally by the traditional, i.e., bureaucratic, organisations, like the Socialist parties, and the Communist parties. The rootlessness of the student acts as oil to the wheels of revolt.

In speaking of student rebellion one should avoid the extremes.

The first is that put forward by the Stalinist bureaucrats, both east and west and followed by a number of so-called "orthodox" Marxists: who deny the progressive revolutionary capacity of students. The other is that of C. Wright Mills and Herbert Marcuse, who deny the revolutionary potentiality of the working class and hence describe students and intellectuals as the main vehicle for revolutionary action now and in the future.

Actually the rebelling students have at one and the same time great strength and great weakness.

They are a small minority of the population. They are outside production. They are not the big battalions that can overthrow the social order.

Being outside production is a source of weakness, but it is also a cause for quick advance, as it is so much easier for the students to move into action. If a small minority of the university community want to act on an issue, it can go ahead and do so. Thus, at the beginning only a tiny minority of London School of Economics students identified themselves as left-wing militants; they demonstrated on one issue after another. Every demonstration was an act of propaganda, of educating themselves and others. The situation of a militant minority in the factory is radically different. It cannot act by strike action or occupation of the factory — unless the overwhelming majority of all the workers employed are carried along. In the factory the level of consciousness and in the morale of the majority may act as a dead weight on the militant minority. This situation may prevent individuals in this minority from identifying one another, hence individual militants find it difficult to make explicit even

to themselves their own potentialities. Only as a mass collective can factory workers act, and thus assert themselves.

Hence the temperature bringing students into combustion is incomparably lower than the one necessary to inflame the workers. — But unfortunately the lifespan of their fire is also shorter. They lack the stamina that workers as a collective have. Because separate social forces do not come to the arena of open combat with capitalism at one and the same time, it is in the interests of the rulers and its hangers on to separate the students from the workers, to engage the students, if need be, in a fight to the finish, before the great battalions arrive. It is at the same time, in the interests of the rebellious students to call on the battalions of the working class for supporting action — action, of course, on their own account. The synchronisation of student rebellion and working class revolution is one of the most important things confronting the revolutionary movement in the advanced industrial societies.

The student cannot act as the vanguard, as the leadership of the working class. A number of features in the student make-up impede him from carrying out meaningful propaganda and agitation among workers. Workers' thinking is basically concrete. It grows from bread and butter issues that are with him all his life, from trade union consciousness. Socialist consciousness transcends trade union consciousness. The student thinks in abstractions; trade union consciousness, hardly plays any role in his life. The knowledge that being a student is a transitory situation for him of a few years' duration, and that at the university the most of some exploitation is not the openly economic, but the intellectual, explains this. Behind the complaint about the tangible reality of low grants, bad food, strict rules and overcrowded amenities, the student feels the intangible manipulation of the university. Because of the inherent nature of student education, his response does not fit the traditional trade union pattern. That is why practically all student revolts were started by political elements. Conversely, the overwhelming majority of workers' strikes since the beginning of capitalism were initiated and led by workers who did not have revolutionary political convictions.

Only by being in a revolutionary organisation that includes workers, by rubbing shoulder to shoulder with workers, can the socialist student learn the "language" necessary to communicate with workers in normal times, i.e., not revolutionary periods.

To lead the workers in a factory one must be in daily touch with them. During normal times, the student's activity is necessarily limited to propaganda and agitational activities for the disseminating of their ideas, connecting these with the concrete struggle of the workers. A small revolutionary organisation, or even better a revolutionary party, can do it, as it is composed of workers and intellectuals together. Students alone can not.

If students as such can not organise and lead the working class, they can, and in May and June did, act as the detonator of the revolution.

In 1936 it was the electoral victory of the Popular Front that acted as a detonator for the general strike and occupation of the factories. In 1944-5 it was the military victory over Nazism. This time the students' struggle, culminating in the Night of the Barricades.

The feeling, perhaps confused, but nevertheless very real, of being exploited, of injustice being meted out to him daily, is in the mind of every worker. However, the mere knowledge does not lead to rebellion; it may indeed lead to resignation. In order to rebel, the worker must entertain the hope of change — change for the better. It is this hope, or the lack of it, that has made the history of the labour movement with its ups and downs. And it was the new hope the dream of a better world, that the students gave first to young workers, and then to the working class as a whole.

Reprinted from FRANCE: The Struggle Goes On

# joint Israeli-Arab statement on the MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

We, the Palestinian Democratic Front and the Israeli Socialist Organisation, published our first joint statement on the recent crisis in the Middle-East on June 3rd, prior to the Israeli attack. We stated there our principled, internationalist position with regard to the history, the pre-war situation and the imminent war. We now reaffirm our first statement and follow up with a second one, stating our position with regard to the situation created by this war.

The predominant political phenomenon of our times is the struggle of the people in the industrialised continents — Asia, Africa and Latin America — to free themselves from the political and economic domination of the industrialised imperialist powers. Every other political phenomenon is judged, first of all, according to its relation to this world-wide conflict. In this context there is little doubt that the recent war in the Middle-East, and its outcome, have served the interests of imperialism in this area and throughout the world. Can the consequences of the Israeli attack be isolated from the crushing of the anti-imperialist struggle in Indonesia or the U.S. intervention in Vietnam? It is evident, for example, from a recent statement of de Gaulle that even the imperialists think that it cannot.

In the last months before the war the anti-imperialist policies of the Syrian Government came increasingly into conflict with the oil monopolies in the Middle-East. This political background enabled Israel to launch an air attack on Syria on April 7th, and threaten Syria with a military invasion. Nasser, who opportunistically steers the anti-imperialist interests and sentiments of the Arab masses in nationalist channels, found himself, under the pressure of circumstances forced to support the Syrian regime against this threat. Moreover, American oil monopolies in Saudi-Arabia, worried lest the anti-imperialists in Yemen and Aden win their struggle and endanger their interests, did their best to play Egypt and Israel against each other so as to weaken Nasser's support to the anti-imperialists in South Arabia. Nasser, being a nationalist and an opportunist, did not hesitate in the circumstances to sign a pact with Hussein, the well-known puppet of imperialism, ignoring the contradictions between the regimes and their objectives. Even worse, he resorted to racist propaganda against the Israeli population. We, as internationalists, fully support the struggle of the Arab masses for political, economic and social liberation against the recent and all other aggressions; this does not mean that we support the nationalist leaders who purport to carry out this struggle. We would like to remind those who lend uncritical support to such nationalist leaders of the examples of Chiang-Kai-Chek, Attaturk, Sukarno. The struggle for genuine political and social liberation can be won only under a principled, internationalist leadership.

After W.W.I Sherif Hussein and his sons Faisal and Abdalian (Hussein's grandfather and predecessor on the throne) promised the Arab masses that they would achieve independence by serving British imperialism. Between the two world wars Haj Amin-el-Husseini, Fawzi el-Kaukli and others (and during W.W.2 Rashid Ali el Kailani, General Aziz el-Masri and others) sought to do so by serving the interests of Nazism and Italian Fascism (some nationalist leaders even named Mussolini: "Saif el Islam"). Now we are asked to believe that the nationalists — the Nasserites, the Baathists and the nationalist Left which trails behind them — will carry this struggle to its end and even bring about a Socialist revolution. The recent "all Arab" alliance of the "progressive" El-Attassi, the anti-imperialist Nasser, the pro-

Recent weeks have seen a steady escalation of tensions in the Middle East; it comes as no surprise to most. The June War in 1967 was hailed as a military miracle — but only the most chauvinistic of American apologists for Israel could long have swallowed the story that the swift Israeli offensive was a "war to end all wars" in the area. In fact the war has solved nothing: Israel's headlong, suicidal rush into a fortified corner continues.

Now, as the response to the attack on the Lebanon airport has demonstrated, the Arab masses have mobilized behind the demand for an end to Israeli expansionism. Previously unexcited by Nasser's demagogery about driving the Jews into the sea, they have not been cowed by Israel's military might and will not meekly be reconciled to Zionist domination of all Palestine.

The major imperialist powers have met the intensified crisis with intensified maneuvering toward a mutually-advantageous imposed Big Power Pax. Once more, the threat of nuclear confrontation has forced the US and Russia to seek a "gentlemen's" division of the world into spheres of influence (better half a world than none). This time, the arrangements have

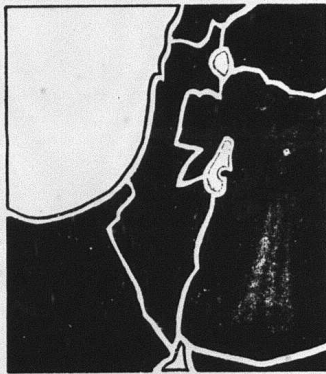
been complicated by the emergence of France as a serious contender for the spoils. But however structured, a shaky detente from above can only prolong the crisis.

It is up to the Arab masses and the working people of Israel to resolve the problem. Only a joint revolutionary struggle from below, against both Zionist and Arab chauvinism, independent of both capitalist and Communist imperialism, can pave the way for a genuine solution. An end to territorial annexations, self-determination for Palestine's Arabs, a de-Zionized Israel, a bi-national state in Palestine — these are the ingredients of a real peace.

The following statement represents a small but significant step in that direction, the first hopeful sign we have seen. It is a reprint of a declaration first published in August 1967 by the Israeli Socialist Organization, an openly anti-Zionist group of Jews and Arabs in Israel, and the Palestinian Democratic Front, a clandestine group of Palestinians operating inside Jordan. Their joint statement outlines precisely such an internationalist approach to the crisis: toward a socialist revolution in Palestine and throughout the Middle East.

imperialist Hussein and the racist Shukairy, fits into this pattern of failure all too clearly.

As for the Zionist leadership of Israel we have already pointed out in our first statement that the alliance between political Zionism and first Ottoman, then British and nowadays U.S. imperialism, was not an accident. Political Zionism, because of its colonisatory history and because of its principled segregationist policies towards the Arabs of Palestine, has a vital interest in preserving imperialist influence in the Middle-East and has acted as an integral part of the imperialist power system. Political Zionism was always lined up against the struggle of the indigenous population of Palestine to liberate itself from foreign domination. Weizmann's pact with Faisal (1921), Ben Gurion's secret pact with Abdallah (1949), his participation in the Suez aggression, and the recent attack, are merely highlights of one and the same policy, which — in the recent case — because of the racist propaganda of radio Cairo, Damascus, Amman was disguised as a defensive policy.



While this propaganda led the Israeli population to believe it was fighting for its survival, the Zionist leaders of Israel took their chance to realise a lifelong dream of territorial aggrandisement. The policies of annexing new territory, especially Old Jerusalem, are not new. They were always latent in the Zionist aims, and could be expected to show themselves when the opportunity arose. This opportunity was presented to them by Arab nationalism.

This round in the anti-imperialist struggle can be summed up by saying that while the Israeli people were lined up behind the wrong leadership on the wrong side of the barricade, the Arab people were lined up behind the wrong leadership on the right side of the barricade.

Internationalists inside Israel must tirelessly explain that as long as the state is lined up with the imperialist system there can be no peace or normalisation of relations with the Arab world. The Arab masses will, eventually, sweep away every ruler and policy — Arab or otherwise — supporting imperialism. Moreover, as long as Israel maintains its Zionist segregationist policies against the Arabs, any talk of "peace" is hypocrisy or, at best, self-illusion. There can be no normalisation of relations with segregationist and pro-imperialist policies. A dictated "peace" or a "Pax-Americana" with Hussein is no remedy to this conflict. The temporary setback to the anti-imperialist struggle brought about by this war will soon pass and the struggle will be resumed with new vigour and under a better leadership. There can be no co-existence between imperialism and the anti-imperialist

movement; it is doubtful whether there can even be a respite. The Zionist and pro-imperialist policies of the Israeli leadership antagonize not just this or that Arab leader, but the entire population of the Arab world. This fundamental antagonism cannot be overcome by military victories.

Internationalists inside the Arab world must tirelessly explain that the nationalist leadership cannot be relied upon to fight resolutely against imperialism, that it is always tempted to seek compromise or resort to opportunist policies, as the Nasser-Hussein pact has shown; that by resorting to racialist propaganda this leadership commits a crime against the anti-imperialist struggle; that by borrowing imperialist ideology and morals to further its own aims it defeats these aims and defiles them. Shukairy's calls to kill all Jews, women and children included, from radio Cairo are not some "minor defect" which may now be forgotten. Even Syria, considered by some to be the "most progressive" Arab state, spoke of destroying Israel, "neglecting" to mention what would happen to the Jewish population. Under no circumstances do we forgive such crimes or, for tactical reasons, abstain from denouncing them. Those who do so cause grave damage to the anti-imperialist struggle. As for Israel, every attempt of Arab nationalists to destroy the state by force only consolidates the entire Israeli population behind the Zionist leadership. Israel will be changed from the inside by its own anti-Zionist internationalists who will, in due time, join ranks with the internationalists in the Arab world in a joint struggle against imperialism and for establishing a genuine Socialist republic throughout the Middle-East.

Faced with the state of affairs created by the Israeli attack we say:

We oppose all territorial annexations brought about by this war, but we find it necessary to point out that the root of the trouble in the Middle-East is not a territorial issue; the roots of the problem lie in the existence of a segregationist and pro-imperialist power structure in Israel which dispossessed an entire people of their human and political rights; and in the inability of Arab nationalist policies to deal with it.

A dictated Israeli peace, a "Pax Americana" between Israel and Hussein, whether public or secret, and similar Western arrangements, will not solve the conflict between Israel and the Arab states; they will only defer it.

The creation of a Zionist Bantustan for the Palestinian Arabs while maintaining the segregationist policies towards them will not solve the "Palestine problem" any more than a South African Bantustan can solve the problems resulting from the existence of a racialist state in South Africa.

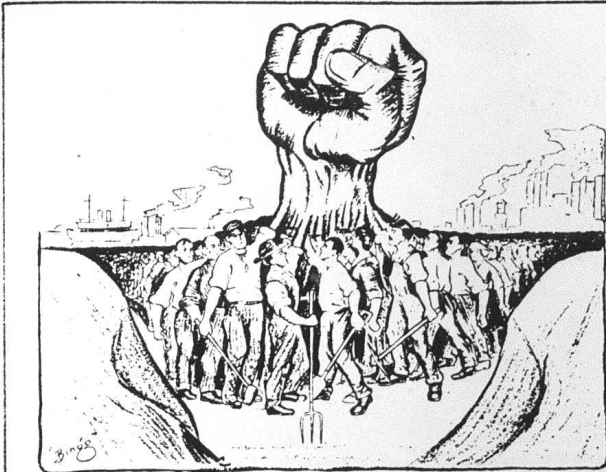
The only viable solution is:

1. To abolish completely all segregationist measures of the Zionists against the Palestinians (this includes the implementation of their right to repatriation) and turning Israel into a normal state of its own population.
  2. Active participation of the non-Zionist Israel in the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab people.
  3. Enabling the Palestinians to decide themselves about their political fate.
- Knowing that the present rulers, on both sides, have no intention of implementing these solutions, we have little doubt that the conflict will continue as long as these regimes remain in power. To all those indulging in self-illusions we say: There is no salvation to the political problems of people through policies which, tacitly or overtly, implement measures of economic, social, racial or national supremacy of one group of people over another.



# The Cartoonist and the Social Revolution

by Eugene Debs



Suburban News, 1917 The Hand That Will Rule the World—One Big Union.



The word cartoon is rather vaguely and unsatisfactorily defined as a "study or design executed on strong paper and of the size to be reproduced in fresco or tapestry; a pictorial sketch dealing with a political or social subject." This conveys but a meager idea of the cartoonist as an educator and agitator and the cartoon as a work of art.

Few people have any adequate conception of the cartoon as a factor in political agitation and social progress. Nast's cartoons had a powerful influence in moulding public sentiment and shaping the national destiny during the civil war. Since Nast's day there has been a steady development of the art, but few of its exponents have mastered it sufficiently to stamp upon it in distinct and ineffaceable letters the impress of their names. The reason for this period of seeming mediocrity is easily found. There has been no great national event since the civil war to stir to its depths the patriotism of the people and inspire their leaders and prophets to scale the heights of immortal achievement.

Cartooning, whether considered as an educational force or as an art, has advanced but slightly during the money-making period which followed the war between the states and the downfall of chattel slavery. The inspiration has been lacking. There is no moral idealism in the cornering of the market and the pursuit of private profit.

Great, masterful cartoonists must starve under sordid capitalism--or perforce prostitute their genius, as so many have done, to the base and vulgar ends of the masters of the bread.

It is true that in the fierce rivalry between capitalist parties in the heat of a national campaign for the spoils of office cartooning ability of a high order has been developed, but this has served to demonstrate the possibilities of the art rather than to satisfy the critical mind with these performances.

Cartooning capitalism is far more inspiring than capitalistic cartooning. Compare some of the weak, insipid, vulgar pictorial attacks upon Socialism in capitalist papers with the virile, gripping, masterful specimens of the art produced by such revolutionary artists as Ryan Walker, Art Young, Balfour Ker, Ward Savage and Walter Crane, in their terrific onslaughts upon the capitalist system and its regime of riches and squalor, money and misery, crime and corruption.

These are the young artists of the social revolution. Their every perception and touch has the divine quality of inspiration, and they are rising grandly to supremacy and exaltation.

I have before me, as I write, a cartoon--it is something so much more than that--by the opulently gifted Ryan Walker. It is on war and tells the gruesome, gory story from the lure of buoyant enlistment to the fatal hour of butchery and the final scene of a ghastly skull with its eyeless sockets and bleaching bones in a nameless grave. This piece of work is supreme art. It is immortal. It could not have been produced for pay. It leapt white-hot from a soul that abhors war because of its passionate love for humanity.

This cartoon, this masterly portrayal of the revolting horror and unspeakable agony of "civilized warfare," tells its frightful story at a glance. It requires no study and no interpretation. It is a terrible picture flashed upon the mind and can never be forgotten. A school child pauses before it, shudders and understands. Its stern and compelling protest and its profound and solemn warning appeal alike to young and old, poor and rich, ignorant and learned. All are alike halted, shocked, and sent forth loathing war and abominating its crimes and horrors. A score of pages of the most graphic writing could not be so effective.

This is the cartoon at the high tide of inspiration, it is one of the most subtle of educational forces. Its evolution has been slow under capitalism, but is being rapidly accelerated with the growth of Socialism. The true art of the untrammelled cartoonist is now being developed and he will be one of the most inspiring factors in the propaganda of the revolution.

No more is the cartoonist compelled to prostitute his genius and traffic in his art. The prizes of capitalism no longer tempt him; its chains of dependence no longer hold him captive. The social revolution fires his blood and he eagerly seizes its opportunities to develop his art and ennoble himself in the service of humanity.

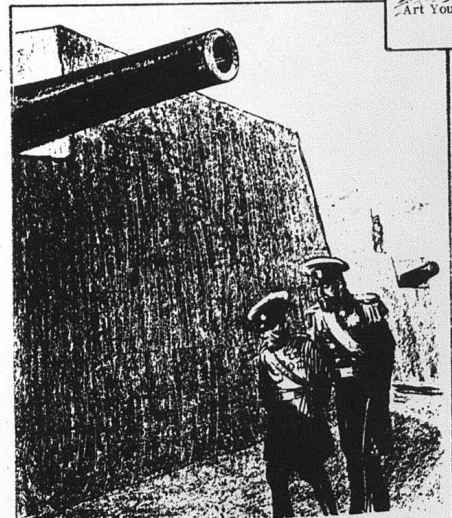
The revolution is still in its youth and yet the social cartoonist, incarnating its spirit and flashing forth its message, has arrived. Already he has won distinction, but he is still in the boyhood of his achievement. His is the social conscience, the social sense of duty, the social love and the social inspiration, and his the thrillingly joyous and self-imposed task to redeem the art of pictorial appeal from gross and sordid commercialism and consecrate it to the cause of freedom and the service of humanity.



WITH GOD ON OUR SIDE  
Drawn by Harry Osborn, April 1915



Art Young, 1912  
Time to Butcher



At Petrograd: Russian Officer: "Why these fortifications, your majesty?" Surely the Germans will cations, your majesty? Surely the Germans will not get this far!" The Czar: "But when our own army returns...?"



Drawn by Maurice Becker, January 1917  
THEY AIN'T OUR EQUALS YET



# Grapes of Death

by Anne Draper

"We will not tolerate the systematic poisoning of our people. Even if we cannot get together on other problems, we will be damned-- and we should be-- if we will permit human beings to sustain permanent damage to their health from economic poisons."

This statement appeared last month in a challenging letter to the California Grape and Tree Fruit League and other grower organizations, written by Cesar Chavez on behalf of the striking grape workers of Delano.

Concerned with the increasing use of dangerous pesticides and chemicals on grapes and other farm products, the United Farm Workers in mid-January 1969 requested the growers to meet with them on this urgent problem. The union's medical clinic has had a steady increase in cases of children and adults affected by the agricultural chemicals used in the fields and orchards. The response of the growers was a flat refusal and court injunctions to bar the farm workers' lawyers in their attempts to ascertain just how much and what companies were using these poisons.

At a meeting in late January with hundreds of the boycott crews and supporters, Chavez indicated that the union has been increasingly aware of this problem but reluctant to raise it. But he stated: "The dangers of chemical pesticides to those who cultivate and consume grapes must be faced." The growers' refusal to even discuss this problem left the union no alternative except to extend the battle between the grape workers and the growers into this new area.

California raises over 40% of the fruits and vegetables consumed in the United States, and is the heaviest user of agricultural chemicals-- some 20% of the nation's total. A noted scientist, Dr. Barry Commoner, has warned that the heavy use of chemical fertilizers has polluted the soil and water and endangered the health of those living in farm areas. Delano tap water is contaminated by a dangerously high level of nitrates and is considered unsafe for babies to drink.

Dr. Commoner, Director of the Center for the Biology of Natural Systems at Washington University in St. Louis, concluded that "the heavily farmed areas of California probably represent the most severe public health hazard from nitrates originating in fertilizers." These nitrates have already polluted the San Joaquin River and most of the streams in the Central Valley as well as San Francisco Bay.

The nitrate compounds are easily converted into nitrates "which can be dangerously poisonous to humans," particularly to babies and children. There have been cases of an anemia-like disease among infants traced back to nitrate-polluted water, causing breathing difficulties, mental retardation and sometimes death.

California's agricultural industry, employing over one-half million farm workers, has the highest occupational disease rate-- three times as high as the average rate of all industries. The state's largest industry has been criminally negligent in matters affecting the health and safety of its workers.

This \$4 billion industry has yet to provide its workers with such elementary necessities as clean drinking water, wash water, and sanitary facilities, let alone proper protective clothing and safety equipment. Each year new agricultural chemicals are introduced with flippant disregard for the consequences to both workers and consumers.

## WHAT ARE THEY HIDING?

For good reason, the farm workers' publication *El Malcriado*, asked in a recent issue: "What Are They Hiding?" The union has been demanding that the Kern County authorities permit them to inspect the records on the use of dangerous pesticides. But the local judges have so far refused to open up the records, although a state officer testified that 16 out of 24 grape workers employed in a Delano vineyard had been hospitalized for parathion poisoning. They had worked in a presumably "safe" field, entering it 33 days after the application of the chemical. Most fields are declared "safe" two or three weeks after the chemical is used.

Reports published by the Bureau of Occupational Health, California Department of Health, reveal that since 1951, a total of 136 deaths, including 82 children, involved agricultural chemicals. In the last annual report issued, for 1966, the bureau reported 1347 cases of recorded occupational diseases from pesticides and insecticides-- a partial figure, since over one-fourth of the agricultural work force was not included in this report. Also, many victims never go to a doctor, and thus their illness is not reported.

Joe Alejandro, a grape worker employed to spray the grape vines, is one of those who have testified at a Superior Court hearing on the question in Bakersfield: "There are two kinds of spraying which I am required to perform," he said, "wet and dry spray. Both are sprays of sulphur. I spray in an open vehicle. The wet spray flies up and hits me all over the body and in the face...Red spots form on the skin and little blisters appear...they last for as long as three to four weeks. As far as I know the sulphur stays on the grapes. When they are ready to be picked, I can still see the sulphur dust all over

the bunches of grapes."

Other grape workers reported rashes caused by insect spray and throat infections lasting five or six days. They also testified that spraying by airplane has been carried on even while workers were in the fields, affecting their eyesight.

The state's agricultural pilots have the highest rate of all of occupational injury, disease, and death. Pesticides are applied by these pilots to about half of California's farm acreage. The ratio is one pilot killed for each million acres treated: 53 pilots killed and 54 million acres treated in California, 1960-61. Pesticide poisoning accounts for over 50% of the disabling work injuries in this group compared with an average of 5% for other industries.

The public, and surely the farm workers, have the right to know what sprays are used on the fruits and vegetables, in what concentrations and with what possible harmful effects, both to the worker and the consumer. Some of the chemicals used are so powerful that a few drops are sufficient to cause death. Some are derived from "nerve gases" first developed by the Nazis to exterminate the Jews and now being perfected by the Air Force.



The University of California continues to play its long-standing role of serving the growers and ignoring the farm workers. At the California Farm Equipment Show in Tulare, Feb. 11-13, where over 220 farm equipment companies displayed their machines and products, the co-sponsor was U.C.'s Agricultural Extension Service.

The "Grower's Program Presented by University of California Farm Advisors and Agricultural Scientists" (sic) covered various aspects of making agriculture more profitable. One program entitled "Integrated Control of Grape Pests" presented three speakers on: "Leafhopper Studies," "Mite Studies," and "Application Methods."

The U.C. scientists have yet to produce a comprehensive study on the effect of the pesticides, insecticides, and other agricultural chemicals they have helped to develop to make California farming more productive and profitable. What has been their impact on the health and safety of the farm workers and the consumers of farm products? What is their role in soil, air, and water pollution? Such questions are shunned by U.C.'s agricultural scientists, but they should be insistently raised by campus supporters of the farm workers.

Does the new emphasis on tearing open the curtain of secrecy surrounding the use of agricultural chemicals mean that the boycott against California table grapes is lagging? Just the opposite: the 500 grape strike supporters who attended the January 25 meeting in Delano heard first-hand accounts of the enormous success of the grape boycott-- undoubtedly the most effective boycott any union has ever run.

Boycott crews of farm workers, their families, and

volunteer organizers had been dispatched last summer to some 35 major cities across the nation and to Canada. They aroused an enormous response from a wide range of organizations and people: unions, students, clergy, blacks, chicanos, Congressmen, Senators, mayors, and even presidential candidates.

Based on detailed studies of the shipments of grapes to major areas, the Farm Workers Union estimated that their boycott had cost the grape growers from \$10 to \$15 million. Blocked out of such important areas as New York, where 22 supermarket chains agreed to drop grapes, the growers were forced to find new markets for their grapes, mainly in smaller cities and in the South-- Atlanta and Dallas for example.

Hard-hitting picket lines, imaginative tactics, and widespread public support resulted in sharp drops of sales of grapes: 27% less in Boston, 18% less in Buffalo, and 16% less in New York City were typical. Unable to sell their grapes for table use, the growers sent them to the wineries-- 13% more grapes were sold for wine. During the pre-Christmas period, grape sales dropped 19%.

## GRAPES FOR WAR

The growers did find one other outlet for their grapes: the U.S. Defense Department, which escalated its purchases of scab grapes, particularly for shipment to Vietnam. During the fiscal year July thru June 1965, the government purchased \$32,000 of grapes for Vietnam; after the strike started in September 1965, the government increased its purchases to \$214,000 in 1967, and to an estimated half-million dollars in 1968. In the first three months of the current fiscal year, more grapes were shipped to Vietnam than for the entire year of 1967 or 1968.

These purchases were made by the Democratic Party administration of Johnson-Humphrey, and considerable attempts were made by the Farm Workers Union to get these purchases stopped. The Union delayed its endorsement of Humphrey until late in the campaign trying to get a solid commitment to stop these purchases, but it failed to do so. Nevertheless, succumbing to the "lesser-evil" attitude that dominates political action by most unions, the Farm Workers still endorsed the Democratic Party candidates.

San Francisco supporters of the grape strike staged a demonstration and picket line last October at Pier 37 where the President Jefferson was loaded with scab grapes for Vietnam. Despite considerable rank-and-file support among dock workers and teamsters, these unions have yet to match the action of the British and Swedish dock workers: Those longshoremen have refused to unload the grapes and kept them out of their countries.

United Farm Workers continued to picket both San Francisco and Oakland docks, where ships were loaded with grapes for overseas. In one case, at the President Roosevelt docked at Pier 50, the picket line was crossed by S.F. Mayor Joseph Alioto in company with President Harry Bridges of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. The occasion was a luncheon on board ship to rally support for several S.F. port propositions on the November ballot. The Farm Workers had requested that the luncheon be changed to another location, and declined to remove their picket line.

## FORBIDDEN FRUIT

S.F. Labor Council Secretary George Johns and other labor leaders refused to cross the picket line, but some did cross, arousing substantial resentment. Mayor Alioto, stung by the public criticism of his action, insisted that if his crossing the farm workers' picket line constituted "some kind of fink activity, I want you to know I was with quite a collection of finks."

The strongest testimony to the effectiveness of the grape boycott has come from the growers themselves and their supporters. While they persistently deny that a strike exists in Delano, they have acknowledged the international scope of the grape boycott.

The influential publication, *California Farmer*, in its January 18, 1969 issue, devoted five articles to the grape strike and boycott. The article by its managing editor contained the usual smears against "campus militants, social reform organizations, and co-operating clergymen" but warned the growers: "The nationwide boycott of California table grapes is not going to fade away."

Perhaps there is a secret grape strike supporter on the publications staff, since the issue reprints a sympathetic account of how the Delano farm workers conducted the boycott in the snows of New York. The editor's note admits that he had been receiving similar stories from all over the U.S.

The United Farm Workers is planning an intensified and expanded boycott for 1969 and has selected the nation's largest grocery chain, Safeway, as its major target. Some thirty additional farm worker crews are being sent to reinforce present boycott teams and to open up new areas. They plan to build neighborhood coalitions to drive grapes off the counters.

The union's Vice President, Dolores Huerta, under whose leadership grapes became the "forbidden fruit" in the New York area, summed up the union's stand: "The grape boycott of 1969 will make the boycott of 1968 look like ring-around-the-rosy."

# Independent Socialist Clubs of America Program in Brief

We stand for socialism: the collective ownership and democratic control of the economy, established by a revolutionary transformation from below and aimed toward the building of a new society.

We stand for a socialist policy which is completely independent of and opposed to both of the reactionary systems of exploitation which now divide the world; capitalism and bureaucratic Communism.

Capitalism is an outlived system of private profit and corporate oppression, even where represented as the "welfare state", and administered by liberals or social democrats. At home, in the midst of a false prosperity based on a Permanent War Economy, it perpetuates unemployment, poverty, and racism, while witch-hunting radical social dissent in the name of "anti-Communism". Abroad, struggling to contain or absorb the colonial revolution, its imperialism spreads reaction and prolongs underdevelopment, in the name of democracy but in the interests of its own hegemony.

The self-styled Communist regimes—Russian, Maoist or independent—are systems of totalitarian collectivism that are similarly counterposed to so-

cialism. Ruled from above by bureaucracies that control the state that owns the means of production, they regiment at home in the name of industrialization, while choking or perverting revolution abroad—through the various Communist parties, which are political agents of the ruling bureaucracies, not of the working class.

Our orientation is toward socialism from below, not dispensation from above; toward a socialist strategy which has nothing in common with the various attempts at permacating or reforming the ruling classes of the world.

The Independent Socialist Clubs of America are educational and activist organizations which seek to contribute to the training of a new generation of socialists, and the rebirth of a mass socialist movement in the U.S. Based on the ideas of revolutionary Marxism, we look to the working class, black and white, blue collar and white collar, as the basic progressive force in society. We work toward the development of a genuine political alternative to the capitalist power structure and its parties, toward a new mass party of the working class, the

black community, and the anti-war movement.

We stand for full support to the struggle for black liberation, for self-defense against racist terror and police brutality, and for the independent self-organization of the ghetto. We look forward to a future coalition of black and white workers, but blacks cannot allow their struggle today to be subordinated to the present conservative consciousness of American workers.

We applaud the new currents of militancy spreading through the labor movement and manifested in the growing wave of strikes. We call for an uncompromising fight by rank-and-file caucuses against racism and bureaucraticism in the trade union movement, against the subordination of the interests of labor to the demands of imperialism and corporate profit.

Within the anti-war movement, we are for a militant fight for a democratic, anti-imperialist foreign policy, for the withdrawal of American troops from all foreign lands, and unilateral disarmament. We are for strengthening all tendencies toward a Third Camp of those who reject both war blocs and their military preparations.

In Vietnam, we favor not only popular revolution against American domination, but also the rejection by the masses involved in that revolution of the Communist leadership of the NLF. A new revolutionary leadership must be created if the popular struggle against U.S. imperialism is not to be betrayed by the rise of a new bureaucratic ruling class, as in China and North Vietnam. As a precondition for an independent Vietnam, we demand immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. If withdrawal means a major defeat for Washington, it is of its own making. More importantly, if this defeat is incurred or quickened by the demands of an indignant American people, then Washington's defeat would be the American people's victory.

Our view of socialism is both revolutionary and democratic, both humanist and working class: an international, revolutionary-democratic movement of opposition that presents a third choice for the world, for a new world of peace and freedom, a new society of abundance that will give men the power to create and control their own lives.

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# Dr. Zborowski and M. Etienne

by Joel Geier



Leon Sedov

The Berkeley Independent Socialist Club has discovered that Mark Zborowski, a visiting lecturer in sociology at the University of California at Berkeley, is in fact the onetime Russian secret police agent and agent provocateur implicated in the death of Leon Trotsky's son.

During the period of the Moscow purge trials, Zborowski, under the name of "Etienne," was assigned to infiltrate and inform on the Trotskyist movement. In this capacity, he acted as an associate of the GPU (Russian secret police) gang which engaged in a series of political assassinations of opponents of Stalin. A number of the revolutionaries Zborowski informed on were subsequently murdered or died under mysterious circumstances, victims of Stalin's international murder apparatus.

Zborowski's assignment, spying on the Trotskyist movement, was considered to be so important that his reports were read directly by Stalin. Although numerically weak, the Trotskyist groups constituted a real danger to Stalin. They were the center of opposition to Stalinism, and the incarnation of genuine revolutionary Marxism.

## AGENT PROVOCATEUR

His career has been summarized by the historian Isaac Deutscher, among others, in the third volume of his biography of Trotsky. Zborowski, writes Deutscher flatly, "was a Stalinist agent provocateur." Or in the words of another historian, David Dallin: "Mark Zborowski was one of Stalin's most important tools in the fight against Trotsky. When Trotsky lived in exile in Norway, his activities as head of an international movement were limited, major tasks were turned over to his son, Leon Sedov, in Paris, center of the movement. The correspondence between Trotsky, first in Norway, then in Mexico, and Sedov embraced everything of importance to their movement, including secret information from and about Russia. All Trotsky's plans were revealed in this extensive correspondence, which was supposed to be known to

at most two or three persons.

"Posing as a dedicated Trotskyite, Zborowski became a close 'friend' of Leon Sedov — so close that he came to read all his important documents. Of course he immediately reported their contents to the NKVD (Russian secret police)."

## SUDDEN DEATH

Leon Sedov died in February 1938; the circumstances surrounding his death were ambiguous to say the least. Young and in good health, he was operated on for appendicitis and made an excellent recovery, then suddenly became delirious and died. The suspicion has been that poison was responsible. It was Zborowski who selected the hospital, which was staffed by Russian emigres, Zborowski who called the ambulance, and as he later confessed, Zborowski who then informed the GPU.

Ramon Mercader, Trotsky's assassin, admitted before a judge that the GPU murdered Leon Sedov. Jack Soble, Russian spy and for a time Zborowski's superior, has also testified in court that Sedov's death was a GPU job. Only Mark Zborowski, the agent provocateur who entrapped Sedov in the first place, and the only person aside from Sedov's wife who was allowed to visit him in the hospital, has never revealed what he knows about the death of Leon Sedov.

After Sedov's death, Zborowski took his place in the Trotskyist movement as editor of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition and representative of the Russian section on the executive of the 4th International. He was, says Deutscher, "Trotsky's most important correspondent in Europe, and kept in touch with new refugees from the Stalinist terror who sought contact with Trotsky." All the while, he remained an agent and informer for the GPU.

## A JOB WELL DONE

Zborowski is suspected of fingering other revolutionaries as well. According to David Dallin:

"Zborowski's hand is also seen in the case of the high-ranking NKVD man Ignace Reiss, who not only defected in the summer of 1937 but tried to organize abroad a group of anti-Stalinist old Bolsheviks — including several NKVD officials. Moscow decided to liquidate Reiss at once. According to Swiss and French police reports, two gangs of assassins were dispatched to meet Reiss, one on September 4, 1937 in Lausanne, Switzerland and should that fail, another the next day in Reims, France. Zborowski was the only person who could have told the NKVD about Reiss' plans to go to Reims, for a meeting between Reiss and Sedov had been scheduled there on that date. Reiss was killed in Lausanne; a ticket to Reims was found in his pocket.

"Another bloody affair was that of Erwin Wolf, Trotsky's former secretary, who left Paris for Spain to fight for the Loyalists. Zborowski knew Wolf was going. Wolf never returned; he was murdered in Spain by the NKVD."

Isaac Deutscher, Trotsky's biographer, has also raised the possibility that Rudolf Klement, the secretary of the Fourth International, who was murdered in July 1938, may have been killed because he was on the trail of the GPU agent provocateur within the Trotskyist movement.

The ex-Soviet agent Alexander Orlove (author of

The Secret History of Stalin's Crimes) swore before a Senate subcommittee that "he had learned in 1933 that a Soviet agent he knew only as 'Mark' had been assigned to become the organizer of the assassination of Leon Trotsky." (N.Y. Times 24 November 1962) In 1954 Orlove learned Mark's full name and exposed him, although he did not then believe that Zborowski was involved directly in the actual murder of Trotsky.

During the war Zborowski came to this country where for some years he continued to spy on Trotskyists, socialists and Russian emigres, under the supervision of Russian spy Jack Soble. Due to Soble's testimony Zborowski was convicted of perjury — not of spying because the statute of limitations had run out. He was sentenced to 3 years and 11 months in prison, in December 1962. He has never had to stand trial for the crimes he committed while in France.

By his own account, political considerations were not Zborowski's motivation. He did it for money. For his services to the GPU, he has said, he was to be given a scholarship to study in Stalin's Russia — although he were a promising athlete or had won prize selling magazine subscriptions.

## FROM UC WITH LOVE

Thus has the University of California internationalized its already resplendent collection of entanglement with the military, industrial, agribusiness and American espionage establishments. As if the CIA, DuChemical, the AEC, the DiGiorgio Corporation and the Bank of America were not enough, UC has added as it were, Smersh to its list of patrons.

We believe it necessary to bring these facts to light so that the university community may be made aware of what is in its midst. Zborowski's political beliefs then or now are not at issue here; the question involves something quite different: systematic political assassination as a weapon for the GPU.

Black revolutionaries like Eldridge Cleaver are denied the right to lecture more than twice. Informants and murderers like Mark Zborowski are welcome into the community of scholars.

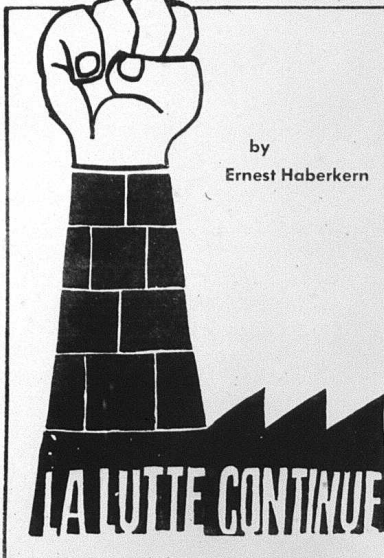
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by Ernest Haberkorn

There are two countries today where the emergence of a mass revolutionary party to the left of the CP is a possibility: one is Czechoslovakia and the other is France.

On January 31 of this year, a mass meeting of 4500 revolutionaries (sponsored by the editorial boards of two Trotskyist papers, "Rouge" and "Lutte Ouvriere") took a step toward the formation of such a party in France. Despite the continuing ban on the political groups represented by the two papers, the meeting took place in public.

The gathering represented more than just another reshuffling of the Trotskyist deck to produce a new, refurbished sect. It was aimed at the development of a new movement of all those groups in opposition to the policy of the PCF — a policy that sabotaged the potentially revolutionary upsurge of last spring.

The meeting was begun with the election of imprisoned Polish revolutionary socialists Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski as honorary chairmen; it closed with a singing of the Internationale. The substance of the meeting was the presentation of views by two representatives of "Rouge" and three representatives of "Lutte Ouvriere". We have not yet seen the presentations of the "Rouge" group but can summarize the views of the "Lutte Ouvriere" speakers.

The themes of their presentations can be grouped under three headings: the necessity of a revolutionary party, the steps that can be taken at present, and the role of the PCF. The speakers argued that the events of last spring proved that the working class of the capitalist countries was, despite the defeats of the last thirty years, still capable of struggle. They also demonstrated, however, that the working class

was unable to carry that struggle through to victory in the absence of a revolutionary party.

Especially given the strength of the PCF apparatus in the factories, the militants were impotent without an organized movement. One delegate devoted his entire presentation to a description of the role of the PCF in isolating the militants and fragmenting the struggle.

The "Lutte Ouvriere" speakers emphasized their own belief in the necessity of a centralized organization built along the lines of the Bolshevik party. However, the immediate task, they felt, was not the formation of such a party but rather the unification of the various sects and groupings around a common press. It was their belief that this would provide a framework within which the scattered factory militants could work to end their fragmentation.

The speakers expressed the hope that the meeting would be only the first in a series of public discussions. We hope so too. Given the present situation in France where literally tens of thousands of French workers are turning away from the CP in disgust, a unified revolutionary movement should amount to much more than just a turf for Trotskyist, anarchist and Maoist factions to fight on. It could be the beginning of a genuine party of the working class, independent of both the CP and the Social Democracy.

The fact that over four thousand people came together to discuss the development of a mass revolutionary party in France is an event that should give encouragement to serious revolutionary socialists everywhere.