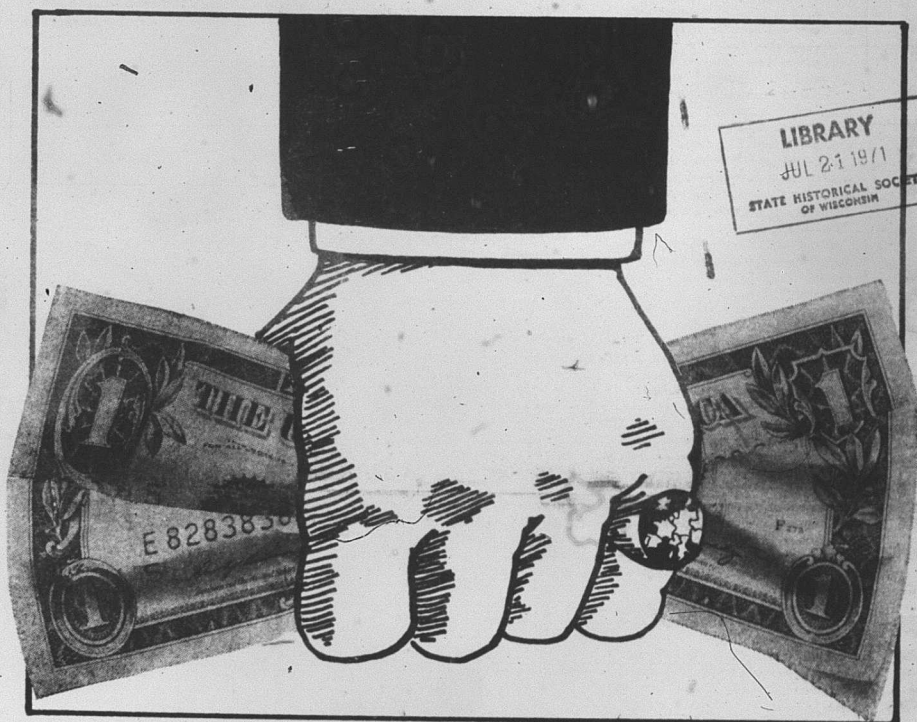


Workers' Power

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The Dollar Under Attack

The Spring Offensive: Who Won?
Constance Markievicz · Steel
Ceylon · Women and Science Fiction
The New Action Army · Containerization



David Finkel

One of the myths about the state of Israel is that it embodies various noble ideals of democracy and equality. This official myth helps to make Israel attractive to liberals and other apologists, who find it easy to "overlook" the Israeli government's support for the United States policy in Vietnam and its robberies and suppression of the Palestinian Arab people from 1948 to the present, or to explain these as part of "Israel's quest for secure borders."

Unfortunately for the Zionist regime, which is dominated by the Ashkenazi (Western and Eastern European) Jews who make up Israel's middle and capitalist classes, a mass protest movement of the Sephardic Jews (from North Africa and the Arab countries) has emerged within Israel itself.

The leading organization within this movement calls itself the Black Panthers of Jerusalem, which reflects the enormous influence of the Black Liberation struggle on oppressed peoples everywhere. The Israeli Panthers, however, are not a revolutionary nor even an anti-Zionist group, but rather a militant civil rights organization.

The origins of the Sephardic movement were discussed in the London *Observer* of March 21 in an article by Walter Schwarz. One contributing factor is the effective political exclusion of the Sephardim, who make up 60 per cent of the voting-age population but only 14 per cent of the Parliament and 11 per cent (two out of eighteen ministers) of the ruling Cabinet. Similarly, Sephardic children constitute 60 per cent of the entering primary school children, but only 25 per cent of the high school and 8 per cent of the university students.

This inequality cannot be explained as a vestige of immigration but rather has been passed on to the generation of youth and imbedded in the structure of the society. "Legally," says Schwarz, "schools are integrated." But well-off parents shun "poor" schools in their neighborhoods, thus perpetuating the gap from the generation of the immigrants to that of the Panthers."

Like other civil rights movements — among Blacks and Chicanos in the U.S., Catholics in Northern Ireland, and Basques in Spain — the Sephardic movement has a fundamental social component as a struggle of poor and exploited people. The Sephardim are forced into the worst urban slums (better housing is constructed for new European immigrants) and the menial and worst-paid jobs.

Under similar conditions other civil rights movements have deepened their goals beyond their original demands for equality, and adopted a perspective of social liberation based on a transformation from below of the entire society. The Sephardic movement faces special problems in taking this road, because of the severe persecution suffered by the Sephardim under reactionary Arab re-



BULLDOZING SITE FOR NEW HOTEL AT SHARM EL SHEIKH

gimes — and thus ties them to the defense of the same Zionist regime which oppresses them today.

The Israeli Panthers themselves have publicly rejected any ties with the anti-Zionist revolutionary socialist Israeli organization Matzpen (which stands for dismantling the Zionist state and establishing Arab and Jewish self-determination within a Middle East socialist federation). This, however, has not prevented the "democratic" Israeli government from attacking the Panthers as a Matzpen front group and throwing Panthers in jail for organizing a demonstration in March against discrimination in jobs and housing.

This repression demonstrates that the Sephardic movement will have no choice but to search, together with the Palestinian movement and all revolutionary socialists in the region, for a revolutionary program which can unite in struggle all oppressed peoples and working classes in the Middle East.

One especially revealing aspect of this development is the total silence of the American liberal and Jewish communities on the question of persecution and repression of Jews in Israel itself. The same liberals who back down from supporting the democratic rights of Black revolutionaries in the U.S. when this ceases to be fashionable, have nothing to say about the elementary rights of speech and organization of the Sephardim in Israel.

Of the Jewish organizations who constantly speak out on the very popular issue of the persecution of the Jews under the bureaucratic regime in Russia — from the racist-conservative Jewish Defense League to the liberal Anti-Defamation League to the pro-Zionist groups of all kinds — not one has seen fit to waste a drop of ink on the unpopular issue of inequality within Israel. The same holds true of those Jewish groups which attempt to be "radical" and Zionist at the same time, or to take a radical position on American political issues and evade the questions posed by Zionism and Israel.

The reasons for this are obvious: those who support the Israeli state and its policies are not about to embarrass that state by helping to expose its real character. To do this would cause the myths of Israeli "democracy" and the "Jewish Homeland" to crumble completely.

To the liberals and Zionist apologists of all stripes it is necessary to demand that they state their position on discrimination in Israel and act accordingly. Just as those who fail to condemn the persecution of Jews in Russia have no right to oppose the state of Israel and its policies, it is equally true that those who ignore the oppression of both Arabs and "second-class Jews" by Israel have no right to denounce the oppression of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union or elsewhere. ■

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THE DOLLAR UNDER ATTACK

Drake Levittan



Over the last week, the headlines and financial pages of such leading papers as the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* were groaning about the latest international monetary crisis. In a matter of hours, billions of U.S. dollars were dumped on the money market in exchange for German marks, Swiss francs, and other foreign currencies. This speculation was led by European branches of major American corporations, seeking profits from a rumored rise in the value of the German mark.

The *Times* and the *Journal* were filled with technical jargon that made the problem seem remote. Secretary of the Treasury John Connally insisted that the whole thing was strictly Europe's concern.

But the fact is that the repercussions of the monetary crisis will affect the Nixon administration's economic and political strategy. For American workers it may mean anything from more expensive Volkswagens to new attacks on the unions.

Good as Gold

In order to understand this monetary crisis we must go back to the period following World War II. At that time European industry had been devastated by the war, leaving the U.S. as the single dominant capitalist power.

The U.S. gained financial interests in former British and French colonies in Africa and Asia, bought up Europe's torn industry and skilled labor at bargain basement prices through such "aid" programs as the Marshall Plan, and set up a system of worldwide military bases and alliances such as N.A.T.O., to protect the corporate holdings and profits of its world empire. In this period, the U.S. accounted for two-thirds of the world's industrial output.

In exchange for bailing out European capitalism with its guns and dollars, and in order to eliminate some of the pre-war anarchy of world trade on American terms, the U.S. forced the dollar to be accepted as a "reserve currency." This means that it is treated in international trade as though it were gold.

The price of gold was set at \$35 an

ounce. This setup reflected the overwhelming dominance of U.S. industry and seemed to insure the stability of world trade relations.

However, to maintain its dominant economic position, the U.S. decided to utilize European labor, which was far cheaper than American labor. This encouraged a growth of American corporations abroad. From \$7 billion in 1944, American investments in Europe soared to the current \$70-billion.

This, together with direct U.S. government economic assistance to Europe — to assure strong allies capable of serving as both a buffer against Eastern European Communism as well as markets for American goods — brought about a revitalized European economy.

An industrial Europe today means competition with U.S. industry. But European states, as well as Japan, have a big advantage over the United States. They rely on the U.S. armed forces and nuclear weapons, thereby saving themselves up to \$80 billion annually on arms spending.

Since even U.S. government economists admit that the defense budget is mainly responsible for inflation, for some time Europe and Japan have been able to undercut inflated American prices on the world market. This has meant a relative decline in U.S. exports when compared with Europe and Japan, best illustrated in tensions between the U.S. and Japan over trade in steel, autos, electronics, and textiles.

Deficit

American investment abroad, the decline in exports, and military spending overseas (in particular Vietnam) have all led to a balance of payments deficit — more dollars leaving this country than come in. Up until now, the unique position of the dollar in world trade has meant that the U.S. never had to pay its trade debts.

While other countries have to cough up gold to cover their deficits, the U.S. need only print up some more dollar bills and give them to its European creditors, since the dollar is supposed to be equivalent to gold. In fact, while the U.S. has 40-50 billions dollars in Eu-

rope, it has gold reserves of only about \$11 billion. If the European countries demanded that the U.S. pay up, the Treasury would be bankrupt.

The Europeans won't do this, since bankruptcy of the U.S. would mean the end of international trade, as well as the likely overthrow of capitalism in the bulwark of the capitalist world. Nevertheless, since the mid-sixties many European states have been less willing to preserve the fiction that the American position is the same as it was during World War II.

They are tired of subsidizing the cost of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and U.S. military bases around the world, U.S. inflation, and the balance of payments deficit. This is only the latest and most serious of a series of monetary crises.

Europeans are particularly irked at Nixon's recent lowering of interest rates, which caused speculators to seek higher interest rates abroad, leading to the flood of dollars into Germany. By international agreement, the European central banks must absorb all dollars which are brought to them — for example, the German central bank must pay 3.66 marks for each dollar presented to it.

The flood of dollars into Germany

has forced the Germans to print up nearly 25 per cent more marks in the past year alone. The Europeans say that this amounts to the U.S. exporting its inflation to Europe. One European economist, commenting on Nixon's lack of understanding of monetary matters, said "Every day is amateur night with U.S. economic policy."

Nixon had a reason for lowering interest rates. He felt that it would stimulate the domestic economy, and that the Europeans would never do more than make idle threats about overthrowing the dollar standard. But Germany and four other European nations have apparently decided to increase the value of their currencies by letting them "float," which simply means that as long as more people want the European currencies than the dollar on the currency market, the European currencies will increase in value relative to the dollar.

End the War

This is just a short-range solution. The major drain on U.S. dollars around the world is the huge cost of American military interventions and bases in fifty countries, and especially the war in Vietnam. As long as the war and our imperialist foreign policy continue, billions will be wasted resulting in a balance of payments deficit for the U.S. And as long as this deficit continues, there will be a flood of dollars on the world market.

The answer must be to end the war, and beyond this, to end America's imperialist foreign policy. We should have no troops in foreign countries, and no aid to reactionary governments.

Now that Europe has shown that it won't tolerate the U.S. exporting inflation, Nixon's next move will most likely be to attempt to increase American exports by cutting production costs — that is, lower wages and more unemployment. This strategy has been used by Britain since 1967 to attempt to solve its monetary problems. The British government has attempted to smash unions; control wages, cut welfare and social services, and increase job-line speedup.

The unions must respond with militant mass action to make American capitalist pay for the crisis they've created, just as British workers are trying to do. American workers must refuse to shoulder the burden for the weakness of the dollar. This means fighting against wage-price guidelines and for union rights; and it means adding the political demands for an immediate end to the war and for an anti-imperialist foreign policy.



FRANTIC ACTIVITY AT THE LONDON EXCHANGE

View From The Pit: A STEELWORKER LOOKS AT THE STRIKE

David Shoemaker

Somewhere out there in mythical Middle America, Dad frowns over the *New York Times*: "Anyone who thinks the settlement in steel will be less than the can settlement is out of his mind," was the crisp summary one high official gave of the White House attitude. (Hmm, and there was just a 6.25 per cent price hike . . . better take another look at the savings passbook before we decide on that '72 Tempest).

Mom turns from the TV: "Oh dear, Dear, Nixon says the Japanese are underselling American steel, and those workers are asking for so much, so demanding — why the *Wall Street Journal* said that I.W. Abel said that this time the workers are going to make the decision about the contract." . . . (thoughts of those two shares of Bethlehem shivering up and blowing away, the toaster on its last legs and the household allowance on its knees . . . and then the Japanese . . . why I thought we won that war . . .).

Myth and Reality

Sir and Madame, I hasten to inform you that while the statements and figures above are accurate instances of the current bombast in the news media over the upcoming steel contract, the steelworkers have nothing to do with it. To begin with, steelworkers are not even allowed to vote yes or no on the contract they will have to live with.

Ratification is up to the national and local Negotiating Committees, composed of union bureaucrats elected long before members of the United Steelworkers union (USW) were even aware of the contract issues. These are the "workers" USW President Abel was referring to, as he made clear in the same *Wall Street Journal* article. In my local, these "workers" get \$35 a day expenses for negotiating — more than a foreman's take-home — in addition to their salaries.

Among the people who are "out of their minds" for suggesting that the steel settlement will be less than the settlement in the can industry is the USW international representative, who in his dozens has been touring the local unions with this message:

"Brothers, drug use has become a major problem in the mills; it is our duty to report any information we have, especially about dealing in Horse, or heroin. Now about the contract, it would be very dangerous to think that we are going to get a settlement par with the can settlement. The aluminum negotiations now going on show that management is not going to give in so easily. Don't get your hopes up."

Surprised? It's true. But since the average steelworker is less likely to go to a union meeting than to read the *New York Times* (which is not likely), he may still hope for a settlement equal to the can makers.

What he does not know is that this contract provided a 6 to 7 per cent wage increase when inflation is taken into account, not the 31 per cent trumpeted in the capitalist press. What he does know is that there's not a chance in hell of his making it to the government's official "maintenance income for a family of four."

Steel wages start at about \$2.88 per hour. Twenty levels and twenty years seniority later, they reach as high as \$40 a day — for foremen. The average wage is perhaps \$3.50. Among younger workers, this leads to the standard comment wherever steelworkers wait at busstops: "Man, if I didn't have another hustle on the side I couldn't make it."

There are only three generally recognized reasons for working in the grime,

temperature extremes, and surrounding danger of a steel mill:

1) It's easier than an assembly line (said by younger men waiting for better jobs to open up, perhaps on an assembly line after all, and by older men who have made a peace of sorts with capitalist industry); 2) "doubling" — the chance to work two continuous shifts, or an extra day instead of a day off, for the overtime pay (said by the go-getters, or anyone with dependents and no outside hustle); and 3) steel was the only one hiring (said by vast ranks of recently unemployed, especially recent veterans).

What are these — not average, but actually above average — American industrial workers "demanding?" They are as intrigued as Middle America with

the newspaper and TV battle raging between Nixon, Big Steel, and the USW — "Jeez, did we demand that? Doesn't sound like what Joe told me Pete said they said at the Hall."

In fact, the only demand which has risen from the rank and file itself is for the right to strike: the right to strike on safety issues, on working conditions, on daily grievances. The right of local unions to strike, their only weapon in the day-to-day struggle against slow death on the job, was sold out years ago by the USW International.

Another major demand is to give back the cost-of-living (COL) protection of wages against inflation, also sold out by the International years ago in return for a package of fringe benefits (mainly company-paid Blue Cross, and did you ever try to get well on Blue Cross, especially since Medicare boosted doctor prices in all the uncovered areas?).

The contrast between what he reads in the paper and knows first-hand necessarily breeds a bit of cynicism in the steelworker.

Incentive System

Beyond the sell-outs over right to strike and cost of living, he remembers the promise held out by the incentive system, under which some workers get extra pay proportional with extra production. Union leaders painted incentive as an extra \$100 a week in the pocket.

In fact, it takes two weeks working an incentive job everyday, and a couple of doubles thrown in, to approach \$50 incentive bonus. Still and all, it is the hope of incentive pay that keeps many steelmen on the job.

Incentive is not for everybody. It is most widespread in U.S. Steel, which last month was forced through court decisions to extend incentive to 91 per cent of its jobs. Where I work maybe half the people earn incentive. For a quarter of the workers, the labor pool, it is incentive one day, straight pay the next (with luck or brownnosing).

In any case, it divides the work force, half with a money interest in higher production, half with a physical interest in lower production. The most strenuous jobs, the ones which get worse the more steel is got out, are naturally the ones with no incentive.

Small wonder that in the locker rooms, then, conversation does not center on polishing up the union's image so that steelworkers will not appear too greedy. The union is "they." "Do you think they'll strike?" "I'll believe it when I see it." (No one has seen it in 12 years.) "The union said . . ." "That ain't no union, that's a company union." "What union." "Oh, they'll strike for a while — the company wants one."

But 12 years of "labor statesmanship" — the last steel strike was in 1959



Steelworkers in Japan

— have not broken the spirit of steelworkers. By August 1, when the present contract expires, steelworkers will be worse off than they were in 1968, when the last contract expired. Even the pro-company U.S. News and World Report, admits that by several months ago steelworkers' buying power had increased only 1.7 per cent in three years.

Everyone knows that times are tough — they had a hard time finding the jobs they have, they know that steel profits are down. In scattered locations, rank and file groups have sprung up, taking on both the company and the union bureaucrats. Under pressure of a potential wave of militancy from below, local and district officials are talking tougher, demanding more decision-making power on local issues.

In Detroit, objections to the hazardous working conditions and unhealthy atmosphere are uttered by union spokesmen. Naturally, if these spokesmen had to work with the men they represent, their objections would become screams. Still, they have an uneasy feeling that the ranks aren't happy.

Also in Detroit, an attempt will be made to settle the backlog of grievances in a new way. Rather than being lumped together with economic and job rights demands, in order to be trading items from the start, they will be first negotiated by themselves and then thrown into the hopper. International reps have hinted that the only grievances they will seriously fight are those where employees have been fired in flagrant violation of the contract.

In the back of everyone's mind is steelworkers' enemy number three: Richard Milhouse Nixon. If Nixon imposes a settlement on the workers, chances are they will surrender to it

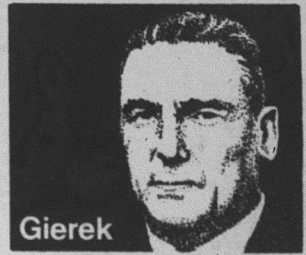
this time around. The sort of on-the-job organization and solidarity required to fight the Federal government, as well as the company and the union, is missing.

Big Steel has given Nixon an open invitation to intervene. R. Heath Larry, steel's big gun in the upcoming negotiations, said in the Wall Street Journal on May 10: "the emerging truth is that collective bargaining has come to impinge perilously on public economic policy and needs."

Today, he continued, there is "more

serious questioning of the viability of free private collective bargaining as a wage-setting mechanism than I can ever remember." Union demands are "no longer basically a claim against an employer," but rather "a claim against society at large for support of the claimants to an ever higher place in the pecking order."

Well, if Nixon is willing to give away millions from the wallets of "society at large" to pay off Lockheed, what are a few thousand Army strikebreakers in the steel mills? ■



Gierek

Poland: Still Fighting

Do you remember Poland? The capitalist press does not. Next to nothing has been reported since the smiling liberal stalinist Gierék replaced the stern boss Gomulka (who back in the '50's was the smiling liberal stalinist who replaced yet another stern boss).

Have the Polish workers returned to the happy anthill of everyday life, content that by demonstrating, striking, toppling a government leadership and dying by the hundreds their demands will be realized — through the proper channels? No. In fact:

* Workers' leaders arrested in Gdansk in December remain in prison. December strike leaders have been sentenced — one, Janusz Kaminski, to 25 years (the official line is that Kaminski and other sentenced leaders are dead).

* Like his American counterparts Nixon and LBJ, Gierék has created a wealth of Special Commissions of Experts to deal with whatever tons of paper can deal with.

* Official talk of "changing the style of government" and reviving "workers co-management councils" has vanished from government press releases.

* Gierék, in a speech on April 20th, redefined the Polish crisis as a tragic misunderstanding between well-intentioned police and officials, and the well-intentioned populace... who tragically play into the hands of anarchists and the enemies of Poland.

* On April 17th, Politburo member Edward Babiuch reported that, regretfully, price reductions (granted under pressure from mass strikes) have been misunderstood by some people as meaning strikes and wage-demands are legitimate. Happily, however, Babiuch reported that the local Communist Party machine had "put an end to work-stoppages, in principle!"

* Students continue to meet and demand restoration of student stipends (cut out except for industry grants) and raising the base level from 500 to 1,500 zlotys. The government's response was to launch an ambitious project to save the Vistula (Poland's major river), "enlisting the volunteer enthusiasm of the nation's youth in a constructive project."

* In the North of Poland and in Lodz, where the original strike movement went the farthest, workers' councils continue to function and maintain tight control over programs to improve working conditions and guarantee worker participation in economic and technical planning, according to Zyxie Warr Zawy.

* In other parts of Poland, the situation remains unstable, expressed by continually erupting strikes.

[Abstracted from Information Workers, 28 April 1971.] ■

SAN DIEGO: UFWOC STRIKE CONTINUES

The strike of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee against Egger and Ghio Company, in Palm City/Nestor, a south suburban area of San Diego, continues in a spirit of unabated militancy. Helping sustain the morale of the workers have been the presence of Cesar Chavez at a rally in San Ysidro on May 1, a court decision ordering Egger and Ghio to rehire the 12 workers he fired for wearing the UFWOC button before he hires any other workers, good strike support, and a series of demonstrations at the Mexican-U.S. border.

Workers and supporters, including students from three local colleges (some coming from as far away as La Jolla in the north of the county), demonstrated at the border Thursday and Friday, May 6-7 and are continuing the 5:00 a.m. demonstrations the entire week of May 10. The early morning demonstrations are an attempt to win over scabs and to protest the policies of the immigration officials.

Most of the farm workers in the San Diego area are Mexican nationals. They are hired by growers at the lowest possible wages (sometimes below minimum), must shop at a company store, live on thin, small helpings of *menudo* (tripe) or pig's feet stew, and work sun to sun seven days a week.

The immigration officials have been harassing striking workers and facilitat-

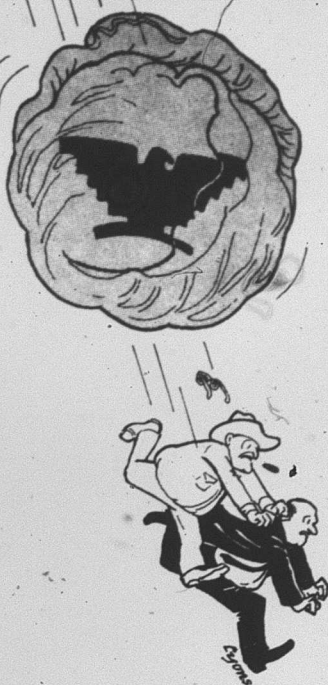
ing the use of scab labor. At the demonstration Thursday the immigration officials, after having removed their badges, moved into the crowd of demonstrators, pushing and shoving. When strikers and student supporters returned in larger numbers Monday — approximately 50 participated in the picket line — the lines went unmoled.

The court decision which forced Egger and Ghio to rehire the worker-organizers before any other workers were rehired also levied damages against both the farm workers and the growers. The UFWOC is appealing the decision to the Superior Court.

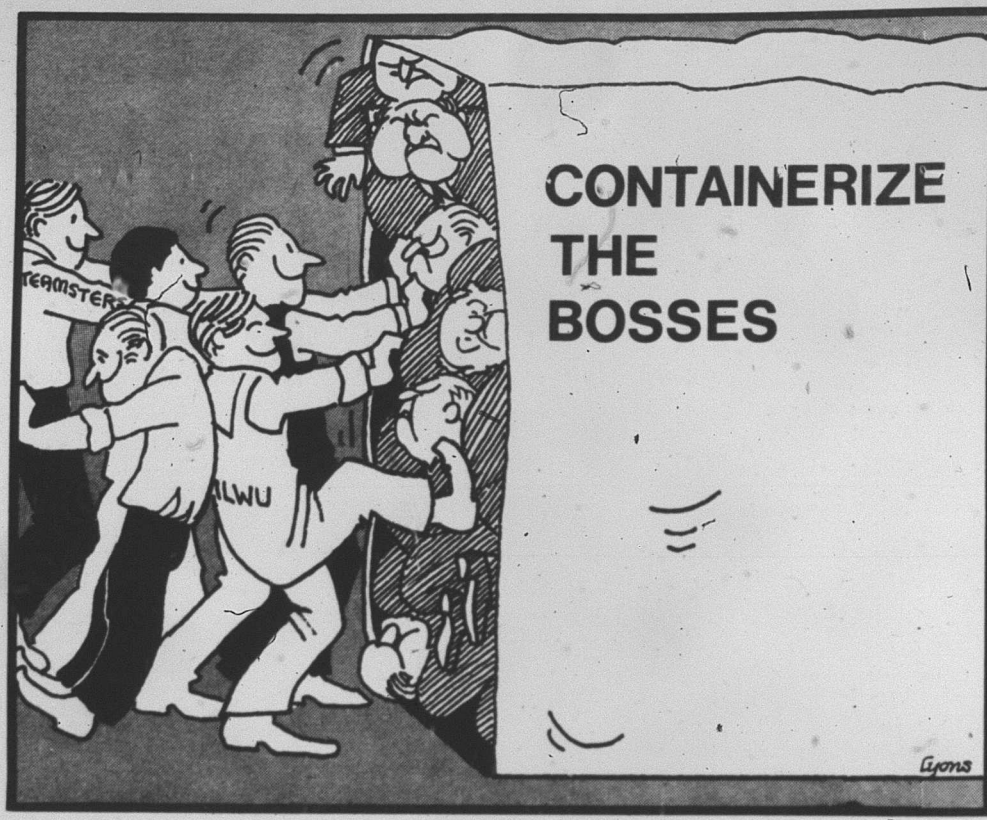
Egger and Ghio were approached by some of the workers fired earlier, but the growers refused to rehire them and they have been hiring scabs. The UFWOC will be taking them to court over that issue.

In addition to the strike, boycotting and picketing of the lettuce and tomatoes of Egger and Ghio is going on at local Safeway markets, and picket lines have been thrown up around Egger's and Ghio's homes.

Organizing is going on throughout the country, from the flower fields of Encinitas in the north to the tomato and lettuce fields in Chula Vista and San Ysidro in the south. Workers in strawberries, oranges and other crops are also apparently prepared to strike. ■



Dan La Botz



CONTAINERIZE THE BOSSES

[The following article is reprinted from The Fifth Wheel, a monthly newspaper put out by rank-and-file Teamsters in the San Francisco Bay Area. Teamster militants or other interested workers can contact them at P.O. Box 23962, Main Post Office, Oakland, California, 94604.]

"Our union position is simple - demand and, if necessary, strike to get the insuring of our jurisdiction by returning our jobs to the waterfront."

So reads the ILWU Local 10 Longshore Bulletin of April 23. With the ILWU-PMA contract expiring July 1, it looks like a bitter jurisdictional war may begin soon, pitting Teamsters against Longshoremen, while only the bosses profit.

Containerization

The root of the problem is the automation of shipping, especially containerization. Sea-Land has ordered new ships carrying 1200 containers and traveling 33 knots per hour, reaching Japan in six days.

New ships are being built with ramps that drop down to the docks. Barges with containers are being put on ships. Sea-Land container yard at the Port of Oakland has only 83 Teamsters employed.

All these changes were brought about by the famous Mechanization and Modernization Contract signed by Harry Bridges in 1960. As the Port of Oakland Commissioners say in one of their brochures, "it not only permits, it encourages shipping lines and shippers to mechanize and automate cargo-handling procedures."

The Automation Agreement meant worsened working conditions for the men. Loads doubled in size, rest per-

iods were reduced, speed-up began. The accident rate went up 20 per cent the first year in San Francisco.

No longer could job actions be taken on non-safety cases concerning contract violations. Instead the contract said the men must "work as directed." By 1970 the full effects of the Mechanization Agreement were felt as the number of man-hours worked dropped drastically.

The solution the Longshore leadership has in mind is indicated by the set-up in Seattle. According to Local 19 secretary Ed Anderson, "We want to capture that work of stuffing and unstuffing containers and bring it down to the waterfront, to function, in connection with a dock operation."

Not only the Longshoremen are finding fewer and fewer jobs available. We Teamsters are increasingly being replaced by sub-haulers, lessor operators, with or without a union card. These men buy their own tractors (their jobs) and run the freight between the docks and manufacturers or warehouses.

Further, cargo is pushed into vans instead of being placed there by Teamsters. The language of the contract is obeyed but our jobs are lost.

Who Profits?

Both the Teamsters and Longshore rank and file are seeing their jobs traded away by their leaders for fleeting gains and the failure of their leaders to aggressively protect available jobs. Those who profit are of course the employers.

In some ways, the Longshoremen are better off than the Teamsters. The Longshoremen rotate jobs by hours, while the Teamsters working out of the hiring hall go out according to whose name is highest on the list, but it is up to the employer whether a man will be retained day-by-day. The result of course is favoritism, shown to the guy who'll run like hell for the boss.

Even the formerly equal system of the Longshoremen is being eroded away. Now an aristocracy has developed where some workers work steadily for an employer. Further, there is a "B Man" status where workers have to pay Union dues and help maintain the hiring hall but have no Union rights.

The Teamsters have the same type of problem as the Longshoremen of increasing differences between the brothers, as some of us get overtime and steady work while others work only a few days a week out of the hall.

There was a time when the Unions fought for equality of all men. The slogan then was "An injury to one is an injury to all." Divisions between the men were wiped out so they would be united against the employers who always try to utilize divisions to keep us apart.

The ILWU has other demands after the first demand that container stuffing be brought to the waterfront. They include "no more cuts in manning, job security in terms of a weekly wage guarantee -- without strings or gimmicks, a wage increase of at least one dollar, \$1.00 an hour for each year of the

contract, cut the work shift without loss of pay, and where it is necessary to reduce the number of men in the industry, retire men from the top with a twenty-five-years-of-service pension."

We are sorry to see that the important demand "cut the work shift without loss of pay" is just buried in this list of excellent demands. And when the demand of "insuring of our jurisdiction by returning our jobs to the waterfront" is put first it indicates that this is what the ILWU leaders are really interested in fighting over.

A fight to transfer work from inland freight forwarders which is now done by Teamsters to Longshoremen on the waterfront is no solution to the problems Longshoremen and Teamsters face.

The Fifth Wheel would like to suggest that the Longshore leaders could prove their dedication to the rank and file by putting some specifics into the demand "cut the work shift." We suggest a thirty hour week for forty hours' pay.

In the thirties the Longshoremen won the six hour day. Now work after six hours is paid overtime. When the six hours is paid like eight hours the overtime can be dropped. This way 25 per cent more men would have to be hired to maintain the current man-hour requirements, or the man-hours worked could drop by one-fourth with no one being laid off.

The rank-and-file Longshoremen should organize and fight for the demand "30 for 40" making it primary and seeing to it that their leaders don't let it be quietly dropped at the negotiating table.

Of course cutting the work week by ten hours with higher weekly wages than before would mean a big cut into the bosses' profits. But the employers can easily afford this:

The cost per ton for freight dropped from \$4,585 for the year ending June 1966 to \$4,287 average for the four following years up to June 1970. The cost per ton, the cost that matters to the boss, dropped 9.2 per cent in that time!

Also look at the profits after taxes of some of the biggest container carriers in 1969: Seatrain Lines, Inc. \$15,700,981; Alexander & Baldwin, owners of Matson Lines \$7,914,000; R.J. Reynolds, owners of Sea-Land \$172,305,000!

The Fifth Wheel thinks these giant conglomerates can well afford thirty hours work for forty hours pay for their few thousand Bay Area Longshoremen and Teamsters. But they are not going to give up one dollar of these millions without a bitter fight.

If Teamsters and Longshoremen unite against these companies instead of fighting each other they will be able to share a bit in all this gravy. ■



For a National Phone Strike

Russell Goodwin

When CWA President Joe Biene revealed evidence last week proving that the Bell System has been actively gathering a scab force for use in strikes this summer, he inadvertently admitted that there is little credibility left to the cozy relationship with Management he has passed off as telephone unionism for twenty-five years.

Since the last contracts were negotiated in 1968, there has been growing resistance by rank-and-file telephone workers to the inflation-cut wages and on-the-job indignities and pressure which have come to characterize ATT policy. However, rank-and-file hostility to the CWA sellouts has either been channeled into a series of misguided attempts to take telephone workers into the Teamsters or placated by nearly meaningless shake-ups in local or regional officers. Little real rank-and-file organization has emerged from the increasing number of short, local wildcats and job actions all around the country.

Now that contracts are beginning to expire, militant telephone workers have an opportunity to build a movement to prevent another worthless contract, a movement which can put unionism in the industry on a new basis. By organizing now, we have the best opportunity to overcome the weaknesses of the union relative to the company and simultaneously restrict the power of the union officialdom over the rank and file.

Unionism in telephone is weak primarily because, while ATT is international in scope, union organization is divided along craft, sex and even regional lines. Local strike action by telephone maintenance or "plant" personnel is of little consequence because the highly automated machinery, tended by skilled management personnel shipped in from un-struck areas can continue functioning for considerable lengths of time. Moreover, in many areas of the country, the workforce whose absence hurts the

company first, the operators, are either not or very poorly organized.

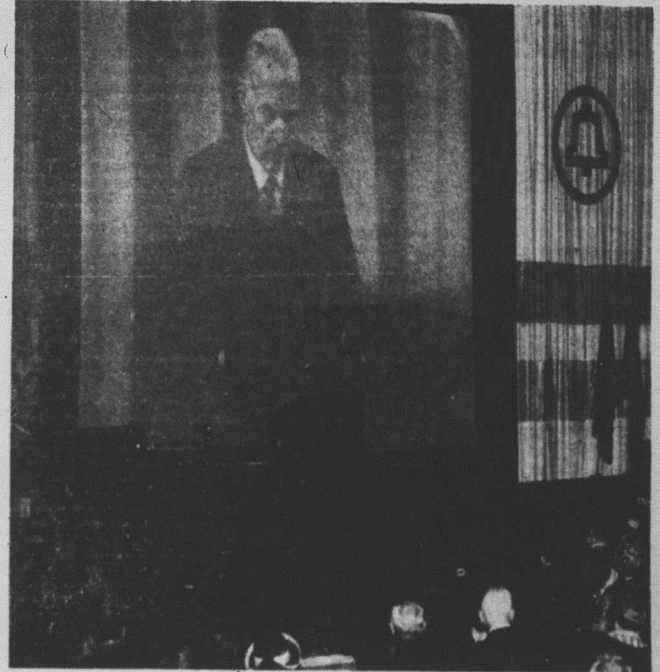
Clearly, if the Bell System is to be budgeted from its present contract offers — which average 6 per cent per year for three years — there will have to be one, national strike of all telephone workers from all departments, plant, traffic and commercial — not the piecemeal approach recommended by the CWA big-shots.

This will have to be accomplished despite the fact that while some important contracts (such as Western Electric installation which affects Bell companies across the country) have already expired, others, like New York plant and traffic, do not run out until the end of July and mid-August.

The kind of rank-and-file unity necessary to keep ATT from forcing a series of weak strikes this summer, will be possible only if CWA begins to make demands which would end the traditional second-class status of all but the most skilled male workers.

Though CWA International president Joe Biene may recognize that the day has passed, when without even a token fight, the company would give him a package he could pressure the membership to accept, he shows no signs of preparing to lead a struggle which could result in real gains.

On the contrary, the CWA bargainers seem prepared once again to accept the long established policy that operators' top pay should be only 60 per cent of plant, that CWA should refuse to form a coalition with the IBEW (which represents telephone workers in several industrial states), or that wage demands should be geared to a living wage based on a 40-hour week (not on the overtime the company frequently demands in big cities). There is no indication that Joe Biene has even any idea about what to do about the scabs he admits the company is recruiting.



PA BELL IS WATCHING YOU

Proposals that would begin to solve these problems will only come from the rank and file, and they will only mean something if they are backed up by organization which can go on fighting even if the International "leadership" refuses to lead. That organization will have to begin in the units where the 800,000 of us work, but it cannot stop until there is one rank-and-file controlled union for the entire industry.

We look forward to the possibility that by June the growing discontent

will be powerful enough to be a force at the CWA convention in Kansas City. We are confident that by the end of the 1971 contract struggles the need for rank-and-file organization will be well understood by the membership of the telephone unions all across the country. ■

[Russell Goodwin is a craftsman for New York Tel, and is active in CWA Local 1101. He is a member of New York International Socialists.]

Last month at the University of Washington in Seattle, over a thousand persons attended a teach-in on the subject of Sports and Society. The day-long program was sponsored by the Black Student Union and the International Socialists.

Harry Edwards, Professor of Sociology at the University of California at Berkeley and an organizer of the demonstrations at the 1968 Olympic games, led off the teach-in with a blistering attack on the University of Washington football program, particularly head-coach Jim Owens.

The UW football program has long been the subject of controversy, and has been labeled as racist by nearly every black player in the last ten years. In spite of national publicity and widespread student opposition, Owens has managed to keep his job, thanks largely to the nearly all-white alumni association.

Only recently the UW hired a black assistant coach, but according to Edwards, the program was still "racist." "Prior to 1968," said Edwards, "there were no black coaches at any major school on the West Coast." But now, because of the revolt of the black athletes, token blacks are being brought

into the athletic departments.

This was not, however, "because of coaching ability or professional expertise. They hired them," said Edwards, "because they were Negroes. In other words, rather than going out and finding the best coaches that they could get, they go into their ranks and try to think back, 'now who is a nigger with a good attitude.'"

Edwards told the students to keep the pressure on Jim Owens — "send him home with indigestion every night."

Jack Scott, author of *Athletics for Athletes* and Director of the Institute for the Study of Sports and Society at Berkeley charged that his contract to teach in the physical education department at the UW had been broken because of pressure by wealthy businessmen.

Two members of Women's Liberation-Seattle led a panel which dealt with the topic of women and athletics. Barbara Winslow of Women's Liberation-Seattle and the International Socialists talked about the channeling of women out of sports. Joan Bird of WL-S, the organizer and first president of the UW women's crew team, gave an account of the obstacles in the path of women athletes, particularly at the UW.

Organizing the women's crew team meant putting up with shoddy equipment, harassment by the athletic department, and the internalized aspects of women's oppression — timidity, fear of other women, and fear of physical activity.

Edwards supported the two women, saying "women have an excellent case going for them in athletics." He urged men to unite with women's liberation activists to fight the "common enemy" of discrimination.

Players Must Organize

The teach-in concluded with a panel of ex-professional football players. Dave Greenlee, a black all-American at the UW and veteran with the Chicago Bears, talked about racism in sports. Dave Meggsey, an ex-line backer with the St. Louis Cardinals and author of the book *Out of their League*, and Rick Sortun, an ex-UW Husky and Cardinal and a member of the International Socialists, discussed the necessity of players being organized. They concluded that athletes must not only organize to win back athletics for themselves, but also must become part of the revolutionary movement for the liberation of all people. ■

Sports and Society Teach-In

Tom Maguire



STRIKES AND REPRESSION IN NIGERIA

Wenda Clenaghan

The Nigerian military government has turned on the working class. Strikes, sparking off enormous state repression, have broken out following the arrest of leading trade unionists.

Since the end of the civil war, in which the breakaway state of Biafra was beaten into submission, the Nigerian ruling class has been undecided about when to launch the attack on the workers.

The Federal government made all strikes illegal in 1969 during the civil war. But the law has been effectively ignored and many militant strikes were staged in the docks, mines, modern assembly industries and in the large state sector.

During and immediately after the war the government could not smash the strikers. They were spending a great deal of energy in putting down the "Biafran rebels" and they were having to deal also with revolt in the countryside.

Farmers in the western state refused to pay their taxes to the state government. The main crop in the area is cocoa, grown on family holdings.

For the last six years cocoa has been getting rock-bottom prices on the world market. The farmers cannot pay the same taxes as they did when cocoa was more profitable.

Growing Revolts

Revolts have been growing in intensity over the last three years. The farmers know that the government has been spending millions of pounds fighting the civil war.

They know that new oil profits from the area which was once Biafra are enormous. And they know that they are not benefiting from this new wealth.

In September 1969, at the town of Egba Obafemi, hundreds of local farmers, wielding home-made guns, cudgels and cutlasses, burnt out the town hall, the police station and council offices as a protest against the taxes. The revolt lasted a week before state forces were able to stamp out the insurrection, leaving 50 people dead.

At a village near Ibadan, the capital of the west, 200 special anti-tax riot police arrived to help out the local tax collectors. They were greeted by a barrage of bullets from the home-made guns of the peasants.

In Ibadan itself two months later, an armed crowd stormed the Agodi prison, freeing more than 400 prisoners, many of whom were tax offenders. At this point the police admitted defeat and called in the army.

One result of the Biafran war was that people had access to arms. They were smuggled from the front or brought

home by deserting soldiers.

This has enabled the people to fight the forces of the state. The state itself, ever since the end of the civil war, has not dared to demobilize any of the 80,000 strong army that it recruited to fight the Biafrans.

The people are also preparing. The attack on the organized working class in Nigeria has arrived. It is part of an all-out attempt by the Gowon government to create "law and order," not only in the countryside but also in the towns.

Strikes Outlawed

Massive strikes took place during the civil war. In October 1969, there was a nationwide sit-down strike by postal workers over non-recognition of their union. This was followed by a strike of workers in the state-owned Bank of Nigeria.

The strikes brought violent clashes between strikers and anti-riot police. The government reacted by introducing a decree that made it an offence, punishable by a maximum of five years imprisonment, to "threaten, organize or to do an act preparatory to organizing" a strike or lockout.

Left-wing newspapers were threatened by a clause that made it an offence to "publish any matter which by reason of dramatization or other defects in the manner of its presentation is likely to cause public alarm or industrial unrest." But the organized workers knew their strength and continued to strike.

The big clamp-down came two weeks ago. The police swooped to arrest Whab



GOWON: restore 'law and order'

Goodluck and Samuel Bassey, leaders of the Nigerian Trade Union Congress. The NTUC is "helped" by — though not directly affiliated to — the World Federation of Trade Unions, based in Prague.

The Nigerian trade union movement is split along cold war lines. The right wing United Labor Congress is affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, based in the USA.

But the NTUC is not openly Stalinist and, compared to the ULC, is very militant. Its program is political.

It aims to "work towards the establishment of a socialist society in Nigeria. Towards this end the NTUC shall work for the rapid industrialization of Nigeria, the state ownership of the major industries and a properly planned economy." But it does not talk of the seizure of state power.

Both Bassey and Goodluck, although full-time officials, were active in the General Strike of 1964. Bassey has had a long history of militancy. He took part in the General Strike of 1946 and later he organized the Posts and Telegraphs Union, but the British managed to sack him in 1954. He then became full-time general secretary of the Municipal Workers' Union.

The arrests of Goodluck and Bassey brought immediate massive strikes and demonstrations that were near to insurrection. Riot police were called out to break up a demonstration of 8000 trade union demonstrators in the center of Lagos.

Demonstrating workers at an Italian car factory got the same treatment. Crowds of workers throughout the city overturned buses and deflated tires to clog the streets.

Sit-down strikes, an effective tactic traditionally used by the Nigerian workers, spread like wildfire. In one area, workers barricaded roads but were beaten back by riot police and teargas.

No specific charge against Goodluck and Bassey has been laid. The ruling class is keeping quiet as it tests its strength against the workers on the streets.

It has been given assurance by the leader of the right-wing ULC. The ULC's general secretary Emmanuel Odeyemi said "the release of the detained leaders cannot be achieved by violent demonstrations."

For Workers' Power

Their release and the end of state oppression can be achieved only by revolutionary politics that will help organize the militant Nigerian workers to seize state power on their own and the farmers' behalf.

Revolutionary socialist groups in Nigeria are working hard to forge an alliance between the workers and the farmers. The Gowon government's violent oppression against both classes of "toilers" will help forge this alliance.

It is the farmers who have shown themselves ready to fight against the ruling class with arms. The workers will follow as more of their official (and moderate) leaders are jailed and state violence becomes even more intense.

There is no doubt that in the post-civil war situation in Nigeria, revolution is on the cards. It is up to the revolutionary socialist groups organizing in Nigeria to make sure that the revolution will be one involving "all the toilers" and one that will exist for "all the toilers."

[Reprinted from Socialist Worker, the British International Socialist weekly, April 3, 1971.]

FAKE MA AID REAC

Edward Crawford

The uprising in Ceylon, savagely smashed with the aid of Russia, Britain and the United States, has been denounced by the government as the work of outside elements from North Korea.

This is nonsense, the typical reaction of a ruling class that refuses to admit that an uprising can be caused by the grievances of the people.

Ceylon, unlike almost every other underdeveloped country, has a high literacy rate. As in Burma, every village had its resident Buddhist monk whose job was to teach the children to read and write.

In addition there has been a considerable expansion of education since independence, with a large university in Colombo that turns out thousands of graduates every year. But there are few jobs for these young men, particularly if they come from peasant stock in the backlands.

Much of the communal trouble in Ceylon between the Sinhalese, the original inhabitants, and the Tamils, invaders from South India who settled in the north of the island some 1000 years ago, stems from this rivalry over jobs.

Economic Crisis

The economy of Ceylon is in crisis at the moment. The only significant exports are tea and rubber. The world demand for the first is stagnant and rubber is under fierce competition from synthetics. Prices for both these products are falling.

With living standards under attack, the jobless graduates returned to the villages and organized the people there. The rebellion has taken place in the areas that are poor, where tea and rubber are not produced, and that were once the centers of the great Sinhalese



Sirimavo Bandaranaike

CEYLON:

ARXISTS CTION

civilization of 1000 years ago.

The main traditional left wing group in Ceylon was not the Communist Party but the Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja (LSSP). The Ceylonese CP was very small in 1938 and all the Ceylonese students who were at the London School of Economics at the time became Trotskyists.

They went back to Ceylon and took over the LSSP. Up until 1953 when the LSSP agitation was defeated in the so-called "Great Hartal," it seemed quite revolutionary. It remained part of the Trotskyist Fourth International until 1965, when it was expelled.

By then, the LSSP had become a tame, reformist, social democratic party that for peculiar historical reasons

happened to call itself Trotskyist. This party is now part, of the government trying to organize the workers into factory guards against the insurgents.

The guerrillas — the JVP or National Liberation Front — were formed in 1965 and supported the coalition government headed by Mrs. Bandaranaike in the recent elections. They worked hard for them and became rather quiet immediately afterwards because they were afraid of an army coup.

It soon became clear to them that their hopes in the government were quite unjustified. They have taken up arms as the economic situation worsens and their supporters in the countryside become desperate. But they have little support among the urban workers in Colombo and few guns.

Greek Tragedy

China and Russia both support Mrs. Bandaranaike; the Chinese only diplomatically, while the Russians have sent MiGs. In addition, the Indians have sent destroyers and the Americans helicopters.

The country has been divided into six military districts and civilian government suspended. An appalling reign of terror has opened, with the army shooting people out of hand.

What happens next can be foreseen with the inevitability of a Greek tragedy. First the rebellion will be wiped out in blood though some small areas of resistance may remain.

Then the government will shift sharply to the right and soon kick out the LSSP which, because it is based on the workers of Colombo, can only go so far in accepting the austerity measures. The local capitalists will try to put the

cost of the collapsing economy on to the workers.

Eventually the conservative UNP will win the elections or the army will take over. Then the workers' organizations, the trade unions and the LSSP, will be destroyed. Isolated by the treachery of their social democratic, so-called Trotskyist leaders, when the workers fight back they will get no support from the peasants of the backlands.

Already the various Trotskyist splinter groups that refused to go along with the LSSP are being swept into detention. They are dangerous to the regime because they base themselves on the task of building a working class party that can mobilize the peasantry in support. ■

[Excerpted from Socialist Worker, the British International Socialist weekly, May 1, 1971.]



Government troops guarding Ceylonese insurgents

New Alliance In Ireland

A "Socialist-Republican" unity conference held in Dublin on March 13-14 marks an important stage in the history of repeated efforts to establish an effective linking of socialist and republican forces in Ireland.

The conference was attended by a number of organizations, including Labor Party and Labor Party Young Socialists branches, People's Democracy, the League for a Workers' Republic, Irish Young Socialists and Saor Eire (Free Ireland). The result was a decision to set up the Socialist Labor Alliance.

The alliance was formed on the basis of a seven-point program that includes the aim of forming a revolutionary party.

The immediate impetus for the conference was a walk-out by 150 delegates at a special Labor Party congress in Cork which overthrew the previous policy of refusing to enter a coalition with either of the two Irish capitalist parties.

The unity conference aroused a great deal of interest within the Labor Party and other left-wing circles. Fewer Labor Party members attended than had been expected but that was the result of an official threat to expel any party members who took part in the conference.

It is certain that, if the Alliance can

become a political and organizational force, it will have a powerful attraction to the many discontented rank-and-file members of the Labor Party.

The republican movement also showed interest in the conference. Both the "official" and "provisional" wings of the IRA had observers at the discussions.

The program adopted by the conference stated the determination to fight for socialist policies in the trade unions, opposing all wage freezes and repressive laws.

It supports the struggle for civil rights in Northern Ireland, calls for immediate withdrawal of British troops and opposes religious control in education and civil affairs.

The Alliance opposes the Common Market and declares its objective to be the overthrow of both existing states in Ireland as part of the struggle for international socialism.

The Alliance contains groups with different political attitudes but it is likely that the increasing difficulties of Irish capitalism, North and South and the growing working-class opposition will give the Alliance the necessary strength and clarity.

The Alliance will also be discussing the perspectives for creating a mass revolutionary party. Branches will be set up throughout the country in the com-

ing months and the next conference will be held in Belfast in June.

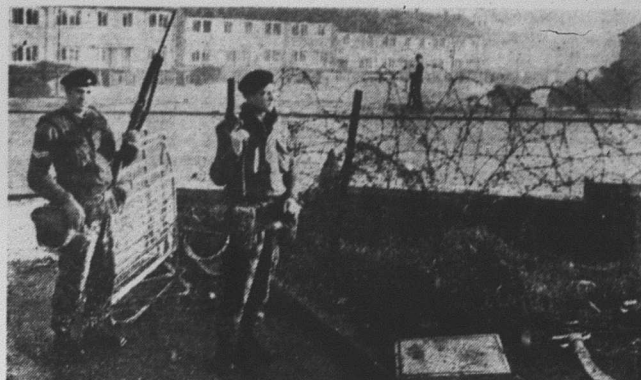
As in Britain, the main signs of the crisis in capitalism are increasingly repressive measures by the government and the ruling class, and mounting unemployment.

Irish workers have had considerable experience of heavy unemployment. But due to the artificial boom of the 1960's the rise in living standards and the closing of the emigration escape

route, they will not accept the present situation.

With this background, the prospects for the Socialist Labor Alliance, set up by a conference where the majority of delegates were young workers, are good. It needs and deserves the support of the socialist movement in Britain. ■

[Reprinted from Socialist Worker, the British International Socialist weekly, March 27, 1971.]



British troops on patrol in Northern Ireland

CONSTANCE MARKIEVICZ

THE RED COUNTESS

Celia Emerson



Five miles out of Sligo, a quiet village in northwestern Ireland, lies the estate of Lissadell, immortalized by William Butler Yeats: "The light of the evening Lissadell/ Great windows open to the South/ Two girls in silk kimonos, both/ Beautiful, One a gazelle..." The two women were Eva Gore-Booth and her sister Constance. One was a poetess, the other a revolutionary.

Constance was born in London on the 4th of February, 1868. She was the eldest daughter of Sir Robert Gore-Booth, heir to all the lands of Lissadell. In other words, Markievicz was born into the English aristocracy that had ruled Ireland since the Norman conquest.

She is remembered, however, as is Maud Gonne, for rejecting the world of the ruling class, the court life, the hunt, elegant balls, and a life of leisure. She joined with thousands of Irishwomen and Irishmen in their fight for self-determination.

Land of Turmoil

The Ireland of Markievicz' youth was in great turmoil. The Irish middle, peasant and working classes, after having suffered another of a long series of defeats at the hands of the English, were rising again. There was a flowering of various Irish artistic, literary, farming, and laboring associations, all intent upon rousing Irishmen to fight against the English.

I say Irishmen only because until the 1890's women were not allowed to participate in any of these organizations. However, under the leadership of Maud Gonne, who founded the first Irishwomen's independence organization, Inghen A-na-h-Eireann (Daughters of Ireland), women demanded and won entrance to all Irish groups. Also, Irish

women's organizations were formed, such as the Irishwomen's Franchise Association led by Francis Sheehy Skeffington. All this was a tremendous victory for Irishwomen, who suffered not only from being under the domination of England and from the burden of poverty, but from the double oppression of being women.

Markievicz was first attracted to the literary revival. In 1900, she married Casimir Markievicz, a Polish Count, who also was attracted to the Irish literary scene. He wrote several nationalist plays with W.B. Yeats and other playwrights. Their home soon became the center of the Irish literary movement.

Out of this experience, the Countess, as she liked to be called, became involved in the political aspects of the Irish revival. In 1909, she organized the Irish boy scout movement, which was set up to counter the English boy scouts. The men in this group, Fianna Na'h'Eireann, pledged never to join any English armed force. During the Easter Rising of

1916, the Fianna men played an important part.

By 1912, her home in Dublin became the main gathering place for trade unionists, socialists and feminists. It was at one such gathering that she met James Connolly, one of Ireland's leading socialists and a trade union organizer; Francis Sheehy Skeffington, who convinced the Countess that feminism was crucial to the Irish struggle; James Larkin, the fiery syndicalist; and many others. By 1913, Constance was speaking all over Ireland about the need for greater struggle against the English.

In 1913, Constance was drawn into the revolutionary movement. Twenty thousand women and men had been locked out by one of Dublin's leading employers, in a very long and bitter fight. Markievicz plunged herself into the strike effort. For six months she worked day and night organizing a milk depot and communal food kitchens. She collected funds, cooked food, visited workers in their homes and organized a

band of helpers to carry out more work.

It was largely owing to her work that the children of the 20,000 women and men did not starve. Although the strikers in the end were starved out, a new movement for Irish independence and socialism was created. One important consequence of the strike was the emergence of an Anglo-Irish woman's movement. (English and Irish men, even trade unionists, never had as close associations as did the women.)

Constance Markievicz, Dora Montefiore, Delia Larkin, Hannah Sekffington, Charlotte Despard, Sylvia Pankhurst, Nora Connolly, Kathleen Lynn, Helena Molony, to name a few, played as crucial a role in the strike as did any of the better-known men. The solidarity of the thousands of women, their strength and courage in spite of inevitable defeat, gave birth to the idea of a new rebellion.

Irish Citizen Army

From the experience of the Dublin strike came the Irish Citizen Army. It was Connolly's idea to create an armed force of the working class. No distinctions were made on the grounds of sex (as opposed to the nationalist Irish Volunteers, which set up a women's auxiliary, the Cumann namBan). However, one had to be a trade unionist to join the Citizen Army. Since she was not a member of any union, James Larkin made Markievicz an honorary unionist in an official ceremony at the headquarters of the Citizen Army.

It was not until Irishwomen and Irishmen felt the growing hardships that the first world war created — watching the men be slaughtered in the trenches and the women and children slowly die in the Dublin slums — that the sentiment for rebellion grew. This is not to say that the rebellion was a massive rising of the population. It had been planned in secret and on Easter Monday, 1916, 800 women and men marched to the General Post Office and proclaimed the Irish republic.

Many people assume that revolutions or insurrections have little to do with women. But any traveller to Dublin visiting the historic spots finds that the siege of Dublin Castle was led by Dr. Kathleen Lynn, and that Constance Markievicz was in command of the area around St. Stephens Green. Women were not just nurses or ambulance runners, but were in the midst of the fighting.

The rebellion ended in a terrible slaughter. After a week the rebels surrendered. Constance's closest friends had either been captured or killed. All the leaders including Constance were sentenced to death. However, her sentence was commuted "solely and only on account of her sex."

She preferred to be shot with her friends, and when she found out that she was to live, she could only respond,

70-71 Lonely Death Dance Romance

Carmen Morgan

New Year.
Caressing the ice-box, thinking it was him
and throwing herself at its mercy,
Cold. Not realizing there was no him
but in her mind.
Except for an occasional glimpse
of only frozen foods inside.

With Lowry's Consul as her mentor
the two were futile yet complete
Until one day when his frozen laughter
pierced her (warm blood) as it fell
Shattering at her feet.



"Well, Ireland was free for a week." She vowed to continue fighting for the workers' republic for which her comrades fought and died: *You died for your country and left me here! To weep -- No! My eyes are dry! For the woman you found so sweet and dear! Has a sterner destiny --! She will fight as she fought when you were here! For freedom I'll live and die.*

After the rising women and men demonstrated in support of those who fought at Easter, and in the commemorations, Markievicz was remembered. In 1916, the Cumann namBan showed their love for Markievicz by electing her their president. When she was finally released from prison in June 1917, she arrived in Dublin in the very car she used during the rebellion. The city of Dublin turned out to welcome their greatest heroine.

In the general election of 1918 (the first time women over 30 could vote), Constance was the first woman elected to Parliament. With her comrades in the Sinn Fein she refused to take her seat in London but helped found the Dial Earreann, the Irish parliament.

The years after the war 1917-1922 were known as "the troubles." Ireland was first involved in the bloody fight against the English for independence, and then in the tragic civil war that followed. Constance was imprisoned twice during this time by the English.

She fought tirelessly, but in vain, for a treaty that would free all Irishwomen and men from English domination — not a partition settlement, which was finally but bitterly accepted. Today we see the tragic result of that treaty. We also see that another woman, Bernadette Devlin, has taken up the struggle of Maud Gonne and Constance Markievicz.



In 1926, prematurely aged from the shock of her sister's death, she fell very ill and died six days later. Thousands of Irishwomen and Irishmen lined the streets of Dublin to watch the funeral. Sinn Fein, Cumann namBan, Irish Transport and General Workers Union, Irish Citizen Army, Inghinidhe na bEireann and other Irish revolutionary, nationalist and feminist organizations came to pay tribute to "Madame." Eamon de Valera pronounced the oration: *"Madame Markievicz is gone from us. Madame, the friend of the toiler the lover of the poor. Ease and station she put aside and took the hard way of service with the weak and downtrodden. She lies at ease with her fellow companions mourned by people whose liberties she fought for, blessed by the loving pryers of the poor she tried so hard to defend..."*

There were many other public tributes. However, the best description and memorial to the rebel countess is found in the play "Kathleen ni Houlihan" by W.B. Yeats. Kathleen is the embodiment of every Irishwoman; Constance is the embodiment of Kathleen: *They shall be remembered forever They shall be alive forever They shall be speaking forever The people shall remember them forever*

Louise Mitchell

Their Science Fiction And Ours

As women become increasingly aware of our real status in America 1971, Robin Morgan notes in *Sisterhood is Powerful*, we become sensitive, even raw, to the instances of sexism around us which just can't be escaped. One of the first pleasures I was forced to re-examine was science fiction.

I am still an addict. But every story I read is no longer blissful escape to distant galaxies. Almost without exception each story is one more lash of the whip, one reminder that when women are seen to exist at all, they are considered to be simply decorative. When they have emotions, they are silly, hysterical or (at the very best) silently supportive.

If the usual science fiction is upsetting, then a recent collection of stories *Science Against Man* (Avon, 1970) is even more disheartening. It claims to be different — to deal with the burning topics of the day — ecology, population, race, sanity and madness. The back cover shouts "BRAND NEW FUTURES."

Same Old Futures

The futures presented are indeed terrifying. They are somewhat terrifying for men, I guess, because they present a view of the earth a few hundred years from now: an ecological wasteland, an inhuman totalitarianism, teeming with life it can't support, choked in its own waste. But the most terrifying thing for me is that for women NOTHING HAS CHANGED.

In one story, "The Ever Branching Tree" a grade school class of the future is on a science excursion by time machine. Little girls have not changed a bit, of course. "Ugh, a worm!" Mandi-2 said and shivered deliciously, shaking her red curls."

The teacher (male; it's a science class) has assembled the children on a beach at the dawn of time in order to explain how life evolved. Despite the marvelous opportunities for teaching via time travel, there is still the same boring, authoritative classroom — the all knowing, exasperated disciplinarian as teacher, the restless children, their inquisitiveness squashed.

Today our I.Q.'s are on our records — they are not yet in our names. The classroom of the future has one-upped us. But Mandi-2, of the delicious shiver and red curls, is still not a commendable student, despite her high rank. Her scene would be familiar to us all:

Teacher asks what the class remembered about yesterday's trip: *"The melted lava poured into the ocean." "The land rose from the sea." "The lightning hit the water." "The squirmy things were so ugly."*

Teacher nodded and smiled and ignored the last comment. He had no idea why Mandi-2 was registered in this science course and had a strong feeling

that she would not stay long.

We, too, know that Mandi-2 will probably not last long in the course, any more than most of us did. Faced with the sort of expectations the world has of her and her red curls, small wonder.

In "In the Beginning" a densely populated earth is the setting for the trials of young Aurea Holston. She lives in Urban Monad 116 of the Chippits constellation, a super-colossal dormitory-apartment house, with about 37,000 inhabitants. One-eighth of the earth's surface is covered with these, while "out there" where no one goes, the food supply is grown where once there were forests, mountains, valleys.

The women of these "urbmons" are clinging, child-like. Fertility is, in fact, the supreme virtue. The women are afraid to travel, afraid of new experiences. "Aurea," the author notes, "feels weak and fragile beside Memnon, though she is strong and supple." Not too weak and fragile to do all the household tasks though.

Aurea, as she does the household tasks and listens to daytime TV, is terrified that she and her husband will be sent to a new urbmon, since their own is now overcrowded. Her fears are correct, but after they have been selected, and she tries every way out, the story fades out on the vehicle taking them to their new "home." *Just like a child*, Aurea has not forgotten all about her old home, and her interest is now totally fixed on the urbmon which beckons.

In "The Lost Continent" it is the absence of women in any real way that is most striking. Two centuries from now Africans are visiting the ruins of "Space-Age America" which destroyed itself by making its environment totally unlivable. The remaining "natives" live off the tourist trade. The native guide has his wife *back home*, and he dreams of earning enough to buy a small plot in South America, where you can still

breathe the air without filters, and where you might even live to 55 without dying of lung diseases.

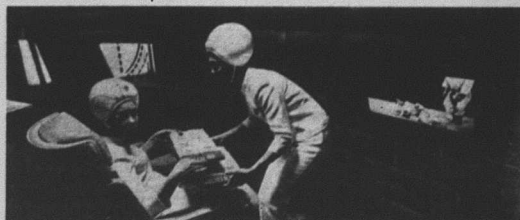
Roger Koyinka, "a Kenya industrialist, travelling with his wife," is one of the characters, as is the Ghanian Kulongo whose "wife and son seemed to hang on his every word." There are two gay young men from the Congo on the trip too — the only people that *both* the Africans and the "natives" can dislike and ridicule.

The only other woman is the tall, impersonal guide at the bare international Airport, giving the speech required by Federal Regulations, as she must dozens of times each day. That, of course, is a "glamor job."

This book is only typical; the pattern is repeated in virtually all science fiction. One of the great classics of science fiction, Isaac Asimov's *Foundation* series, is also a classic in reporting on the status of women. One of the bluntest descriptions of our non-person status in literature occurs when Hari Seldon, a scientist of 50,000 A.D., is accused of organizing 100,000 people in a potentially disloyal Foundation. He answers, "I believe you are counting women and children."

It is not an accident that all the societies painted are exploitative, run by and for a ruling few. Although women have no guarantees of liberation in any future society unless we fight for it, we will surely remain unfree in any world where the great majority of human beings cannot control their own destinies.

Clearly we must create a women's science fiction. But much more important, we must create a movement which, in fighting for our liberation, will insure that these future "civilizations" are only nightmares of twentieth-century man, who could not imagine a world in which women and men faced each other as equals, as human beings, in a free society.



Kubrick laid music track over stewardesses' prattle. What they were saying was what audience already knew, that Dr. Floyd was asleep. One of the stewardesses goes to pilot's cabin and reports that Dr. Floyd is asleep. Kubrick decided to lay in more music.

Reprinted from *The Making of Kubrick's 2001* (Signet Books, 1970). There were almost no women in 2001 in any role.

DISCUSSION ARTICLE:

Selective Servitude

R.F. Kampfer

[The International Socialists have not yet taken a position on the question of a volunteer army. This article represents one viewpoint within the organization. In future issues, we plan to present other approaches.]

In June the Selective Service Act expires. Formerly its renewal would have been automatic, but this year may be different. Opposition to the war in Vietnam, plus exposure of military atrocities, corruption and inefficiency, may embolden Congress to cut the army down to size.

Unfortunately there is no mass movement pushing the congressmen in this direction. Partly this is because most reformists and some radicals have been sold a bill of goods. They've been told that as bad as the draft may be, the alternatives would be even worse. Melvin Laird's arguments in favor of conscription aren't worth bothering with, so let's see what some of the other arguments are, and evaluate them:

A volunteer army would be a professional one, insulated from civilian control. We already have a professional army, insulated from civilian control. Lifers, both officer and NCO, have shaped the army in their own image. Draftees only have influence when they organize in resistance. Even short-service officers have less real authority than the "zebras" who are supposedly their subordinates. All conscription does is supply the professionals with a guaranteed supply of servants to do their dirty work.

A volunteer army would attract the poor who were unable to find civilian work. The rich would escape service. People don't stay in the army for the money; pay is very low. No normal human being would endure army life for any price. Most lifers have personality defects which make it difficult for them to live in freedom.

Some are alcoholics who need the free food and shelter so they can spend all their money on booze. Others feel insecure unless they are told what to do every hour of every day. Others are latent sadists, masochists, or both. Such types come from all income brackets.

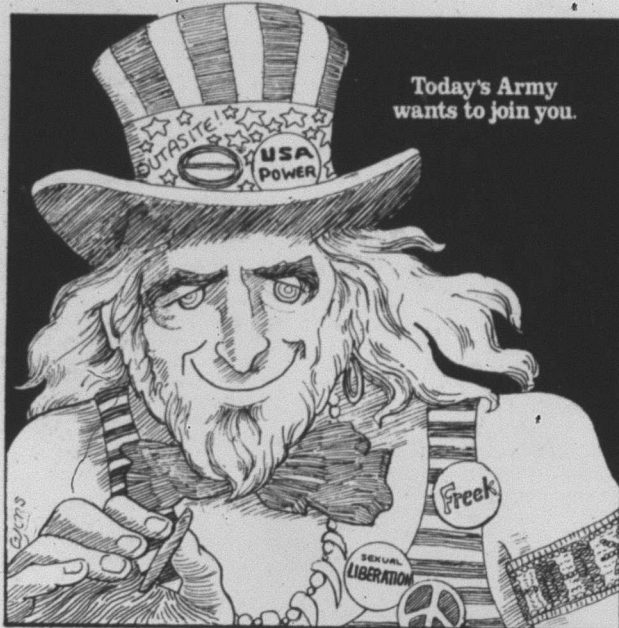
A volunteer army would be more willing to fight against national liberation movement than a conscript army.

For one thing the army would be a lot smaller than it is now if it had to do without the draft. It wouldn't be able to play cop of the world even if it was willing; and it wouldn't be as willing as you might think. There's no point in being a 30-year man unless one is going to live to draw the pension. The aver-

We should keep the draft because the Army radicalizes young people and teaches them to hate the government. Some cynical so-called Radicals will use this argument in private conversation. The Army produces some revolutionaries, but it also produces counter-revolutionaries. Some men get radicalized



LNS



age lifer is as eager to do his own fighting as he is to do his own KP.

A volunteer army would wind up with an all Black rank and file and an all White officer corps. Right. Just like the present all volunteer Marines, Navy, Air Force, Coast Guard, Special Forces, Rangers, paratroopers, etc....

and some get physically or mentally destroyed.

The defense of the state is the duty of every citizen. To respond to this argument we must determine what kind of state we are talking about. In whose interest is it fighting? What has it done for us that we should be willing to kill

and die for it?

If a country is worth defending its citizens will defend it voluntarily. Any nation that has to depend on conscripts for protection does not deserve to survive.

This does not imply support of the conservative-anarchist argument against the draft, that the state should, as a matter of principle, have no power at all over the individual. Individual freedom is a fine ringing phrase, but does it mean, for example, that slum-lords should not be drafted into urban-renewal labor battalions? That half the doctors on Park Avenue should not be loaded on trucks and sent to Appalachia? That depends on who you talk to.

The burden of military service should be shared equally by all. Even if everyone were drafted, some would still wind up behind desks and some would be humping ammo. So it goes. Life is unfair, even if a Kennedy said it. Even under socialism, not everyone will be able to play the guitar.

Besides, to enforce total conscription would take a dictatorship stricter than the world has yet seen. Anyone who tries hard enough can usually dodge the draft board, for the same reason that the rabbit usually gets away from the fox. One is running for a meal and the other is running for its life.

Abolish the Army

In any case, a non-aggressive state doesn't need a huge army, so why waste the time of all those extra people? Military life is like getting tattooed; painful to most, enjoyable to some. It should be left to the latter.

Eventually the army should be done away with altogether. Since this is not yet on the agenda, the best we can do would be to get rid of most of it, which ending the draft would definitely accomplish.

Even when steps would have to be taken to protect potential recruits; we should demand an end to lying promises by the bounty hunters, enlistments for only one year at a time, an intensive screening-out of the psychologically immature and sadists, etc.

Congress isn't going to eliminate the draft until we force them to. Everyone called up for the draft should make himself as hard to take as possible, short of leaving the scene completely by going to jail or Canada. Those who are drafted should make every effort to make the army wish they had never taken them.

The government has had a blank check drawn on the youth of this country for too long. It's time for us to cut them off.

"There's only one army in which I'd serve, that of the working class fighting to take back what was stolen from it."

- Gene Debs





Democrat Shirley Chisolm addresses anti-war rally

the war would mean a fight against the Democratic Party.

The anti-war movement must repudiate the Democratic and Republican parties, paying special attention to anti-labor actions of these parties as well as the attempt of the "doves" to take over the anti-war movement. The record of the Democratic Party liberals in voting for anti-labor legislation, higher taxes, and war appropriations must be exposed.

End Imperialism

Moreover, an attack must be made on the entirety of U.S. foreign policy, not merely its manifestation in Vietnam. At a May 5 rally in New York, Vance Hartke spoke of the need to prevent America from "at this late date" becoming colonialist through its actions in Southeast Asia — as if the U.S. were only just now teetering on the brink of infringing on other nations.

U.S. policy in Latin America, the Middle East, and Africa has been revealed a thousand times over to be aimed solely at maintaining economic domination over the Third World. The role of the Central Intelligence Agency in organizing a military coup against an anti-



American popular government in Guatemala in 1954, and the role of U.S. Marines in crushing a popular government in the Dominican Republic in 1965 are but two examples of a general imperialist policy.

By not acknowledging U.S. imperialism, Hartke and the rest of the liberal Democrats clearly show that even should they really try to end the war, it would only be to shift the scene of action elsewhere, most likely to an excursion in the Middle East.

NPAC, sticking to the single issue approach, will not address the issue — in fact, NPAC's New York branch recently voted against broadening the demand of immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia to immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops on foreign soil.

If the anti-war movement is to overcome both its own internal dissension and the threat from the Democratic Party, it must begin now to build for a political alternative to the establishment parties in 1972. NPAC must transform itself into a mass militant political alternative to both establishment parties.

Such an alternative must be built around opposition to the domestic effects of the war on U.S. workers; support for the rank-and-file struggle of workers; total hostility to U.S. imperialism throughout the globe; and, of course, the demand for immediate withdrawal from Indochina.

An active attempt to bring labor into the leadership of the anti-war movement around these issues can give the movement the power it has so long lacked to force the war to a halt. And it can initiate the first steps toward an independent mass party in which labor can take the lead in the fight for social change — rather than relying on the Democratic and Republican Parties who will only continue to attack workers at home and make war abroad.

Offensive

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16

appeal passively to stop the war, but will engage in militant action to force withdrawal.

A mass, militant movement of this sort can only take form with the active participation and leadership of labor. The May civil disobedience demonstrations were in a way symbolic of what happens to militant movements that fail to attract working class participation. Lacking the power to force real change, these movements tend to make hollow threats (like shutting down the government) while their actions grow more and more unintelligible to those not directly involved.

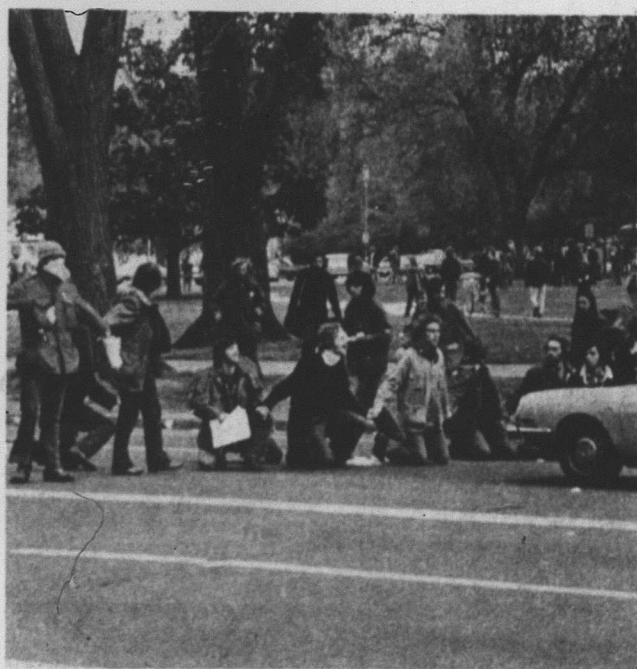
Mass working class involvement can lend a different character and a new strength to the movement. Workers can engage in on-the-job actions like work stoppages and strikes — which can bring down tremendous economic pressure on the government, in a way neither sector of the anti-war movement has been able to do previously.

Single Issue

This type of labor participation will only come about when the anti-war movement begins to take up the gut issues affecting workers, like unemployment, inflation, increased taxes, and the decay of the cities.

NPAC, under the direction of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance (the SWP youth group), has refused to do this. It has insisted that the anti-war movement must confine itself to the single issue of the war.

NPAC's single-issue approach has had the effect of retarding the growth of an anti-war feeling among American workers. NPAC fails to tie the war to shop-floor issues which workers can act on, like speedup and falling real wages. The potential brought to April 24 by trade union participation was largely wasted, since workers were made to feel that all they could do to end the war was listen to speeches.



Blocking traffic near the Washington Monument

LNS

A fight must begin now to have the anti-war movement orient towards the struggles of rank-and-file workers against the economic effects of the war. NPAC has confined itself to inviting union bureaucrats to speak. This strategy backfired when Leonard Woodcock of the UAW withdrew support shortly before the 24th, and even where it has succeeded, the union "leaders" have almost uniformly confined themselves to generalities about the war. Not one of them has proposed direct labor action to end the war.

The union officials working with NPAC down the line support the Democratic Party. Small wonder, then, that they are leery to propose action. Democratic Party politicians in cities and states throughout the country have been raising taxes on working people, and opposing decent wage gains. A fight against the economic effects of



May Day prisoners in Washington

feedback

Burned

Issue 35 (April 30-May 13) of *Workers' Power* carries three "reviews" of more or less current films. I suspect that each is meant to be a "review," as opposed to another dive into the Miami hotel pool of doctrine, because each tries to deal with the basic plot of its filly as a whole. And in this regard, each review might as well be an outline of a novel with meager footnotes intending to tell the reader what's really going on; each "review," in its way, is a book report.

The first two reports, concerning *Love Story* and *Diary of a Mad Housewife*, can illicit little response, since they show no thought. We, the readers, standing at the side of the pool, are splashed by another belly-smacker. We can moan or laugh or worry about catching cold. I guess that Louise Mitchell, who "always preferred happy endings, would prefer that we laughed.

Midway in Morgan Glenn's plot summation of *Burn*, he condescendingly informs the readers, and presumably the film's director, that "Pontecorvo is aware of the political nuances in his subject. . . ." I wonder, would Glenn write that St. Augustine was "aware" of the religious "nuances" in *City of God*? Could Glenn think that the director of *Battle of Algiers* would make a film unconscious of politics?

Burn is an action spectacle, historically in line with numerous films made during the late '30's and '40's which dealt with revolts (either fictional revolts or real revolts made very fictional) in Latin America, the Caribbean (as *Burn* does), and Europe, especially Ireland. Never America. What makes

Burn a "film of today" is (1) that it attempts to deal realistically with imperialism, (2) long pan shots of the oppressed peasants, mostly women, with adequate musical backing, and (3) Brando is middle aged.

What I think is the heart of Glenn's review, though, is in what he finds to be the film's "one major flaw." No woman has a major role. Perhaps what Glenn would like to see is also in line with the older films of revolt, *The heroine*, just as she delivers the message on which all future action is based, is shot in the back by a sniper and dies in the arms of her commander, who is also her lover. Pontecorvo's film is obviously more "realistic" because it avoids these scenes.

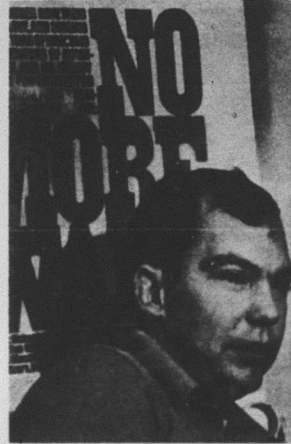
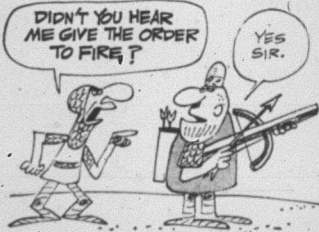
If Glenn means, as I think he does, that the film is faulty in that it does not demonstrate "realistically" how men oppress women, then he has a good point. All the women in *Burn* are pathetic. Again, however, and very importantly, the film is an action spectacle, and because of this limitation a good role for a woman, like Brando's role, would be nothing more than monotonous.

Glenn reports that the role of the lonely woman "of importance" is too limited. First of all, I think he underestimates her defiance, her position in the film, and secondly, there is not a single character in *Burn* whose role is not severely limited and defined. Brando tries to overcome this with pretty fluctuations of the voice. Could there be another "major flaw" in the film besides the one of which Glenn gives token appreciation? In fact, the film's characterization ultimately makes it a boring one.

My point, simply, is this: If *Workers' Power* is going to give space to films, the reviews should be better than casually written plot summations and rambling thoughts. The reviewers should feel

less complacent with the medium of film and should avoid thinking and writing in slogans. As it is, I suggest that *Workers' Power* resist any urge to give notice of films, even those with political scenery.

David Hirsh



tours, write his memoirs and make piles of money in the process.


What Calley needs now is not a lawyer but an agent. Surely a society whose "cultural elite" could select "Patton" as the outstanding movie of the year (not to mention giving us "MASH" in order to remind us of how hilarious Korea was) will not fail to provide for the murderer Calley.

(2) We should also raise the conception of an alternative to "American military justice," be it harsh or lenient, in the Calley case. Rather than being allowed to judge Calley through its own procedures, the Army should be forced to hand Calley over to be tried by the Vietnamese. It was not against the Army that Calley's crimes were committed, but against the Vietnamese.

By raising the idea that he should be tried by a South Vietnamese court, we can make two very important points. First, that the U.S. Army, which has no right to be in Vietnam, has no legitimate jurisdiction over what happens there. Second, that even a court controlled by the Saigon regime (which is not even a "puppet" regime, but a cardboard facade for imperialism) would have no political choice but to convict Calley — and probably have him shot.

This would be infinitely more appropriate than the disgusting charade of trying Calley under the military system responsible for the crimes he committed.

David Finkel



Workers' Power

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The Calley Case

The *Workers' Power* article on My Lai and the Calley trial (*W.P.*, no. 33) is clearly correct in emphasizing the demand to "Try the Generals," that is, to punish the men responsible for ordering all the My Lai massacres that have been perpetrated against the people of Vietnam — both on the ground and from the air. This of course must also include the policy-makers in Washington, military and civilian. Only a couple of points need be added:

(1) We should take notice of the probable final outcome of the case, which is that Calley will never go to prison. At most, he'll wind up serving a very short sentence (much less than the sentences imposed on GI's convicted of possessing anti-war literature and similar "crimes"), after which he'll be a free man — all set to make speaking



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Workers' Power

WE STAND FOR SOCIALISM: the collective ownership and democratic control of the economy and the state by the working class. We stand in opposition to all forms of class society, both capitalist and bureaucratic "Communist," and in solidarity with the struggles of all exploited and oppressed people.

America is faced with a growing crisis: war, racial strife, pollution, urban decay, and the deterioration of our standard of living and working conditions. This crisis is built into capitalism, an outlived system of private profit, exploitation, and oppression. The capitalist ruling class, a tiny minority that controls the economy and politics alike, perpetuates its rule by dividing the working people against each other - white against black, male against female, skilled against unskilled, etc. The result is ever greater social chaos.

Workers' power is the only alternative to this crisis. Neither the liberal

nor the conservative wings of the ruling class have any answers but greater exploitation. The struggle for workers' power is already (being waged on the economic level, and the International Socialists stand in solidarity with these struggles over wages and working conditions. To further this struggle, we call for independent rank and file workers' committees to fight when and where the unions refuse to fight. But the struggles of the workers will remain defensive and open to defeat so long as they are restricted to economic or industrial action.

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

The struggle for workers' power cannot be won until the working class, as a whole, controls the government and the economy democratically. This requires a revolutionary socialist, working class party, at the head of a unified

working class. No elite can accomplish this for the workers.

Nor can any part of the working class free itself at the expense of another. We stand for the liberation of all oppressed peoples: mass organization, armed self-defense, and the right of self-determination for Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans; the liberation of women from subordination in society and the home; the organization of homosexuals to fight their oppression. These struggles are in the interest of the working class as a whole: the bars of racism and male chauvinism can only prevent the establishment of workers' power. Oppressed groups cannot subordinate their struggle today to the present level of consciousness of white male workers: their independent organization is necessary to their fight for liberation. But we strive to unite these struggles in a common fight to end human exploitation and oppression.

The struggle for workers' power is world-wide. Class oppression and exploitation is the common condition of humanity. US corporations plunder the world's riches and drive the world's people nearer to starvation, while military intervention by the US government, serving these corporations, awaits

those who dare to rebel. The "Communist" revolutions in China, Cuba and North Vietnam, while driving out US imperialism, have not brought workers' power, but a new form of class society, ruled by a bureaucratic elite.

Whether capitalist or bureaucratic-collectivist ("Communist") in nature, the ruling classes of the world fight desperately to maintain their power, often against each other, always against the working class and the people. Through both domestic repression and imperialist intervention (the US in Vietnam, the USSR in Czechoslovakia), they perpetuate misery and poverty in a world of potential peace and plenty. Socialism - the direct rule of the working class itself - exists nowhere in the world today.

We fight for the withdrawal of US troops from all foreign countries, and support all struggles for national self-determination. In Vietnam, we support the victory of the NLF over the US and its puppets; at the same time, we stand for revolutionary opposition by the working class to the incipient bureaucratic ruling class. Only socialism, established through world-wide revolution, can free humanity from exploitation and oppression; and the only force capable of building socialism is WORKERS' POWER.

THE THREAT TO THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Jim Gregory



The past two weeks have seen two distinct kinds of anti-war demonstrations, the April 24 marches and rallies in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco on the one hand, the May 1-5 militant civil disobedience demonstrations in Washington on the other. Separately, each was the largest of its type yet. Together, they represent a major split in the anti-war movement.

Mass Passivity

The April 24 demonstrations attracted over one-half million people to the nation's capital, with another 200,000 participating in San Francisco.

For the first time there was significant labor participation — contingents from the United Electrical Workers, District 65 of the Distributive Workers of America, and Local 1199 (hospital workers) were particularly visible. David Livingstone, president of District 65, was one of the speakers in Washington.

One the whole, however, the Washington marchers were high school and college students, many of whom were at their first peace demonstration. The atmosphere was much more like a mass picnic than a mass demonstration — people sprawled on the grass eating sandwiches or playing guitars as the seemingly endless list of speakers droned on in the background.

All this was termed "mass action" by the organizers of the demonstration, the National Peace Action Coalition. No one could question its massiveness, but inertia was far more descriptive of the mood than was activity.

And so the hundreds of thousands who had assembled left for home, and Richard Nixon returned to the capitol from his Camp David, Maryland retreat. Another spring, another march. The war goes on.

How can hundreds of thousands of people join together in opposition to their country's foreign policy without achieving some visible results? The answer is that the leadership of NPAC never intended to organize the kind of demonstration that could show the power needed to force Nixon out of Vietnam. NPAC's approach is to build for ever-larger marches, hoping that sheer volume of people shouting "Out Now!" at the Capitol Mall will finally bring about immediate withdrawal.

To be sure, the huge turnout has provoked widespread discussion and interest, but the anti-war movement came away from Washington still lacking a strategy for ending the war. In fact, the only group representing a means of action other than another march and rally were Democratic Party politicians like Senator Vance Hartke and several others who were invited to speak in Washington by NPAC — and these politicians pose a grave danger to the anti-war movement.

Their alternative for the movement

is to support "doves" like themselves for election, saying that once Nixon's out and they're in the war will end. This is an old story.

In 1964 Lyndon Johnson successfully ran for President as a "peace" candidate, then turned around immediately to intensify the war. Through Johnson's administration, the Democratic "doves" moaned long and loud over the war, but continued to vote for whatever Vietnam appropriations were requested.

In the past few years the waste of billions of dollars in Vietnam has finally taken a visible toll on the nation's economy. Workers are fighting back against inflation and unemployment, and are rightly putting the blame for their economic misery on the war; the latest Gallup Poll showed that 73 per cent of the population is for immediate withdrawal. So the doves have decided to escalate their rhetoric, and are attempting to actively enter and take over the anti-war movement.

The NPAC leadership played right into their hands by inviting them to be the major speakers in Washington. This allows the doves to appear as though they are actively organizing anti-war protest, while all they do in reality is attend rallies organized by others and say they want the war to end. They've said it for years, but have yet to act.

Proper Channels

The doves seek to organize a political base for the 1972 presidential elections, to channel the movement away from active opposition through demonstrations and back into "proper" political channels. If successful, this will mean that anti-war energy will be dispersed into door-bell ringing and canvass-

ing for Democratic and Republican liberals.

As an alternative to NPAC's rallies and speeches, the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), organized a series of militant confrontations in Washington in early May. In five days, more than 10,000 demonstrators were arrested for acts ranging from blocking traffic to pouring excrement on the Pentagon steps.

Unfocused Militancy

While these demonstrations did have a militancy that April 24 lacked, their overall effect at best was no better. For all its shortcomings, April 24 was able to attract hundreds of thousands of people, thereby showing how massive opposition to the war really is.

The "Mayday" demonstrations, on the other hand, though of significant size given the risks involved in participating, clearly lacked the power to "shut down the government," as they had promised to do. The government and press were able to present the protestors as a bunch of kids out to riot indiscriminately.

The political points about ending the war and racism which the demonstrators had hoped to make were lost. The PCPJ demonstrations, a collection of tactics with no coherent strategy, offered no real alternative to the NPAC marches. In a sense, PCPJ's unfocused militancy was merely the flipside of NPAC's massive passivity.

For Mass Militancy

This division in strategy for the anti-war movement — between mass marches on the one hand and militant, isolated actions on the other — must be overcome if the movement is to have any effectiveness. There should be no counterposition between mass action and militancy.

Ending the war will require a truly mass movement. But it will require as well a movement which won't merely

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