

# Workers' Power

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## April 24: Stop The War

Football and War-Teachers' Strike  
Gunning For the Panthers  
G.I.'s: All or Nothing - Pakistan  
"Radicals" Win in Berkeley



# Women's Liberation and the War

Anne Goldfarb

Thousands of women will be marching against the war on April 24 in separate women's contingents, reflecting the rapid growth of the independent women's movement over the past two years. For the first time, women will be playing a public role in the march, which reflects our importance in the struggle to end the war in Southeast Asia.

Until women began to organize independently, we often found ourselves relegated in political groups to typing envelopes while men made political decisions and held press conferences. The same has been true in unions as well.

White and black women garment workers, hospital workers, and teachers, among others, have fought militantly to organize unions, but these unions are dominated on the leadership level by white men. As a result, our needs as women have usually been ignored.

Women have learned that the only way to overcome the discrimination we have encountered in political and trade union organizations is by organizing ourselves, to fight both that discrimination and the oppression we encounter throughout the society — at work, at home, or at school. Now, like the black liberation movement and the gay liberation movement, we have to ask ourselves: on what basis do we as women participate in the struggle to end the war?

Many people have been confused by the call for a separate women's contingent for the demonstrations, arguing that there is no need for separate contingents if we are all agreed on demanding an end to the war. If there were nothing more to differentiate women from the rest of the march than there is, for example, residents of Baltimore, then that argument would be correct and the women's contingent would in fact be nothing more than a Ladies Auxiliary.

Appealing to women to join the contingent because women are the majority of the population, as NPAC has been doing, or because women are mothers and wives of GIs, or because men are supposed to be warlike and women "peaceful by nature," is in fact to ask women to march together because we are "different" from men and are a "special interest group." This is the same sort of argument which has been used to justify the oppression of women — women have different natures from men, so we should play different roles in society. It doesn't make much sense.

There is a political reason, though, for women to march together today. As women, we know that the war is only one of many problems we face. But these problems are being intensified by the war, so it is important for the women's movement to participate in the fight to end the war.

Millions of women are being forced to go back to work unexpectedly because one paycheck simply isn't enough any more, and we're getting the worse, lowest-paying, most difficult jobs. The cutbacks in government spending at home mean that such vital needs as decent welfare payments, childcare centers, and abortion clinics will be ignored.

The kind of job-training we need to get into the many well-paying jobs held only by men isn't available; now, when unemployment is rising, it's even more difficult for us to challenge our exclusion from these jobs. Unemployment is hitting women particularly hard, in spite of all the publicity about unem-

ployed aerospace engineers. And we face the potential threat of even greater unemployment when returning veterans claim their jobs back.

Ending the war can solve only some of these problems. We didn't have childcare centers, free abortions, or enough jobs for all of us before the war began, and there is no reason to expect that the money now going to Southeast Asia will automatically be allocated for them after the war ends.

Unless working people fight to change spending priorities, taxation policies, and the like, the government will continue to pour billions into military spending and corporation subsidies. And unless women organize to demand that our particular needs are met, we will continue to be ignored as we were in the past.

**It is for this reason that we should march together on April 24 — because we want to build a women's movement which will fight the system which is responsible for both the war and the oppression of women.**

Building a movement which can fight independently for the interests of women, and of working people in general, means that we must examine the way in which the women's movement is growing. The women's contingents reflect our strength, but they also reveal our weaknesses. Most of the women who planned the contingents were students; few working women were involved.

The same problem has come up throughout the women's movement. The fight of working women for equal pay and equal jobs with men, and the struggles of women on welfare, have been ignored by most women's liberation groups, which have appealed primarily to women in school or professional jobs. And although many working class women, black and white, support the goals of the women's liberation movement, few have actively joined in such struggles as the abortion repeal campaign.

The result has been that the women's liberation movement has remained weak and isolated from those women who have the social power to lead a strong movement — organized working women.

Recently, women in a number of cities, including Boston, New York, and Seattle, have begun to organize women's groups which can bring working women and students together around common goals and actions. We are doing strike support work, demonstrating for such demands as equal jobs and childcare centers, and trying to make the ideas of women's liberation relevant to working class women.

We feel that such groups can provide working class women with a meaningful way to participate in the women's movement, and can also help many women's liberation groups break out of isolation. We can also begin to develop cooperation between the women's movement, the struggles against racism, and the fight of working people to build a better society, which will be necessary if we are to truly liberate women. ■



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# Gunning For The Panthers

David Shoemaker  
James Coleman

## MURDERED By Oakland Digs

Memorial Friday, April 22, 1968 1:30 P.M.

BODY IN STATE

### Procession To Jail For

### ELDRIDGE

### FREE HUEY

### BLACK PANTHER PEACE & FREEDOM NEWTON FOR CONGRESS

### BLACK PANTHER PEACE & FREEDOM NEWTON CONGRESS

How does a government wage a war which the public doesn't support? By denying that a war exists, while continuing the body-count. In Southeast Asia, for example, Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon have all used the myth that the U.S. is only "aiding its allies" to neutralize public opinion. When this doesn't work, and public opposition grows, the war effort is in trouble.

The U.S. government is now finishing another war — its war on the Black Panther Party (BPP). A large minority of Americans oppose the repression of the BPP. Unorganized and politically unknowledgeable, this minority still exposed the police killing of Panther Fred Hampton and kept the government from getting a death sentence for Panther Huey Newton.

If the government is to succeed in its war of repression, it must either neutralize public opinion, or declare an open campaign (as it did against the Communist Party in the 1950's) and take the political consequences. It seems to have chosen the first tactic.

## Major Cover-up

A major job of cover-up propaganda appeared in the *New Yorker* magazine (Feb. 13) in the article: "The Panthers and the Police: A Pattern of Genocide?" The author, Edward Jay Epstein, is a noted liberal who several years ago published a book attacking the official version of the John Kennedy assassination. Epstein asks if "the police have declared a sort of open season on the Black Panthers," and concludes that "this is an assumption that proves, on examination, to be false."

Epstein's examination is based mainly on written records — police reports, court records, grand jury findings, and newspaper accounts. The social drama played out in blood in America's ghetto streets, between revolutionary blacks and the agents of the capitalist state, is judged on the narrowest possible grounds.

Epstein's method is to examine each of the reported cases of police killings of BPP members. He examines each in-

dividually. His idea seems to be that if doubt can be thrown on each report individually, there is no need to ask whether all the cases, taken together, suggest a pattern of repression.

Epstein is able to show, in several cases, that the police were not directly involved. (We stress, not *directly*. In dismissing a police role in the Los Angeles killing of four Panthers by a rival organization, Epstein never mentions that the rival organization was receiving Federal funds. The government was promoting this organization as an alternative to the BPP. In looking only at the "hard" evidence, Epstein's apparently objective approach gets things wrong by ignoring a government role in the rivalry which led to the killings.)

Epstein groups these cases first. The reader is already half-convinced that the Panthers' claims of persecution are hollow. In these first cases, he relies heavily on independent witnesses.

Then, Epstein's method changes slightly. In those cases where the police unquestionably were involved, he relies more and more on the evidence of the police. To this, he adds findings of grand juries and trial juries — although both are notoriously unwilling to decide against the police. So, in effect, he listens mainly to witnesses for the prosecution.

In the case of Fred Hampton, Epstein carefully reports that the grand jury found a shotgun hole in the door of Hampton's apartment corresponding to the gun belonging to one of the Panthers inside, and reports that "the jury posited" that the Panther "fired a shotgun blast" as the police broke in. But Epstein neglects to mention that the door was removed from the apartment right after the shooting and was missing for several weeks, long enough for someone to produce a hole of the right kind.

By ignoring this fact, Epstein is able to admit that two groups of police broke into Hampton's apartment from the front and back, killed two Panthers and wounded four, while at most two shots were fired from Panther weapons — yet

he can give some support to the theory that the police fired in self-defense.

But this selective use of testimony and evidence is only a part of Epstein's method. More seriously, he ignores the context in which the killings took place. In his list of shootings, nothing is made of the fact that — for example — in Chicago the shooting of Larry Robertson occurred on July 16, 1969, that of Spurgeon (Jake) Winters on November 13, 1969, and that of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark just three weeks later, on December 4. Nor does Epstein ever mention the police raid on BPP Chicago headquarters that same November, in which several BPP members were arrested and membership lists confiscated.

Writing in late 1970 or early 1971, Epstein argues that there is no police campaign against the BPP because "no Black Panthers have been killed by the police in the period of more than a year that has elapsed since the Hampton-Clark incident." Not only does he fail to note that the Panthers now have a policy of surrendering rather than defending themselves — he also fails to mention the series of police raids on Panther headquarters in Toledo, Philadelphia, New Orleans, Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco, Detroit, and New York which were culminating in the fall of 1970, the very period in which Epstein must have been preparing his article. (See *Workers' Power*, no. 25.)

## Political Repression

Epstein writes: "The idea that the police have declared a sort of open season on the Black Panthers is based principally, so far as I can determine, on the assumption that all the Panther deaths... occurred under circumstances that were similar to the Hampton-Clark raid."

But the idea is not based on this assumption. The point at issue is political repression — the attempt to remove a set of ideas from the political scene. Decade after decade, black Americans have been beaten and gunned down, both by vigilantes and by police. This everyday

racial oppression made political repression unnecessary — since blacks were afraid to organize. The BPP was born precisely to fight this routine intimidation of blacks. By calling for armed self-defense, the BPP tried to give blacks the confidence to organize politically without fearing vigilantes or police attacks.

This call for armed self-defense brought on the present wave of repression aimed at the BPP as such. A systematic effort by government agencies to wipe the Panthers off the map was clear before a single Panther had died.

In Oakland, California, in 1967, the BPP was only a handful of people around Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, whose main program was to patrol the ghetto keeping watch on the police to stave off harassment of ghetto residents. In return, Panther automobiles and members were identified and placed under special surveillance by the police.

This organized monitoring of Panther activity — quite legal activity — inevitably led to a confrontation. While patrolling their community, Huey Newton and another Panther were stopped by police ("Let's see your driver's license" . . . "Why are you carrying guns?") and drawn into a gun fight. As a result, the police got what they wanted — Newton in jail, charged with murder. A later attempt to jail BPP Chairman Bobby Seale failed. At this time, no Panthers had met violent deaths.

The claim of an "open season on the Black Panthers" is not based, narrowly, on one or more shooting incidents, as Epstein claims, but on this pattern of police surveillance, provocation, and repression.

## National Pattern

Political repression-everywhere tries to create a confusion in the public mind between political opposition to the *status quo*, and criminal activity. Nowhere will you find Black Panthers charged with advocating independent political organization or armed self-defense for blacks — yet everywhere you find Panthers dead, jailed, or exiled.

The government's technique is to use police surveillance and harassment of Panthers to provoke an incident or confrontation, which then becomes the basis for criminal charges. That these confrontations are no accident is shown by the fact that the police draw up elaborate plans in advance for assaults on BPP headquarters.

(Last year one such plan was stolen from the police and printed in a Berkeley newspaper. The police stated that this was only one of many plans for possible raids on leftist organizations — thus clearing themselves with police indignity from the charge of picking on the BPP.)

So far, the government has had only mixed success in getting convictions against BPP members. But the main functioning of the trials is not necessarily to get convictions. The trials tie up the membership and resources of the BPP. Bails are set at astronomical figures. (In the recent case of Angela Davis, who is not a BPP member but is also a black revolutionary, singer Aretha Franklin offered to pay any bail set by the courts — whereupon the courts denied bail.)

Since a tediously long process is necessary to get even the semblance of a fair trial for black political prisoners — a process involving dozens of jury challenges, etc. — the BPP has a choice of pouring all its resources into court cases or letting its members rot in jail.

This entire pattern of harassment,

(Continued on page 4)

# Panthers

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

which forms the background for the Panther shootings, is ignored in Epstein's article. Whether or not Epstein's narrowness of focus is politically motivated, it has a political result. By focusing exclusively on the details of each particular killing, Epstein has written an article which does not ask whether there is a national pattern of repression against the BPP, in the course of which killings have happened. Instead he asks only whether, in each individual case, the killing was planned.

To liberals like Epstein, "repression" means only an intention of unprovoked killing in each individual case. They accept police surveillance, seizure of Panther weapons, trials, etc., and only protest — halfheartedly — if the police cross a line which the liberals define. The line, in most cases, allows repression if only it is done according to orderly, legal procedures.

## Dear John Letter

Epstein's article would not be worth refuting in detail, if it were not for its impact. First, it appeared in the *New Yorker*, a magazine with a high degree of intellectual prestige. Second, Epstein's article, which asked why the press had accepted the "false" reports of Panther killings, was itself accepted by the press without criticism.

*Time, Newsweek, The New York*

*Times, The Washington Post, NBC* — all treated Epstein's contentions as proved fact. Several apologized in print for having helped spread the "false" reports. Since Epstein's examination of the evidence is partial and biased, the press reaction can't be explained in terms of the evidence. Rather, Epstein's article provided the basis for the "respectable" press changing its line on the police and the Panthers. Why has this happened?

The pattern of repression we have examined adds up to the fact that in just over two years, from Huey Newton's arrest in 1967 to Fred Hampton's killing in 1969, the entire leadership of the BPP was wiped out. At that point the situation was that three of the BPP's top leaders were in jail (Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins); two had fled to Algeria (Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver); three had been killed (Fred Hampton, Bunchy Carter, John David Hilliard). Of the top leaders, only David Hilliard was free. Since then Newton has been freed after a successful court appeal, but the series of raids mentioned above has resulted in court charges against the active BPP cadre in ten or more cities.

In an effort to rally support for its own defense, the BPP formed a series of alliances with liberals and with figures associated with the Communist Party. Politically, the BPP began playing down the program of armed self-defense. Instead, it stressed service programs (such as the Breakfast for Children program) while its members acted in a rough-tough, gun-toting style designed to play on the feelings of the liberals to whom they were appealing for funds. Part of their approach was to portray

all the police attacks on the Panthers as unprovoked murders.

This approach worked for a while. Then the brilliant journalist Tom Wolfe wrote a biting article which portrayed the liberals' support for the BPP as merely a fad. This hit the socialites where it hurt — in their sense of decorum. Since Wolfe's account of the fad was basically accurate, the liberals who had been giving fund-raising parties for the BPP stopped, and turned to other fads.

Behind the discomfort of Wolfe's exposure of "radical chic" was a deeper fact. Exposure of their support for the Panthers opened the liberals to criticism from the right. This criticism was mainly in words — for example, Yale Professor Robert Brustein wrote an attack on the university President, Kingman Brewster, for being relatively tolerant of student protest during the opening of the Bobby Seale murder trial in New Haven. Even so, the liberals caved in rather than make a principled stand against repression.

Epstein's *New Yorker* article is best seen, like Tom Wolfe's, not as journalism-in-depth, but as a quite shallow dismiss-

sal of the Panthers' demands on his sympathy — a Dear John letter from the Eastern liberal establishment to the BPP. This accounts for its instant acceptance.

The stakes are higher now: the government is continuing its campaign against the Panthers, support for the Panthers is no longer "chic," and conservative forces have attacked the liberals for so much as making a peep of protest against repression. The whole liberal intellectual community was waiting to be let off the hook, to be freed from the obligation to oppose what was happening to the BPP. The newspapers, news-magazines, and TV stations, essentially allied with the government when it comes to the repression of radicalism, were looking for a good weapon to discredit the BPP and undercut its claims to deserve support.

To the role of Judas, Epstein brought his considerable gifts as a researcher and a talent for selecting the evidence, and chose the moment when the BPP was breaking apart under the pressure of repression, to proclaim that there is no repression at all. It has been one of the shabbiest political crimes of recent years.



Bobby Hutton and Eldridge Cleaver

The Pakistan military machine cannot hold East Pakistan by the direct use of force. It can only do so by killing or jailing so many people that the rest — 73 million Bengalis — will be terrorized into obedience.

There are no civilized frills on it. President Yahya Khan is gambling that if he hits enough heads, the rest will bow. For the moment he has the benefit of surprise.

With his tanks painting the cities of the East with fire, the shock of declaring brutal war has gone to the army's advantage. The Bengalis were not seriously prepared for fighting at all. But the military advantage will not last long unless the army can completely demoralize the urban population at least.

The unpreparedness was the direct

result of the leadership of Mujib-ur-Rahman and his Awami League, the leadership of East Pakistan. The whole province has demanded a declaration of independence from West Pakistan for weeks past, yet Mujib throughout has resisted.

He preferred to stall, to talk with Yahya Khan and Bhutto. His dithering not only allowed Yahya Khan to build up the military in the East and prepare for a blood letting, it will also mean far more Bengalis will be slaughtered. So much for "moderation."

Yet the military coup in the East has clarified many other issues besides the leadership of Mujib. It has revealed the colors of Bhutto, the popular hero of the West. With the sound of gunshot and screams still in his ears, as soon as he arrived back from the East, he declared: "By the grace of Almighty God, Pakistan is saved."

At any rate, the military regime and Bhutto are for the moment "saved." Yet, ironically, in the longer term, Bhutto's survival depends on Mujib's success. If Mujib and the Bengalis can be put down by force, Yahya and his army will have little need to worry about Bhutto.

If revolution does not succeed in the East, reforms certainly will not in the West. Both the local nationalisms

of the non-Punjabi provinces of the West, as well as the popular demands of the Punjabi workers and peasants, cannot at all be advanced if the Bengalis are crushed.

On the contrary, a victory in the East will lay the foundations for a much more aggressively reactionary regime in the West.

The choice for the Left is very clear. Yahya's attempt to rough up the Bengalis polarizes issues as nothing else could: on the one hand, the struggle for national independence and popular power in East and West, on the other, the army and West Pakistani capitalism, the mixture as before.

Nor is the issue confined to Pakistan. For the struggle for freedom in East Bengal in Pakistan is an object lesson for the struggle in West Bengal in India. If it is crushed in Pakistan, the prospects look much grimmer in India as a result.

The political alternative being manufactured in East Pakistan at this very moment will have been crushed. And the ruling classes, watching East Pakistan from the also-threatened fortresses of India and Ceylon, will have had an object lesson in the use of force to preserve class power.

President Yahya Khan's act of naked aggression against an unarmed people

shows how desperate the ruling class of Pakistan has become. Bengalis are not some minority. They are a majority of Pakistan and bigger than any European nation apart from the Russians.

It is in the interests of all the ruling classes of Asia that Yahya should put down the virus of revolution in his own territories. The state of health of most of Asia means the virus could spread with great speed.

And on the other side, for the Left, support for Bengali nationalism has now become the vital precondition not just of the struggle for socialism, but any progress at all.

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

# Pakistan

Nigel Harris



MUJIB SPEAKING IN DACCA



YAHYA KHAN



# SAN FRANCISCO TEACHERS' STRIKE

ANN JAMES

The recent San Francisco Teachers' strike, the longest in the city's history, began with a reluctant membership backing a union leadership that isn't effectively demanding any real improvement in school conditions. The school board and the superintendent were determined to provoke a strike in the hopes of dividing and crushing the teachers' organizations.

In the nationwide jurisdictional battle between the American Federation of Teachers (AFT-AFL-CIO) and the National Education Association (the old, "professional," anti-strike association), the AFT has only organized about 1800 of the city's 4800 classroom teachers, mainly in the 16 junior high and 10 high schools. About 100 elementary schools are mainly Classroom Teachers' Association (CTA — the local NEA affiliate), and the association has about 2800 members.

When the lukewarm AFT strike began on March 24 (after a 330-257 vote on March 10 and a delay imposed by the Labor Council), about 1500 teachers stayed out, crippling most secondary schools, but the elementary schools functioned almost normally. Many didn't even have an AFT member to picket.

The CTA decided that the strike was "premature," and encouraged its members to scab. They hoped to negotiate separately with the school board, to their organization's advantage. (By law, there is no actual collective bargaining here by teachers, and no contract, but there is a negotiating council dominated by the CTA.)

## Board Offensive

But the school board at first wouldn't meet with the teachers at all, and when meetings began, after the AFT strike started, they were only for public-relations purposes. The school board's version of negotiations provoked the usually conservative CTA into joining the strike on March 31, by a 779-479 vote.

This completed the collapse of normal school operations, as the elementary schools couldn't function. In the final days before spring vacation, two-thirds of the students and teachers were out, while for those inside it was mainly a babysitting (collecting state reimbursement) operation.

The strike was primarily a response to a school board offensive against the teachers. San Francisco faces the same sort of school budget crisis as many other cities across the nation.

We expect a union to be able to negotiate starting from what it has won in the past, and disagreements to be over how much more they will win each year. But more and more, in this period of budget-draining war and government-caused recession, employers are making demands of their own. Thus, the unions have to wage a tremendous battle just to win the right not to slip backwards.

San Francisco teachers struck for one day in March, 1968, and won considerable gains, including a three-year plan to hire 300 extra teachers yearly, thus reducing class sizes; a guaranteed preparation period daily; and a dental plan. But in the summer of 1970, the school board didn't hire the 300 extra teachers for this year, thus failing to implement the class-size reduction plan.

About 120 classroom teachers lost their classrooms in mid-year, becoming substitutes (permanently attached to their old school) for the second semester, thus depriving substitutes of work. Rumors were leaked that the regular annual increments might not be paid, that the dental plan was being altered for the worse, and that there might be no raise at all for next year, although other city workers were getting 4-8 per cent raises.

By March, the school board was claiming it couldn't afford to budget for replacement of the 340 teachers who were expected to retire or quit this summer. Programs that the teachers and community groups had fought for in the past 2-3 years, such as the hiring of paraprofessionals from minority groups to

help with a variety of chores in the schools (although at very low wages, about \$4000 yearly), were being threatened.

Faced with the prospect of speedup (class size increases), wage cuts (standing still while prices rise), and threats to job security and working conditions, the AFT had to strike — although they had done little advance organizing among their rank and file, many of whom were afraid to strike due to the large number of unemployed teachers and hungry substitutes in the Bay Area — and the CTA soon had to join them.

The school board complains that it would just love to implement all sorts of good programs, give the teachers a raise, hire more teachers, etc. They are not bad people, they say, but there is only just so much tax money. And indeed, there have been several recent homeowner-tax increases in San Francisco, and working people who are trying to buy homes for their families are having a hard time.

In effect, the school board is inviting the AFT and CTA to help it decide how to divide up the crumbs of a fixed pie. But the union, the association, and the teachers won't play that game, which would pit the teachers against the rest of the community.

Even so, a few Black and Latino teachers, and some minority community groups, opposed the strike, apparently having a rather understandable suspicion (after the New York teachers' strike of 1968) that "the AFT is racist." They charged that the strike issues were not centered around the inadequate ed-

ucation that kids, especially minority kids, are getting, and that the union fails to press for preferential hiring of minority teachers.

Also, the strike began shortly after the school board announced its decision to demote almost 200 administrators. The selection of administrators to be demoted was based on "preferential retention" of minorities; that is, the few minority administrators, who are almost all very low in seniority, were not considered for demotions. Minority groups felt that the AFT was striking partly to protest this justifiable discrimination against whites, but this charge was apparently unfounded.

However, by making many principals and other local administrators angry at the central office, the announcement of the demotions probably helped the strike, for the principals lacked their usual dedication in recruiting scabs and maintaining an appearance of normalcy.

## Tax the Corporations

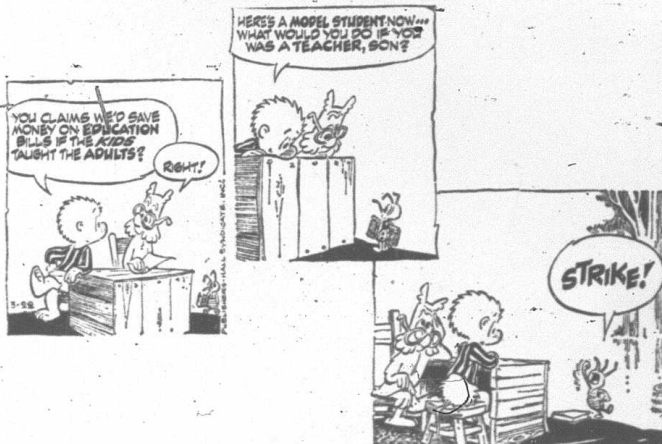
Ultimately, new sources of funds for schools will have to be found, if teachers are ever to realize job security and human working conditions. Moreover, far more money is needed to substantially improve education for the students. The key to avoiding tragic splits between teachers and the community is a fight for quality education for all.

Where, a school board member asked plaintively, can we get more money? "Split a fee with Alioto!" heckled a teacher. But even San Francisco's corrupt mayor hardly has the money to solve the school crisis.

To begin with, new taxes to rebuild the schools and meet the demands of teachers and students alike should be levied against the corporations, not homeowners and other individual taxpayers. A tax on the Pacific Coast Stock Exchange, for example, or a gross receipts tax, could provide an immediate source of badly needed funds.

Moreover, the AFT must join the fight to end the war in Vietnam, for the cost of the war is a major factor in the financial crisis that has hit one city after another. The social crisis being generated nationwide by inadequate health, welfare, education, mass transit, and housing services will require the ending of the war economy for even a partial solution.

(Anne James is a student teacher at a San Francisco high school, and a member of the International Socialists.)



# Berkeley: The "Radicals" Win

Ken Retzer  
John Weber



On April 6, black Democratic Congressman Ron Dellums took a large step toward establishing his own political machine in the Oakland-Berkeley area, when four out of five of his slate of candidates were elected to the Berkeley City Council and Mayorship.

National attention was focused on the election long ago because of the Community Control of Police proposal [see article this page] on the ballot, and because of the strong campaign waged by an alliance of the April Coalition (largely university students and anti-war liberals) and the Berkeley Black Caucus (largely poverty program staffers and other black professionals).

The April Coalition-Black Caucus (AC-BC) slate consisted of a student movement leader, a liberal housewife who had previously run for city council, and two black attorneys. Running

for Mayor separately from the slate, but closely tied to it, was Warren Widener, a black city Councilman. It is this same coalition which elected Dellums to Congress last year, and most of the candidates were prominent in his campaign.

Opposing the AC-BC slate were the retiring Mayor, and traditionally conservative forces like the Berkeley Gazette, downtown merchants and the Police Chief. Their "consensus, bi-partisan" candidate for mayor was black councilman Wilmont Sweeney, a moderate-conservative Democrat, who lost to Widener by only 56 votes out of 51,000 cast. The failure of the "moderates" to unite around a single slate for the city council allowed the AC-BC to win three of the four council seats.

The election was a major victory for Ron Dellums, who staked his prestige

on the election by identifying himself completely with the AC-BC slate: his picture appeared prominently on the brochures, posters, and handbills, and he spoke extensively for the campaign. In addition, he rounded-up liberal Democratic support from state legislators and nationally-known figures like Benjamin Spock and Julian Bond, who even recorded radio ads for the slate.

The campaign was really an extension of Dellums' own campaign last year. It was focused around the issue of community control of the police, and reform of the city government.

## Practical Politics

At the initial meetings of the April Coalition, which attracted hundreds of people, the International Socialists offered an alternative strategy for the organization. The I.S. proposed that, ra-

ther than identifying with Ron Dellums and the Democratic Party, the campaign move in the direction of an independent-party opposed to both established parties.

The I.S. distributed literature issued some time ago by the Black Panther Party on Black Democrats and their role in keeping the black community inside the Democratic Party. The pamphlet pointed out how these types never win anything but a few poverty-crut jobs for their friends, and only succeed in misleading the masses of black people into believing that they can win freedom and change by passively pressuring the Democratic Party.

The I.S. supported the concrete example of the La Raza Unida Party, which presented two candidates for endorsement. This group is attempting to organize Chicanos on the basis of a day-to-day struggle for their liberation, not to passively support and vote for "good guys." La Raza Unida opposes both the Democratic and Republican Parties. They did not receive endorsement, and ran a small campaign which helped to build their party while opposing the AC-BC slate as the liberal face of the Democratic Party.

The leaders of the April Coalition denounced the I.S. strategy as "impractical" since they wanted to "win" in the election; and they won the support of most AC members, including some so-called "revolutionaries" like Tom Hayden. There was enough independent radical sentiment, however, to prevent April Coalition endorsement of Warren Widener, who refused to support the Community Control of Police measure. This forced the slate and other leaders to support him under the table.

## Harmful illusion

Now Dellums and Company have succeeded in their bid for the Berkeley City government. If they are able to appoint one of their ranks to the vacant seat (vacated when Widener moved up from the city council to the mayorship), they will have a majority of the city council and the mayorship.

Newspapers across the country have proclaimed that radicals in Berkeley have used the electoral process and won a victory. Unfortunately, this radical victory is only an illusion — and possibly a very harmful one.

Every city in the country, Berkeley included, faces very serious problems.

[continued on page 13]

## COP CONTROL DEFEATED



On April 6 Berkeley voters turned out in record numbers to vote on municipal Proposition 1, the Community Control of Police initiative. Interest in this election was not confined to Berkeley alone; people all over the state and the nation were following the campaign.

The Community Control proposal, if it had passed, would have established three police units in Berkeley: one in the Black community (like all American cities, Berkeley is well segregated), one in the white residential community, and one in the largely student-populated area surrounding the University campus. Each police unit would be controlled by an elected council.

The proposal was actually formulated three years ago by the Black Panther Party and the Peace and Freedom Party, following particularly blatant examples of police violence against black people and anti-war students. But it wasn't until about six months ago that enough signatures were collected to force the city government to put the

proposal on the ballot. By then the primary force behind Community Control was no longer the Panthers but Congressman Ron Dellums [see article this page].

The Mayor and the city's businessmen were afraid that a coalition of students and blacks would vote the proposal in, and they launched a frenzied campaign to defeat it. They knew they would have to contend with black resentment against the cops, and they aimed their campaign at the black community.

Their main strategy was to label the plan "racist" since it would "divide" Berkeley. Their organization was named "One Berkeley Community" to show that they were for integration. (They never mentioned that the mayor won election by campaigning against fair housing!) They also claimed that "white radicals" were "using" blacks to vote for a plan that would wreck the police department, and produced a poll of cops showing they would all resign if it passed.

The slick and expensive campaign of

"One Berkeley Community" worked: the proposal was defeated 34,000 to 17,000 at the polls, with the black community split, most voting against community control.

Although the campaign for community control failed to win a majority, it did succeed in pointing a direction toward black control of cops in the black community. Achieving real community control is impossible so long as the real power over communities belongs to big business — as it must in a capitalist society. But popular pressure can, to some degree, "control" the police by putting them on "good behavior."

Berkeley cops have been on "good behavior" in the black community for some time to avoid generating support for community control, but in other cities, especially those with big ghettos, black people face the unchecked power of the cops. Raising the idea of black control of the cops in the black community could find a favorable response in almost every city in the country. ■



# Workers' Power

international socialist biweekly

April 24 Supplement

## STOP WORK... STOP THE WAR!

The war in Vietnam is already the longest war in American history. Since soon after it began, there has been a vigorous anti-war movement in this country. This movement has been a tribute to the American people, clearly demonstrating that the American population as a whole does not support the infamous foreign policy of its government and ruling class, which is waging an imperialist war against the Vietnamese people.

But even as anti-war sentiment has grown, so has the war. The Gallup poll tells us that 73 per cent of the American people want to get out of Vietnam now. Meanwhile, the total amount of bombing has gone up, and the Vietnam war is being extended to the whole of Indochina. Growing numbers of people are coming to realize that Nixon neither wishes nor is able to end the war.

Nixon, like Johnson before him, has done no more than try to cover up the continuation of the war with double talk and false promises. Nixon cannot afford to end it because a U.S. pullout from Vietnam means a defeat for American imperialism, which will be a sharp blow to all the imperial interests of our country's ruling class.

The recognition that the government has no intention of ending the war has led to a rebirth of the anti-war movement. However, this rebirth will accomplish little if it repeats the dead-end strategies which led in the past to its disintegration.

One strategy was based on a semi-annual peace march, largely confined to students and middle-class people, and posing no challenge to the existing status quo. This led to the repeated collapse of the anti-war movement into building the political fortunes of one or another Democratic Party "dove" reformer. Another approach was represented by the small groups, whose strategy was to engage in aimless adventures, often degenerating into terrorism.

One section recognized the necessity for a mass movement, the other for militant action. Neither could synthesize the two — with a political program and approach designed to galvanize the untapped opposition of the masses of Americans into militant mass actions — making the overhead cost of continuing the war too expensive for the cap-

### italist Establishment.

The current resurgence of the anti-war movement — and in particular the fact that opposition to the war is no longer isolated in the student community but has spread to previously less-involved sections of the population — has dramatized the possibility of a third approach, of a new strategy for ending the war, based upon the working class.

Opposition to the war has been mounting steadily among working people. For years workers have had to fight against the effects of both the war and war spending in general. Inflation, higher taxes, the decay of social services, the unemployment cynically created by the government to hold down the inflation — all of these are now recognized as problems which either stem from the war or have been magnified by it.

The deteriorating position of workers caused by the war has led to a new climate of working-class militancy, expressing itself in a rising wave of strikes, wildcats, and contract rejections. This current of working-class militancy has spread to public workers, teachers and municipal employees, who have broken the laws restricting their democratic right to strike.

From fighting back against the effects of the war there has slowly developed an understanding of the need to fight against the war itself. Even those who were the symbol of last-ditch support for the government policies as recently as a year ago — the "hardhat" construction workers — have dramatically swung over. Under the impact of Nixon's attempt to impose wage controls and break the power of the construction unions, the hardhats have begun to fight back and in some of their demonstrations have raised anti-war slogans.

As a result, many union leaders have endorsed the April 24 demonstration. They come from the Autoworkers, Hospital Workers, Teamsters, Longshoremen, Painters, Teachers, Retail Clerks, Electrical Workers, Meatcutters, Clothing Workers and others. All of them have placed themselves in clear opposition to the war-hawk George Meany and his coterie of aging, hardened last-ditch defenders of American imperialism. Even those from the traditionally

"liberal" unions would not have done so if they had not felt support from the members on this issue — and this support opens the possibility of a qualitative change in the anti-war movement and its ability to fight the war.

It is the potential power that workers have, their power in the production process, which can most effectively fight the government's intention to continue the war. Last year, after the invasion of Cambodia, student strikes shut down almost every college in the country. It was a wonderful display of anti-war sentiment and solidarity. It frightened Nixon for a short time. But society and the economy went rolling on. Magnificent and large though student actions can be, students alone do not have the social weight to end the war.

But suppose that the same number of workers had gone on strike for the same number of factories had shut down. America, and the war machine, would have ground to a halt. The price that the rulers and government would have had to pay to continue their war would have risen sharply — to the point where it might well have proven impossible to continue.

It is this power which must be tapped, upping the ante on the government's designs to continue the war by making it impossible for the nation to function normally. This is something that neither small groups, no matter how militant, nor masses of students, no matter how

large, can accomplish by themselves. But the workers who pay the price of this imperialist war — with their taxes and with their sons — have the power to use the strike weapon to end the war.

The anti-war movement should make demands on the union leaders who have endorsed the peace demonstrations. If they are serious about their opposition to the war, they must work to bring into the struggle against the war the economic and social power of the labor movement. They must take the question before their membership and mobilize the rank and file in militant working class actions against the war.

As an immediate step, the unions could organize a one-day general work stoppage, as the first in a series. They could use this work stoppage to organize massive anti-war rallies which the black and student communities could be asked to participate in. They will be saying to the government, "This is only a first step — more work stoppages will occur if the war is not ended."

The union leaders who have endorsed this demonstration will be reluctant to follow such a course. Rank and file militants must start to organize for it themselves. They will be prepared to lead such strikes — if they have union protection against the vindictiveness of the companies. But only a movement in the ranks will force the leaders to provide such protection.

*[Continued on next page]*



# WAR

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

What do the labor leaders who oppose the war say to those in their ranks who are looking for a way to work against the war? The usual answer they give is: "Lobby your congressman." For many years, almost the entire American labor movement has looked to the Democratic Party when it had political needs it wanted to see acted upon.

But while the American labor movement has been friendly to the Democratic Party, the Democratic Party has never been a friend of labor. Both the Republican and Democratic parties are representatives of the U.S. corporate establishment — that is, the U.S. ruling class. The differences between them, by and large, represent strategic differences of opinion within that ruling class.

Today, many Democrats, as well as many businessmen and corporate executives, have become disenchanted with the Vietnam war. They would prefer it were over, because they believe that there are more effective ways of furthering U.S. imperial interests, and because they consider the war too costly and the source of too much unrest. But while they favor an end to the war, they fear the effects of a U.S. military defeat in Vietnam, a necessary by-product of an immediate U.S. withdrawal. This contradiction in their attitude has rendered them powerless and unreliable.

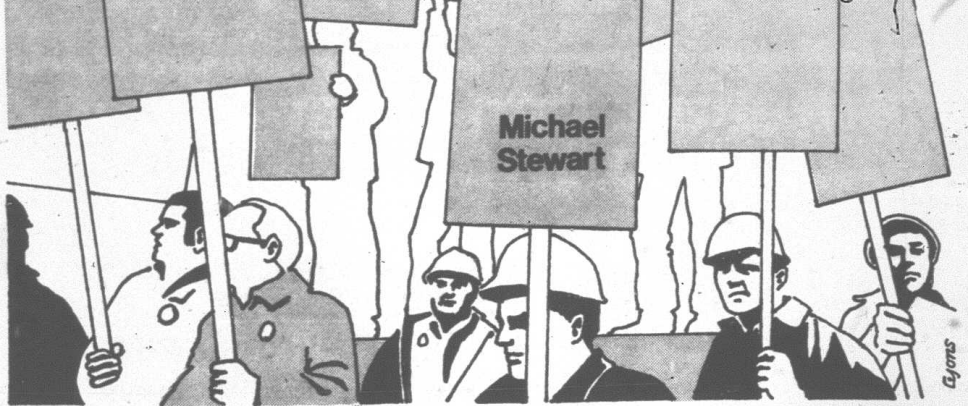
So long as the anti-war movement and the labor movement look to the Democratic Party, they will find themselves stifled at every turn. However sincerely Democrats are for all good things, there is always a consideration they put first and foremost — that is, a defense of U.S. corporate interests. But it is just those interests, and the policies which flow from them, that the anti-war movement and the labor movement must fight.

Just as a union does not let a lawyer for the boss dictate strategies to it, we cannot let the Democratic Party dictate to us. Until a political party independent of the ruling class and its corporate interests can be built, we will find ourselves following one dead-end course after another.

So long as serious steps are not taken toward building a new and independent political party, the Democratic "doves" will capture and defuse every opposition movement to the war that is built. If, on the other hand, the continuation of the war hastens the development of a new party independent of the Democrats and the Republicans, this will be a move which makes the war much more costly to the ruling class — and the war will only be ended when U.S. rulers decide that a military defeat is less costly than the continuation of the war.

While the anti-war movement can engage in independent political action and should, only a political party based on the working class has the potential of maintaining an ongoing existence independent of the ruling classes. This is the kind of party that must be built for the anti-war movement and for the labor movement to most effectively pursue their interests. **FOR A STRIKE AGAINST THE WAR — FOR AN INDEPENDENT PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS. ■**

# WHO PAYS FOR WAR?



**"To have a good understanding of what we are doing abroad, take a good look at what we are doing at home." That was stated by Lyndon Johnson while he was still President, and it is still true today, though in a different way than Johnson meant. While we are destroying a country and its people abroad, we are also laying the seeds of social decay and destruction at home.**

The problems in this country are well known to everyone: urban decay, inflation, unemployment, and falling real wages. The administration apologists, of course, would like us to believe that these problems are unrelated to the war, but they're not. The war, while not the only cause, has had a major impact on the economic and social problems.

Total expenditures for the Vietnam war have passed \$127 billion and the defense budget has soared to nearly \$80 billion a year. This money didn't come from nowhere, but from our taxes, and even from special taxes for the war, such as the 10 per cent tax surcharge. The most obvious point about such massive spending on war is that it represented a deduction in funds available for services in this country. There have, however, been more serious consequences.

Inflation was one of them. Rapid inflation has been a characteristic effect of all wars. In fact, continuing inflation is a problem whenever defense expenditures make up a significant part of the national budget. It has thus been a constant problem in the U.S. since World War II, and since the beginning of the war in Vietnam has risen from 1.3 per cent to 6 per cent a year.

The rapidly rising prices, combined with the lack of new funds, have made it impossible for cities and states even to keep up the inadequate social services that exist now. We have been caught in a double squeeze, and the result has been deteriorating housing, lack of schools and hospitals, and the rest of what has politely been called urban decay.

As bad as the situation is, some people have decided that it has to get worse, that more "sacrifices" have to be made. Thus, rather than ending the war, the administration in Washington and the business community have decided to combat inflation by fighting the labor movement.

Unable to admit that their war was the major cause of inflation, they have made America's workers the scapegoat. Thus they claim that inflation exists because unions have won "inflationary" wage settlements.

Anyone who takes home a weekly paycheck recognizes the absurdity of this argument. For much of the labor movement, and especially for non-unionized workers, real wages have fallen, and all workers have been forced to fight just to keep up. While inflation was rising at 6 per cent a year, average wages for all workers rose only 4 per cent.

In steel and telephone, to take two examples where contract talks come up this year and the workers are already being denounced for making "inflationary demands," average weekly real wages (what your paycheck is worth in purchasing power) have fallen \$4.38 and \$3.37 a week respectively in the last year.

In its struggle to try to hold wages down, the Nixon administration has caused drastic unemployment, reaching 6 per cent nationally, and double or triple that in most cities. Thus not only are workers losing money through inflation, but increasingly now they are losing their jobs as well. And all this is done so that the government can continue its imperialist war in Asia.

There is another sense in which our actions abroad are similar to our actions at home, and that is repression. The government would like us to believe that it is fighting for freedom abroad, just as it defends freedom at home. Unfortunately, it does neither of those things.

The war in Vietnam is an imperialist war fought against the Vietnamese people and their legitimate desire for self-

determination. In order to continue that reactionary war abroad, the government is forced to resort to ever more reactionary measures at home. It is only through repression that a government can continue a policy with which 73 per cent of the people disagree.

It is not only the anti-war movement which has been affected. The black movement has faced greater and greater harassment, and the Black Panther Party have been virtually wiped out. Soldiers have been court-martialed for merely discussing the war. And more and more now, repression is being aimed at the labor movement.

Thus, unemployment is used to intimidate workers, strikes are outlawed in railroad, and wage controls are slapped on the construction workers. The message is clear: a war carried out against the interests of the Vietnamese people, is also being fought against the interests of most Americans.

A choice must be made between continuation of America's imperialist adventures abroad, and solutions to the problems at home. Guns or butter — we can't have both.

This is not to imply that an end to the war would solve all our problems, or even that it necessarily would solve any of them. Basically the problem is the system of capitalism itself — a system of exploitation and oppression at home and a foreign policy aimed at defending and extending that system abroad. No solutions, however, can even be begun until the war is ended.

Once that is accomplished, we will have to continue to struggle, to make sure that the billions of dollars currently spent on war are then spent on needed social programs. That latter struggle may be more difficult than ending the war. ■

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# Vietnam: Never Again?

Tom Condit

Some people seem to think that we've been in Vietnam for 20 years because of some offshore oil deposits discovered two or three years ago. Others think that we're only there because Lyndon Johnson was on an ego trip and Richard Nixon is a reactionary.

What both these explanations have in common is an attempt to see Vietnam as a unique exception to the history of American foreign policy, or as related to the pleadings or power of a "special interest" group within America. Both ignore a simple, basic fact: The war in Southeast Asia is not a mistake. It is part and parcel of the whole of American foreign policy.

Both politically and economically America is an imperialist power, and the social system in this country is incapable of surviving one minute without imperialism and the permanent arms economy attached to it. They represent the only ways the American economic system can grow anymore, and the basic law of economics is "grow or die."

During the Great Depression, the American economy collapsed, and it stayed collapsed until the war ending of World War II. Since then, the economy has grown only because of a combination of three things: government spending (mostly for "defense"), exports, and foreign investment.

Both conservative and liberal economists and politicians say that isn't so. They say that exports are only equal to about four per cent of the "gross national product" and defense spending to another 10 per cent — important, but hardly critical.

The flaw in their approach is built in to the very idea of "gross national product" itself. When a real estate broker arranges the sale of a house, his commission becomes part of the "national product." Congressmen's pay is part of the "national product." If you believe that real estate brokers or congressmen produce anything, you'll believe anything.

The real "national product" of America, by which we mean the production of real things instead of pieces of

paper, is the output of our farms, factories and mines. The foreign market (exports plus sales by subsidiaries of American companies in other countries) equals about 40 per cent of that national product. More important, since 1950 foreign sales have gone up twice as much as sales at home. The foreign market is the part of the economy which is growing.

Preserving foreign markets and invest-



ments, as well as the raw material supplies of the underdeveloped countries and the potential for future growth which they represent, is the main goal of American foreign policy. It ties in very conveniently with the other major stabilizer of our economy, which is the permanent arms economy. The economy needs a big "defense establishment" to protect foreign investments, and it needs foreign investments to justify the big defense establishment.

The importance of this interlock is

clear if you look at the heart of the economy. The most important business sector is the production of "investment goods" — things people buy in order to make money from them, as opposed to "consumer goods," which are bought for immediate use. When the demand for these goods falls off, when no one is buying new factories or equipment or building new buildings, the economy enters a depression, as it did in 1929.

Since World War II, the demand for investment goods has been totally dependent on the combination of defense spending and foreign investment. Of all the American industries producing investment goods — mining, steel, machine products, electrical equipment, etc. — there are only two which do not have at least 20 per cent of their sales made up by foreign sales or Federal government purchase. Those two are farm equipment and residential housing. The others would collapse if America stop-

ped being an imperialist power, and the American economy would collapse with them.

An economic system incapable of surviving without foreign sales and investments and arms spending can only produce one type of foreign policy: one which protects foreign sales and investments and justifies the arms economy. That means a foreign policy whose main goal is dominating the entire world, because without world domination no local domination is safe.

Consequently, America's foreign policy has been one of intervention around the world. Where possible, the U.S. government has tried to stifle popular movements of independence from American control by bolstering the military capacities of the governments involved. So, for example, the United States supplies, equips and trains armies in Brazil, Bolivia, Greece and Thailand, to mention only a few. These armies exist in order to repress and control their own populations.

Where these measures are not enough, the government resorts to more direct intervention. In 1957, the United States sent American troops into Lebanon; in 1965, 20,000 U.S. marines invaded the Dominican Republic. Both invasions were carried out with the aim of putting down popular movements for self-determination which threatened American business or which could have led to independence from American control.

Such a foreign policy leads inevitably to wars when the resistance cannot be quickly or easily crushed. Despite all its efforts the United States has been unable to defeat the NLF. What is going on in Vietnam now is a test of U.S. foreign policy. If the NLF can defeat America's military might, that will give impetus to national liberation movements around the world. American political and economic control will be threatened on a world-side scale. It is for this reason that Nixon continues to wage the war despite his inability to win and despite the domestic turmoil it is causing. ■

## The Other Side

James Coleman

Many anti-war activists say opponents of the war should give political support to the Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam, on the grounds that the PRG is fighting for independence and democracy.

The PRG has the support of nearly everyone in South Vietnam. All independent groups have either compromised with the US-backed dictatorship, or been crushed by it. Since the PRG is the only force fighting for independence in South Vietnam today, everyone who supports self-determination should be for the PRG's military victory over the US and its puppet forces.

But political support means support for the PRG's program. On paper, this program promises something for everyone, like an American election platform. It promises free elections. It promises a voice in management to workers — and fair conditions to capitalists. And so on. Such a program could never be carried out — workers' rights conflict with the rights of capitalists. Even a

government sincerely trying to follow this program would eventually have to come down on one side or the other.

But actually, the PRG's program is for show only. As FDR once said, "An election platform is like a railroad platform — when the train starts, it's left behind." The PRG is headed by the People's Revolutionary Party, a successor to the South Vietnamese branch of the Vietnamese Communist Party. Founded by Ho Chi Minh in 1930, this party has a long and mixed history — including opposition to the demand for immediate independence from France from 1935 to 1947 when this conflicted with Soviet collaboration with France. Once in power in North Vietnam, after 1954, Ho never permitted free elections, free political discussion, free labor organizations, or free anything.

On the basis of this history and the history of a dozen Communist-led national liberation movements since World War II, we expect the PRG, after victory,

to nationalize industry, but to hold rigged elections, throttle the trade unions, forbid political organization outside a "national front" which the PRP will control, and so on. Such a society will no longer be capitalist — but it will not be socialist, for socialism means above all the democratic control of society by mass organizations of workers. Rather, it will be bureaucratic collectivist — ruled by a dictatorship based in the Communist Party organization. This is the PRG's real program.

### Second Revolution

We are not among those who oppose the war mainly because it is being lost. The Vietnamese want the U.S. out — and the right of every people to decide their fate must be respected, even when they support bad leaders. Victory against imperialism is the first step in the freedom of any oppressed nation. But the final victory will require a second revolution, this time against the new bureaucratic state. ■

# Road-- Or Roadblock

Marilyn Danton

As the second half of the pre-election year 1971 begins, we can already hear voices within the two parties mouthing the oft-heard phrases of reform and change. Republican Congressman Paul J. McCloskey of San Mateo, California, is planning to run in the New Hampshire primary as an anti-war candidate (the same New Hampshire primary that gave Eugene McCarthy his big boost four years ago). McGovern, Muskie, Kennedy, and even Humphrey are all vying for anti-war honors in the Democratic Party.

What does it all mean? Are there real differences, or is this an old, old re-run, replayed so many times that all of us should know it by heart now?

What we are seeing is the beginning of another attempt to dupe the people into thinking that real change can be made by staying within the bounds of the two-party system — that the problems of inflation, unemployment, war and racism can be solved by voting for the right Democrat or Republican. Shouldn't we have learned by now? Let's look at the record of the past 10 years.

**1960: The Year of the Kennedys** — a new era; a new man — no more do nothingism. Now there was to be real leadership, and reform — justice for all was the watchword. Unfortunately what we got was advisors to Vietnam, 50,000 of them, the Bay of Pigs, and the Cuban missile crisis.

And while his brother gave lip-service to the rights of blacks, Attorney General Robert Kennedy was appointing racist federal judges in the South, refusing aid to civil rights workers, attacking the Teamsters, and sponsoring the Bracero program in California which kept farm labor at the bottom for many years.

**1964: Lyndon Baines Johnson** won an overwhelming victory against that war monger Barry Goldwater. "I will not send American boys to fight in a foreign war." But less than six months later American boys, fresh from an invasion of the Dominican Republic, were fighting and American pilots were bombing. Those of us who had the nerve to remind him of his promises, were "ner-

vous nellies" at best, and conspirators at worst. On the domestic front we were rewarded with inflation, speed-up on the job, slow-down in social services, and armed suppression of the ghetto revolts.

**1968: That was to be the year of change:** Senator Eugene Mc Carthy stuck his neck out, and behold, LBJ resigned. Now, confident that he could win back the disillusioned anti-war movement (it was the *movement* which really forced LBJ's resignation, not Mc Carthy) to the Democratic Party, he pushed ahead; he was joined, when he was sure it was safe, by Senator Robert Kennedy.

McCarthy was right. The gamble paid off. Those who had begun to take the first hesitant steps toward the formation of an independent party, fell in behind McCarthy's promises that they together could reform the Democratic Party and make it into a vehicle for reform and progressive change. Of course, the Chicago fiasco demonstrated the futility of this move, but it was too late to build that independent movement and again people had to choose the lesser evil — the result was Richard Nixon.

**1971: Have we gone full circle?** It was Nixon who was "do-nothing" Eisenhower's vice-president. What has been his record to date? More of the same: Escalation of the war in Vietnam to the war in Indochina, increasing inflation, rising unemployment, an intensifying anti-labor stance, and a retreat in the fight against racism.

**What will be our response? To follow again the Pied Pipers into the Democratic Party, or to strike out on our own?**

Haven't we learned that the Party of corporation presidents, Southern racists, and war mongers cannot also be the party of workers, blacks and the anti-war movement? Haven't we learned that despite workers' superiority in numbers, it is bosses who wield power with their superiority in wealth? Haven't we learned that as long as we seek change inside the two-party system we will always have to vote the lesser evil, and receive fewer and fewer crumbs for our efforts?

What we need is an independent movement and party that we control, that represents us and only us, that can carry out demands for an end to the war in Indochina, for higher wages, shorter hours, and full employment, for an end to institutional racism and sexism on the job and in the schools and community — a party and movement led by those people whose interests are diametrically opposed to the leaders of both establishment parties: working people, organized and unorganized, white and third world, male and female.

Events are taking place today which could show the way. Blacks in Alabama have begun to organize their own party. In Texas and the Southwest, Chicanos have already formed a new party, La Raza Unida. In California, the Building Trades Council has requested the National Building Trades Council to call for a general strike in response to Nixon's attack on the construction trades.

Teachers across the country are striking for better working conditions and higher wages.

These and other strikes must become political. In San Francisco, for example, it was Democratic Party Mayor Joseph Alioto who appointed the School Board which the AFT and the CTA were recently fighting. Wouldn't it be folly for any San Francisco teacher to support the Democratic Party? These isolated struggles must come together and form the basis for a new party to make their muscle felt.

We must begin now. November 1972 will be too late. We must begin to organize around the demands which directly concern us and which are directly in our interests — like the demands for an end to the war, for full employment and the use of military funds for peace-time occupations, for an end to all discrimination on the basis of race and sex on the job, in the schools, and in housing, for the full right to strike for public employees, and so on.

We must begin to organize on the job, on the shop floor, in the schools, on the campuses, in the community. We must lay the basis for a new party, a party led by working people organized on the local level which will carry the struggle in the streets to the ballot box, a movement which will be able to compete for the allegiance of the people at election time as well as all other times. ■



We stand for:

**\* INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM:** The displacement of decaying capitalism and bureaucratic collectivism ("Communism") by a revolution from below, controlled by the working class and aimed at democratic rule over all social institutions.

**\* WORKERS' POWER** as the solution to America's ever-deepening social crisis: rank-and-file committees in the unions to struggle for democratic power and to fight where and when the union leaders refuse to fight — independent political action by workers' organizations to fight for labor's needs, in opposition to the Democratic and Republican businessmen's parties — toward a workers' party to fight for a workers' government.

**\* The LIBERATION OF ALL OPPRESSED GROUPS:** independent organization of blacks and women to fight discrimination — an end to all racial and sexual oppression — the uniting of separate struggles in a common fight to end human exploitation and oppression.

**\* WORLD-WIDE OPPOSITION TO IMPERIALISM AND EXPLOITATION:** for the self-determination of all peoples — for an end to U.S. domination of the world's peoples in the interests of corporate power — for workers' revolts against the bureaucratic-collectivist (so-called "Communist") regimes — **FOR WORKERS' POWER EAST AND WEST TO BUILD INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.**

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# CALIFORNIA: Working Women's Demonstration Jolts IWC

Janet Stein

The growing movement to gain equality and decent working conditions for women workers in California jolted the stiff atmosphere at the State Building of San Francisco on Tuesday morning, March 30. An alliance of women's liberationists, women trade unionists, farm workers, and their supporters staged an enthusiastic and angry demonstration against the State Industrial Welfare Commission (IWC).

The demonstration was called to demand reopening of the wage orders which set hours, wages, and working conditions for women and minors in California. The group of nearly 100, an impressive turn-out during a working day, carried picket signs protesting the inadequacy of these orders — which have not been updated for over three years — and demanding the extension of these orders to all workers, including men.

## Protest Coalition

The hearing of the Commission was set only after letters of complaint from trade unions and women's groups were received, a protest organized by the Committee to Extend Protective Legislation. This Committee, a coalition of women trade unionists and women's liberationists, originally formed to oppose the Equal Rights Amendment, which would have abolished state protective laws, and to demand a new Equal Rights Amendment which will preserve them.

The Committee sponsored the demonstration with other organizations, notably the Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality (UNION W.A.G.E.), a recently formed organization of women trade unionists in the Bay Area concerned with the problems and needs of women workers.

The demands of these groups included a \$3.00 an hour minimum wage, a 35 hour work week with double pay for overtime, child care paid for by the employers, and the extension of protective laws to all workers.

Many of the demonstrators moved inside the State Building to testify at the hearing. Besides members of the sponsoring organizations, speakers included members of Welfare Rights, United Farm Workers, Office and Professional Employees Union, Amalgam-

ated Clothing Workers, American Federation of Teachers, Laundry and Dry Cleaning Workers, and representatives of the Alameda and Contra Costa County Labor Councils.

Speakers pointed to the fact that the federal Fair Labor Standards Act exempts some of the most impoverished occupations, which therefore are dependent on the state laws which the I.W.C. sets and enforces.

**The oppression of women in society means that they are in a particularly vulnerable position as workers. Over 80 per cent of working women are not unionized and are thus at the mercy of their employers. Because of the myth that women are suited only for the home and family, women are denied higher paying jobs. Clear proof of the unequal position of women is shown by their salaries, on the average one-half to two-thirds that of men.**

Women testifying before the Commission pointed to the sheer impossibility of living on \$1.65 an hour, even before the astronomical cost of child care is added to the Commission's "minimum budget" which is figured out for a single woman without children or dependents such as aging parents. (The commissioners never answered one woman who asked if any of them had ever lived on \$1.65 an hour.)

The speakers also noted the rising unemployment and the need to shorten the work week to create more jobs for both men and women, while raising wages high enough so that every worker can make a decent living.

Farmworkers testified about the inhuman working conditions in the fields and the standard rules of their wage order, which sets \$1.35 as their minimum wage. Other labor representatives protested the total lack of protection given to some 150,000 domestic workers, most of them women, who are not covered either by state or federal law.

Many people raised the issue of employers using protective legislation to discriminate against women. However, rather than proposing that these protective laws be dropped, as one of the employer representatives urged in his testimony, most who testified demanded the extension of protective laws to men, so that they could not be used to dis-



criminate against women and so that all workers could benefit from their protection.

The Commission was denounced not only for the inadequacy of its orders but for its unresponsiveness and ineffectiveness in enforcing them. A violation was cited at a Fibreboard Paper Company plant at which women have been forced to work doubles — two 8-hour shifts in a row — and are allowed only fifteen minute lunch breaks.

The ludicrous excuse for this continuing violation, given by the chief of the Industrial Welfare Division, was that someone working her first shift from 4 p.m. to midnight and a second shift from midnight to 8 a.m. was legally working two different days, 8 hours each day, and therefore not exceeding the 10-hour limit.

The reasons for the Commission's indifferent attitude are obvious — four out of the five members, appointed by the governor, come from management. They include Stanton Elliott, a wholesale food supplier and restaurateur, Theodore Todd, a grower of citrus and avocados, Joyce Valdez, food chain operator, and Edward Curran, a program controller of the North American Rockwell Corporation. The only representative from labor, Mike Elrduy of the California State Council of Cannery and Food Processing Unions (Teamsters), was just appointed in October, 1970.

The final outcome clearly displayed the interests of the Commission. The Commission defeated Elrduy's motion to reopen all 14 wage orders and instead, passed the motion of Joyce Valdez to withhold a decision pending hearings to be held in Los Angeles and Fresno.

This postponement — passed in spite of the overwhelming testimony presented on behalf of opening the wage orders immediately — gives further support to the demand of the demonstrators that a majority of the Commission should come from the ranks of labor and women.

## Working Women's Liberation

This particular aspect of the struggle with the IWC will continue in Los Angeles and Fresno, but it is only one part of a long campaign — a campaign which must be carried on along many different fronts by women's liberation and working women, to end discrimination while maintaining and strengthening protective laws.

Increasing numbers of working women are beginning to rebel against the discrimination which has pushed them to the bottom of the work force and channeled them into "women's jobs." United with each other and with the women's liberation movement, they can begin to forcefully attack this oppressive reality for the over 30 million working women in this country. ■

[Janet Stein is a member of the Committee to Extend Protective Legislation and of the Bay Area International Socialists.]



# The G.I. Movement: All Or Nothing

R.F. Kampfer



Few people were more surprised by the birth of the military resistance movement than the GI's themselves. For generations they had been crushed by military discipline. It had always been so and they expected it always would be. Any officer could break any enlisted man whenever he chose to do so. The Army seemed like some plague or drought sent down by god, to be patiently endured until it was over.

Only a few hard-core radicals thought differently. They knew that other armies and navies had mutinied in the past, and that there was nothing special about U.S. forces to keep them from doing the same, but nobody paid much attention to the radicals.

## AWOL's and Activists

The first signs that the brass was losing its grip on the EM came in the mid-60's. The number of AWOL's rose tremendously, as did the number of deserters to Canada, France and Sweden. This desertion did not seriously inconvenience the Army; in fact it made its job easier by eliminating "troublemakers" from the ranks. However, it was an indication that the New Action Army had problems.

The situation became more serious when some people began to struggle inside the army. Most of these were draftees who had been active in the civil rights and anti-war movements. They tried to transfer the forms and tactics of these movements to the barracks, although with only limited success.

Some of the early activists were ignored by the brass, who apparently hoped that they would go away if nobody paid any attention to them. Others were savagely repressed, with long sentences in the stockade being handed down for leafletting or even just talking against the war.

But the movement continued to grow and spread. In part it was a reflection of civilian movements, but it was also fueled by wide resentment against the deliberately oppressive and dehumanizing aspects of military life.

The difficulties it faced were tremendous. One was the rapid turnover of personnel, as soldiers finished their two

or three year enlistments; this made for a shortage of experienced leadership.

Another problem was the extreme compartmentalization of army life. Resistance leaders had a hard time finding out what was going on in the next post, the next battalion, even the next company or platoon.

The turning point for GI's came in 1967. That year saw the start of the coffee-house movement and the American Servicemen's Union. While the trade-union form of organization is not readily adaptable to the military situation, in concept it is a form of organization both familiar and acceptable to the rank and file, especially the working class EM.

The Union's most valuable weapon was its newspaper, The Bond. Through its articles and letters, militants all over the world found out that they were not isolated or alone. ASU membership, and morale, increased greatly.

The union structure was weakest at the post level. A member at Fort Lewis, for example, could only contact other union members on the same base through union headquarters in New York City. This was a slow process and greatly increased the workload of the overburdened N.Y. staff.

The off-post coffee-houses, established as contact points between GI's and peaceniks, were pressed into service as union locals, enabling activists to coordinate actions between different units. The ASU did best at posts where the membership established active local branches.

Once the initial problems of organ-

ization were overcome, the GI underground press began to appear. A few papers were professionally made and widely disseminated; many more were mimeographed for local consumption. They literally sprang up like mushrooms: *Vietnam GI*, *The Ally*, *FTA*, *Counterpoint*, *Gigline*, *Shakedown*, and dozens more. All were filled with a righteous hate for liferism and everything it stood for.

The appearance of the papers really caused the brass to panic. They held repeated shakedowns, confiscated everything that looked subversive, and dealt out article 15's right and left. But soldiers are very experienced at hiding things, like liquor and witchblades, so most of the propaganda got through.

Newsletters were found posted on company bulletin boards, in between folded sheets from the laundry, in libraries, snack-bars and chapels, inside C-ration boxes, even on the desk of the Fort Jackson post commander.

None of this would have been possible without the help of the hard-working and dedicated civilians who ran the coffee-houses, provided the mimeograph machines, helped raise the money, answered the telephones, distributed the papers, and hired the lawyers. Because of the restrictions of barracks life, much vital work could only be done by civilians, and it was done enthusiastically.

At the same time, there were other civilians who were more interested in using GI's than helping them. The military resistance was getting a hot press, and they wanted a piece of the action. They wanted GI's to march in their

demonstrations, speak from their platforms, endorse their positions and join their organizations. Fortunately most of them dropped the GI movement abruptly as soon as something new attracted their attention.

Lately there have been few of the large-scale incidents that attract public attention, like the case of the Fort Hood 48, the Presidio "mutiny," the Long Binh Jail uprising, or the Fort Jackson 8 court martial. [For details of one notable recent incident, see "The Loewenworth Ten," *Workers' Power*, no. 33.] Still, the struggle to organize goes on at every U.S. military installation in the world, the papers are still fighting to come out and the coffee-houses are still trying to stay open.

## Multiple Movements

There are now several GI movements going on simultaneously:

**The Clerks' Movement.** This struggle is completely military and underground. It is based on the ability of military clerks to make things happen by juggling paperwork, losing files; re-routing orders and falsifying endorsements. A few clerks cooperating in different offices can keep a Pfc. from going to Nam, send a First Sergeant to Nam, or lose a lieutenant's pay check six months in a row. They can also give advance warning of cpmg investigations, arrests or MI informers. The clerks are invaluable allies for any GI activist.

**The CO movement.** The number of conscientious objector actions has risen steadily all through the '60's. The movement started when it became obvious that the army was more concerned with procedure than sincerity. The conchie whose testimonials were typed up in the proper format had a much better chance than the one who ran into the orderly room shouting that he'd met Jesus on the rifle range. The CO movement works with civilian pacifists, lawyers and clergymen, who know just what is needed and how to deliver it.

**The Anti-War Movement.** This differs from the above in that it is not so much philosophically pacifist as opposed to the imperialist war in Viet Nam. Its main function is to increase anti-war sentiment among GI's by spreading the word about what the war is really like and how the Viets really feel about it. The most valuable members of this movement are returnees from Nam; they can be found at Command Information sessions, shooting down pro-war lieutenants who have never been there.

**The Civil Liberties Movement.** Freedom of speech, press and assembly are pre-requisites for accomplishing anything at all in the military. Theoretically these rights are granted to GI's, but always with the reservation: "except when required by military necessity." Military necessity, naturally, happens whenever the CO feels like it.

This battle can't be won in court, even though trials are an educational event. The GI's protection is in numbers and solidarity, not in the UCMJ.





If a company sticks together, it doesn't matter what the law says. This has been proven in Nam, where whole units have gotten away with refusing to go in to battle, but individuals have been court-martialed.

**The Ethnic Liberation Movements.** Most blatant racial discrimination in the military comes from the NCO's and lower officers. The high command has more than enough problems without a racial conflict on its hands. They are usually responsive to complaints about overt racism. Offenders can often be dealt with on the local level with blankets and entrenching tools. Significantly, the ethnic movements have not involved cooperation between draftees and lifers of the same race.

**The Bread and Butter Movement.** This is the struggle for better pay, food, housing and working conditions in the military. Some demands can be fought for on the local level, such as split shifts for KP's, who now may work as much as 20 hours straight. Others, like better wages, can only be settled in Congress.

The military vote is a powerful weapon if it is used. Nobody can deny that reforms are needed in this area. The attempt to create a volunteer army may produce some long-overdue improvements.

**The Revolutionary Movement.** This is the movement that encompasses all the others and goes beyond them. It treats the army as only the worst part of an intolerable system and the military movement as one arm of the struggle to replace that system.

While GI revolutionaries differ in their politics and programs, they are united in their determination to carry on the same struggle as civilians. For them the discharge does not mean the end of the battle, but a new campaign.

## No Half-Way House

In practice, of course, the different GI movements are not independent entities. Both individuals and organizations deal with different issues as the need arises.

The above distinctions are mainly useful for civilians who often tend to identify the entire armed forces movement with one of its aspects. While a civilian activist may be best qualified to help in only one of these struggles, he should know about the others and take them into account.

Although significant concessions can be won, no one movement can achieve its goal unless all the others do also. In the military, even more than in civilian life, there can be no permanent balance of power.

The armed forces are built on the foundation of the unquestioning obedience of subordinates to superiors, whether the order is to get a haircut or wipe out a village. If an exception is made in any case it can be made in every case. Just as EM cannot ever stop fighting to gain and preserve their rights, the career officers must continue to work to destroy them. The side that concedes anything at all to the other is lost.

Even after the establishment of socialism, we may well need an army for a while; but it will be an army with elected leaders, with equal pay and privileges for all, without serfs or aristocrats. Such an army cannot be made out of the one we have now. It cannot be created while the present one still exists. Either the present GI movement will help break the power of the ruling class, or it will itself be broken, and a whole generation may suffer before it rises again.

# Berkeley

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

Few city governments have shown much initiative or creativity in attempting to deal with these problems, in ways which actually serve the needs of the majority of the residents of those cities. But the good or bad intentions of city officials are very rarely the basic causes of the problems which the cities face.

Decent schools, liveable low-cost housing, an efficient transportation system, good recreational facilities, and other improvements of the urban environment all require a level of financing which city governments are unable to generate within the city. In most cases, only regional solutions to the city's problems are practical.

Moreover, city government functions within the framework of state and federal laws which limit the freedom of action of even the best-intentioned city government. Most importantly, the most pressing concerns of the residents of the city — such issues as war, inflation, taxes, unemployment, the destruction of the environment, and on and on — are problems which city government has almost no ability to deal with directly.

This is not to imply that it is meaningless to contend for city offices. On the contrary, running for, and, when possible, winning posts in city government can be very significant. But this is only true when such campaigns are

tied to an ongoing attempt to challenge the practices and policies of all levels of government — and point the way toward building a political movement which, on a statewide and a national basis, can contend for political power with a program to solve the problems we all face.

## DP Stranglehold

Instead, the AC-BC campaign, for all its radical rhetoric, chose to align itself with the Democratic Party. Both the Democratic and Republican parties, which now have a stranglehold on American politics, are so tied to this country's corporate interests that they are incapable of championing the programs needed to deal with the crisis this coun-



Sweeney



Widener

try faces.

Such programs require putting the needs of people — particularly working people — before the needs of the corporations. They require forcing the corporations to bear the financial burden for reconstructing America. They require a foreign policy based on democ-

By refusing to challenge the two (pro-corporation) party system, the AC-BC coalition is reinforcing the very source of the problems that it is promising to try to solve on a local level. Rather than building the basis for an attack, the victory marks a retreat to impotence and worse.

# Football

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16

the city, its team consists of about forty men — the real men.

No other nation's major sport is like this. In Canada, for example, virtually every boy plays hockey. He may play for a dozen different teams by his late teens, some simultaneously — peewee, midget, junior, he may play for his high school, for his town. And most important, whether or not he plays for a team, he will also play hundreds of hours informally. Compared with football, there is very little coaching or "learning" in hockey, despite the fact that hockey demands infinitely more skill than football.

Soccer is the world's major sport. Go into any European or Latin American town and you will see kids playing soccer, in the streets, in vacant lots, in parks and on school fields, throughout the year. The sheer numbers of kids playing is astonishing to an American. Adults play too. I used to teach near a construction site in England, and every lunch hour the construction workers got up a soccer game.

The same widespread nature of the sport must be true in Africa and Asia. I was watching a film about North Vietnam the other night, and saw kids in Hanoi playing soccer around a bomb shelter.

What happens with such a popular

sport (although neither is truly popular, since girls and women are excluded), is that no qualitative distinctions, based on athletics, emerge among males. The pressure is off. Everyone plays, so no one can claim manliness for playing, or lack of manliness for those who don't play.

Moreover, in continuous-action sports like soccer and hockey, the importance of bigness is diminished, so that difference among men doesn't count. In fact, a massive, 300-pound soccer player would be a joke.

There are distinctions between players of course, because some play better than others. But even poor players can understand what makes good players better than them, because they've played too. The distinctions are quantitative. An English crowd watching a soccer star like George Best understand

why Best is a great player, because each can conceive of Best's play in terms of his own.

An American football crowd on the other hand is alien to the game, and almost totally ignorant. The men on the field appear as supermen. Thus football is both removed from American culture, and at the same time feeds back into that culture as the ultimate expression of manliness — a manliness that the crowd can never achieve, and so the crowd remains one of voyeurs, often pitiful.

There is yet a third level on which football is played — the level of the player himself. On this level, football is primarily a game between the player and the coach, who holds the keys to the player's manhood. It is a strange story. I will write about it another time.



# feedback

## Standing Fast

It is somewhat unsettling to come upon a review of a novel about a generation of socialists, in a socialist journal, which treats the book as if it were an "Irving" novel — one more of those titles at which the partygoer nods knowingly. "That one is about Arthur and Marilyn." "This one is about Richard and Elizabeth." "And this is about Frank and Ava."

Anyone at all familiar with the radical movement of the Forties will of course recognize that there is a close similarity between the "New Party" of *Standing Fast* and the Workers Party of history (or, more accurately, a footnote thereof); that can hardly be questioned. But to assert a one-to-one correspondence between the novel's fictional figures and certain leaders and members of the Workers Party is sensationalizing, particularly in the form in which it is presented to your readers, complete with photographs, drawings, and boldface. More than that, it is untrue, and therefore unjust to the book and its author.

Perhaps I should be pleased to read that my "characterization of Shachtman and a half dozen other Workers Party leaders is so expert that there can be no mistake." But there can be a mistake. I have met Max Shachtman no more than two or three times in my life; most of the others who were leading figures

in his group are no more than names to me, people whom I have never met or have perhaps encountered socially during the years since the dissolution of the Workers Party.

To print a Carlo cartoon from *Labor Action* with the accompanying information that "the character Vito Brigante in *Standing Fast* is based in large part upon Carlo" is eye-catching and sensational, on the Frankie-Ava or Richard and Elizabeth level. But it is, quite simply, untrue. I have never met Carlo; I have no idea what his name is or was; I have no knowledge of his life whatsoever; indeed I do not know whether he is alive or dead.

It seems never to have occurred to you — or to your coyly anonymous reviewer, who insists, among all these revelations, on maintaining his own privacy inviolate — that I might be capable of creating a character. Carlo equals Vito, Shachtman equals Dworkin, Coolidge equals Hoover — these are the revelations offered up to your readers in the manner of a New York *Enquirer* expose.

But there is more to it than my pique at your vulgarity. There is more even than the fact that your irresponsibility could invite charges of libel against me. What is most important to me is the utter misconception of the function of the novelist that is revealed both in the review and in your handling of it.

To assert that Norm, in *Standing Fast*, is "more or less the voice of Swados himself," is to assert an untruth, because it is to imply that the others in the book are not. But the voice of Swados himself is in everyone in the novel — in those who stood fast, in those who faltered, in those who sold out. That is

what the writing of novels is all about.

The voice of Swados is in Joe Link too, although that may seem impossible for you or your reviewer to countenance: after all, isn't Joe Link in "real" life "a former member of the Workers Party who is today an active member of the International Socialists?" No, he is not. Joe Link is Joe Link, and *no one else*, which is precisely why all the outrage at my "misrepresentation" of Joe is beside the point.

I know from the painful experience of my earlier novels that one's acquaintances, friends, even relatives can be chagrined or infuriated by what they take to be inaccurate reflections of their thoughts, their feelings, their sex lives. Now it is their politics. Is it really necessary in the year 1971 to insist that Joe Link is a fictional creation? And that anyone who thinks that he "is" Joe and has been "falsified" should either write his own novel or compose his memoirs?



Frankie and Ava

That is why all those long columns of print in which your reviewer attempts to justify his own political past, and to assert that *Standing Fast* should have had an optimistic ending (shades of David Selznick — America as a land of happy endings), may be titillating to some readers, and touching to this reader — but are in the end irrelevant to the book itself.

This pained insistence on the legitimacy of his international outlook and the purity of his political faith leads him to summations which can only be characterized as grotesque: "None of the above gets discussed in Swados' long book," "the above" being precisely that concern for social texture and the public world which has made the book seem formidable, if not actually forbidding, to apolitical readers.

Self-righteous parochialism may function as a kind of social cement for binding sectarians together. It is not, however, an adequate response to a work of fiction — nor does it augur well for a group that would seek to break out of its isolation and gain a hearing from intellectuals (to say nothing of larger elements of the American people).

Harvey Swados

## Rejoinder

The answer of Harvey Swados to my review provokes anger, but put that aside. Swados was to a degree the first to be provoked. It is therefore the responsibility of those connected with W.P. to try to get the discussion back to politics.

Remove from Swados' answer that which was written in self-indulgent anger and it can then be seen that a portion of his criticism is valid. The editors' attempt at the total identification of Vito and Hoover in the caption under the illustrations not only immediately places overemphasis on the identification process, but tends to change the focus of the review.

Moreover and more serious, the handling reveals the probability that the editors viewed *Standing Fast* primarily as a vehicle for advertisement of the I.S.

The review continues the process with the statement that Norm is "more or less the voice of Swados himself." That should not have appeared and neither should the parenthetical remark (added to the body of the review by the editors without indication) attempting a total identification of Joe Link.

But let's cut through. Because the identification process starts within the review, that is where the primary responsibility for it lies. One becomes rusty. *Standing Fast*, like Doris Lessing's *Golden Notebook*, Simone de Beauvoir's *The Mandarins*, Mary McCarthy's *The Company She Keeps*, and Clancy Sigal's *Going Away*, stimulates the left-wing community to the identification process and particularly that section of the left closely connected with the Workers Party. In fact, it will appear to many of the audience on the left that parts of Swados' book openly invite identification.

However, as it has again turned out to be true, there is nothing wrong with the identification game so long as it remains conversational and does not get into print. In conversation it is possible to communicate in so many ways what is opinion and what is conditional when attempting to identify the real people that make up composite fictional characters. To do the same thing in writing is difficult and takes a great amount of space and few publications can make that kind of space available.

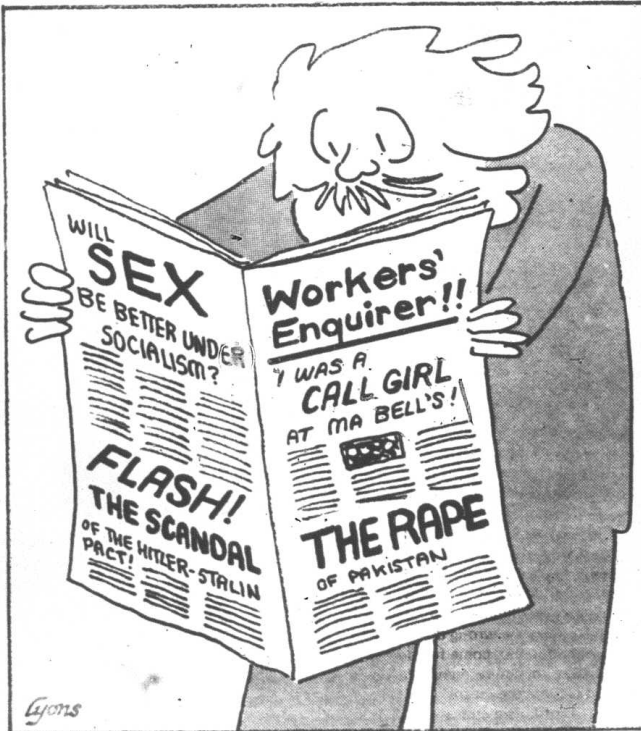
Besides, if the identifications made by the critics are not accurate, leave false impressions or impressions unintended by the author, then he or she feels compelled to set them straight. And who has that kind of time? Silence and resentment on the part of the author is too often the result. I do not believe pinpointed identifications added to the review. General identifications are adequate and they signal readers that further identifications can be made if that is their interest.

Lastly, on this question of the responsibility for the written word, I want to say that I feel it unlikely in the extreme that anyone will sue Swados for libel; the rule that says, "the right to risk libel belongs to the author alone," is a good rule and it was broken.

There was a very personal quality to my review. As can be seen, the use of the personal tone has led to difficulty. If someone objects to the personal it leads one to answer by making statements even more personal. There is no end and political clarity is not served.

At the time that I wrote the review I erred, in this sense, with conscious purpose. Swados has written about an organization to which I belonged and about a process that I observed in that organization until the day that it infamously dissolved. Some stood and some didn't and when those that did viewed themselves as heroes or heroines because they did, they were usually the next to leave.

The strength of Swados' book is that it brings insight into the personal lives of some Third Camp socialists from





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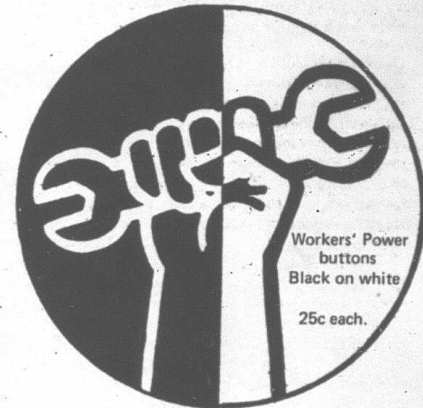
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*The Permanent War Economy [Independent Socialist Clippingbook, no. 7], T. N. Vance - \$2.50*

*Socialist Songbook - 50c*



1939 to 1964. The weakness of the book is that it does not allow the reader to understand clearly the political alternatives that history placed before the socialists of that period. The bulk of my review was devoted to this political criticism.

All but one of the characters in *Standing Fast* leave the movement because of one of the most common and widely-voiced cynicisms of our time within the intellectual and liberal communities, that is, disbelief that those who work in industry are capable of leadership to social progress, and this comes clear. Nowhere does Swados inform readers even briefly of the main ideas that kept the Joe Link's in radical Marxist organizations.

I did not criticize Swados for not believing these ideas. Readers have the right, however, to be critical when a major piece has been left out of the mosaic that is every work of fiction.

The biggest single issue being discussed today by a whole new generation of radicals is precisely the one called to question by *Standing Fast*. The same issue was under constant discussion in the old Workers Party. When members of that party developed doubts about the abilities of the working class, what did the others tell them? That is what is missing and where an opportunity to do many things was missed, among

them, to catch "public interest."

Swados says I would have him end the book optimistically and implies I would ask him to be propagandist rather than novelist. He is wrong. What I object to is that he was so much the voice for his own politics that he could not get into his book a good statement of the politics he does not agree with.

This was not the case in Swados' *On The Line* and that book, full of vivid characterizations, did not have an optimistic ending. It depicted, like no book before or since, the alienation experienced by the people who work in modern industry.

There was nothing optimistic about Andre Malraux's masterpiece *Man's Fate*, at least not in the events or what happened to the people. In this novel of the destruction of the Chinese Revolution of 1927-29 and the corruption of the Russian Revolution that facilitated it, all important points of view reach the reader. The author showed people in defeat, but many of them remain undefeated as humans.

When Malraux wrote *Man's Hope* and it became clear from the book that he had begun to tilt toward Stalinism in the Spanish Revolution, the Workers Party criticized the book and said that the author's newly acquired politics were bad and were affecting his ability as a novelist.

The appearance of Arthur Koestler's novel *Darkness at Noon*, began what was probably the longest discussion of the political novel ever conducted in the American radical movement. The Workers Party greeted the book for political reasons. It was not only well written, it was a confirmation of the truth and a particularly hideous phenomenon of Stalinism.

A few years later, in 1943, Koestler published *Arrival and Departure*. The main character Peter is a former Communist turned tired Trotskyist. Toward the end of the book, Peter has a long argument with a young Nazi intellectual who makes an attack on socialist internationalism and speaks passionately for nationalist solutions - necessary because of the infirmities of humanity. Peter never answers the fascist. We said that this indicated Koestler's future as both politico and novelist was endangered.

His novel about Israel, *Thieves in the Night*, was published in 1946, before Israel became a state. It revealed Koestler to be an uncritical supporter of Zionism. We said that Koestler had taken another step in the wrong direction because he had in fact come full circle: from Stalinism, a movement in which the end justifies the means, rapidly through Trotskyism and to Zionism where means and ends are inconsis-

tent.

Malraux became a Gaullist, Koestler a liberal, and both ceased being leading novelists. Undoubtedly, the causes for this were multiple, but it is probable that one of them was that bad politics forced them to draw selectively rather than freely from their experience, consciousness and creative imagination.

John Single

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# Football And War

Chuck Leinenweber

The most exciting thing that happened to the American ruling class in the last two decades was the Arab-Israeli war, even though all they could do was watch. Here at last was war, real war, with flanking movements, tank columns, captured territories and most of all, arrows.

I don't mean the kind of arrows Indians shoot, I mean the kind of arrows military experts put on maps, thick, boldly-outlined, curving arrows that show how an army moves. Have you ever seen any World War II documentaries? They show a few combat scenes, then switch to the arrows. Everything would be lost without the arrows. The Axis armies are always the black arrows. The Allied armies are always the white arrows, bending through Europe.

When the United States invaded Cambodia, it was a sign that the generals had finally freaked out. Can you imagine what it had been like all those years in Vietnam, running a war without arrows? It was like playing a football game, where the other team won't abide by the rules. It was like going onto the field, and discovering that the other team is scattered all over, sneaking into your huddle, and tackling before the ball is snapped.

Cambodia was back to the arrows. On the news broadcasts, newsmen would talk in deep, knowledgeable voices about things like "The Parrot's Beak," then dust off old World War II arrows and stick them onto a map of Cambodia. They said nostalgically that the arrows stood for "the Allies." The problem was, there were no black arrows coming the other way, so the other side still wasn't playing the game right even though our generals were trying to make them. The same thing happened with Laos.

## Imaginary Battlefield

If war can't be played by the rules anymore, there is still one game that can. That is football. When I played for Indiana, our program for every home game included a message from General Douglas MacArthur, extolling the virtues of football. General MacArthur, you will remember, warned against an Asian land war. He stuck to football, which was wise.

Woody Hayes, the Ohio State coach, was introduced to this New Year's Rose Bowl audience as a great fan of General George Patton. Like General Patton, Woody affects a certain manly flamboyance in his dress, always appearing on

the sidelines in a short-sleeved shirt, no matter how cold the weather. Fortunately, Woody's World War II Ohio State team found its "game plan" sabotaged by Stanford which, being on the West Coast, had fallen under Asian influence.

Coaches always diagram plays with arrows. Football is a game of arrows. This accounts for its current popularity among the ruling class. If you can't win your game on the battlefield, you have to look someplace else.

The next opportunity you have to see Richard Nixon on television, listen carefully to what he says. His rhetoric is football rhetoric. Richard Nixon was a third-rate football player, and every third-rate football player wants to make up for his disastrous career by becoming a coach. The most vicious coaches are always ex-third-rate football players.

Nixon wants to be head coach of the U.S.A. Since he watches a lot of football on TV, he has picked up the glossy language of sportscasters, which he believes is the language of coaches. Nixon says things like "our game plan is still the same," and "we have a good field position."

After he fired Warren Hinckle as Sec-

retary of the Interior, he assured other cabinet members that "this is the team." You will also notice that Nixon's various assistant coaches use football rhetoric, with the exception so far of Henry Kissinger, who is apparently some sort of foreigner.

## American Manhood

That is one level on which football operates, as the imaginary battlefield of the ruling class. There is a second level on which it operates, as the Ideal of American Manhood.

The two levels are connected by shared military and patriotic symbolism — homage to the flag, support for your side, marching bands, and flights of jets overhead, piloted by former prisoners of war. But the most important symbol of all is the football player himself. He is like a Marine, a real man, and in better times of better wars, the two ought to be indistinguishable.

The ordinary fans who pay to watch the Ideal of American Manhood perform, are the most interesting aspect of football. Most fans have never played the game because football is very exclusive. The football system sets up a qualitative

distinction between the player and the non-player. You either play football, or you don't. You either put on the pads and get out there and hit for the coach, or you don't. And not very many people actually put on the pads.

There are several reasons why football is so exclusive. One is that it's so costly to field a team, a lot of people who might play get left out. According to the NCAA, major colleges in 1969 spent over half a million dollars each on football. Of course these are the vastly-inflated figures of capitalist football in its imperialist stage, so to speak. But the fact remains that you can't just trot onto the street and start a game of football.

More important than costs are football's built-in elements of exclusiveness. First of all, football is a big man's sport, a fact that the ideologists of football, especially sportscasters, gloat over endlessly. American men are supposed to be big, in order to whip any twelve gooks single-handed. A "good-sized" man means a big man.

Secondly, football requires that the player sacrifice his body, especially to injuries. Even though athletics are supposed to build up a person's body, no football player is healthy. An athlete truly interested in being healthy will keep away from football.

Recently, football players have begun to sacrifice their bodies to drugs, the most dangerous being steroid drugs that make players even bigger. The ironic thing is, the Ideal of American Manhood who takes these drugs is likely to be missing his testicles, which the drugs can cause to wither away.

Most sports are men's games, through the simple device of excluding women, and thus serve to distinguish men from women. But football takes this fabricated superiority of men over women one step further. By its exclusiveness, football also distinguished between men who play, and men who don't.

Thus, that segment of the great American male public which concerns itself with football is divided into the small number of men who play, and the vast number that simply watch. No matter how large the high school, college, or

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