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No. 14 December 1969

.20 East Coast, .15 West

Nixon on the Rocks



**G.E. Strike
Labor and Nov. 15
Women Inc.**

NOV. 15

The anti-war movement has reached a new stage. As the effects of the war on the nation's economy, and more directly on people's standard of living, reach a crisis, more and more people are moving into active opposition to America's involvement in Vietnam. The Oct. 15 Moratorium, which almost became a national holiday in many areas of the country, is perhaps the most vivid illustration of how deeply the war has affected people's lives, and how great their disgust with this war is.

Today, the anti-war movement not only represents a majority of people in the country, but also has the possibility of becoming a significant political force for social change. Thus, it is precisely at this time that the question of the direction of the movement takes on a crucial importance.

There is currently a struggle going on between the National Moratorium Committee and the New Mobilization-Student Mobilization groups for the leadership of the anti-war movement. Even as these groups pledge united support for the November actions, the struggle is being carried on bureaucratically in back rooms. The crisis for the anti-war movement flows from the fact that neither group has any viable strategy to offer.

The strategy of the National Moratorium Committee is clear. While denouncing all tendencies to the left of themselves (the NMC is made up of an assortment of Kennedy-McCarthy campaign people and Democratic Party office holders), they hope to lead the movement into the graveyard of all previous movements, the Democratic Party.

The Democratic Party is the lynch pin of American society. It politically nullifies the power of blacks, the poor and the working class by locking them into the established channels of American "consensus politics". Consensus politics is the polite academic apology for the fact that no significant differences exist between our two major parties. Both are owned by and consequently defend the interests of American capitalism domestically and internationally - even when the needs of capitalism lead to war against Vietnamese fighting for self-determination or repression against ghetto rebellions at home. The job of Democratic Party liberals is to provide a cosmetic cover-up for the open sores of American capitalism - poverty, racism, exploitation and imperialism.

The mass anti-war movement developed against the opposition of the same Democratic hacks who are now trying to lead it back into safe channels. Ever faithful to Kennedy, Johnson and Humphrey, the architects of America's imperialist war in Vietnam, they denounced every militant action of the radical movement which awakened the country and built the anti-war sentiment behind the movement.

For years these politicians red-baited those who demanded immediate withdrawal, and tried to tie us to bombing pauses and negotiation frauds which proved to be nothing but a smokescreen for each new American escalation. Even today, although in some localities the Moratorium supports unconditional and immediate withdrawal, nationally and in most places it shamefully hedges the question.

Now that the American ruling class is losing the war, and losing badly, some Democratic Party politicians are willing to mumble vague noises about withdrawal. But their opposition is not to the fact that the war is an imperialist war, a war for the domination of another country. What they are opposed to is an unpopular, losing war. They continue to uphold the system and policies which are preparing America's next wars - in Laos, or Thailand, or Latin America.

The Vietnam war is not an accident or a mistake - not from the point of view of American capitalism. It follows from the logic of the American policy of playing world policeman for a dying social order. A logic which leads to American troops being stationed in eighty-two foreign countries to keep the natives down and the profits up for Stan-

dard Oil, Chase Manhattan, United Fruit, General Motors and the rest of the capitalist class: A logic which leads to a permanent war economy to stabilize American capitalism, uniting the state, the military and industry in a \$100 billion annual embrace: A logic which finances this machine by leaving blacks and the poor in misery and taxing the working and lower middle classes to desperation: a logic which turns the schools into drill sergeants and corrupts our universities with war and counter-insurgency research.

The National Moratorium remains silent about all this in order to get the endorsement of University Presidents and liberal politicians, who may be for bringing the troops home from Vietnam, but want them to stay in the eighty-one other countries -- the future Vietnams. It remains silent about them because to raise these issues would mean scuttling their whole strategy. They offer nothing to the movement but a dead end.

The New Mobe, for its part, appears to have no strategy at all, save that of maintaining their leadership of the movement and preserving their existence between marches. Mainly a refurbishment of the Old Mobe, it consists of representatives of various peace-pacifist groups plus an assortment of individuals. Though they are presumably for maintaining the independence of the movement, (under their leadership), they offer no strategy beyond that.

In the continuing tradition of the twice-yearly marches, there has been a deterioration in the call, as the Mobe leaders hunt for the politically lowest common denominator. The "March Against Death" is only the most recent example of this trend and probably represents the end of the hunt, since, after all, everyone is against death.

Though they tack on other demands, such as support for black self-determination, they have no conception of a multi-issue anti-war movement that is capable of linking up with other struggles in society, and thereby becoming a potent force for social change -- a force capable, not only of ending this war, but also of preventing other wars in the future. They therefore relegate the movement to the status of a pressure group upon those politicians in power. This leadership will lead the movement to the same place as it did in 1968, to demoralization, dissolution and ultimately to retreat into the Democratic Party. It too, is a dead end.

We believe that the movement must consciously develop a program and political appeal aimed at the working class.

The October 15 Moratorium illustrates the limits of predominately middle-class protest. Though it is estimated that at least a million people interrupted their lives to take part in the actions, this hardly interrupted the overall functioning of society (save for a few traffic jams). Yet a million workers, participating in a general strike, could bring this society to a standstill, as they did in France in 1968. In addition to ending this particular war, the working class in alliance with other segments of society is capable of reorganizing the whole society, toward a permanent end to both exploitation at home and imperialism abroad.

A single issue anti-war movement cannot effectively appeal to the working class, nor play a catalytic role. To do this it must broaden the issues, and demonstrate the relationship of the war to the immediate concerns of working people. It is not only inflation and the war taxes which are intimately connected with our involvement in Vietnam -- increased speedup, low wages and unemployment are also among its fruits. Nixon has made this very clear.

He plans to fight inflation, not by ending the war or taxing war profits, but by further burdening the working class. Similarly, decent housing, hospitals and schools remain an unfulfilled need as the country's resources continue to go to war production rather than to humanly useful ends.

The main constituency to which the movement must address itself is the working class, not Wall Street executives, Kennedy intellectuals, or liberal politicians. Our slogans and actions must be directed toward working people if we are to achieve success, not only to end the war, but to eliminate the causes of this and all other wars. To fail to do so would doom us all to watching history repeat itself once again.

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NIXON AND THE MORATORIUM:

The Breaking of the President 1969

Arthur Lipow

Richard Nixon, it will be recalled, took office with the promise to "end the war in Vietnam." Many opponents of the war, remembering Eisenhower's role in Korea in 1953, believed that Nixon, unencumbered by Johnson's record of "mistakes" and blunders, would somehow manage to liquidate a disastrous and extraordinarily costly war. Nixon the hard-nosed opportunist would not, the argument was, want to make Johnson's war his war.

"The commitment of over 500,000 American troops to a ground and air war in Vietnam, the struggle to defend one unpopular government after another in South Vietnam, was a great 'aberration' - a departure from the general line of American policy, far from serving American interests, it undermined them, domestically and internationally." So the story went.

But then came the long months from January to September, and, predictably, nothing happened: the war did not end, nor did Nixon change the political basis of the war. Discontent grew and out of it came the rebirth, on a larger and potentially more significant basis, of the anti-war movement, culminating in the October 15th moratorium.

Dismayed by the evidence of popular opposition to the war and by the emergence of strong sentiment for an immediate withdrawal - a position which only a tiny minority within the movement had consistently held from the beginning of the intervention - Nixon struck back.

First came the crude and blustering attack by Agnew, designed to whip up reactionary, jingoistic sentiment. Then came Nixon's long awaited November 3rd speech, Nixon's speech, together with Agnew's babbitt-coated barbs, threw down the gauntlet to their critics by firmly reasserting the basic premises of American cold-war policy: the containment of all social revolution and the maintenance of American political, economic and military power up to the very edges of the Communist world.

American capitalism requires a victory in Vietnam. From its point of view, the war is not and never has been a "mistake," as its liberal critics have insisted. To liquidate the war by the withdrawal of American troops and supplies and support for the corrupt dictatorship of Thieu would be to deal a powerful blow to the entire foreign policy which both parties have consistently supported since the end of World War II.

AMERICAN OUTPOST

What Nixon did in his speech was to make this point clear, just as Johnson had: that from the standpoint of American capitalism Vietnam is an outpost in the American empire, whose loss would have major political and military consequences in South-east Asia (in Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos), in Europe, and, perhaps most important of all, in Latin America - where the forces of social revolution now gathering so powerfully beneath the surface must inevitably break forth in an upsurge that will dwarf the events in Vietnam.

It was certainly not without significance that Nixon, casting about for some important activity to occupy himself with on October 15th, decided to meet with the National Security Council to discuss Latin American policy and, as a followup, delivered a major foreign policy speech, explicitly stating American support for the increasing number of outright military dictatorships that have seized power in Latin America (with direct and indirect American support) in the last five years.

Alongside this political challenge to those of his critics who have not and will not break with the basic premises of cold war policy, Nixon the smooth Wall Street lawyer and his Neanderthal friend, Agnew, posed a second challenge to their opponents and critics: how far were they willing to go to actively challenge his Vietnam policy (now so patently a continuation of Johnson's).

Were they willing to lend themselves to the forces of massive opposition that have led to a significant

radicalization of American youth and begun to provide a link between opposition to American capitalism at home and opposition to American imperialism abroad? Nixon's opponents, especially among the Democrats, had deliberately chosen to remain silent after October 15th: would they now assault Nixon's policy and risk discrediting the political system of which they were a part and whose destruction would cost them just as dearly as it would Nixon? Would they, as one widely quoted columnist for the *Washington Post* warned, risk "breaking the President" in 1969, and with him the entire structure and stability of American politics?

There was no necessity to wait too long for the answer. Not only did the liberals who supported the Moratorium on October 15th (on, it is true, a very mild and "non-devisive" political basis) fail to endorse the November 15th Mobilization, but, also far more indicative of the degree to which they realize the dilemma that the anti-war movement poses to them, they have sought to mute, for the time-being, their criticism of Nixon's policy.

Senator Fulbright, whose Foreign Relations Committee had been scheduled to take up the Vietnam war (along with the collateral questions of Laos and Thailand) announced that the hearings would be postponed until after the 15th and even then would begin with closed-door testimony, thus avoiding the kind of pub-

lic exposure which would feed anti-war sentiment.

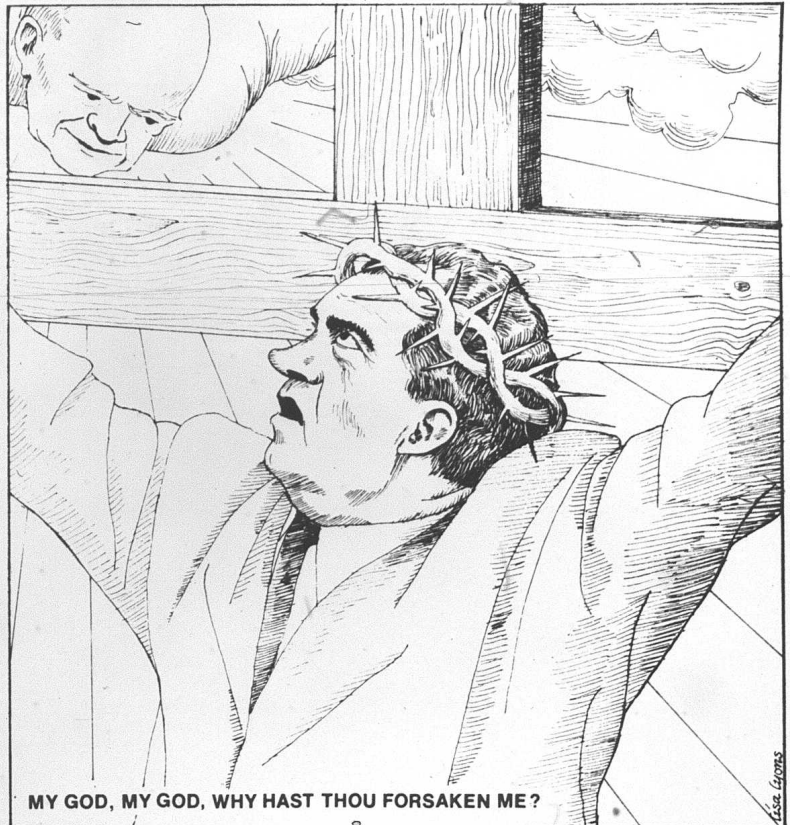
Indeed, Senator Fulbright was entirely candid about his motives: "The committee didn't want to do anything that could be interpreted as antagonistic to or as contributing to any undue inflammation of the public mind. These are very difficult times." (My emphasis) Bringing down Nixon may well bring down the entire structure, Fulbright and his friends are going to be very careful about that.

Yet, avoid rocking the boat as they may, the war will continue. Even if they dream of Nixon somehow silently and gradually eliminating the American presence from South Vietnam, they know in their heart of hearts that Nixon's policy, like Johnson's, is built upon political sand. Immediately following Nixon's speech, facts and figures to prove that the war was being won militarily were given to the press: the "impressive" gains of the ARVN were heralded and the whole charade of "Vietnamization" was begun. But even as these tired-out tricks which Johnson produced with such regularity were being trotted out once more, there were events in South Vietnam which demonstrated - as if it needed to be - how impossibly frail was the main foundation of Johnson-Nixon policy.

"VIETNAMIZATION"

The South Vietnamese government - a corrupt, tyrannical, reactionary military dictatorship without the slightest degree of popular support - began to sag visibly as Nixon spoke of removal of American combat troops (but not of military support, including air support). The pessimism and war-weariness of the South Vietnamese was dramatically revealed by the failure of the majority of hardly representative South Vietnamese legislators to endorse a motion condemning the October 15th Moratorium in the United States!

(Continued on page 17)



MY GOD, MY GOD, WHY HAST THOU FORSAKEN ME?

WEATHERMEN IN CHICAGO: Wargasm Rained Out

Christopher Z. Hobson

October 8-11 was heavy weather in Chicago. A lot of contradictions came down, and . . . whoops, wrong newspaper. SDS National Action was the name of the game, and there were two teams playing (some said three). By the end of the weekend, Weatherman was rained out- some said gone with the wind- and the opposing team, Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) II, was on base after being two strikes down.

From the start, the supposed national anti-war action was mired in faction fighting. The call for the action was presented at the SDS convention in June, in a frantic one-day business session following the "expulsion" of the Progressive Labor Party (see The Split in SDS, by Jack Weinberg and Jack Gerson, a pamphlet reprinted from IS #12). But the group which precipitated the split with PL was itself split.

Members of the RYMI faction, who constituted the national leadership at that time, made the original proposal for the National Action. But when members of the Weatherman faction were shortly thereafter elected to a majority of the national leadership positions, they took over the National Action along with the National Office, and tailored the national action to fit the politics in their position paper, "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows."

CONTRADICTIONS

Weatherman was based on two ideas - the immediacy of revolution, and the primacy of the anti-imperialist struggle. The revolution, Weather people stressed over and over, has already begun; the only choice is a choice of sides. The "primary contradiction" is between the colonies and the United States, and the entire white population of the United States, including working-class whites, is in a reactionary position due to its enjoyment of "white skin privileges."

Only after the liberation of the colonies, Weatherman argued, would the contradiction between workers and bourgeoisie become primary. (They did not face the question of whether the failure to build a revolutionary workers' movement during the anti-imperialist period would lead to workers' choosing sides with the bourgeoisie, to fascism.) Thus, for Weatherman it was reactionary to try to build a mass popular movement. The combination of a morally-based sense of immediacy and an antipathy to a mass orientation led to the argument, stated by one Weather spokesman, that "there is no such thing as adventurism in the mother country."

Actions by Weather people over the summer gave some idea of what the October action would look like. In Detroit, an all-women's "collective" interrupted a final examination at McComb Community College, a mainly working-class school, to "rap" about imperialism and women's oppression. The reaction to them was a hostile one so the Weather people karate-chopped students who tried to walk out. The timing of the action - which by itself guaranteed the response - was later defended as having "heightened the contradictions."

If this action was disturbing, others were merely ludicrous. New Left Notes, the Weatherman-controlled SDS internal organ, found revolutionary significance in running through a Cleveland park on the Fourth of July waving the NLF flag.

As Weatherman veered more and more toward emphasizing violence as an organizing tool, other aspects of their politics deteriorated. Despite the fact that one of the most important developments of the summer months was the organization of all-women's "collectives," the importance of women's oppression as an issue was downgraded. Instead, Weather people began to argue that the key to women's liberation was to form "exemplary women's Communist militias," which were to arouse women politically, not by awakening them to their oppression, but by showing that women could be

as good Communists as men. Despite the revolutionary rhetoric, the approach was precisely that of the liberal who, as evidence of black advance, cites the number of Negro officers in the army.

Organizing for the October action stressed military confrontation. The action would "open a second front" in the war; readers of New Left Notes were told to come to Chicago to "tear up pig city." It is difficult to say whether the organizers actually expected to be able to do this. Politically, they stressed the importance to black people of seeing that white kids were not afraid to fight. Indeed, some black workers with whom IS members had contact were impressed on this score. But Weatherman seemed to delight in emptying this violence of any vestige of political content. New Left Notes promoted the action by printing a full-page photo of a child with the caption, "With a defiant smile, 5-year old Marion Delgado shows how he placed a 25-pound slab of concrete on the tracks and wrecked a passenger train."

Weatherman retained a certain sense of humor. After this photo drew condemnation from RYM II and the Progressive Labor-affiliated SDS in Boston, New Left Notes began listing Marion Delgado as Editor. But their politics were anything but humorous. Behind all this was not simply revolutionary impatience, but an actual hostility to human beings and their needs, poorly concealed under the line about "white skin privileges."

White people in America, Weather people stated, in a parody of ruling class sociology, all had two cars and color television. Therefore "it would be perfectly justified if 160 million white people in America were slaughtered." (This statement, made at a rally, nevertheless was not ill-considered; on another occasion a Weather person offered the same vision to a newly political kid who asked what the movement hoped to achieve.)

In this situation, RYM II was able to step forward as



the exemplar of a commitment to ongoing popular struggles - particularly those of blacks and women- and to building a movement based on human needs.

RYM II had originally conceived of the national action as a series of mass demonstrations carried out by a united front, defined in Maoist terms as a "bloc of four classes." Behind the unreality of transferring to the United States Mao's formulas for a defensive war against external imperialism was the underlying idea of a social and class struggle carried out under the banner of anti-imperialism. As it did for Mao, the focus on imperialism as the enemy allowed RYM II to remain silent about what would come after imperial-ism - what kind of society they wished to build.

RYM II argued for demonstrations in favor of the immediate needs of workers, blacks, and women; in this way, these groups would come to see that the anti-imperialist struggle was in their interest. The elitist implications of a student movement fighting workers' struggles - implications reflected in the slogan "Serve the people," with its conception of a self-contained vanguard to do the serving - were mainly covered by double-talk.

It was argued that the demonstrations would "unleash the energy of the masses," and that the united front was "under proletarian leadership." "This was untrue in any real sense; RYM II stated that the leadership was that of the Black Panther Party, and in general leaned hard on the Panther name in its organizing among students - but in the event, the Panthers merely endorsed demonstrations planned and executed by RYM II.

DICHOTOMY

Moreover, the use of "proletarian" to refer to the Panthers covered up the lack of a class line. (Here, as elsewhere RYM II lagged behind its allies.) Although the "white skin privileges" line was muted, the emphasis remained on the oppression of black and brown workers by "imperialism." Though it was carefully explained that "imperialism is the present stage of capitalism," in practice their whole analysis slid very easily into the "non-white colony versus white mother country" dichotomy. (In fact, this approach as well as the "white skin privileges" conception had first been introduced into SDS by RYM II people.)

This dichotomy encouraged the argument advanced by members of the Bay Area Revolutionary Union, a group affiliated to RYM II, that "citizens of the oppressor nation have no democratic rights." This of course is the same argument which Weatherman carries to a more extreme conclusion. RYM II differed from Weatherman in seeing the need for a mass base; this led to their constantly dressing elitist assumptions in mass rhetoric, giving RYM II "the character of an ideological chameleon.

RYM II's conception of the national action came back to life as Weatherman developed. In the factional battles preceding the 1969 convention, the strength of the SDS National Office had been based on its alliance with the Black Panther Party. In Chicago, this was expanded through a series of new alliances into the "Rainbow Coalition," which included not only SDS and the Panthers, but also the Young Lords Organization and the Young Patriots - organizations of Latin and Appalachian white youth respectively.

But the Weatherman never properly cemented ties with these groups after inheriting the National Office, and as the Weather emphasis on street fighting became clearer, the whole alliance grew shaky. The Patriots were the first to pull out. They had never accepted the "white skin privileges" line and had generally kept a distance from SDS. When plans for the national action were worked out, the Patriots declined to endorse them. The Panthers and Lords reached the same conclusion a few weeks later.

Relations between the Panthers and Weatherman deteriorated steadily, and took a deep plunge when Weather people attempted to provoke a confrontation with police at a mass demonstration called by the Panthers on the first day of the Conspiracy trial. As October 8

approached, the Illinois Panther chairman denounced Weatherman as "anarchistic" and "Custeristic" - explaining that Weatherman followed the tactics used by Gen. Custer in his battle with Sitting Bull.

RYM II was able to renegotiate the alliance its leaders had originally forged, and this became RYM II's greatest strength. Whatever the state of the Black Panther Party nationally, in Chicago it is alive and growing. The Party's main projects have been a Breakfast for Children program, and more recently a campaign to equip a free health clinic to be operated under the control of an elected board. These projects function, not directly to raise revolutionary consciousness, but indirectly to win support and recruits for the Party, which then lays out a revolutionary message in education and at rallies. The content of the message mixes vanguard rhetoric and a firm line against racism and in favor of class alliances. Whatever the ambiguities of this approach, there is no doubt that it has helped to make the Party a growing force.

The Lords' most significant actions have been the occupation of a seminary situated on urban-renewal land, to demand money for low-income housing (the demand was won), and the occupation of a church, to demand space for use as a child care center (this demand, too, was won, with the support of the pastor). The Lords have great popularity in the Latin community. Both Panthers and Lords have been subjected to continual harassment by the police.

In early September after negotiating with the Panthers and Lords, RYM II was able to announce its own "SDS national action," endorsed by the two community organizations and described as the legitimate incarnation of the much-contested resolution of the June convention. RYM II's essentially bureaucratic orientation showed in this stress on legitimacy and in the fact that their demonstration was set for the same date as that of Weatherman. This timing not only limited organizing for the action to a bare minimum, it also multiplied the chances of a confrontation with police.

COUNTER - DEMONSTRATIONS

The stage was thus set for counter-demonstrations. Weatherman announced a series of actions, starting with a Lincoln Park rally in memory of Che Guevara - in fact planned as the occasion of an initial skirmish - and going on to an attack by a women's "militia" on the local Induction Center, and a "jailbreak" at a high school. A rock concert was planned for one evening, but, to emphasize the rejection of "hippy capitalism," this was given the title "Wargasm." The weekend was to finish with a mass march through the downtown business district.

RYM II announced a high school strike and rally at the Board of Education, counting on help from the Panthers, who pulled 2,000 kids out of school for their demonstration at the Conspiracy trial. This was to be followed by a demonstration at an International Harvester plant which is about to be phased out, with most of its workers left high and dry. A demonstration at Cook County Hospital was planned to focus on the oppression of women, both as workers and as patients in poor wards. Finally, there was to be a mass march "through the oppressed communities of the North side."

Superficially, the RYM II and Weatherman plans were similar; schools here, schools there; march here, march there. What differentiated them was not their ostensible targets. The program of the Weatherman actions boiled down to street fighting for the sake of street fighting, for which the focus of the actions merely constituted the occasion. Thus, their political content was close to zero. The RYM II actions, in contrast, had as much and as little content as mass demonstrations usually have.

International Socialists in Chicago gave critical support to the RYM II actions, an approach at variance with that of the I.S. national leadership, which urged abstention from both. The position of the I.S. National Action Committee was based partly on an assessment of the utility of nationwide mobilizations (a factor which did not affect the Chicago group), and heavily on the expectation that the presence of Weatherman would give the police a chance to repress any demonstrators in town (We discounted this possibility, expecting the adoption of liberal tactics by the state).

The I.S. national leadership also criticized RYM II's ideology and the fact that the Harvester and hospital actions did not grow out of ongoing struggles in those locations; we accepted these criticisms while feeling that the actions nevertheless were worthwhile in themselves. Finally, a strong factor in our decision was the desire to show concrete support for the Black Panthers and Young Lords.

The first anti-war action in Chicago that week, however, was neither Weatherman's nor RYM II's. On Oc-

tober 4, the leftist wing of SDS - the Progressive Labor/Workers-Student Alliance group "expelled" in the June split, which insists that it alone is SDS - held a rally and march through the down-town business district to the Federal Building (which Progressive Labor sees as a symbol of state power).

The WSA march was a single-issue demonstration around the demand for immediate withdrawal, with the slogan "No deals" added to express opposition to the role of the US and the NLF in the Paris negotiations. The demonstration was described as pro-working class on the grounds that workers were urged to attend.

After this comic introduction, the curtain rose on the main drama. The Weatherman actions were over almost before they began. Perhaps 300 Weather people attended the first night's rally in Lincoln Park - fewer than even anti-Weather people had expected. Since the police apparently expected a repetition of the curfew-hour confrontations which occurred during the 1968 Democratic Convention, Weatherman was able to gain a momentary advantage by charging out of the park before closing time. This advantage they used to run through the rich streets south of the park, smashing windows on buildings and cars and attacking police. Finally outflanked by the police, they were stopped with over seventy arrests.

DALEY AND THE LIBERALS

The women's action the next day was halted by a solid police line before it had gone a block: more arrests. The "jailbreak" was apparently never attempted. (From a RYM II source we heard that some Weather people had indeed run through a high school, and been chased out by the students, but we could not confirm this.) The "Wargasm" was literally rained out, and that night police raided one of the churches sheltering the Weather people, arresting 43.

The city played it even more coolly than we had expected. The breach between Mayor Daley and the Kennedy liberals, so often visible last year from the April peace demonstrations through the Democratic Convention had been healed by Daley's learning to play the liberal game. Avoiding gas-outs in Lincoln Park and any other overt provocation, Daley granted permits for the "mass march" scheduled for Saturday.

This was all the provocation Weatherman required. Halfway through the march, they veered from the scheduled route and, as police moved in, stampeded on a wave of window-breaking. Cops were attacked, students injured by the dozens; an Assistant Corporation Counsel suffered a broken neck; there were 105 arrests.

The liberals scattered roses all over the Mayor. The injured-Corporation Counsel was made a People's Hero as the liberal *Sun-Times* explained poker-faced that his job was to protect the civil rights of demonstrators. Arthur Goldberg and other liberal notables, including Daniel Walker -- author of the 1968 report on the police riot at the Democratic Convention -- praised Daley and the police.

The *Sun-Times* called for full enforcement of the Illinois riot act, which provides five years' imprisonment for any participant in a riot. Here too, however, Daley proved himself a far-sighted one-man Executive Committee of the ruling class, by apparently rejecting the *Sun-Times* hysteria -- the first few cases have received light sentences, and it looks as though only the identified leaders will bear the full brunt of repression.

By contrast, the greatest danger at RYM II's actions was boredom. Only 200 people were present at the first action -- held not at the Board of Education but at the site of the Conspiracy trial, probably because the Panthers sent only their leaders and did not turn out their high-school following. The Harvester action was equally nondescript. The plant had been leafleted heavily on shop issues and the war, but only in the final two weeks. The demonstration occurred on a grassy site some distance from the plant gates, and few workers attended (however, some 200 workers, about 10 percent of the day shift, had responded to a strike call, shutting down the assembly line and forcing the closing of certain sections dependent on supply from the line).

At the hospital action, held the next day, some 500 people attended despite a cold rain. But most of the newcomers were RYM II people from outside Chicago who had just arrived. At this action, advertised as focusing on women's oppression, the emphasis was in fact on the Panthers' free Health Clinic. The response to speeches on this subject was enthusiastic. But throughout the weekend the women's issue, which had seemed to be one of the clearest points of differentiation between RYM II and Weatherman, was shadowed under the rug.

On this point the Panthers, whose offensive male chauvinism has played havoc with unity on other occasions, were silent. The Young Lords seemed divided on the issue: at the Saturday rally, a Lords woman made an excellent speech on the "dual oppression" of Latin women, but a man spoke about women doing their revolutionary duty by getting dolled up and making it with the enemy to spy out his secrets. In the commotion following this remark, Cha Cha Jimenez, the Lords chairman, smoothed the waters by stating that discussion was needed on the women's issue -- "We're all just off the streets," he said; "we've got a lot to learn."

To ISers who heard him, Cha Cha sounded honest. It was possible that the women's issue had been downgraded partly in deference to the Panthers. But throughout the weekend, RYM II watered down their position on this point. The demand for free legal abortion, key in any program for women, was not mentioned. (This was called a "bourgeois" demand; yet, of course, it is precisely poor women who would benefit most from it.) A RYM II woman, answering the Lord mentioned above, limited herself to arguing that women had a role to play in the revolution -- which the speaker had admitted, though in his own special way. And the "audience response" from the RYM II crowd -- both applause for good speeches on women and hissing for bad -- was weak and scattered.

Despite this, the Saturday action provided RYM II with the base hit they had swung for so often. The weather cleared (no kidding) and a crowd now swollen to over a thousand marched four miles through Black and Latin neighborhoods. Young Lords marched at the front -- and an almost equivalent number of police marched before, behind, and alongside. Despite the sea of blue helmets, there were no arrests -- as there had been none in any of the RYM II actions -- but for the token arrest after the march of Cha Cha and RYM II leader Mike Klonsky, for parading without a permit.

The RYM II crowd marched chanting "Power to the people," "Free Puerto Rico," "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh" -- the last particularly when passing under viaducts, whose walls magnified the sound. Crowds along the streets and watching from windows were overwhelmingly friendly, waving, smiling, and raising clenched fists. No doubt this was due in part to the Young Lords at the front, but good will radiated from the crowd all along the march line. We felt that the march had a significant effect in building solidarity, on the level of sympathy if not of program, between the anti-war movement and the Latin community.

What will come next is difficult to predict. The old SDS is irrevocably shattered -- no National Council meeting was held as scheduled in October; Weatherman, whose only claim to legitimacy is possession of the National Office, is unlikely to call an NC and lose this asset. So far RYM II has picked up many of the pieces, including many of the chapters which had been independent of both PLP and RYM in June. Honest people, anti-ideological people, and undeclared Stalinists have all drifted away from Weatherman and toward RYM II.

CLOUDY FUTURE

But the political future of RYM II nationally is unclear. Certain chapters function much as before, with a fairly high degree of consensus and openness, and a tolerance for alternative tendencies. RYM II in Chicago, on the other hand, takes the organizational form which its ideological leaders advocate -- a series of smallish "collectives," closed to alternative tendencies.

These operate in broader issue-oriented organizations, which in Chicago include a women's organization and a "Labor Solidarity Committee" formed for strike support; they are supposedly open, but I.S. has been excluded from the Labor Solidarity Committee. At the October II rally, RYM II leaders made an effort to stop Progressive Labor from selling literature. (Significantly, on 1y one PLer, a woman, was asked to stop.) In short, RYM II at the leadership level has none of the openness which still seems attractive to a wide variety of SDS people.

Some RYM II groups from outside Chicago, having come to the action on the strength of promises of a gigantic mass demonstration, went away furious. It is doubtful that RYM II can hold on to the pieces it has picked up. At present its main recruiting point is precisely its lack of political definition, yet the past performances of its leadership would lead one to expect an effort at some future time to impose ideological uniformity from the top. If the leaders tighten their grip, most of what remains of SDS will slip through their fingers.

The Kaiser Strike

Robert Battle

One hundred and seventy workers at the Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation can factory in Union City have been on strike for two months. They were recently unionized by the Steelworkers, and are striking for their first contract. Up until now they have been working up to a dollar an hour below the prevailing wage levels in the can industry.

Many strikers have long since seen through Kaiser's phoney "liberal" image. They have found Kaiser to be as bad or worse than most other bosses when it comes to demands by workers for a better life. This feeling is widely spread among other Kaiser employees, especially by those in small non-union or newly unionized plants in Kaiser's diversified industrial empire. For years, men at the nearby Kaiser sand and gravel plant have been burdened by a similar wage disparity, and worked without any retirement or medical protection, despite the fact that the "Kaiser Foundation" operates an extensive string of large modern hospitals in the Bay Area.

The company has tried to make a test case out of the plant, imposing onerous and humiliating conditions which it hopes will set a pattern for its other operations in the booming aluminum can industry. This includes "21 turn" rotational shifts, used in basic steel and aluminum to maintain continuous operations without paying premium pay to workers who are forced to work on the vast majority of weekends (such shifts are also used in the can industry where there are no furnaces and thus no technological justification for this condition.).

"WELFARE CAPITALISM"

Kaiser is a classic example of what is called in today's parlance a "chickenshit company." Henry Kaiser, founder of the family empire, made untold millions in World War II ship-building on cost-plus government contracts. His "humanitarian" reputation as the foremost welfare capitalist on the West Coast dates back to the War. He was famous for bringing southern blacks to California to work in his war industries, in much the same way as Henry Ford had done in the Detroit auto industry.

Contrary to the Kaiser myth, a concern for promoting racial equality was not his primary motivation. Blacks in Kaiser shipyards were shunted into menial and low-paying jobs, as usual; when the war and boom-time conditions were over, most of them were layed off to face twenty years of low-paying, seasonal jobs at best, and permanent unemployment at worst.

Kaiser used huge war profits to expand his holdings. Today, the Oakland-based Kaiser corporations together rank as one of the 50 largest in the nation. According to Fortune's list of the 500 largest corporations in 1969, Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical ranked number 117, Kaiser Industries as number 124, and Kaiser Steel ranked number 225. As Oakland's leading local capitalist, Henry's son and successor, Edgar Kaiser, is the center of Oakland politics and cultural life, as well as of the business community. It was his father who "came to terms" with labor in the 1947 general strike in Oakland, and it is Edgar who today calls the shots when decisions are made about the demands of black community, the student movement in neighboring Berkeley, and today's somewhat weakened though still troublesome labor movement.

SOUTHERN FORMULA

Kaiser's aluminum plants have expanded into almost every part of the country, especially in the South, where the small labor movement and right to work laws have cut "labor costs" to a minimum. One great fear of the men now on strike at Union City is that Kaiser is attempting to keep them tied to a formula devised for Kaiser workers in Texas and Florida.

The workers hope to get a one-year contract which will raise wages to competitive levels and improve working and safety conditions in the plant. But they

face a powerful and arrogant enemy. Even to defeat a "21-turn" plan will be a victory for them.

The initial strike vote was unanimous. Now, with two months rent due and eviction threatening, many strikers are weakening. The best hope for a significant victory lies in broadening their base of support among other rank-and-file trade unionists, especially other Kaiser workers, and, as has already happened, in the student movement. Berkeley students, including members of IS, have joined the picket lines. Every effort should be made to use Kaiser's liberal image against him, by attempting to embarrass and expose him in the public eye.

THE USW

Another problem confronting the strikers is the character of their own International union, the United Steelworkers of America. The International provides a paltry \$10 a week strike support for each member. Many men are now working in other jobs, which are extremely difficult to find for someone on strike. The Steelworkers union is notorious among its own members for bureaucratic methods and failure to support its own strikes, either morally or financially.

Despite an increasingly militant rank-and-file nationwide, the International maintains a conservative, pro-Democratic Party and pro-management position. Steelworkers' standards of living have deteriorated in recent years as a result. In the Kaiser strike, the local

union is prevented from employing more bold and imaginative tactics against the company for fear that the international will cut off already meagre benefits.

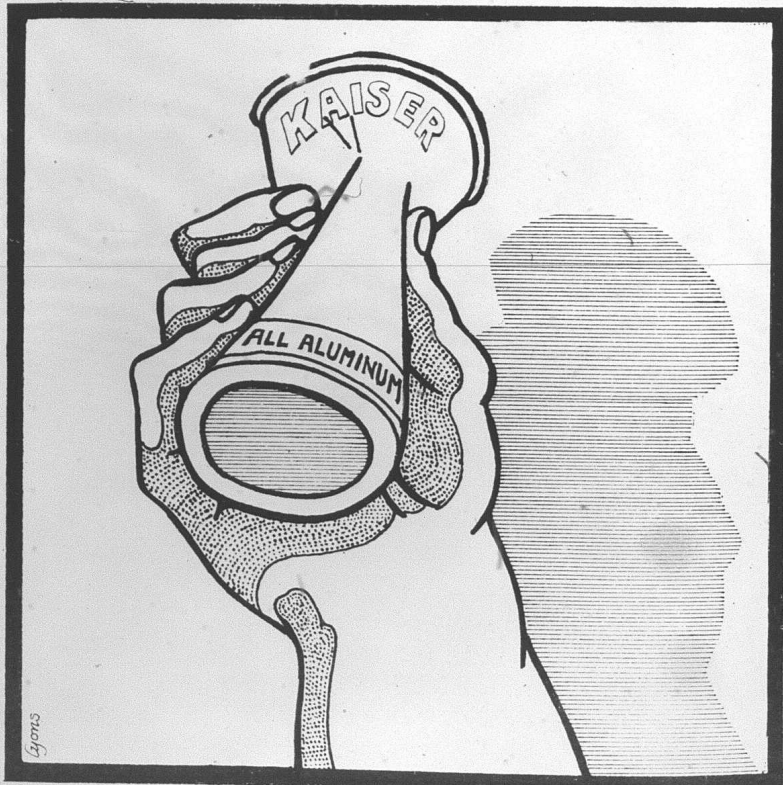
In the future, steel and aluminum workers will have to find ways of defeating not only management but their class collaborationist "leadership" as well. There is no other word for them, whose atrocities could fill a library of books.

This strike is important because it points up something which goes well beyond one isolated situation—the fact that, all over industrial America, working people are beginning to fight back, in many cases for the first time in 20 or 30 years, and in the case of many young people for the first time in their lives. This upsurge of rank-and-file militancy is a response in part to inflation and the decline of real wages, and in part to the technological use of rationalization and automation to attack working conditions.

GROWING DISCONTENT

Moreover, for the first time in many years, certain struggles are taking on a definite anti-establishment and occasionally radical tone—and this reflects the growing discontent of youth, both black and white, that has swept the country in the last few years. The Kaiser workers asked for help from Berkeley students, to help up the picket line and pressure the company with the unforseeable consequences of student intervention.

The openness to, even hungering for, new alternatives that crops up today in struggles like this presents a vital opportunity for the anti-war and radical movements. The Richmond Oil Strike was only the most dramatic and open evidence of this opportunity for the movement to break out of isolation. Movement people should not only support labor struggles, but also make every attempt to involve working people in such actions as the Nov. 14-15 Moratorium. The time to act is now.



Workers' Power



G.E. STRIKE: "If They Want War..."

George Wilson

"If it's war you want, then we'll give you a war," was the response of a strike leader in Schenectady, New York, to police intervention on a picket line on the first day of a nation-wide strike against General Electric. In Lynn, Massachusetts, local police battled pickets to keep open a gate to another GE plant.

These incidents and others like them are not conclusive proof that the U. S. is entering another period of militant labor battles, but an official of the International Union of Electrical Workers in New York indicated that the union bureaucracies are feeling the pressure of a militant and angry rank and file. The official went on to say that he expects a long strike, probably of at least a two-month duration, because of both GE's intransigence and the workers' militancy.

This year is the second time that the electrical workers' unions have used the coalition bargaining method. The first instance, in 1966, was found to be moderately successful, although impeded by inadequate communication between the bargaining commission and the locals of the unions. Before 1966 the unions, each bargaining separately, found their disparateness made it impossible to make gains equal to those made in other industries.

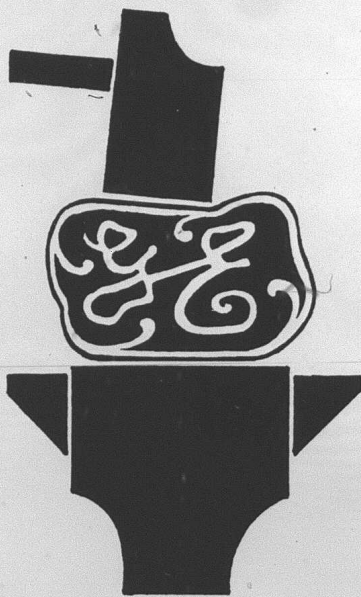
BOULWARISM

GE and other electrical manufacturers have been able to maintain the upper hand in negotiations for the past twenty years with a tactic known as Boulwarism. At the outset of pre-strike negotiations they would make a "fair and firm" offer and refuse to negotiate further. While on a national level they refused to talk, they would go behind the unions' national bargaining committees and negotiate on the local level, playing one union off against another until the unions were forced to settle for more or less the original company offer. Now, in conjunction with attacking Boulwarism through coalition bargaining, the unions are also challenging the legality of the practice. Recently the U. S. Court of Appeals found GE's "take it or leave it" bargaining approach to be contrary to the National Labor Relations Act, in a case stemming from the 1960 negotiations. The unions have hailed this as the "death of Boulwarism", but the ambiguity of the decision will have to be clarified before its impact on collective bargaining can be assessed.

The I. U. E. is the largest union in the coalition, with approximately 88,000 members on strike out of a total of 147,000 striking GE workers. GE has a total of 310,000 employees nationwide. The United Electrical Workers is the other major electrical union involved in the coalition, accounting for 12,000 strikers, and the remaining 50,000 strikers are represented by eleven separate unions, including the United Steel Workers, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the U. A. W., and the Teamsters.

Because the 1966 contract was negotiated without resorting to a strike, this year's strike is the first real

test of the ability of the coalition to hold together under pressure. No one, including union officials, can predict whether the employers will be able to break the coalition by negotiating with individual locals or the smaller unions. An I. U. E. official predicts that



moves in that direction can be expected from GE during the first two weeks of the strike, and that will be the first major test of the coalition's cohesion.

The strikers also face the threat of a Taft-Hartley injunction in the future. Twenty percent of GE's production is for national defense, and Nixon has already stated that, if the strike begins to seriously effect that production, the Federal government would intervene. Since that statement, government spokesmen have vehemently denied any intention of intervention except the offer of federal mediators; however, union officials expect it.

The coalition's bargaining centers around three major demands. First, a wage increase of 35 cents in the

first year, 30 cents in the second, and 25 cents in the last six months, plus a cost of living escalator of one cent for every .4 percent rise in the Consumer Price Index. Secondly, the right to force binding arbitration of grievances; at present matters may be submitted to arbitration only at the instigation of GE. And thirdly, a union shop.

GE has rebuffed with a proposal for 20 to 40 cents now and negotiations for the second and third years, in the hope that a slack in inflation in the next two years will enable them to settle for less later. This offer was made in the negotiations of Oct. 7th, and GE has not moved from that position since.

The electrical industry has consistently been one of the lowest paying of all major industries nationally. Two of the basic reasons for this are the diversity of unions representing electrical workers, and the high percentage of women workers in the field.

It is estimated that, during the 1966 contract, the average electrical worker has suffered an inflationary real wage cut of 27 1/2 cents/hour. Add to that a general increase of 5% in GE's productivity over the past three years, and the average worker finds himself approximately 47 cents/hour/product behind his 1966 earnings. GE's offer of an average increase of 24 cents still leaves the worker shortchanged by 23 cents/hour. The unions' demand of 35 now and then 30 cents itself only leaves the worker shortchanged by 12 cents for the first year and that only given a real wage increase of 18 cents in the second year (that is, only given that there is neither a rise in inflation nor an increase in GE's productivity before 1972).

The GE strike may well have an important impact on the labor movement as a whole in the future. The strike raises the question of whether this new form of coalition bargaining can revitalize the labor movement and open the possibilities of new and important gains for U. S. workers within the traditional labor movement. How much will a resurgence of labor militancy be contained within present union forms, and how much of it will be moved toward more political struggle?

MORE TO COME

The GE strike is just the first of a number of major nationwide conflicts likely in the next year. There is a strike probable in the next few weeks at Westinghouse which looks like a duplicate of the GE struggle. Westinghouse has followed GE's lead in setting a "fair and firm" offer equivalent to GE's, and the same coalition of unions is presenting the same demands.

The IUE is expected to hold a special convention sometime in November for the purpose of developing and expanding its strike fund. In 1968 the IUE passed a strike fund levy of \$1/month/member which to date has netted approximately \$2 million; however, at the rate of \$12 week in strike pay for each striking GE worker, this fund is depleted by almost \$1 million per week. The trade union establishment has pledged its full support to the GE strike, but what that will mean in terms of financial backing is not known, and an insufficient strike fund can be devastating to any strike.

Labor and Nov. 15

The November 15 March in San Francisco is arousing more support from labor than any previous anti-war action. The Vietnam war has finally become a hot issue at labor councils, in union locals, and among members generally. Spark-plugged by the reactivated Labor Assembly for Peace in the area, two central labor councils - Santa Clara (San Jose) and Contra Costa (Richmond) voted to support the action and about a dozen local unions have also voted endorsement to date.

These local unions include the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, several locals of the American Federation of Teachers, Warehouse Local 6 of the International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union and the ILWU Northern California District Council (but not Longshore local 10 which heeded Harry Bridges' urgings not to endorse). Office Workers Local 29 of Oakland, Painters Local 4, and State, County and Municipal Workers 1695.

The officialdom of both the San Francisco and Alameda County (Oakland) Labor Councils were pushed by the rising anti-war sentiment in the ranks of their delegates to introduce resolutions on the issue of the war in Vietnam. Spirited discussions took place at both councils, although moves to get council endorsement of the November 15 action failed.

The rising support in labor's ranks followed increased participation by labor in the October 15 Moratorium. A full-page ad in major newspapers, including the New York Times and the L. A. Times, calling for the Moratorium included the names of Paul Schrade, Western Director for the United Auto Workers, and Cesar Chavez, Director of the United Farm Workers.

Large ads for October 15 were run in many papers by the three unions associated in the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA) signed by Walter Reuther for the United Auto Workers, Fitzsimmons for the Teamsters, and Boyle for the Chemical Workers' Union. It was the first such labor declaration against the war in Vietnam and, while it failed to call for immediate withdrawal, it represented a significant step forward for the unions involved.

At the San Francisco Labor Council, a young delegate introduced a mild resolution supporting the Oct. 15 Moratorium, and it passed overwhelmingly despite strong opposition from the council's leadership. At the next meeting, the same leadership "reaffirmed" this resolution... to defeat a move by the Clothing Workers to support the November 15 March.

Hal Gibbons, Teamster leader in St. Louis, is scheduled to be a major speaker at the Washington March. In San Francisco, Paul Schrade will be co-chairman of the meeting at the Polo Grounds, following the march, and Dolores Huerta, the farm workers' vice-president, will speak.

The San Francisco-Bay Area Labor Assembly for Peace is mobilizing the labor sector of the march. A mailing was sent to some 1000 local unions in northern California, urging them to support the March and enclosing a leaflet specially directed to the impact of the war on trade unionists. For many of the unions it will be their first contact with the anti-war group of trade unionists, formed some two and a half years ago.

The leaflet includes the six national demands: 1) Immediate and total withdrawal from Vietnam; 2) A halt to ABM construction and increasing militarism; 3) An end to racism and poverty in America; 4) Self-determination for Vietnam and black and minority people in America; 5) An end to political repression and freedom for all political prisoners; 6) Constitutional rights for GI's.

The next step for the anti-war movement must be the organization of a national work-stoppage against the war, to begin the mobilization of the massive economic and social power of the working class. There is a built-in limit to the effectiveness of marches, no matter how massive; but an effective national work-stoppage would hit them where it hurts.

Shop stewards at Ford's giant River Rouge plant in Detroit have already begun circulating petitions for such a national moratorium on work to protest the war. When significant numbers of American workers begin to follow their example, the days of the war will be numbered.

Nixon and the War

The Nixon Administration's declaration that it will continue to wage war against Vietnam, even in the face of renewed massive opposition, will quickly plunge the country into a political crisis more acute than that which forced Johnson out of office.

Nixon's contemptuous refusal to end the war is driving millions of Americans toward support, however limited, for the anti-war movement. That movement, whose political character is only beginning to be formed, now has the potential for growing into a powerful force in opposition to the system of exploitation and oppression which produced the war.

Renewed struggle to end the war already has begun at a level more militant and uncompromising than that which characterized the mass peace movement during the Johnson Administration. Popular illusions about political democracy in America have been undermined by the failure of the earlier movement to end the war. The millions of anti-war activists and sympathizers who followed McCarthy into the Democratic Party have learned what happens to "independent," "grass roots" election campaigns within a party owned and controlled by American capitalism.

NO DIFFERENCE

Millions voted for Nixon in the hope, always vague and rather mysterious, that a "new" administration could somehow abandon the disastrous war policy of "another" party. They learned a fundamental fact about American politics: the major difference between our two major parties is their names, not their politics, nor the ruling interests who determine those politics.

A crucial difference is becoming clear between the pre-Nixon peace movement and the anti-war movement of today. The range of social forces which now can be mobilized in the anti-war struggle has grown in a significant direction-- into the working class, hitherto outside the mass movement. Inflation, speed-up, growing unemployment and crushing taxes-- all caused by the war economy-- are bearing down harder and harder on workers.

RESISTANCE

The response of workers to increased exploitation is beginning to be felt throughout the society. Militancy in wage and working condition struggles, the number and duration of strikes, wildcats and slowdowns, all are growing. Workers, forced to absorb the cost in money and blood of the war, are moving towards political action to end it, evidenced by widespread work stoppages on Oct. 15.

The anti-war movement will gain enormous strength if it can win major working class support. It is crucial that the program of the anti-war move-

ment consciously orient toward workers' struggles, so clearly tied to the exploitation and oppression of all who are victims of American capitalism, including the Vietnamese masses.

Unfortunately, the national spokesmen of the Moratorium are opposed to building a movement which can link the struggles of workers, blacks, students and the poor, to the growing movement against the war. Liberal congressmen, university presidents and clergymen are blessing the Moratorium-- and working to ensure that mass discontent is not organized to fight for anything except ending the war. Democratic Party vote-collectors by the hundreds are flocking to proclaim their regret at the "tragic mistake" of the war, in order to channel mass energies into the oldest hustle in American politics: Democratic Party reform politics.

Demanding an end to the war in Vietnam, without linking that demand to the struggles of workers, blacks, students and others against oppression and exploitation, is contradictory and self-defeating. The single-issue politics of the Mobilization Committee can only perpetuate the failure of the peace movement of the last few years.

To end the war in Vietnam, and to prevent future imperialist wars, it is necessary to create a movement which breaks through liberal Democratic Party politics that are wed to the capitalist status quo with its imperialist dynamic. To create such a movement, to overcome the failure of the peace movement, it is necessary to link up with and unite the fragmented struggles going on-- at home-- with blacks and other minorities fighting for liberation, with students fighting repression, and, most importantly, with the working class-- the only social force with the potential power and self interest to revolutionize American society.

To unite these struggles together in a movement capable of ending the war and reshaping America, we propose the following program:

AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST FOREIGN POLICY: Immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam and all other foreign countries; an end to all military and foreign aid to corrupt and reactionary puppets of imperialism; an end to the draft and the abolition of the standing army.

AN END TO REPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION AT HOME: Free all political prisoners - Support for the struggle of black and Third World minorities for liberation - support for the resistance of the working class, black and white, to the speed-up, inflation and taxation which pay for the war - 100% tax on war profits.

NO SUPPORT TO THE DEMOCRATIC WAR PARTY: For a new party of the working class, blacks, oppressed minorities and all who resist exploitation and war.



OCAW Program: Oil Workers' Fall Offensive

G. T. (Jake) Jacobs for OCAW Local 1-5

Representatives of the embattled Oil Workers Union, Local 1-5 -- located in Martinez and representing 3000 members working in the oil and chemical industry, including Shell, Standard, Phillips and others -- have announced the launching of a massive offensive against foreign-owned Royal Dutch Shell Oil.

Like Standard Oil, Shell is a symbol of domination, suppression, oppression and exploitation of millions of people around the world. Further, it is representative of the capitalistic tyrants who make up the power structure in this country and control the lives and destinies of millions of people at home and abroad.

These are the same tyrants who seek to strengthen their strangle hold on the educational processes of this country (as well as their strangle hold on the political and legislative processes) while at the same time maintaining their strangle hold on the worker in order to carry on their program of exploitation of people and resources. These are the same people who now seek to crush the worker and his union at Martinez.

In March of 1969, after 72 days of striking that saw one union member killed -- and after police and sheriff's deputies acting as company strike-breakers helped to break the strike by the use of mace and clubs on striking workers and their wives -- the embattled members of the Oil Workers returned to work at Shell without a contract; there was no point in continuing the strike.

At this point, a world wide boycott was initiated against Shell products by the union. Every effort to force the mighty Shell to bargain in good faith had failed and the union had suffered heavy losses. The boycott apparently had its effect, as reflected by a substantial decline in Shell's sales. Subsequently, in July, an agreement was reached in the refinery at Martinez, as well as the rest of the Shell Oil Company in the State of California and a contract was signed.

However, 80 courageous workers employed at Shell's chemical plant at the same location, vowed that they would never sign an inferior contract leaving themselves at the mercy of the company, and that they would fight a holding action until an opportunity presented itself to mount a new offensive. Six months have passed, in the meantime Royal Dutch Shell has continued its union "busting" tactics, quietly and removed from public attention.

In the Shell refinery, the ink was hardly dry on the agreement before the Shell management began to violate it, apparently in an attempt to force the union into arbitration proceedings, which would deplete its treasury. At the present time, violations of the contract are rampant and are accompanied by a systematic destruction of working conditions, designed to humiliate and demoralize the worker, to rob him of his dignity and self-respect, to the extent that he will give up the fight and abandon his union.

In the Shell Chemical Unit, where there is no contract, the company employs the same devious methods; decent working conditions have been completely destroyed by the same far-reaching forced changes in work rules, job assignments, and other practices initiated by the company to beat the workers into submission.

So far, the battle has been a stand off. The company hammers away at the worker with every means that it can devise; threats of loss of jobs, benefits and further destruction of working conditions are commonplace, every-day occurrences. But the worker fights back; even though the plant is operating, there is very little real production. What is produced is so low in quality that it cannot be sold. In the case of government contracts, many shipments have been rejected and it is threatened that contracts will be cancelled.

This holds true at the Shell Refinery, as well as at the Shell Chemical Plant. It is said that for every employee there is a company guard to follow him around, to keep the worker from sabotaging the plant, and although there is no proof

that the employees are indulging in such activities, the company keeps a "sabotage record" reflecting the losses.

Since the return to work in March, at both the refinery and the chemical plant, it has become obvious that the company intended to localize the battle, and continue its "union busting" tactics quietly and far removed from the public attention it was receiving during the strike and the boycott. It succeeded in this when the agreement was reached at the refinery and the boycott was called off. It is further obvious that the company is willing to absorb the losses suffered by such a battle in order to break the worker and his union, having reduced the expected losses to a minimum.

The workers and the leadership are fully aware that the battle at the present time is being fought on company terms, and that, unless a major offensive is launched incorporating the full fury and force of the union and all of its allies, eventually the company will emerge the victor. As pointed out earlier, the workers realize that since March the fight has been a holding action to be carried on until a more favorable and opportune time to launch such an offensive presented itself. THE TIME IS NOW!

Conditions are as favorable as they will ever be. One of the big problems until now, of course, has been the aftermath of the strike. The union was disorganized and suffered great losses, financially and otherwise; lawsuits and criminal actions against the workers were piled high. The union has, at this point, once again reached a point and has recuperated from the effects of the strike rapidly.

The merger of Local 1-5 and Local 1-561 further strengthened the union. The workers themselves have been able to recuperate from their personal financial losses. These and other conditions enhance the possibility of a successful action, and the recovery of the union as a whole means that it will be able to properly care for the workers at Shell when they strike.

One of the most important developments is the gradual realization of the workers that they cannot win alone. Like the workers at Standard Oil, they are beginning to realize that their problem with Shell is only another manifestation of the great political and social problems of the day, and that they cannot and will not solve these problems alone at a lonely picket line at the Shell gates.

They are learning the hard way that they are not necessarily a part of the establishment, but rather are its tools. In effect, they are beginning to realize that there are really two classes: Those of the "power structure," and those who are used and exploited by it -- whether they are black, white, yellow or brown -- in the interest of those who control that "power structure," that is, the corporate elite and the wealthy.

Yes, conditions are as favorable as they will ever be. This must be a battle against the establishment and the injustices perpetrated by it against workers, students, minority groups, the poor, the disinherited, the suffering and what have you. In other words, if the worker is ever to realize a permanent solution to his problems with the employers, he must become involved in the battle against injustice and social ills on a much broader basis and on a much higher social plain, because until true equality and social justice is achieved for all men, there can be none for the employees of Shell or any other company.

This is why the Shell workers voted to effectuate a fighting program in a meeting on Monday, September 30. The workers adopted the following program:

- A. To prepare for strike
- B. That the strike vote be held on Monday, October 6, 1969. (Strike vote has been held and passed by an 80% majority.)
- C. That every available means be utilized to publicize the cause and gather support.
- D. That the union hold special meetings of the entire membership of the Union, Local

1-5 consisting of 3000 members, for the purpose of appropriating finances and physical support.

- E. That we call upon all of our friends and allies for support, including students, people of the Third World Liberation Front, our friends in the black, yellow and brown communities. In other words, all groups with like thinking and problems and who fight the common enemy.
- F. Utilize the strike and organize demonstrations at the plant and around the country, wherever such actions can be effectively utilized to enforce the demands of the workers.

THE DEMANDS OF THE WORKERS:

1. We demand the reinstatement of Willie Brandon, a black brother, discharged as a result of racist policies and practices of Shell Oil.
2. We demand that a complete investigation of the policies and practices of Shell Oil be conducted, and an end to such racist tendencies be brought about.
3. We demand the same contract and conditions that existed prior to January 1, 1969.

THE DEMANDS OF THE LOCAL UNION:

4. We demand that all government contracts with Shell or any one else practicing racism or denying decent working conditions to workers be cancelled.
5. We demand an end to exploitation of the Vietnam War for profit by Shell and other companies.
6. We demand an end to the huge tax breaks enjoyed by Shell and other oil companies, and tax justice for the people.
7. We demand full consideration of the shorter work week as a means of guaranteeing work for all; this would solve the problem of providing jobs, good jobs, especially in the building trades for black workers. (Three days per week at straight time rate.)
8. We demand full consideration of premium pay for overtime being increased to a point that it would be uneconomical for companies to pay overtime rather than hire additional workers. These are the demands. They represent a two-fold proposition: one short range, dealing with the immediate problems of the Shell workers, the other long range, dealing with broad social problems of the day. When the short range immediate problems are settled, the battle will not be over; we must then continue the struggle over the long range problems.

In full realization of these necessities, the workers will call upon all of our friends and allies to join in this fight; not only will we call upon those from the ranks of labor, but the call will also go out to all other organizations or groups having common objectives and who fight the common enemy regardless of where in the world we may be. We must expand and strengthen the alliances with students, and the alliances with the people of the Third World Liberation Front, which saw its birth in the battles of Richmond (oil strike), San Francisco State and U.C. -- all battles involving the same principles and causes.

The workers are prepared to carry the battle into the streets or wherever they can find an appropriate battleground, in the United States and in every country of the world where Shell has so much as a signboard, in order to bring this symbol of oppression and exploitation to its knees and to serve notice that the "people" and the "power of the people" cannot long be ignored.

In the days of the American Revolution, the battle cry was "taxation without representation is tyranny"; be assured, exploitation, domination and oppression of people and resources of this country and the world are tyranny, and denial of self-determination and control of the lives and destinies of millions of people around the world is also tyranny. For what better cause can we FIGHT than for liberation and freedom from such tyranny?

AWAIT THE CALL TO ACTION

Fremont Panther Caucus

A spectre is haunting GM-- the spectre of revolutionary black unionism. Black and Chicano workers at the General Motors plant in Fremont, California, are organizing around the Black Panther Caucus of United Auto Workers Local 1364.

Over half the workers in the plant are black or Spanish-speaking, and the organization of the Black Panther Caucus has put the GM management extremely on edge-- not simply because of the threat to them posed by the caucus itself, but also because of the very real possibility that white workers at Fremont will follow their example.

During the last two weeks of October, the Panther Caucus organized a campaign against the ratification of a settlement that, as usual, sold out the workers on the question of working conditions (see the Panther Caucus leaflet reprinted on this page).

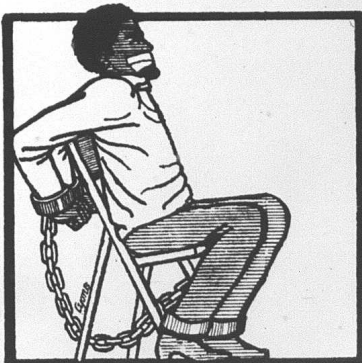
The settlement was eventually ratified, in large part because the membership felt unprepared for a strike at the present time. But the Panther campaign was very favorably received nevertheless. GM was worried enough about the campaign to order its hired guns, the Fremont police, to arrest a leader of the BPC who was handing out leaflets against the settlement.

Like the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit, the organization of militant black workers at Fremont represents an important step forward, both for the struggle for black liberation and for working people generally. The existence of the BPC at Fremont is helping to galvanize the union as a whole, and challenges the conservatized union bureaucrats as well as the company.

As GM and the UAW both know, an alliance between the spreading organizations of black workers and the newly reawakening militancy of the white rank-and-file could build a force capable of shaking even corporate giants like GM to their very foundations.

In recent weeks, a caucus of white militants and radicals is in fact being organized at the Fremont plant, and it is working together with the BPC. The GM Workers' Committee and the BPC cosponsored a rally against the war on November 12, in conjunction with the National Moratorium demonstrations on November 4 and 15.

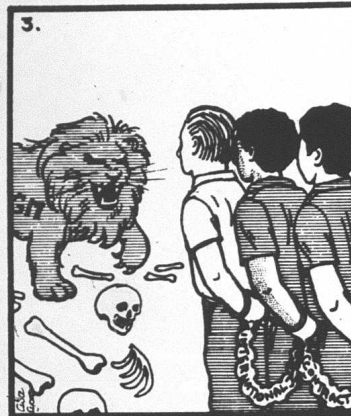
FREE BOBBY SEALE



BLACK PANTHER CAUCUS



UAW LOCAL 1364
FREMONT, CALIFORNIA



COME TO THE UNION MEETING, **VOTE NO** ON RATIFICATION SETTLEMENT SUNDAY OCT. 26 10A.M. UNION HALL

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE STRIKE? Working at GM is no bed of roses. Most of us came in Monday night or Tuesday morning expecting to go over working conditions. Ever since "model change over", work grievances have piled up. When the union started pressing the company to better conditions, the company responded by increasing suspensions.

That's been the story for the past 6 weeks while negotiations have been going on. The work loads and the suspensions are why we voted overwhelmingly to strike. We wanted those conditions corrected. But some strange things have been going on -- the grievances are "settled" but our union hasn't bothered to tell us what the terms on the settlement are.

This raises some questions about the whole way negotiations were carried out.

Why have negotiations been kept secret? What was the bargaining committee asking for in the first place? Why didn't they tell us? What did they settle for?

Committee men were kept under virtual house arrest throughout the final days of negotiation: they were ordered by management to remain in the bargaining room for 24-25 hours at a time without sleep and were not permitted to go out on the floor to confer with rank and file. Management wouldn't allow alternate committeemen to function in their place. Why did management

pull that kind of crap?

Discipline was intensified during the negotiations. Even the chairman was disciplined. Why the disciplining? Was management trying to intimidate us? Or were they trying to provoke a strike?

WHAT THE HELL HAPPENED MONDAY NIGHT? How come the formen told us about the settlement first? Why weren't the committeemen around to explain the settlement?

HAVE WE REALLY WON? How come the line was speeded up as soon as the settlement was announced? That's what we were going to strike against. How come more than 20 guys were disciplined Monday night? We were going to strike against that too. And how come 6 guys from passenger soft trim were suspended on day shift Tuesday?

This settlement means a lot to all of us -- it will determine whether they will steadily worsen between now and contract time. The union is our representative -- it has an obligation to clearly explain things to us from first to last. It shouldn't act in secret but should consult with rank and file on our opinions on negotiations. Let's get it together and make sure that's the way our representatives are functioning.

COME TO THE UNION MEETING SUNDAY 10:00 A.M. AND LET'S TAKE A LONG CLOSE LOOK AT THE "SETTLEMENT".

REPRINT OF A BPC LEAFLET

Agribusiness: DDT, U.S., U.C. ■ Richard Broadhead



This fall the Grape Strike enters its fifth year. While several large wine-grape growers have been forced to sign contracts which have brought real improvements in working conditions and fringe benefits - health care and vacation pay - California's 200,000 seasonal farm workers and the 1,000,000 seasonal farm workers in the U.S. remain one of the most severely exploited sections of the American work force.

Wages are less than half those of unskilled workers in other industries. For migrant farm-workers, disease, infant and maternal mortality and on-job accident rates are 100-300% higher than national rates. These statistics and the deploring working and living conditions they reflect have failed to persuade any sections of those who run this country, including Liberal Democrats, to launch a serious fight to change this situation. It is of course the farm workers themselves who have started and are carrying on the long struggle to build a better life.

U.S. STRIKE BREAKER

One of the most significant developments in the farm-workers struggle is the active intervention of the U.S. government as strike breaker. Begun under the Johnson administration - thus exposing Hubert Humphrey's paper support of the boycott as a cynical ploy - and continued by Nixon, Federal grape purchases have increased by 350%. Why? "The boys in Vietnam developed a sudden desire for grapes."

Washington has been forced to act openly as the agent of agribusiness because of the significant dent the boycott has put in grape consumption. The boycott has been most successful in the East and Midwest. With organized labor playing an active and leading role, intense pressure has been upon the nation's two largest food chains - A & P and Safeway - and on local governments.

In many large cities - New York, Chicago, Detroit, Boston, Cleveland, Seattle, Philadelphia and others - grape consumption has been cut by 40-60%. Intensified boycott activities in the West - focused on Safeway - have resulted in 25-35% cuts in grape sales in Los Angeles and San Francisco.

SAFEWAY

The giant Safeway corporation - 2,200 stores in 47 countries grossing between \$3 and \$4 billion annually - is now the major outlet for domestic grapes. While boycott activity and the role of organized labor has not been as intense in the West as it has been elsewhere, there is an additional reason for Safeway's active opposition to the farm workers' struggle. Men on Safeway's board of directors also help run agribusiness corporations which control over one million acres of agricultural

land in California. These same corporations are among the nation's largest welfare recipients, receiving nearly \$7,000,000 yearly - for not planting part of their land.

In April of this year, DDT was identified as a cause of cancer in laboratory tests on animals. While it has long been known that various pesticides had harmful effects both on workers in the fields and on consumers, this is the first time clear evidence has been developed linking any of these poisons with a specific disease. Since this development, the United Farm workers Organizing Committee has stated repeatedly that it will not sign a contract which does not include elimination or strict control of many pesticides, including DDT, DDE, aldrin, parathion and others. Such provisions now exist in two contracts with wine-grape growers.

DDT, ALDRIN

The pesticides which are serious health hazards fall into two categories. Chlorinated hydrocarbons such as DDT and aldrin are long life or hard pesticides. They do not break down to become harmless for many years. As a consequence they can accumulate in significant amounts even though only traces are ingested at any one time.

In humans, DDT deposits in fatty tissues. Much food now being sold contains dangerous quantities of residues of DDT, aldrin and other chemicals. Recently, Safeway was forced to destroy a warehouse of grapes from the Bianco Corporation which contained 180 times the allowable residue of aldrin. This incident occurred after a Bianco spokesman testified before a Senate committee that Bianco had not used aldrin on its grapes for six years.

MUERTE ANDANDO

The other dangerous type of pesticide still in common use is the organo-phosphate. Chemically similar to nerve gases, these sprays kill all insects, birds and other small animals in fields where they are used. Supposedly these chemicals lose their effectiveness in a matter of two or three weeks. However there are numerous cases of workers being sent into "safe" fields becoming ill and being unable to work for weeks. Muerte andando catches all in its path.

The Federal government has done little to protect farm workers and consumers from poisonous pesticides. Under both Democrats and Republicans, the Food and Drug Administration has not only been unscientific and haphazard in setting residue tolerance levels (the average American eats half a pound of grapes a year, so how much DDT, aldrin, etc. can be allowed on each half-pound of grapes?) but has not even enforced their own standards in this area.

Even when pesticides are proven dangerous to work-

ers and consumers (it is illegal to use DDT in Michigan) the Department of Agriculture refuses to ban them. Clearly, Washington sees its first responsibility not to the million farm workers or even the public in general, but to the handful of corporations which make up agribusiness.

SUPER-SHELL

The raising of the pesticide issue has activated another powerful segment of American capitalism to oppose the organizing efforts of the UFWOC. The oil and chemical industry, particularly Shell Oil Co., does a booming business in pesticides. Shell alone has some 500 salesmen in this market. Any large-scale outbacks or even changes in methods of pest control could cut into an important section of Shell's business.

In recent testimony before the Senate Sub-committee on Farm Labor, a Shell spokesman urged no tightening of restrictions on pesticides until more conclusive evidence of their harmful effects could be produced. After all, as far as we know, no one has died from DDT - yet.

Another arm of the government which is used extensively for the benefit of agribusiness is the University of California. Much of the basic research required by agriculture - plant development and machines for automating agriculture (both of which increase the productivity and profits of agribusiness) - is paid for by the public.

GIANNINI

In the mid-1960's during the struggle to end the bracero program (the importation of Mexican nationals to depress wages in the industry - \$1.12 per hour was the average wage in 1964 in California) the top men in U.C.'s Giannini Foundation were the leading "experts" arguing for the continuation of this policy by Washington. (See the I.S. pamphlet, *The Dirt on California*, by Anne and Hal Draper, for the full story of U.C.'s role in California agriculture.)

The adversaries of the farm workers are numerous and formidable. The fact that the farm workers have been able to launch and sustain their struggle against these adversaries not only stands as a monument to the farm workers but is also an important part of the widening struggle of American workers against this country's corporate rulers. It is a struggle which exposes in sharp relief the relationships between big business, the state, and the University of California.

"Viva La Revolucion" 17" X 23" POSTERS OF VILLA AND ZAPATA

heroes of the Mexican Revolution, sold as a fund-raising project by the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.



Emiliano Zapata
(black on red)



Pancho Villa
(black on brown)

Send \$1.50 for each poster (or \$5 for 5 posters) plus 25¢ for postage and handling to: E.L. MALCRIADO, % UFWOC, P. O. Box #130s, Delano, Ca 93215

SUPPORT THE FARMWORKERS

Don't Buy Grapes!

GERMANY: New Labor Militancy

Volkhart Mosler

September first 1969 will be remembered as the day when the German working class movement awoke from a long winter sleep.

The strike movement started by 20,000 workers of Hoesch steel works in Dortmund moved quickly to other areas and other industries. Steel and metal workers in the Saar area, in Bremen, Osnabruck and several other towns, coal miners of six pits in and around Dortmund and six pits of the Saar followed. On September 77, 100,000 workers were out on strike.

The press has partly stopped reporting strike news. The risk that such news might lead to an even bigger and more militant strike movement was too great.

With the general elections just around the corner, everyone -- employers, party officials, trade union bureaucrats -- did their best to stop that menacing new movement. Nevertheless, reports indicate that there must be fierce discussions, short protest strikes and meetings in many factories up and down the country.

Reports by the right-wing press that the strikes were planned in detail by the newly founded German Communist Party (DKP) are pure lies. This was a spontaneous movement, started by no one else but rank and file workers who were fed up with getting nothing out of a booming economy but overtime work and speed-up.

Since the economic crisis started in autumn 1966, their real wages have been stagnating. The incomes policy of the Social Democratic Minister of Economics, Schiller, had done its best to restrain the trade unions from fighting for the rights of their members.

The case of the steel workers is a good example. During the crisis of 1967/68, their real wages fell by 11%. In mid-1968, their union negotiated, under heavy pressure from Schiller's Concerted Action Policy, a union agreement which was to last for 18 months until November 1969. It provided an immediate 5 per cent wage rise and another 2 per cent from March 1969 onwards, i.e., 3 per cent a year.

PROFITS VS. WAGES

The agreement coincided with the start of a new steel boom. Steel workers were well aware, by the doubling of steel prices, that profits were booming. At the same time, their moderate wage raises were eaten up by the accelerating rise of the cost of living.

The Hoesch steel workers knew that profits were high, that their union would not act for two decisive months, and that the opportunity to press for higher wages just before the election was very favourable. Their demand was "six-pence an hour more now" on top of any wage rise negotiated by the union. Within three hours they could be seen parading through the streets of Dortmund celebrating their easy success.

Their demand was quickly taken up by other steel workers and by coal miners, transport workers and beer brewers.

Like everyone else in Germany, the trade union officials were taken by surprise by the wave of unofficial strikes, although they should have known. Opposition to their wage policy had been coming to the surface for several months before, especially in the Metal Workers Union.

There was open dissent in August on the executive committee of the union when a meagre 8 per cent wage rise was agreed on for one year for two million metal workers.

There were also plenty of warnings forwarded by local union branches to the national executive about growing unrest within the steel factories. But the union leaders were thinking, not in terms of their members' interests, but of the election campaign of the social democrats (SPD).

But when the strikes started the union, for the same reason, was quick to put itself ahead of the movement

and so get it under control. By mutual agreement, the union and the Employers' Federation decided to bring forward this year's wage talks, due at the beginning of November. Within a couple of days, the new agreement was signed: 11.2 per cent wage rise and 3-4 days more holiday.

The Miners' Union reacted even quicker. When the first strikes started, the union bureaucracy called the workers "irresponsible elements" who were acting against the recognized union procedures. The miners asked for a 1000 marks minimum wage, a demand which was labelled "utopian" by union leader Arendt, but the agreement was signed even more speedily than in the steel industry.

Within a few days what had started as an unofficial strike movement became an official wage movement. One of the most holy principles of German industrial law, the binding power of wage agreements for an agreed period, broke down.

Frightened union officials and equally frightened employers of several industries re-negotiated wages long before old agreements expired. The Public and Transport Workers' Union went as far as to make some strikes official.

The reaction of the trade unions was by no means unified. In some of the first steel works to strike (Hoesch, Mannesmann and Reinstahl) shop stewards and even works councils played an important role on the side of the strikers.

Local branches of the steel union, IG Metall, were "neutral" between the strikers and union headquarters. But overall, the union apparatus reacted sharply against the unofficial strikes.

This was even more the case with the Miners' Union, which is probably the most bureaucratic of the 17 industrial unions in Germany. The whole apparatus of the union came out solidly against the strikers.

There was a sharp clash between the strikers and the union bureaucracy. That is why the 10,000 workers of the six coal mines around Dortmund elected a strike committee which tried to spread the strikes

to other mines.

They failed partly because of bad communication and organization of the strike committee itself -- it was, after all, the first strike of its kind for more than forty years -- and partly because of the quick reaction of the union bureaucracy. At first, the strikers refused the new official union agreement, but after a few days the strike collapsed without leading to any gains other than those made by the union.

The Miners' Union even made sure that the strikers did not get paid for the days lost. In the miners strikes in the Ruhr and Saar strong anti-union feelings were expressed. This happened much less often in the steel industry and the transport and public workers strikes.

One of the best organized sections of workers were the dockers of Kiel where a strike committee reported every morning to a general assembly of all dockers for over a week.

Politicians of both major parties reacted cautiously when their election campaigning was disturbed by the strike news. CDU and SPD speakers took a stand against "illegal action" of this sort.

Rather than speaking for or against the demands and actions of the strikers, they tried to blame each other for being responsible indirectly for the strikes.

There are signs that the Communist Party helped to spread information from factory to factory. In some cases, left-wing Social Democrats and Communists played a leading part on strike committees or shop stewards' committees which acted as strike committees.

The great majority of the strikers - although conscious about the highly political timing of their strikes - reacted sharply against any attempts by Left-wing groups and organisations to radicalise and politicise the strikes from outside.

But in spite of its limitations, the strike movement marks a giant step forward for the once powerful German labour movement that was ruthlessly crushed by the Nazis in the 1930's.

Reprinted from Socialist Worker, an English International Socialist weekly, October 2, 1969.

Volkhart Mosler is a member of the Frankfurt International Socialists.



Strike Wave in Italy

Andrea Savonuzzi

Italy has seldom been out of the news in the last few months. Agricultural labourers were killed during a strike in Avola, the insurrection of Battipaglia left behind a trail of dead and burnt-out public buildings, and there have been riots in Turin, Caserta and prisons throughout the country.

Student unrest and innumerable scandals involving public officers have all found their way into the headlines, coupled with concern about Italian democracy.

It is as if the French experience of May 1968 had taken place again in slow motion in Italy. The country is plunged into a deepening political and social crisis and the working class shows a militancy and determination only comparable to the situation 50 years ago when Italy was on the brink of revolution.

There are many causes. It has proved impossible to solve the traditional problem of underdevelopment in the south. A few years ago it was confidently predicted that government efforts to channel industry and resources into the south were well on the way to success.

No one would show such optimism today. The south is as poor as ever, contributing only 17% of the national wealth. Mass emigration is still the only way of escaping a life that for the majority of people in the countryside means starvation, disease and a single-room house which the whole family often shares with the livestock.

Industry that has been started there in the last few years has created few jobs and is riddled by constant crisis. The number of industrial jobs is declining and many poor farmers who came to the towns find themselves out of work. The Battipaglia insurrection started as a protest against a threatened wave of redundancies.

The gulf between north and south is expanding. Last year wages nationally increased by 5.7% but in the south they have slightly declined.

In the north, the wild growth of the major industrial centres has created acute housing shortages, ghettos for immigrants, slum landlordism, overcrowding in the schools and hospitals.

A large proportion of the labour force has just been uprooted from the countryside and social and family

patterns have been destroyed.

Conditions in the factories are harsh. In the Fiat car plants, workers have only recently won the right to a canteen and, consequently, to hot lunches. They are still not allowed to leave the production line to go to the lavatory.

In the last 12-14 months the pace of production on some assembly lines has increased by as much as 20 to 25%. The result of these conditions is a daily absenteeism rate of 8 to 9% and the yearly turnover of first year employees who cannot stand the pace is as high as 40%.

These problems are likely to get worse. In an attempt to remain competitive, Italian industry is concentrating into fewer and fewer units. Three concerns (Iat, Montedison and the government owned IRI) produce more than 50% of all manufactured goods. This is a higher rate than anywhere else in the world.

The rate of technological change has had to be very high to increase productivity. More and more of the smaller firms will be forced out of business, and in the rest machines will increasingly replace men.

A confidential section of a government report allegedly recommends that emigration should be organized again on a large scale as the northern regions cannot ensure employment for southerners as they have in the past.

An institute of economic research predicts that, if present trends are maintained, there may be 10% unemployment by 1980 in Lombardy, at the moment the most prosperous of Italian regions, with full employment.

COMITAI DI BASE

The seriousness of the economic and social situation has resulted in a resurgence of workers' militancy. The extreme Left, once largely made up of students and middle class, is now making real contacts with more advanced workers.

Months of agitational work at the factory gates has born fruit. In most of the larger industrial factories of the north, comitati di base (rank and file committees) have been formed.

The committees are informal, democratic bodies set up by workers in conjunction with students and political elements to counter the bureaucratic apparatus of the three main unions - Communist, Christian Democrat and social democrat. Outside political contacts, as well as workers in any union or none at all, can take part in the committees' work.

Two long strikes, at Montedison in Porto Marghera (Venice) and at Pirelli, Milan, were led by the committees and the movement soon spread. Most industrial conflicts today take place because of the activity of the committees.

The official trade unions have tended on the whole to act as a brake on the movement from below. For example, on July 3, after 43 days of department stoppages that had brought the whole of Fiat to a virtual stop, the unions called for a 24-hour strike in Turin in protest over rising rents. They hoped to take some of the steam out of the strikes with the rents issue.

The unions called for a 24-hour general strike after the deaths in Battipaglia, but they reduced it to a two-hour stoppage in Fiat where the situation was "delicate."

But their attempts to restrain the rank and file have often backfired. In Turin the first 24-hour strike developed into a full-scale riot. The second strike gave the workers the chance to have the first mass political meeting since those held during the general strikes called by the resistance against the war, the fascist

regime and the German occupation.

Today the unions are leading the wave of strikes, but only because they have taken up on all the demands of the rank and file. Even in normal strikes about pay it is the militant workers who give the lead outside the union organization while the officials merely carry on negotiations.

And the strikes are falling increasingly outside of the "normal" domain of union demands. Now the battle is for such demands as the right to general political meetings inside the factory and the recognition of the power of the comitati.

These demands directly challenge the right of the employers to both own and run the factories.

The spectre of revolution has led to a deep split in the ruling class. The most backward business and industrial sectors are openly calling for a strong government and all-out repression against the workers.

Their strategy is difficult to put into operation. The Left is too strong for an out-right military coup and anti-fascist feelings are too widespread even among the middle class for a sharp turn to the right.

But small changes that do not actually smash the working class organizations are unlikely to improve things. On the contrary, it would lead to a sharpening of the conflict, with all the consequences that this might mean for Italian capitalism.

The more dynamic and, for the moment less economically threatened, members of the ruling class call for a more progressive response. Their strategy is to give a sop to the masses in the shape of marginal reforms while integrating their organizations into the system.

The collaboration of the Communist Party is necessary for both objectives to succeed. The last few governments have been unable to carry through a consistent programme for reform since the right wing of both Christian Democrat and Socialist parties are by no means committed to it.

The entry of the CP into the government would ensure the strengthening of the reformist wings of the other two parties. The CP could then be trusted to police the masses that support it.

Drawing the CP into the government is the last card that the capitalists have to play. And the whole strategy of the party has been directed towards joining a coalition. It is now only a matter of time.

The chief exponent of the CP right wing, Amendola, has put the case for entering the government in the party press. On the other hand, the Left wing of the party, found guilty of opposing this perspective and publishing their views, have been summoned to appear before a disciplinary committee.

LAST CARD

But if this is the last card of the ruling class, it contains many dangers for them. The CP has to tread a dangerous path performing difficult balancing acts.

Through its trade union, it must show sufficient militancy to retain the loyalty of the masses. But at the same time, the militancy must be held back in case it worries the capitalists.

At one and the same time, the CP must be both shop steward and foreman of the working class. And when you serve two opposing masters, there is a strong chance that you will displease both.

If the CP joins the government, it may give the bosses a new lease of life but it could also lay the foundation for a real turn to the Left among the masses.

The task of the Italian Left is to exploit the contradiction of the situation and increase the power of the comitati di base. But this cannot be done without a national centralized revolutionary organisation. Once before, the shortcomings of their leaders led to the defeat of the working class and to 25 years of fascist dictatorship. It is up to the Left to make sure that the same mistakes are not repeated in the next few years.

Reprinted from Socialist Worker, an English International Socialist weekly, October 16, 1969.



Police brutally attack a striker in Turin

WOMEN, INC.

Susan Strashun

On Wednesday, October 22, women workers employed by the Fiberboard Company at their Stockton and Antioch plants held demonstrations at these two plants and at the company's main offices in San Francisco to protest sex discrimination on the job.

In 1966, these women, many of whom are the sole supporters of their families, formed a woman's caucus within their union, (The Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers), called Women's Inc. They have been organizing around the issue of job discrimination, which has recently become a direct threat to their livelihood.

The AWPPW has around 22,000 members. Before 1964, most Pacific Coast pulp and paper workers were represented by two large international unions, the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers, and the United Papermakers and Paperworkers. In 1964, workers in 49 mills on the West Coast rebelled against these unions to form the AWPPW. The AWPPW is a rebel union; the members of Women's Inc. consider themselves the Rebels within the rebels.

Most of the women in WI have never been active in the local union, a typical phenomenon among women workers who are taught to think of themselves as women and not as workers. They were ignorant of union contracts as well as of any legal rights they might have. Yet when pushed against the wall, they found their own means of expression, and despite harassment from both the company and the union, they have continued to fight.

When WI was first formed, there were only about ten women from Crown Zellerbach and Fiberboard who participated. They now number around 50. The main issue they have been concerned with is job security. Both companies were kicking women out of their jobs, or preventing them from receiving promotions, by changing job descriptions, so that it would be illegal -- under the state protective laws concerning women -- for women to hold these jobs.

DESCRIPTIONS

One of the women who made a bid for a desk job usually held by a man found she could not qualify for it since the job description was abruptly changed, putting the employee into the plant for several hours a day lifting heavy things. Any number of similar cases could be cited.

At the beginning of their struggle the women went to EEOC (Equal Employment Opportunities Commission) to protest. The EEOC had just recently been called in against the Crown Zellerbach company in their Bogalusa, Louisiana plant, because of discrimination against blacks. Crown Zellerbach was therefore rather sensitive on the subject of discrimination and complied with the EEOC, although as Marjorie Hart, Vice-President of Women's Inc. says, "They sometimes forget and have to be reminded."

Fiberboard, on the other hand, has refused to do anything to remedy the situation. The only concession the EEOC was able to get was that on equalization of the base pay rate for men and women. Base pay for women at Fiberboard used to be around 30 cents an hour less than the men's. Now both have a base pay rate of \$3.19 1/2 an hour. But men can make up to five or six dollars an hour, while the most women get above their base pay rate is 50 cents an hour. Again, it is the gerrymandered job descriptions that keep them from entering higher pay paying jobs.

Moreover, the high base pay rate has been of little help to these women since they are constantly being laid off and rarely get to work a 40 hour week. As soon as production slows up, the women go. Although some men are laid off, it is the women who must bear the brunt of the lay-offs.

Many women can no longer support their families since the company gives them enough work to make

them ineligible for unemployment compensation, but not enough work to live.

Although there are other issues that are very important to these women, job security is absolutely essential. After they win that, they want to deal with the problems of child care and the mature woman. Many of the women have children and have no place to leave them while they are working. They want child care centers that are open 24 hours a day 7 days a week. Blue collar workers work different shifts and all the days in the week. Day care centers that are open from 9-5 Monday through Friday are inadequate.

Another problem is that of the older woman who must work but can't carry the load she used to. The companies reserve easier jobs for older men or men with ailments, but the older woman is told that if she can't handle the work, she can leave. Men are minimally provided for in their old age, but women get no consideration at all. This is a pressing problem for women in WI, as many of them are older (the average age of a woman worker is 41).



The women who formed WI originally did not want to distinguish themselves from the union. They preferred to act within the unions, but the union would not fight for them. Thus, one of their first actions was to file charges against both the company and one of the local unions. The response to WI within the unions has varied. Some locals supported the women, at least passively, but some have openly harassed the women.

The day of the demonstration, one local union president working in a mill picketed by demonstrators told one of the women that "hopped-up colored militants from San Francisco" were coming down to break up the line. Racism and red-baiting are very common.

The reaction among men workers has also varied (There are 600 workers at the Antioch; 100 are women; in Stockton, out of 500, there are 50 women). Many felt threatened by the fact that the women had won the equal base pay rate, since they believed the next step would be attempt to get men's jobs. Only a minority of the men feel that the women are being treated unfairly and deserve a break.

The women in WI are by no means radicals. Some of them have become trade union militants because of their participation in this struggle. Some are beginning to see the link between their struggle and the struggle of blacks for liberation (especially since, in fighting Crown Zellerbach, they could so clearly see that it was because blacks had had the courage to fight discrimination that the women were able to win themselves). These women understand that the black movement has raised demands that apply to women, and that a victory for blacks can be a victory for them. But most of the women are not at this level and cannot draw these parallels.

The women in Women's Inc. had gone to the courts -- where their case is still pending -- and to the union, which gave them little help. They wrote let-

ters to congressmen and women -- and got sympathetic letters back. Day by day things got worse. When they decided to hold a demonstration they also turned to solicit help from Women's Liberation and the National Organization of Women.

The Vice-President of WI had gone to a joint meeting of Women's Liberation and NOW, where the first contact between them was made. Although the WI women called on Women's Liberation to help, they were not at all sure that they trusted these city militants, until the day of the demonstration. Women in the mills feel the distance between them and city radicals. As one put it, "They do things in San Francisco that we haven't even thought about."

But the women in the mills were pleasantly surprised. The women who came for the demonstration appeared more conservatively dressed than the women had expected, and they took all their cues from them. They gave them total support and adhered to their rules. It was this that impressed the women the most. Because of this they feel that Women's Liberation can be trusted and counted on for aid and advice.

As soon as radical women can make it clear that they support the struggles of working class women, and are not there to impose their will upon them, or act with the violence attributed to people in the movement by the press and news media, a relationship can be established which permits radicals and revolutionaries to make their view relevant to working class women.

These women know they are oppressed, and they do not need to be convinced of that. The problem is how to relate to the struggles that are either going on or beginning, how to direct dissatisfaction, and how to add more political dimensions to the struggle. These struggles exist all over; it is our job to be aware of them and to be there when they occur.

Radical women must help direct these struggles toward success in the long run. This means they often must be critical of actions that are planned that can only lessen the chance of ultimate victory. For example, the next action planned by WI is a picket of the EEOC office at the request of EEOC, in an attempt to get EEOC more power so that it may win things for WI. But a victory won by the EEOC could very well prove fatal to the struggle; the women might get better jobs, but in doing so they would only re-enforce male-supremacy and widen the distance and hostility between themselves and the men.

JOBS FOR ALL

Male supremacy has one of its roots in the fear that men will be pushed out of their jobs by women. Victory engineered by the EEOC could prove to the men that they were right in fearing these women, for in effect they would seem to be showing that they were after the men's jobs. The government does nothing to dispel this idea.

In a society where jobs are getting scarcer and economic security becomes more and more unstable, women must demand jobs for all. For men and women workers to battle each other for a dwindling pool of jobs would be self-defeating, just as it would be for black and white workers to do the same.

Socialists must point to the fact that the only way to really end the oppression of women, blacks and the working class is by fundamentally changing the structure of this society, and giving power to those that are oppressed.

An end to the oppression of women on the job (and in society as a whole) will require a challenge to the social status quo that profits from their oppression. Those who defend that status quo that can hardly be expected to help in the struggle against that oppression.

The struggle for women's liberation, like that for black liberation, must be organized from below, in opposition to both conservative and liberal politicians, who are responsible to the power structure, not the people.

IIT: The Union and the University

Stan Roberts

On October 1st, after several weeks of "negotiations," the members of AFL-CIO Local 321 (College and University Employees) at the Illinois Institute of Technology went on strike.

Their key demand was an across-the-board wage increase; initially \$1/hour/year for a two-year contract, whittled down by the union leadership to \$.65/hour/year by the time the strike began. The University had offered \$.17/hour/year, which was totally unacceptable, and the decision to walk out was pretty much unanimous.

The members of Local 321 include cafeteria, dormitory, and maintenance personnel (earning between \$1.83 and \$2.75 an hour); carpenters, electricians, plumbers, machine shop workers (earning from \$3.00 to \$4.00 an hour); and the campus police, who earn about \$2.70 an hour.

As usual, the unskilled, lower-paid workers are almost all black (70% of the employees on strike were black) and the skilled, better-paid workers were white. Moreover, the lowest-paid workers seemed to be mostly women.

It seems likely that I. I. T. was confident of its ability to win a test of strength with the workers, and therefore made no attempt to reach a settlement. Given that most of its employees had always been way underpaid, had only a small union treasury (one wonders where years and years of dues have been going), and would have difficulty in finding other jobs, and given the dependable nature of the union officials, it seemed a safe bet that the strike would not last too long before strong pressures to return to work developed.

STUDENT SCABS

Moreover, since the office personnel (un-unionized) and the engineers who run the school's power plant (in a different union) were neither striking nor honoring the picket lines, the University could continue to function -- by over-working supervisory personnel and by using student scabs.

Since delivery trucks did refuse to cross the picket lines, the students were needed to run food to the dormitories. Student scabs also cooked and kept the dorms clean enough to be habitable. Largely due to the particular nature of the student body, efforts to stop student scabbing were completely unsuccessful.

The strike lasted longer than either the university administration or the union leadership expected. On October 16th, it was ended by a vote of 251-15-2, which reflected pessimism, tiredness, and a desire to get back to work, rather than satisfaction with the administration's offer.

CONTAINMENT

The attitude of the union leadership toward the strike seems to have been much the same as that of the university administration. Faced with overwhelming pressure from the rank-and-file, it led the strike only to contain the struggle, and breed as much discouragement as it could. Some union officers played a better role than others, but none was very creditable.

The Institute's final offer was differentiated according to how much people had earned under the old contract. The lowest-paid employees were offered first-year increases of \$.26, those in the middle (i.e., those making around \$2.70) \$.32, and the highest-paid \$.45. This differentiated scale was clearly intended to split the union by making an attractive offer to the skilled (white and male) workers while conserving funds by giving the bulk of the workers very little. Not proposed until people were getting tired and demoralized, it was used as a trump card.

In the terms of the settlement, those presently earning \$1.83 will get an increase of \$.43 over the two-year period; those making \$4.00 an hour at the pre-

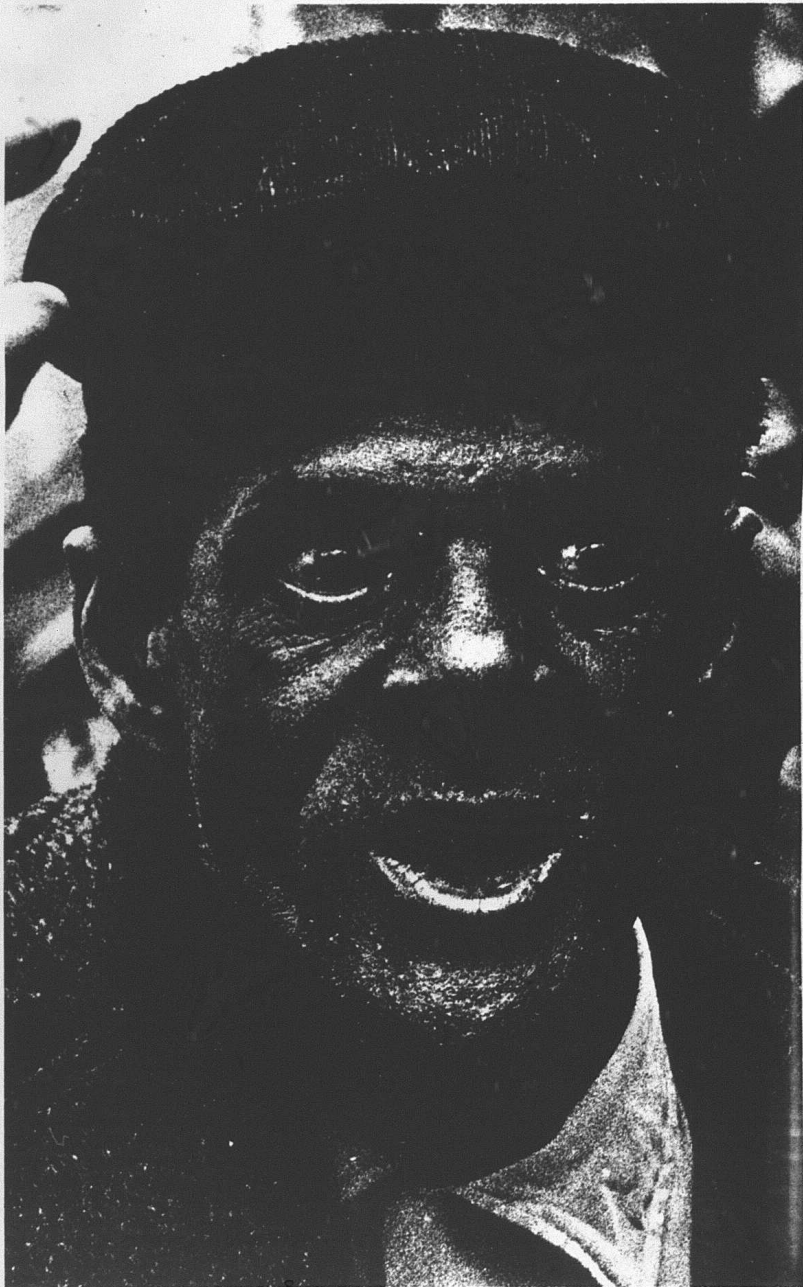
sent time will receive a total increase of \$.77. The previous week the university had offered \$.26 the first year and \$.17 the second; the response of the workers was so negative that the union did not even bother calling a meeting to try to win acceptance.

The difference between the two offers was no more than several cents to medium-paid employees and a big increase to the white skilled workers. By the time

the strike was ended, people were too tired to resist the racism and male chauvinism built into the offer; their original demand for across-the-board increases was given up.

Of course, the union officials who have their major base among the white workers, and know they potentially face an attempt by black members to depose them, did nothing to foil the university's schemes, but rather fought hard for acceptance of the contract.

Whether the union officials are personally racist or not (and they probably are, with the exception of the black official and the black stewards who have no power) is quite beside the point. In order to expose and lead a fight against what the university was doing they would have had to make a real effort to raise the



general level of consciousness of the white workers, and thereby deprive themselves of the conservative base they depend on.

On the part of the black employees there was complete distrust of the union, which had accrued as the union collected dues for years and years and didn't do anything. The officials appeared to the workers as having made themselves a good set-up (soft jobs with occasional hassles such as pressure for a strike, and good salaries) at the dues-payers' expense. But while people responded positively to suggestions made by members of Chicago IS about taking over the union, the response was on a verbal level only.

Among the black workers this was pretty much the situation we found in general: we could talk about taking over the union and the factories and building a city wide alliance with employees from other schools, on the one hand, and about tightening up the picket lines and having meetings among themselves rather than leaving things to official and unofficial strike leaders, on the other hand, with practically the same result.

ALIENATION

The level of consciousness of the workers and their openness to our ideas surprised us and made us feel like we had been much too timid in our discussions, but at the same time the positive response to ideas was completely removed from direct initiative to actualize them. Although people could see what should be done they did not yet think in terms of organizing themselves to go out and do it, and while our discussions were exciting they remained abstract.

With respect to the union, it meant that distrust and talk of taking it over existed side by side with seeing the running of the strike as its job. The way the strike went was accepted as a fact of life in much the same way that oppression at work is bitterly resented but seen as part of a relatively immutable order of things.

After the strike we realized that we had spent little time talking to white workers and knew fairly little about how they felt except that they weren't as distrustful of the union (mainly a result of their sharing the union's acceptance of the social system's legitimacy), they had a far lower level of consciousness (with a couple exceptions we had real trouble getting into political discussion), and they seemed to have a surprisingly low level of overt racism with a couple showing some genuine sympathy with the plight of the low paid black workers.

In general there was none of the alienation from the society that underpinned our rapport with the black workers and their openness to our ideas about seizing factories, etc. (One woman even suggested that to us before we said anything, so as "to give them a taste of their own medicine.")

Somewhere between the union bureaucrats and the workers was the strike's unofficial rank and file leader, a black custodian who was important in bringing and holding things together early in the strike and who was recognized generally among the blacks and also by some of the whites as the person to listen to.

For the first two weeks he worked to maintain militancy and to prepare people for the union's inevitable attempt to settle with the university. But his consciousness was strictly trade unionist and he conceived of himself as a general whose job was to run the strike well, and not as a political organizer who sought to raise consciousness and broaden the struggle.

At the beginning when anger was the predominant sentiment among the workers, he was important in crystallizing it and leading people to action, which everyone was eager for. When people started giving up he argued against settling, but then slid along with people's sentiments and finally urged people to accept the contract.

CLARITY AND MILITANCY

As a general rule, the sophistication with which people view their struggle, and the clarity with which it appears as a social struggle (rather than a conflict of competing interests, who use pressure tactics but play by the rules of the game), will determine how long and against what adversaries they will remain militant.

In the case of those striking universities this is even truer because of the nature of the institution. There is no mounting loss of profit as the strike goes on, nor are things completely shut down. Only after an extended period does the strike change from a major inconvenience to a critical threat, as the lack of maintenance and services that can't be handled by supervisors and student scabs has a cumulative effect: if the strikers perpetrate disruptions or sabotage the university with its ruling class board of trustees can almost certainly

get an injunction.

Where U.S. Steel might have several thousand workers in a single plant (not to mention nationwide contracts and large union treasuries), IIT faced only 350 union members with almost no treasury. Allow for the marginal income of many of the workers, and it becomes apparent that even a sixteen-day strike can severely drain people's morale.

"On most campuses, student support counts (sometimes heavily) in the workers favor, but at IIT there was virtually no support at all, and even very little expression of good will towards the employees. The students here are decidedly on the make and not at all willing to risk antagonizing an administration that banned SDS because it didn't like its choice of movies.

Caught in the middle by the strike, student government was probably fairly representative in raising demands about the library being open on Sunday and better dormitory hours, in a blatant effort to trade non-support for the strike for concessions on its demands. During the strike there was a moratorium rally; the leaders made it clear that they saw the war and the strike as different things entirely and refused permission to an SDS member to speak at the rally in support of the workers.

What this adds up to is that campus strikes (and especially those where there is no student support) can succeed only in proportion to their breaking out of their isolation.

First of all, this means developing links with other members of the same local to arrange mutual support, to push a more unified contract system (each campus has its own contract, and the 321 workers at the University of Chicago have two different contracts), and quite possibly to attempt to take over the local.



Secondly, it means trying to win support from the general black community. IIT is pretty much surrounded by the ghetto which has been urban renewed so that the university could exist, and the immediate area around IIT has four or five housing projects of various sizes. After the strike was in progress, the alliance could have been forged with the surrounding community, which probably hasn't fought the last battle against IIT expansion.

It's hard to guess how many people would have come to a demonstration in support of the workers, but judging from the fact that teenagers and their gangs have been the main mass base of the drive for entrance into construction trades, some real show of support might have been organized.

Attempts to forge links with other workers in their same general circumstance and to organize community support would have changed the strikers' conception of the struggle that the strikers had, and created a greater sense of power, enabling the workers to carry the fight forward by broadening it, rather than becoming demoralizing when it quickly stalemated within its original limits.

Also, the first signs of community support might have forced the strike into the newspapers (the Board of Trustees, through direct and indirect connections to the papers, was able to prevent it from being publicized), which would have forced the hand of people like Jesse Jackson, who was contacted but did not try to organize support.

Only greater unity among the workers at different

places, and support from the black community in general, can force universities to begin making real concessions to their workers, and only an active sense of participating in a larger struggle can carry strikers at particular places forward despite the severities of their situation, and prevent initial defeats from causing the collapse of isolated movements.

However, it was not until the strike that workers at IIT were in any way together among themselves, let alone thinking of a city-wide movement. The union leadership had no conception of trying to win support from the black community. A rank-and-file organization of black workers might have taken on that task. But the lack of any organization among the rank-and-file was precisely one of the other major problems of the strike, leaving the strike under the direction of the union leadership with no direct control by the rank-and-file.

Had there been such an organization, the consciousness of the workers could have been translated into activity without relying on one leader who proved himself an opportunist in the end. In addition taking over the running of the strike would have been people's first step towards breaking down the gap between their high level of consciousness and limited level of activity. Unless workers are organized to act effectively then "good ideas" remain just that.

RANK AND FILE

Our hope is that in the future an organization can be built among the rank-and-file. If this is done, we can expect that each new struggle will be fought longer and harder and that there will be a natural push towards linking up with black people at other schools (some IIT workers are at this point quite eager to get together with workers from other places) and in the community-at-large.

As black workers become better and better organized, it will be impossible for racial questions to remain submerged as happened at IIT. Union bureaucrats will charge black workers with precipitating divisions, and many white workers will be put up tight, at least in the beginning. But at IIT, the struggle could have been carried on if the black workers had organized themselves independently to fight for their needs as black workers. In the long run unity will be built through joint struggles against the ruling class; yet particular struggles don't occur in the long run. In any given situation unity can be had without submerging the question of racism only if white workers can be won to support equality demands in the interest of better carrying on their own struggle against the ruling class. Otherwise black workers will be rightly suspicious of the true meaning of calls for unity.

IIT OFFENSIVE

Developments since the strike ended further illustrate both the need for solid organization among the rank and file that is independent of the union and the value of some kind of city-wide organization. Rather than trying to establish peace and quiet on campus by pretending that the strike never occurred, and that there isn't really a basic conflict between the university and its workers, the administration is trying to seize the advantage. They have launched a harassment campaign (insults, demotions, etc.) both to intimidate people and to try to force certain workers to quit (So far no one has been directly fired probably because the contract has not yet been signed - fringe benefits were left open to negotiation - and firings could still provoke another walkout).

A central part of their program seems to be the building of a police force that is really a police force and that doesn't go on strike with the rest of the workers. One campus policeman has already quit and serious efforts are being made to get another to do so. Among the employees this has provoked vague talk of another walkout, but, unless the university seriously overlaps its hand, that is unlikely.

Naturally enough the union officials feign grave concern about these matters and are actually doing very little. One official explained that they will give the university a thirty-day cooling-off period and if it doesn't cool it, another walkout will be called for. This provides plenty of time for the union to sign the contract and convince people to ratify it. Any new strike would then be a black wildcat against the union and one whose picket lines needn't be respected by union truck drivers.

Only if the workers become well organized among themselves can they force an end to the harassment or, failing that, prevent the contract from being ratified and take appropriate action. Until then, the university may be able to operate with a free hand.

Nixon

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

The insecurity of the Thieu gang was even further accentuated by the call of "Big" Minh, the General who had overthrown Diem and then been forced into exile, for a convention of all political forces opposed to the regime of Thieu. This is the regime which is to take over the task of fighting the NLF and the North Vietnamese.

CRISIS

The meaning of these events - of the inability of Nixon or of the Democrats to end the war without abandoning a major premise of the cold war policy to which both parties have subscribed, of their fear of what a genuine mass movement of opposition to the war will mean, especially when linked to growing social discontent and economic difficulties at home (difficulties which the end of the war would not in any way alleviate) - all add up to a major political crisis in American society in the 1970's.

It will be a crisis far greater than that which engulfed the Johnson administration - if only because its political basis promises to be so much broader. It will tear apart both parties, but its effects will be much more severe within the Democratic Party: the Moratorium committee, composed of liberal Democrats who saw the Moratorium as a way of channeling anti-war sentiment into support for liberal candidates, is even now increasingly uneasy over the movement that their efforts have helped to encourage.

Berkeley Three

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 20

of racial bias. At that, the judge exploded: "Anyone who comes into this courtroom, be he black, brown, red or white, will be treated the same. The record will show nothing of the sort." "Can't we talk about this?" ventured defense attorney Wells. "You can go outside and scream about it all you want, but I don't want to hear any more about it."

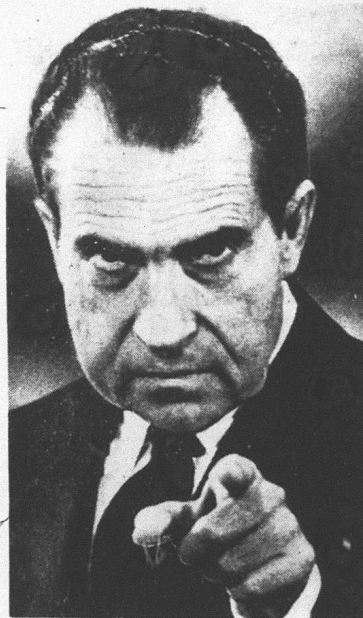
This was the same judge who a few days later sentenced Ysidro Macias - a leader of the Third World Liberation Front strike at the University of California last winter - to nine months in prison, the harshest sentence handed out to date. Macias offense was getting his head in the way of a cop's club, and being knocked unconscious for several hours. Before sentencing him, Judge Hove lectured him for a half hour on how he was "unfit to be a leader of your people."

As the prosecution laid out its case, it became clear that they had no case. Paul had given a speech at a rally; so had I. The D. A. played tapes of these speeches. We had each said things that sounded somewhat "conspiratorial" - especially to one unacquainted with the chaotic nature of the movement - but that was the end of it.

The rest of the D. A.'s evidence consisted of two kinds of things. One was people who saw us in one place or another. Occasionally (but not usually) one or another of us was in the vicinity of the other. The rest consisted of descriptions of the damage that was done to the building by the barricades that were constructed and of the "violence" done to the police (rocks thrown, etc.) by those outside.

No attempt was made to link us to the damage. In fact, more of the witnesses who testified to the latter stated when asked that they had never seen us. But the judge admitted it all as evidence over our objections. Witnesses for the prosecution were four deans at the University, and four cops (it was hard to tell the difference between them).

The defense felt that virtually no case had been presented, and intended to provide none for the D. A. by putting on witnesses for him to cross-examine. So, after calling witnesses to show that I was not in Moses



They may fear the November 15th march and give it only the most grudging of endorsements, but the simple fact is that no one who opposes the war will listen to them. They did not create the anti-war movement and they cannot call it off; they may seek to ride it for a time, but as the crisis deepens, it will become less and less clear who or what is riding whom.

There are two important events which indicate the

Hall at a time when one of the key witnesses claimed I was, we rested.

Then came the high point of the trial. In his summary speech, the D. A. had to convince the jury of a conspiracy and to provide a motive. Listening to his story, was like hearing a third-rate drama on the radio about 15 years ago. It certainly bore little resemblance to reality.

Culling out phrases, at times even individual words, from our various speeches, he manufactured an intri-



Paul Glusman and Peter Camejo

cate plan, and motive - our concern for our image. We hadn't been arrested the night before and we were concerned that it would reflect badly on our image. So we had to get arrested, and in order to do so, we had to concoct the whole mess.

Because of our superior manipulative abilities, we were able to convince everyone else to follow us. We were just phonies, seeking to "steal" the "real, legitimate" movement. By the time he was finished, you would have thought that the D. A. himself was part of "The Movement," and felt personally offended that we, the cynical conspirators, had so corrupted it.

The D. A. argued that there was no issue of racism involved in the Cleaver controversy. The Regents were simply following their rules. No one had a "right" to teach at the University - not Cleaver, not the D. A. himself. Did the fact that he had a "Spanish surname"

kind of dilemma which the liberal Democratic Moratorium types find themselves in. First is the emergence of the "immediate withdrawal" slogan; one that the committee was clearly very uncomfortable with, but which simply burst upon the political scene as the only meaningful political slogan in a war that could not be won. Sam Browne and his friends had attempted to keep the Moratorium as broad and politically inclusive as possible, but the "immediate withdrawal" idea immediately raised a whole train of questions about the very nature of American foreign policy - leading, if not actually committing, people who adopted it, to a challenge of the entire cold war philosophy, that the liberals had championed in their time just as vigorously as any Republican.

The second is the resolution, introduced by a bipartisan coalition of Republicans and Democrats in the House and Senate, endorsing Nixon's "plan for peace" in Vietnam; the opponents will be forced, despite themselves, to stand up and be counted, thus exacerbating the split within the Democratic (as well as Republican) Party, and disrupting the kind of "broad" but non-radical anti-war movement that the Moratorium liberals wish to bring into existence.

The Nixon speech, the bankruptcy of the liberal opposition, the splintering of the Democratic Party, and the impending political crisis which events in Vietnam must certainly create in 1970, open up the possibility of the creation of a new movement of opposition - one that with the rising discontent within the working class and the prospect of a major economic recession has the possibility of sinking its roots deep into American society, particularly into the working class.

Starting from opposition to the Vietnam war and the call for an anti-imperialist, democratic foreign policy to replace the cold war imperialist policy which both major parties have stood for, and joined with the militant struggle of the black and other third-world groups, as well as the increasing militancy of the working class, there could emerge a new independent political force which would remake American politics.

(Da Vega) mean that it was racist not to allow him to teach at the University? Of course not! (A reporter from the *Daily Californian* asked him if he were a Chicano. "He sneered at her: 'Don't ever call a Spaniard a Mexican.'" The DC refused to print that exchange - in the name of "objectivity".) Nor, he insisted, was it a question of free speech.

The next day the judge gave the jury members instructions and sent them out to deliberate. The instructions were virtually useless. They consisted of a series of "on the one hand... on the other hand" statements. He would give a good instruction, and then immediately withdraw it. He told them, for example, that they had to find that there was an agreement to commit the crimes in order to convict, but that such agreement could be tacit.

After the jury filed out at about 11:00 a.m., there began a long period of waiting. The legal process as a whole is alienating; the defendant feels helpless, caught in a process over which he can have little control. The best he can do is get a good lawyer, and try to interject some of his own ideas on how the case should be run. When he finally goes to trial (we waited a year), he can't even talk, as hobby Seale's experience so graphically illustrated in the trial of the Chicago 8. The lawyer is literally his mouthpiece. But waiting for a jury to come back is the most alienating aspect of the entire process. The work is done; one can only guess what is going on in the jury room upstairs.

Finally, the jury returned at 10:30 p.m. to declare themselves unable to come to a conclusion. The judge asked them if they could agree on any one of us. Yes, one. "But our problem is," they said, "how can you convict one person of conspiracy?" Our hearts dropped. That was Paul. He had said the incriminating words: "... the plan is..." It must be him.

The judge ordered the jury to render a verdict for the one on whom they agreed. To our amazement, they found Camejo innocent, and could not agree on Paul and me. (The vote was 8 to 4. As we later learned, it was 8 for acquittal - all the blacks, the two young men, the Japanese woman, and one of the older women sided with us.)

Up to this point, they have been unable to secure a single conviction with any of the conspiracy indictment that have been brought to court. As things stand now, it looks like they will retry the remaining Berkeley Two. But our case now is probably even better than it was before. Movement spokesmen have been saying, "you can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail the revolution." So far, they are even having trouble jailing some of the revolutionaries.

FEEDBACK:

On G.I. Resistance

Comrade Moody's article on GI resistance (IS#12) makes some good points, but he shares some of the common misconceptions about Army life prevalent in the civilian movement. For the sake of those who hope to do political work as, or with, GIs I'd like to point out a few of these.

"The failure of... Basic training to assimilate a large section of current recruits, and the cultural difference between enlisted men and the lifers (rock versus country, pot versus booze) is the context, the necessary condition, for the growing GI movement" says Moody. "Cultural differences" may be a cause for the hostility of a minority of EM to lifers, but one will have to look elsewhere for the reason for the mass support that any act of resistance to the Brass gets. Most EM have the same beer and bowling alley life style as the lifers, and not a few young sergeants and lieutenants practice youth culture when off duty. Once a conflict breaks out in the military machine though, sides are chosen according to role rather than style.

Moreover, those who are most turned on to rock and pot tend to spend their time listening to rock and smoking pot rather than passing out leaflets. Heads are generally left alone if they don't disrupt the unit, like by getting political; organizers have to stay away from heads because they can't afford drug busts. It's very difficult to have it both ways.

"The rigor of Army life demands that everyone's first identity be 'GI' rather than worker, student, lawyer, etc." Not so, Kim. Lifers identify themselves as "civilians in disguise." Address a serviceman in civvies as "soldier" and he's liable to spit in your eye. Most of the rank and file spend a good part of their time demonstrating that under the Army Green they consider themselves civilian all the way through.

As an example of the depth of this sentiment: in 1968; the CO of L.Trp. 3/3 ACR, tried to force all his men to wear dress uniform to Thanksgiving dinner. Despite the fact that this was one of the best meals of the year, and that being near the end of the month, few people had money to buy food in the PX, only 6 of 130 EM were willing to put on their uniforms to eat. Finally, lest the boycott attract unfavorable publicity, the CO was forced to let the men have dinner in civvies.

Not only do GIs identify as civilians, they identify with their own civilian backgrounds. Blacks, white southerners, college grads, etc., tend to form exclusive cliques when off duty. There is a certain amount of cross-fertilization, hillbillies learning to smoke pot and city kids digging country and western, but there is also a certain amount of friction between the groups.

Even on duty the rank and file is divided among itself. There is usually bad feeling between line and support units, between infantry, armor and artillery, between straightleg and airborne, and nobody likes the MPs or the First Cavalry.

What all this means is that EM are not the homogeneous group they appear to be at first glance. Many times, superficial and meaningless differences have prevented united action on common interests. One of the biggest problems an organizer will have is to overcome these differences.

At one point Moody says rather offhandedly: "Of course, open organization is virtually impossible." I'm not quite sure what he means by that. But I do know that in a barracks, secret organization of anything larger than a game of blackjack is impossible. What then remains? Those who try to keep their activities secret from MI only keep them secret from the rank and file. An activist has to operate on the assumption that everything he says or does will become known to the CO, although it's important to keep in mind the difference between what is known and what can be proven in court.

"A professional Army... needless to say, will be unorganizable in any form" says Moody. He cannot be familiar with the resistance work being done in the professional Marine Corps, Navy, and Air Force, nor within voluntary Army units such as paratroopers. I'll confess I haven't heard of any one organizing Green Berets yet. The first-term recruits of a professional army would be the same people who enlist today for a variety of reasons. Often RAs hate the Army more fervently than USAs. The conscript is there because of coercion, he expects to be shat upon. The RA enters the Army hoping to learn a trade or get a good duty assignment. When this does not happen he feels betrayed at being tricked into signing away an extra year.

Moody says that "smashing the military" will require a revolution. However, in the past, during unpopular wars, armies have "smashed" themselves before or without revolutions. Nor have these mutinies always taken place because of military defeat, of the mutinous unit or the country as a whole. For examples of several types: the French and Russian Armies and the German Navy in 1918; the French Black Sea Fleet in 1919; the U. S. Army "Going Home Movement" in 1946; and the French Army (as opposed to the Legion and the Paras) in Algeria.

An army, especially one on foreign soil, need not shoot its officers, start walking home, or run up the red flag, to become useless to the ruling class. If it drags its feet, stops advancing at the first sign of resistance, goes over to the defensive, even without any open defiance of authority, it cannot win. Some armies can even become defeatist on their own soil, as is most of the South Vietnamese army. This is not to say that a civilian revolutionary movement is not necessary, but the GI movement need not tail-end it.

Moody also has failed to fully consider the objective problems of army organizing in discussing three of the methods used, that is: the mass-march, the union, and the coffee-house. That is, he examines them abstractly and from the viewpoint of the civilian rather than the serviceman.

To the GI, especially the radical GI, the intentions of such methods matter less than the uses to which the union, the mass march, and the coffee house can be put in the course of long-term organizational work.

First the mass-march: YSA-SMC may have their own reasons for getting GIs to march in anti-war demonstrations, but these are not the same reasons that GIs would want to march in them or that radical GIs would encourage this. When GI participation in peace marches began, both the soldiers and civilians involved were amazed by the military response. Despite lack of publicity and officer harassment, it was possible to mobilize hundreds of EM. An

Anti-war and radical GIs, who had previously been isolated, found that they weren't so alone after all. Some of the people who first came together at the march stayed together to form a permanent ad-hoc resistance group.

Once a post-wide organization has been formed, the utility of the mass march decreases sharply, as does support for the tactic among GIs.

In Seattle, an anti-war march sponsored by the GI-Civilian Alliance for Peace was held on Feb. 20, 1969 with about 350 soldiers and airmen present. The civilians in GI-CAP, largely YSA, were mostly in favor of another march for Easter. They were outvoted by the servicemen who decided on a teach-in oriented towards GI organizers and the civilians working with them, rather than the public at large. Some of the issues discussed at the teach-in included: the role of capitalism and imperialism in producing the war in Vietnam, the relationship of GI resistance to Black, student, and worker strug-

gles, and long-term organizing perspectives. As a result the political level of both soldiers and civilians was raised and a durable radical cadre established at Fort Lewis.

If the mass march is a tool for breaking down isolation on the post, the union is a device for maintaining contact between posts. Whatever the ASU means to Andy Stapp and YAWF, to the GI organizer it means access to a newspaper with international circulation, a means of mobilizing support for people like the Presidio 27 and the Fort Hood 43, a means of linking the local group to the Army-wide movement, and a source of leaflets, pamphlets and organizers. In many ways the ASU resembles the old SDS. It is even less capable than SDS was of mobilizing itself for any kind of positive action decided upon democratically by the membership (the 8 Demands are about as relevant as the Port Huron Statement), but it serves as the kind of group in which different political tendencies, united by common opposition to the military machine, may associate.

If there were a mass socialist organization around, we would urge soldiers to join that instead of ASU, but that alternative does not exist yet. As long as socialists can carry on political agitation in the pages of the Bond and in ASU locals, it will remain a useful organization for GIs to belong to.

The coffee house is useful on two levels. They would justify their existence if all they did was provide a refuge from the usual army-town environment, but they can do more as well. They are distribution points for GI and socialist newspapers and pamphlets -- an important function since on-post literature distribution is usually proscribed. They also house facilities for printing the base newspaper and provide meeting space. At the Shelter Half weekly meetings are held with as many as 75 soldiers, and including speakers, films, and hot political debates.

The only methods of resistance to abuses mentioned by Moody are those provided for in the UCMJ: collective complaints to an officer or the IG. (Hint to organizers: petitions may be made up in a 'round robin' format, with the text in the middle of the page and the signatures spaced around it like spokes on a wheel. That way nobody's name is on top). Actions of this type, as well as all other resistance acts, including court martial fights, are only effective when given the fullest dose of publicity. Not just in the movement press, but in the community newspapers, on radio talk-shows, through letters to congressmen, leaflets, civilian lawyers, etc.. It should be made clear to the CO that the spotlight will be turned on every act of repression. This is often enough to allow organizers to get away with a lot of things they could be busted for. Officers are reluctant to get involved in any kind of scandal. If the troops are restless, the higher ranks tend to blame the officer in charge. I know of one company commander who was transferred to a job as firing range officer, a considerable drop in prestige and possibilities for advancement, probably because of the amount of resistance activity going on in his company.

L. S. has a lot to do in the way of formulating a military policy. Since there was no time at the convention it will have to be done in the discussion bulletin. Experiences of working with trainees, combat units, support companies, occupation troops, national guards, Reservists, "riot control" units, etc., will have to be compiled and compared. It's not enough to criticize the sloppy politics of other groups, we've got to work out a line of our own.

— NEIL CHACKER, ex-Sp/4

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program in brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Basing its work on the ongoing worldwide struggles against oppression and the ideas of revolutionary Marxism, IS seeks to build a socialist movement which is both revolutionary and democratic, working class and internationalist: an international struggle in which the world's masses can fight for power and win a new world of peace, abundance, and freedom that will be the foundationstone of classless communist society.

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The Berkeley 3 Minus 1

Jack Bloom

The idea that all social turmoil is the product of a conspiracy is one dear to the hearts of all ruling classes. Every bureaucratic elite likes to believe that its rule is in the interest of and beneficial to all of mankind; their spokesmen devise ideologies that reinforce and legitimize this belief, and try to palm them off on the population at large.

Social scientists, theologians and other ideologues portray all social struggles as the product of connivers who plot and scheme behind closed doors. These wily conspirators dupe and mislead the masses of innocent sheep, who foolishly follow them in the name of glorious ideals but who are being used for the private and petty concerns of the manipulators.

It is an old dodge: pin the cause of social turmoil on a few individuals ("outside agitators," non-students), in an effort to isolate the left from any substantial base in the society, and justify the repressive campaign the authorities direct against activists. If those few would just mind their own business and stop manufacturing trouble, everything would be fine.

Thus, Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael are blamed for the ghetto uprisings; the Black Panthers are responsible for the current unrest in the black community. The Chicago Eight are charged with a conspiracy to cause the police riot during the Democratic Party Convention (under an act passed by Congress to get Rap Brown).

As thousands of young people and blacks are coming to consider themselves revolutionaries-- and as more and more sectors of the population, beleaguered by the war, high taxes, oppressive working conditions and a deteriorating environment, are becoming receptive to radical ideas-- the power structure understands, if only intuitively, the potential threat the movement represents to their prerogatives and ultimately their power.

UPPING THE ANTE

Thus, not surprisingly, they seek to up the ante of involvement in radical politics. A whole panoply of repressive techniques has been unleashed against the movement-- physical, ideological and legal. One of the most dangerous of these techniques is the conspiracy prosecution.

In this context, the conspiracy indictment of the Berkeley Three-- Paul Glusman, Peter Camejo of the Young Socialist Alliance, and myself, Jack Bloom of the International Socialists-- should have come as no surprise. Ours is the second conspiracy case to be brought to court in Alameda County; the Oakland Seven was the first.

The charges grew out of the protests a year ago at the University of California at Berkeley, over the right of Eldridge Cleaver to teach at the University and the right of the students and faculty to schedule the courses they choose.

Cleaver had been scheduled to give ten lectures in a course requested by students and approved by the faculty. When the Regents learned of it, they passed a rule making it illegal for any guest lecturer to give more than one lecture per course. The first reaction of the students was to try to go through channels; they petitioned the faculty and got no results; they petitioned the Regents and got no results.

After a time, some of those enrolled in the course Cleaver was to teach opted for direct action. A sit-in was held in Sproul Hall, the UC administration building. Police were called in to arrest the 120 demonstrators, the third occasion on which they were brought on to the UC campus to make mass arrests.

The campus response was one of outrage, and another demonstration was immediately called the next day. Glusman spoke at the rally urging the occupation of another building, unspecified. I spoke, urging people to sit-in at the office of the Chancellor, and at other buildings, and to present the Chancellor

with a list of demands which included amnesty for those arrested the night before, credit for Cleaver's course and a change in the racist hiring and student admission policies of the University.

At the conclusion of the rally, a march was held to the Chancellor's office; somehow the crowd eventually ended up in Moses Hall, the office of the Liberal Arts College, and barricades were built. Inside the building, Camejo chaired a meeting.

Seventy-seven people were arrested in Moses Hall early the next morning. Of these, seventy-four were charged with trespass; the three of us were charged with conspiracy to commit misdemeanors, which in California is a felony punishable by one to three years in prison.

Alameda County District Attorney Coakely is an old friend of repression. During World War I, he served in the U. S. Navy on a ship which rescued a group of White Russian officers fleeing from their unsuccessful attempt to crush the Russian Revolution. Now he had embarked on a personal crusade to forestall a repetition of their fate.



Coakely's first try at a conspiracy conviction was a resounding flop: the Oakland Seven were acquitted. Thus, he was doubly eager to get us. All either of us had done was speak at a rally or chair a meeting-- but that was precisely the point. If it were determined that such activity was sufficient basis for a felony conviction, few people would risk speaking out or organizing against oppression; that perennial nuisance, the freedom of speech and assembly, would be a dead letter.

Coakely sought to establish a precedent that whenever a demonstration is held during which a misdemeanor bust occurs, the leaders of the demonstration or anyone who sticks his neck out can be charged with felony conspiracy. At a time when discontent is increasing and becoming more and more difficult to contain through normal channels, such a use of the conspiracy law would obviously be a powerful tool in the hands of the state.

The Alameda County Grand Jury-- a group of wealthy older people who are friends of or have some connection with the judges-- brought down the indictment. A motion was filed by our lawyers, arguing

that not sufficient evidence had been adduced to even justify a court test. The judge, Harold Hove (an ex-FBI agent and a Reagan appointee) denied the motion without even allowing the attorneys to argue for it.

So, on October 20, 1969, the three of us went to court with our attorneys. Glusman was represented by Penelope Cooper, Camejo by Arthur Wells, Jr., and I by Richard Hodge.

Despite the myth of the American legal system-- that it provides for fair trials wherein the accused is assumed to be innocent until proven guilty and the burden of proof lies with the prosecution-- anyone who has followed a trial closely knows that the cards are stacked against the defendants. For example, the jury lists are biased in favor of the status quo.

Blacks and poor people have long been familiar with the "equity" of the discriminatory bail system that keeps them in jail and at the mercy of the jail guards, regardless of their innocence or guilt. Often they have been willing to cop a plea in order to end the matter quickly, rather than languish in jail, and often in solitary confinement, for long periods of time.

The legal system plays upon the fact that the absence of an organized mass resistance to the oppression of everyday life has tended to atomize the mass of the people; many do not feel any sense of solidarity with others in their same situation. They accept the image of American society as basically a just order, and blame themselves for their problems, rather than the social system. The police are the upholders of "law and order"; if the accused weren't guilty, why would they be there?

In the last few years, a real solidarity has been built among blacks and young people. Many of them understand that attempts to get the radical movement are a blow struck at them and their aspirations for social change. But most of the people on jury lists are over 30; blacks are underrepresented, property owners are overrepresented.

END ISOLATION

The most effective way that the left can defend itself against governmental repression is to awaken the majority of the American people from the torpor of the false consciousness which has imprisoned them.

As yet, radical consciousness has not spread beyond youth and blacks to any significant extent. But the working class, apathetic for over twenty years, is beginning to move once again, and a small number of workers have even become revolutionaries. If current trends are any indication, the next few years will unveil a period of great labor militancy, and a corresponding growth in consciousness.

An expansion of radical consciousness into the white working class would go a long way toward undermining the usefulness of conspiracy trials. If workers join the ranks of young people and blacks and are unwilling to return guilty verdicts, the efforts of the governments to use normal court procedures for repression will be less and less fruitful.

In the meantime, defense attorneys can use the process of jury selection to work against the built-in bias of the lists. In our case, the jury we ended up with after three days included four blacks and two young men. On the other side of the ledger were an industrial engineer, a woman who was a division manager at Sears, and two older women. The other members of the jury-- a Japanese woman who owned a nursery and an unemployed forman, were unknown quantities.

The D.A. had bounced several young whites and nine blacks, two for "cause". In addition, he got rid of all those who sported beards, including the Vice-president of a grocery store in San Leandro. When he challenged his first black without cause, our attorneys made the usual motion to "let the record show that the juror dismissed is a Negro", in order to lay the basis for a possible future appeal on the grounds