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Repression and the Movement

The growing repression directed against the left today takes many different forms. Repression is police departments all over the country set free to rampage as wild pigs, intimidating and harrasing in the name of order, and murdering in the name of the law. Repression is the so-called legal system with its conspiracy charges, frame-ups, long prison terms, exhausting and expensive trials, high bails, and probations. Repression is the gestapo raids of federal and state agents on our offices and homes. Repression is our being fired and black-listed from our jobs or schools because of political activity.

But to focus all of our attention on these immediate manifestations of repression is to try to fight cancer with pain killers alone. The repressive acts of the police, the courts, the bosses and the administrators are an integral part of the general rightward drift in this country.

Moreover, the critical aspect we must face is the fact that repression is at least passively supported by the bulk of the American population, including large sections of the working class. This is the political reality behind the election of Nixon, the support for Wallace, and the upset "law and order" victories in Los Angeles, Minneapolis, and New York City.

Especially during the last ten years, many of the social problems and contradictions of American Capitalism have once again surfaced, and become imprinted on the consciousness of the mass of Americans. The needs of American Imperialism have not allowed it to end the Vietnam war, yet the war has lost almost all popular support. America has not solved the problem of racism, but Black people are no longer willing to "wait" for justice and liberation. Capitalism has found no way to effectively stop the spiraling inflation, but workers are unwilling to sit back and watch their real wages be eaten away.

It is this developing crisis of unsolved social problems which has led millions of Americans to seek some change, some solution, which can end the crisis and restore order. Unfortunately, although the bulk of the left has been very active in exposing the contradictions of American society, the left has failed to build organizations and institutions which can take the lead of the millions of discontented and offer genuine left-wing solutions to the crisis. Instead, well-organized demagogic politicians like Wallace and Reagan have been able to capitalize on the sense of crisis with their calls for "law & order" and "a hard line against the minority of agitators who are behind all the trouble."

We have disorder in the society, they proclaim, not because there are real social problems but because the police have been handcuffed in dealing with irresponsible agitators who are not really interested in better conditions but only in making more trouble. Onto this "law and order" bandwagon hop all the various opportunist politicians, who to various

degrees both appeal to and reinforce the rightward political development in the population. They compete with each other only as to who can take the harder line toward dissent, who is more willing to use the police to crush the left.

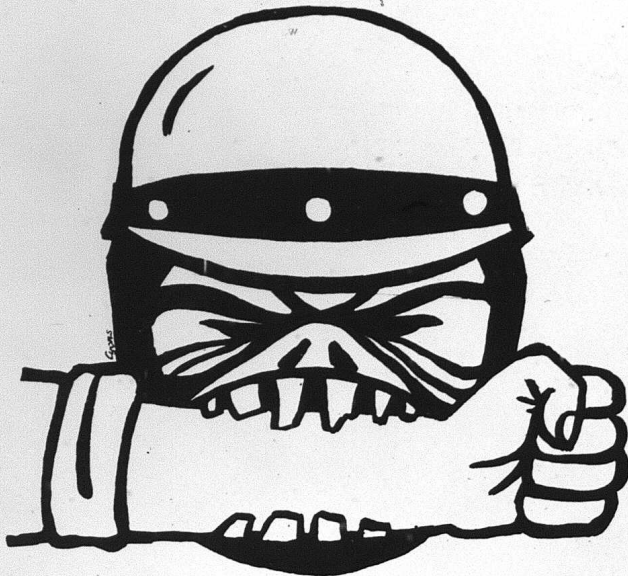
This fact, that the bulk of the population including the working class at least passively supports the repression, means that repression can not be fought merely by rearranging the left. United fronts of left groupings may be very useful in various activities and campaigns but the left as a whole at this stage is unfor-

tunately very weak. To turn inward, as some on the left have been doing, would be a certain road to defeat.

More importantly, repression can not be fought by building a general "Popular Front" with Democrats and other liberal sections of the ruling class. We must not forget that the political basis for the rightward drift and repression is the continuing lack of any solution to the social crisis in this country -- and more than any other section of society it is the liberal Democrats who are responsible for its absence.

For a substantial period of time the liberals held sway in American Politics. As the black movement grew in militancy and consciousness, it became apparent that its demands for social justice and liberation came into conflict with the established institutions of capitalism. Liberalism was forced to choose sides; the side of social justice or the side of the established institutions. Characteristically, most liberals -- whatever their rhetoric -- chose to defend the established institutions and accept patchwork solutions to racism which were bound to fail.

The rightward drift in the population is a response to the obvious failure of American



Liberalism. A Popular Front with Liberal Democrats and liberal sections of the ruling class organized around only a general opposition to "fascism" acceptable to these sections would simply succeed in strait-jacketing the left in the already discredited programs of these discredited liberals.

And in any case, in order to stay tied to the institutions they so dearly love, the liberals are beginning to accommodate themselves to the repression rather than fight it. (See the accompanying quote from the "liberal" *New Republic*)

In a recent interview Bobby Seale was quoted as saying that the Panthers or the United Front against Fascism will support those politicians who work for community control of the police and against fascism. The interview may be misleading, but if this means support of liberal Democratic politicians then the Panthers and the movement as a whole will have taken a serious step in the wrong direction.

Community control and anti-fascism are not in-and-of themselves programs which can deal with the social crises that exist; they are largely measures to alleviate the results of these crises. To support liberal Democrats helps encourage the main illusion in the working class, the Black community, and the anti-war sections of the population: that is, that significant change can come through working within the established political institutions which are tied to the capitalist social structure. Rather we must stress that these movements can achieve genuine change only by building independent political institutions of their own.

We must oppose any support for any candidates who, because of their ties to the Democratic Party, are incapable of developing and implementing any social programs which fundamentally challenge the basic institutions of this society. Such support will only lead to further strengthening of the right as the social crises deepen and the left fails to counterpose its own programs to the discredited liberal bandits.

If we are to fight the repression successfully without capitulating to it, our primary task must be to continue building a movement for change. Our primary orientation must be to undermine the mass support for the repression by rebuilding the anti-war movement and expand mass struggles to other sections of the community and particularly to the white working class. It is only when people begin a struggle which itself brings down the opposition of the state that they come to realize that the primary task of the police is not to help children across the streets or even to control "outside agitators" but in fact to suppress ordinary people like themselves in order to defend the system as a whole and protect the interests of those who rule. This was the dynamic of the Richmond Oil Strike, the Sterling Stamping Plant Wildcat, and other militant worker strug-

gles which found the police and courts steadfastly on the side of the bosses.

Community control of the police must be seen not as a panacea solution to repression but only as one issue among many that we can use to try to reach outward and move additional sections of the population into a struggle. Where and whether the demand for community control of police is used must be determined by the social and political consciousness of the particular community. In most cases it will not be the most appropriate issue because the demand has little appeal to those who are not already in struggle and directly experience the true role of the police.

The way to defeat repression is not to attempt to channel all struggle into the single issue of repression but to encourage people to struggle over the issues that immediately concern them. Even if repression is not explicitly the issue, militant struggles for higher wages, better working conditions, civil liberties, and basic human rights, or against the war, are all part of the struggle against repression. For all of these struggles bring additional people into contact with the reality of the police and thereby undermine the social support for repression.

Reaction or Revolution

We want to win over as many people as possible to the fight against repression. We welcome the support of everyone including liberals who is willing to struggle with us on these specific issues. But ultimately, to defeat repression our task must be to build a movement capable of solving the social crisis -- which means challenging the institutions of capitalism. We must not be diverted from this goal for the sake of winning short-term liberal support.

Our tasks for the next period will be difficult ones. Racism has traditionally forced black people to accept the worst jobs and bear the brunt of layoffs and unemployment, thus partially shielding white workers from the contradictions of American Capitalism. The permanent war economy has temporarily patched over some of the cracks in capitalism. The white working class as a whole is still not in motion and is certainly way behind the political development of the black working class and large sections of the black community.

There are signs of increased militancy in the white working class as the speedup and inflation of the "superheated" economy are increasingly resisted. But we should have no illusions. The white working class will not go into struggle over night -- the process of political development takes some time. The only way to end the repression on our own terms -- the right to organize and remake the society -- is through our commitment not to let the repression deter us from expanding the struggle on many fronts against a decaying social order.

Liberalism and Repression

A significant spur to repression has been the impotence of the various liberal alternatives, like the McCarthy campaign with its predictable capitulation to lesser-evilism. The mass of McCarthy supporters ended up voting for "law and order" with Hubert Humphrey, thus signing a blank check for repression no matter who won the election. Politics have shifted to the right; advocates of the "hard line" grow more numerous and determined, while liberal politicians move rightward, mildly dissenting but remaining part of the repressive structure.

Just in case anyone would like to underestimate the degradation of the left-liberals, we reproduce some excerpts from an editorial entitled "Resurgence of Reaction?" (*The New Republic*, 6/28/69):

"Scared? Why not? The police state may be knocking on your door. It's been a three-alarm month. First Los Angeles, then Minneapolis, now New York. Each of these cities in upset elections rejected respectably liberal candidates in favor of men who brayed about law and order."

"The results in each instance may do enormous symbolic damage, if they are read by politicians as signifying an irreversible trend . . . toward repression. Some fear they portend a resurgence of reaction that will spill over into 1970, when, Senator George McGovern reminds us, more than half of the liberals in the United States Senate are up for reelection . . ."

"One conclusion is that liberal disavowal of violence must be made more emphatic. And it can be made emphatic without compromising devotion to due process, civil liberties, black advancement or educational reform. The results of recent elections may also spur liberals to find new ways of communicating with those models of charisma, the Working Class whites . . ."

"The terrifying simplifiers . . . only feed the fire they promise to put out . . . The politics of fear, of law-and-order, can do nothing but polarize the society, deepen distrust among the already distrustful, weaken the possibilities for peaceful political accommodation. . . It is not they, but the John Lindsays of both parties, the men who ask the right questions and aren't scared, who are and will be the country's best hope."

Control Your Local Police



Any demand to take the power over social institutions from the elites which now control them and place this power in the hands of the people is a democratic demand which should be supported by all who are struggling to end exploitation and oppression. But how a campaign is waged for any given demand will determine whether that demand helps build a movement or misdirects it.

It is crucial that we see the demand for community control of the police not as mere merely a petition drive which can end the repression, but rather as a campaign to help make people aware of the true nature of the state and the society we live in. We therefore suggest the following guidelines for local police control campaigns:

- 1) The campaign must stress not just the decentralization aspect of the proposal (i.e. separate police for the black communities) but also the idea of direct popular control. We must insist that a local oppressor is no better than one who rules from farther away. The question is not primarily one of geography but of social control. By raising the demand for popular control of the police, with immediate recall of commissioners, etc., we will be able to spotlight the fact that the police exist to serve not the people but a minority ruling class.

- 2) To further dramatize the class nature of the police we can specify certain demands in our campaign. The demand that the police must live in the communities that they patrol highlights the reality of the police as a military occupation force in the Black and other Third World communities. We must demand that the police not be used to break strikes. Similarly, we should demand that police not be used on college or public school campuses in political disputes. These demands must be put forward to demonstrate concretely how the police serve not the people but the administrative elites and the social class who rule this society.

- 3) The campaign for Community Control of Police must not, even by implication, become a substitute for armed self defense. On the contrary, by using the police control campaign to demonstrate the oppressive class role of the police, we can build political understanding of and support for the necessity for armed self defense.

- 4) We must be clear that we have no illusions about the success of this campaign. Precisely because the police are a major prop of minority rule in this society, wherever there is a significant campaign for popular control of the police we can expect every form of opposition from propaganda, to legal tricks, to police attacks. Even if a police control initiative should be successful in some community, we must be prepared for the will of the people to be sidestepped by those in power through direct denial or through the use of other armed forces including sheriffs, state police and national guard. We must use this result not as an excuse for giving up but to demonstrate to people that you can not win part of state power, that we will have to continue the struggle to win it all and remake the society.

- 5) Finally, the police control campaign must complement, not substitute for, other issues and demands which can move masses of people into struggle. How the issue of police control should be used must be determined by the political consciousness in the local communities. The masses of Americans who are not today engaged in struggle and who accept this society see the police as their friend and protector and oppose any controls over them. It is only once people are in struggle over their own demands, and the true role of the police is exposed, that the question of police control becomes relevant to most people. It is in this context that the campaign for police control will not just be a frustrating exercise but help in pointing the way to continued development of the mass struggle.

Revolution and Democracy

Socialist revolution is the process in which the mass of the population and particularly the working class seize control of the basic institutions of society and begin to run them in their own interest.

In the course of revolution political organs of struggle -- workers' councils, etc. -- are transformed into organs of potential social rule. Revolutionary organs of struggle have been repeatedly thrown up by the revolutionary proletariat in motion: the Paris Commune, Soviets in Russia in 1905 and 1917, the German Arbeiterrate of 1918, the Barcelona Commune during the Spanish Civil War, and the Hungarian revolutionary Soviets of 1956. As these come into increasingly bitter conflict with the old order, they must either destroy the existing state, or be destroyed by it. A victorious revolution creates a workers state, ruled by the workers councils -- a step toward a classless society in which all forms of violence and coercion will disappear.

A socialist revolution is not made by a small band of revolutionaries, it is made by the mass of the people. But in a revolutionary situation, the role of the revolutionary party is critical. It provides leadership for the working class, not by demanding blind obedience, but by winning the working class politically to its program. The rise of a revolutionary movement and the revolution itself are in a sense simply the acting out of ever higher levels of popular consciousness.

The revolutionary party must function as an organized and conscious center of opposition to the ideology of the status quo. In a capitalist society, the state is committed to maintaining the existing property relations. Any challenge to those property relations or to the authority of the state, is met with organized violence -- with police, with jails, and if necessary, with armies. But short of that, the institutions of the ruling class dominate society, ideologically, educating people to view the world not from the point of view of their own self interest, their own class interest, but from the point of view of the interests of the ruling class.

The political differences which express themselves within the "official" American po-

litical process represent different attitudes within the ruling class. The interests of the people are taken into account only to the extent to which sections of the ruling class believe that not doing so might create social dislocations or challenges to its power in the long run more costly than satisfying the particular need. Alternatively, one section of the ruling class may appeal to some real need in order to use the support generated to win a political victory over another section. But the ruling class unites against real threats to its power. It will never subordinate its own interests to the interests of the people, and the two are irreconcilably in conflict.

A society is not democratic until its democracy extends to the democratic control of the economy, of the society's resources, of the work place. "Bourgeois democracy" is little more than government for, by and in the interest of the bourgeoisie. Those democratic rights that do exist in America were wrested from the ruling class in struggle. We struggle to support and extend civil liberties within this society while always pointing out that the state will violate its own rules when the fundamental interests of the ruling class are at stake.

We are committed to the creation of a democratic society. We do not believe that democracy is a luxury; we consider it a social and economic necessity. We wish to build a society which serves the real needs of its people, in which man can develop to his full potential, and we believe that only a state and an economy which is democratically controlled by the masses of the people can serve the interests of those masses. Substantive democracy in society will only come into being when political power flows directly from workers control of the means of production.

So long as classes continue to exist, the society must be governed by those who work. Full democracy must exist within the working class. This includes the access to those resources necessary to propagandize and organize for one's own ideas and political program; even if these ideas and programs run counter to those officially promulgated by the state or ruling party.

terms are challenged, whether by the emergence of working class struggles or the growth of left wing political movements, the facade of neutrality and impartiality disappears. The police and courts act in the interests of those they really represent -- in the interests of the ruling class.

Today, the ruling class apparatus of repression is directed against the anti-imperialist and anti-war movement, against militant labor struggles, and most heavily, against the movement for black liberation. Quite naturally, the question arises, are we undergoing a period of fascism?

Traditionally, the term "fascism" has referred to the specific form that capitalism takes as its last-ditch defense against total collapse. Not only is the entire repressive apparatus of the state mobilized in a declared war against the left, but so is the ruling class's "public" -- large numbers of lower-middle-class (and even many working-class) supporters of Order, organized around demagogic play on their insecurities. It is this combination of state-imposed repression and a mass-based counter-revolutionary movement which has historically developed the strength to wipe out working-class and left-wing movements, and to terrorize all those who would conceive of even whispering a word of opposition.

From this point of view, the repression that we face today is not yet "fascist," but simply the "normal" repressive measures that the capitalist ruling class periodically introduces to destroy or limit its opposition. There is, of course, no fine line that divides "normal" repression and fascism. The repression itself helps generate counter-revolutionary and fascist movements. Already there are signs of this: in the goon-squads mobilized during the San Francisco school integration conflict, in the organized off-duty police attack on the Panthers in a New York court house, and in the white vigilante gangs developing in cities like Newark. For now, such developments remain on the periphery of American politics.

A workers' state must be viewed as a means for the consolidation of the rule of the working class. Its goal is the end of all class distinctions in society. As this in fact occurs, the very need for a state diminishes and the state itself can and should wither away.

When political power and economic power are merged -- as they are in those existing states which call themselves "Communist" -- the decisive question becomes, "Who controls the state?" The working class and the mass of the people can only control society politically -- through the state. And they can control the state only through workers' democracy. When all political and democratic rights are systematically prohibited -- particularly within the working class -- and when a closed bureaucratic elite arises and has the power to make all substantive political and economic decisions, then the state cannot be considered socialist.

All history has demonstrated that no elite which exercises power will voluntarily give up that power, nor are the masses of the people trained to run society by any process other than the struggle for its revolutionary overthrow.

It is a tragedy when the American left seeks political leadership from one or another "revolutionary elite" which is in power. This weakens its ability to organize a working class which has more in common with the working classes over which those elites rule than it has with the "revolutionary elites" which exploit them. This "leadership" systematically orients the movement away from the only course which has the potential of paving the way for a genuine socialist revolution: that is, from revolutionary democratic struggle from below.

We are revolutionary internationalists. Our goal is world proletarian revolution. We are for the overthrow of all minority ruling classes: capitalist and bureaucratic Communist. We see revolution in the capitalist and so called "Communist" camps to be part of a single world struggle -- even as, as socialists in the United States, we see our immediate task to be the revolutionary overthrow of American capitalism and its imperialism.

Is It Fascism?

The true history of the American ruling class is marked by a series of vicious repressions against movements struggling for social justice. Repression has been used against black people since slavery and reconstruction. It was used against the Populists, against anti-war Socialists and radicals during World War I, against the Industrial Workers of the World and the early Communist Party, against workers' organizations and trade unions. In all of these cases, thousands were beaten in police attacks and imprisoned on trumped-up charges -- some were even executed.

Civil liberties and democratic rights were no luxury for these struggling movements. They needed free speech and free press in order to organize masses of people against exploitation and imperialism, and for social justice and human rights. And as the movements grew stronger, and as they posed a greater threat to the status quo, the more obvious it became that their democratic rights and liberties depended solely on their own strength and determination -- determination to continue their struggle despite repression.

Acts of terror, intimidation, and denials of civil liberties and the right to organize have been characteristic of every capitalistic society whenever the social structure and the prerogatives of its ruling class are threatened by mass movements of people from below. The state with its laws, police, and courts exists to maintain social peace -- but a social peace on the terms of the ruling class and at the expense of the exploited. When these

Under fascism they will be its heart and soul.

What we choose to call the repression we are experiencing, however, is not the most important question. For the Panther 21, Fred Hampton, Huey Newton and other courageous black, Chicano, and white political prisoners -- and for all those, particularly in the Black Panther Party, who must daily face the threat of similar treatment -- there is little difference between fascism and "normal" repression. For Bobby Hutton and James Rector there is no difference at all.

What is important is what we do about it. No one should become hysterical in the face of repression. We must prepare ourselves to withstand and minimize the consequences of the repression while we continue the struggle. But we must not turn inward and attempt to defend ourselves at the expense of building a militant mass movement.

Moreover, we should not allow the slogan of fascism to be used to turn us from our opposition to capitalism toward making alliances with the liberal wing of capitalism in the hopes that the liberals will save us from Somebody Worse.

The fact that the liberal wing of capitalism can not save us from the rise of fascism was demonstrated by the rise of the Nazis in Germany. The German people voted for von Hindenberg as the lesser-evil against Hitler. Unwilling to step beyond the bounds of Capitalism, von Hindenberg's program for social peace was accommodation to the militant right. He proceeded to appoint Hitler as Chancellor. By rallying to support of the lesser evil the German people got not only the lesser evil but also the greater evil. From this point on, the triumph of fascism was all "perfectly legal".

In the long run, the only way to end repression or fascism is to work towards building a revolutionary mass movement led by the working class -- a movement which can take state power and, by abolishing capitalism, end once and for all the social crises of capitalism which generate fascism.

By their practice, the Black Panther Party has earned the respect of the entire left. The Panthers demonstrated the necessity of armed self-defense to protect the black community. Their ten point program deals not only with the surface and legal manifestations of racism but with the basic oppression and exploitation. The Panthers projected on a national scale that even in the fight for black liberation, politics rather than skin color is primary. This provided the basis for Third-World people to work together and with whites in coalitions based on mutual respect and struggle against the common enemy. Specifically rejected was the subordination of one people to another as in the old civil rights and trade union movements (whites dominating blacks) or the sycophancy and tail-ending of whites in the early black power movement.

Because they measured people by their relationship to oppression rather than by their skin color or rhetoric, the Panthers openly opposed self-seeking Negroes who served the ruling class, even if they wore naturals or Black Capitalism, and Negro Democratic Party politicians, just as it opposed the white servants of the ruling class.

The Panthers have led the way in pointing out that ultimately, the liberation struggle of black people was inseparable from that of all people. Without sub-working class, the Panthers have worked toward alliances with whites for destruction of capitalism and the building of a new nonexploitative society.

But the Panthers are not superhuman. Despite their many advances, they are still capable of making mistakes and moving in the wrong direction in response to changing conditions. Muting criticism in the name of support the Panthers does no service to the Panthers and the black liberation struggle. If there can be no debate and criticism in the left, the result will not be united action, but ossification and ultimately decay. A left which lacks respect for its own ideas and programs and cannot stand internal debate, cannot possibly hope to win the support of the masses. It is within this context of fraternal support that we make our criticism of this conference.

We believe that both the structure and direction of this conference point in an extremely dangerous direction for the left. The so-called "United Front" seems to be turning into an excuse for conservative alliances, a unity based not on common political struggle but artificially constructed by top down control and the exclusion of unpopular left-wing groups from the movement.

People are lectured, like sheep in a class room. Discussion and debate are ruled out. We are supposed to "get down to business" and not ask any questions about what business we are getting down to. We find the conservative, corrupt and discredited Communist Party and its establishment liberal allies elevated to share the platform with the Black Panther Party as the leadership of our movement.

At the same time, left organizations are told that they cannot present their points of view. While millionaire liberal dillitantes like Edward Keating and discredited Communist Party liberals like Herbert Aptheker drone on from the podium, groups in the lobby (including the Independent Socialist Club and the Spartacists) had their literature censored by Panther ideologists and then banned on various excuses. Progressive Labor Party and individuals (fingered by so-called "white radicals") supposedly friendly to PL were banned from attending the conference. This is nothing more than the methodology of red-baiting.

We fundamentally oppose PL's views on nationalism and most other questions. But PL at least demanded that Huey be set free. Willy Brown, who is scheduled to speak from the podium, is a Democratic Party politician who refused to support the demand that Huey be set free. What is the political meaning of a "United Front" which excludes or silences left groups but invites "Democrats, Republicans, the NAACP, black police organizations, etc." If we are to measure groups by their practice, why isn't the demand to free Huey, or the willingness to attack the repression in practice the "test" rather than "anti-fascist" lip-service and rhetoric.

One of the signs of the disastrous direction the movement has taken is the attitude that any criticism of the Panthers is to be interpreted as opposition. Just to make our position explicit, we are supporters of the Panthers. The ISC was one of the first groups to publicly support the Panthers following their arrests in Sacramento in 1966. When the Panthers were still a small Oakland-based organization, we were actively defending and explaining them while most liberals and the left were hostile to armed self defense or were looking to SNCC and Stokely Carmichael as the leadership of the black movement. We continue to support them today, but like yesterday when no one else was around, this does not mean that we hide our differences.

Because of their leadership role, the Panthers have earned respect on the left and repression from the police and courts. In this sense, the Black Panther Party is a vanguard. But there is a difference between providing leadership in the form of ideas and action (the true role of a vanguard), and stifling a movement by insisting that it conform to the direction of one organization.

The best support for the Panthers, the best way to defend them from the vicious repression coming down, is not by merely attending support rallies or organizing others to attend support rallies. Ultimately, the only way to end the repression is to end the social system whose periodic crises produces that repression. This will require continuation of the open debate and discussion that has been one of the healthiest aspects of the new radicalism.

FREE BOBBY SEALE

As we go to press, the white power structure has just opened up another front in its continuing war against the Panthers, jailing Black Panther Party Chairman Bobby Seale on a series of trumped-up charges. We condemn this latest outrageous attempt at the suppression of the Panthers, and urge everyone committed to black self-determination and the right of self-defense to come to their aid.

The Panthers, as a national organization of black revolutionaries, are only the most obvious targets of the growing repression. If the ruling class is successful in its efforts to get the Panthers, the rest of the left will be next.

Pages 11 to 13 reprint a special supplement distributed by the Bay Area Independent Socialist Clubs at the National Conference for a United Front Against Fascism. "Repression and the Movement," "Control Your Local Police," and "Is It Fascism" were written by Mike Parker. "Liberalism and Repression" is by David Friedman. "Revolution and Democracy" is by Jack Weinberg. The two leaflets on page 14 were also distributed by the ISC at the Conference.

Women and the Conference

On Friday night the Panther Conference scheduled a panel on Women vs. Fascism. This was supposed to be held after the introductory speakers and before Herbert Aptheker spoke. However, Aptheker's speech preceded the women's panel, demonstrating that the conference leadership felt that its male speaker was more important than women speaking on their own behalf. It became apparent during his speech that the panel might not be held at all.

Several people, women and men, stood up and verbally protested, saying, "We want to hear the women." The Panthers approached these people, called them "pigs and provocateurs" and threatened to throw them out of the auditorium if they did not cease their protest. The women made it clear that they felt they were entitled to make a protest against the male chauvinism and the rigid format of the conference. A group of women remained standing during the speech, and were surrounded by "security officers" to assure they would not be "disruptive." A single woman in the balcony was bodily removed from the auditorium.

If the leadership had been really responsive to the wishes of the thousands of people attending this Conference, they would have readjusted the schedule without attempting to cut off the women from any participation (for example, they could have shortened the previous presentations rather than asking the women to sacrifice nearly all their allotted time).

Unfortunately, it seems that the events of Friday night were not simply an oversight on the part of the leadership; throughout this conference both the Panthers and certain white groups have tried to run this conference like Daley and Company did at the Democratic Convention in Chicago last year. They are determined to see that no independent action or initiative is taken by the participants in the conference. There are no workshops scheduled, no opportunity for floor discussion, and no voting on crucial issues at this conference. If the people Friday night had felt that it was possible to vote to change the agenda, they would not have had to resort to protest. The top down nature of the conference, however, means that the only way to be heard is through demonstrations and protest.

The growing repression in this country has made it necessary for groups on the left to come together to defend themselves. In particular, the Panthers, who have borne the brunt of this repression, are the logical initiators of a common defense organization. However, if we hope to be at all effective in building a strong united organization, we have to make it clear from the very beginning that participating groups and individuals really control their own movement.

The Panther Conference:

What's Wrong?



The New York Primaries

Ian McMahan

The New York City primaries, coming so soon after the right-wing victories in Los Angeles and Minneapolis, were foreordained to be interpreted as further support for reaction. Even had Lindsay won, the size of his opponent's vote would have been seen as an indication of the strength of the law and order backlash.

In fact, the two law and order candidates carried the Democratic and Republican primaries. Nixon hailed the results as a sign that Americans were fed up with crime and disorder. William Buckley announced that New York had left its liberal adolescence for conservative adulthood. The New York Times rebuked the voters for succumbing to appeals to bigotry, and the New York Post praised John Lindsay in tones normally reserved for the memory of Eleanor Roosevelt.

The New York primaries are important, but not entirely as a measure of the strength of the far right. A closer look at the candidates and the results can provide, instead, a measure of the extent to which American liberalism has failed and collapsed in the face of the urban crisis.

The Republican primary was fairly simple, with only two candidates to keep track of. One, of course, was John Lindsay. The other was John Marchi, a rather colorless state senator from Staten Island who already had the nomination of the Conservative Party, just as Lindsay had that of the Liberal Party. Marchi, incidentally, is a darling of Albert Shanker and the United Federation of Teachers bureaucracy, for his efforts to kill community control of the schools.

The Democratic primary, on the other hand, was a five-ring circus. Reading approximately left to right, the candidates included Bronx Borough President Herman Badillo, a Puerto Rican Protestant with a Jewish wife and McCarthy-liberal politics; ex-mayor Robert Wagner, whose campaign slogan was "End the war in New York, too" (and whose running-mate used the slogan, "You're either part of the solution or part of the problem"); and Controller Mario Procaccino, who insisted that the only issue was law and order.

Also running were self-styled "left-conservative" Norman Maller, who called on the city to become the 51st state and to give neighborhoods the power to do anything they liked; and Congressman James Scheuer, a liberal Jewish backlash candidate, who had the distinction of seeing his potential support go to all four of his opponents.

In the Republican primary, Marchi got about 112,000 votes (51%) to Lindsay's 105,000 (49%). Among the Democrats, Procaccino's 252,000 (33%) easily beat 221,000 (29%) for Wagner and 215,000 (28%) for Badillo. Lindsay and Badillo carried Manhattan by very wide margins; Marchi and Procaccino won in all four of the other boroughs. In both primaries, about 35% of the enrolled voters cast ballots.

In ethnic terms, too, the primaries were essentially identical. Italian and Irish neighborhoods went strongly for Marchi and Procaccino. Black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods were strongly for Lindsay and Badillo. In the three assembly districts in Harlem, Lindsay received over 90% of the vote, while in the same districts Badillo's vote ranged from about 45% in Central Harlem to almost 70% in South Harlem. More unexpected were the very strong showings made by Marchi and Procaccino in middle-class and upper-middle-class Jewish neighborhoods, such as Riverdale in the Bronx, Midwood in Brooklyn, and the Rockaways in Queens. In Riverdale, for example, Marchi received 63% of the Republican vote, and Procaccino 47% of the Democratic vote. These middle-class Jewish votes had been considered essential in Robert Wagner's strategy for winning.

FUN CITY

The first thing to be noted about these figures is that they do not entirely support the notion that New York has become a "conservative town." In fact, among these enrolled Democrats and Republicans who voted, 63% voted against Marchi or Procaccino. This fact feeds Lindsay's hope of winning in November on the Liberal line and some ad hoc fusion ticket. However, the spectacle of the two major parties in the nation's largest city running mayoral candidates who insist that the only issue is law and order and the only solution is to untie the hands of the cops is a striking symptom of the crisis in American society and of the incompetence of liberalism to deal with that crisis.

The basic issue in New York today can best be defined as the rottenness of life in the city. The cost of living is ridiculously high; city and state taxes climb even faster than federal taxes; housing is practically unavailable and rents are skyrocketing; the streets are filled with garbage and the air with soot and noxious gases; the subways and highways were built to carry a fraction of their present load. And not surprisingly, a big part of the problem is law and order. If the muggers don't get you, the burglars will. Add to this the fact that one out of every eight New Yorkers is on Welfare; that the Medicaid program

has been gutted and the city hospitals have practically stopped functioning; that at the present rate of construction, the waiting period for public housing is on the order of fifty years; and that the school system, crippled by last year's teacher strike, faces chaos next fall under the new "compromise" decentralization plan. Then stir in hundreds of millions in corporate headquarters and expense-account eateries -- and the melting pot becomes a cauldron, waiting to explode.

The responses of the candidates to these issues may be estimated by their pre-election answers to the question, "What is the major problem facing New York City?" Scheuer and Procaccino cited "predatory" and "violent crime;" Marchi said that it was the lack of a sense of community; Badillo maintained that it was the lack of understanding among different groups; Lindsay said it was a lack of money and local control; and Wagner succinctly replied that it was John Lindsay. All these, of course, are problems, but the measures proposed by the candidates were mousetraps, set to catch an elephant.

If this is most clearly true in the cases of Marchi and Procaccino, fundamentally the programs of the liberal candidates were no less inadequate to meet the crisis. Nor is this inadequacy the accidental result of not having bright advisors or of sheer obtuseness: It is rooted in the very nature of liberalism in its alliances and its bases of support in society.

A candidate for county commissioner was haranguing a group of voters about the corruption of the incumbent. "And do you know," he concluded, "my opponent used county money to build a road out to his farm?" "Yup," replied a listener, "that's why I'm voting for him. He's already got his road."

American attitudes toward politics are shaped by a peculiar combination of cynicism and trust: the cynical belief that all politicians are out for what they can get, and a trust in the intentions of those who have "already got their road." In general, wealth is seen as a qualification for office, since a millionaire is supposedly less likely to rob the public till. And in periods of popular unrest, as long as the people have not discovered the power they possess in self-activity, they tend to seek out a tribune from among the ruling class, a man of the sort of FDR and the Kennedys.

Within the ruling class itself, the tradition of patrician liberalism is based on finance capital: that sector of the capitalist class that is forced to develop an overview of the economy and the society and to fight the parochialism of the more backward elements of their class. In their role as coordinators for the class as a whole, the patrician liberals are able to act for the long-range interests of capitalism even when this means acting against the immediate interests of a particular section of the capitalist class.

The ideology of patrician liberalism is shaped by its class function. The patrician liberal sees himself as the spokesman for the interests of society as against those of narrow, venal interest groups. He wants to reduce glaring and unsettling injustices, to bring the underdogs into the "Mainstream of American Society." But at the same time, of course, he expects these underdogs to show a proper sense of responsibility. Hell hath no fury like a patrician liberal whose underdogs get uppity -- i.e. try to act on their own.

John Lindsay is a model patrician liberal. He is also a Republican. And within this contradiction lies the key both to his success and to his defeat. FDR, for example, was a Democrat because his underdog was the "common man" and his enemy was the unlightened, hard-nosed Republican whose policies were leading the country to revolution. Lindsay's underdog is the black, and the enemy is the "narrow, venal interests" of the lower-middle-class and working-class white. They represent a major part of the base of the Democratic Party, so Lindsay is a Republican. But "his" underdogs, the blacks and Puerto Ricans, are Democrats, while the base of his party is a declining number of fellow patrician liberals and a growing number of the most threatened and most reactionary middle-class whites. Thus, the majority of his party is made up of people whom he sees, and who see him, as a direct enemy.

Lindsay's ideology is by no means incredible. Blacks are the most oppressed group in American society, and among the roadblocks to their liberation are the stand-pat attitudes of the trade union movement and

the hostility and racism of the white lower-middle-class. But black oppression is not rooted in these attitudes, as patrician liberalism implies; it is rooted in the very social system which patrician liberalism is out to defend. These attitudes stand in the way of the creation of a movement against the roots of black -- and white -- oppression -- but the choice for the black liberation movement to enter into an alliance with patrician liberalism is no choice at all.

During the early '60s, the civil rights movement in the South was wooed by wealthy urban whites who were more interested in a good image than in defending segregation in schools that their children would not attend anyway. For a short time, this alliance with the Southern patrician liberals seemed to pay off; expensive restaurants in Atlanta and other cities were "integrated" with great fanfare. One of the most important advances made by SNCC was to see that the possible gains from such an alliance were strictly limited by the interests of the patricians, and that an alliance with poor whites, however difficult to build, was the only way to attack the real problems of Southern blacks.

BLACK-WHITE ALLIANCES

In a parallel fashion, the black student movement today faces the choice of allying itself with college administrations, gaining limited immediate reforms at the cost of arousing hostility among non-black students or working to build a fighting alliance with white campus radicals that can struggle for more basic and far-reaching changes.

Similarly, the problems of the city can be attacked realistically only with the building of a genuine black-white alliance. But such an alliance can only be built by pointing out the common problems and common enemies of blacks and whites, and by putting forth a program for overcoming them. Inflation, exorbitant taxation, poor health care, and even crime in the streets fall heavily on all wage-earners in New York, black and white. But only the right has been willing to point out an enemy -- blacks -- and put forth a program -- unleash the cops. For this reason, reaction in New York, as the primaries indicated, has become a movement, while liberalism has become at best a habit. Neither Lindsay's call for patrician-black alliance against the selfish interests of white workers, nor Badillo's call for more understanding among groups, has built, or is likely to build, anything more impressive than a list of passive endorsers.

Liberalism is prevented from becoming the nucleus of the movement we have described by both its class roots and the reflection of these roots in its ideology. Patrician liberalism has already been discussed; middle-class liberalism is more complex because it is less tied to direct class interests, but except in the most unusual circumstances, it is little more than the tall or left wing of patrician liberalism. Its image of society is a unitary body, of which some sections may have particular problems, but none that cannot be resolved within the body. Its conception of its opponents is as either misguided or malevolent individuals; its solutions to the problems of society consist of new laws, appeals to men of good will, and education; its motive power is built over enjoyable middle-class life. In other words, middle-class liberals reject the notion of class struggle, both as a tool for analyzing society and as a guide for organizing to change society.

PART OF THE PROBLEM

Given the intermediate position of the middle class in capitalist society, it is quite understandable that it rejects an analysis that only reveals its own impotence. But with the continuing decline of the middle class, its potential for any independent action becomes increasingly circumscribed. The absence of a class analysis prevents liberals from creating a "pebbles" movement and throws them even more into the arms of the liberal sector of the ruling class, even though such a move dooms liberalism to be separated from and even opposed to any genuine popular movement that may arise. What began with the self-conception of a movement for social change ends, as a class after an ever-receding center. The past four years have seen constant escalation in police violence in New York, but not even Badillo raised Lindsay's 1965 demand for a civilian review board. Instead, all the candidates, from left to right, called for more cops. With no dynamic of its own, liberalism combats the resurgent right by, on the one hand, accommodating to the right, as befits men of good will, and on the other hand, raising the cry of "bigotry" which, however gratifying to one's own sense of righteousness, is not notably effective in convincing anyone else.

Because liberalism is intimately tied to the ruling class and looks to a section of the ruling class for leadership, it cannot lead the struggle against class. Because it is unable to point to the roots of the present crisis in a decaying system of class rule, it cannot put forth a program capable of dealing with the crisis. Because it is unable to organize people around a fighting program of class demands, it cannot build a real, popular movement, it cannot defeat reaction but must continually retreat before it. Because it is part of the problem, it cannot be part of the solution.

This year's annual New York Easter Peace March was different, and everybody -- from the New York Times to the Guardian -- knew it. It was so much the advertising, publicity or leadership of the march that was different -- it was the marchers themselves.

Sandin the Machine: The GI Resistance

In spite of the intentions of the organizers of the march, the signs and banners carried by the marchers this year no longer reflected the single-issue orientation that has characterized these yearly marches in the past. The age of the vast majority of marchers, younger than before, and the content of their slogans and chants, made it clear that, at least in New York, it was the radical movement that saved the anti-war movement from what many had expected would be a disaster, i.e., from a pitiful turn-out.

Indeed, far from being a "rebirth" of the anti-war movement, this year's march signified the death of single-issue politics and the birth of a semi-mass radical movement. The radicals turned out to show their strength, and they turned out on their own terms. To anyone who had had his doubts before, the New York march came as an unmistakable demonstration of the fact that the Movement, despite its political confusion, no longer derives its growth from the war in Vietnam or any other single issue, but from the general search for a way out of the crisis in American society.

The other notable difference between this year's anti-war march and last year's was the presence of numbers of GPs in the front ranks, which undoubtedly gave a boost to the tired image of these marchers. The rapid growth of the GI resistance movement, a relatively new development, constitutes yet another of the stubborn, angry spectres which have come to haunt the establishment in the last few years.

It is a Marxist truism that "the system creates its own opposition." The military goes the system one better: it actively recruits its own opposition -- that is, it drafts radicals. Furthermore, unlike middle-class radicals "colonized" in a shop, radicals in the army, whatever their background, are made more or less indistinguishable from anyone else by the "equalizing" process that begins the first day of Basic Training.

Young men of all classes and backgrounds are thrown together, made to look alike, act alike, and (the Army hopes) think alike. The rigor of Army life demands that everyone's first identity be "GI" rather than worker, student, lawyer, etc. For the radical organizer, this is a situation truly unique in American society.

Not surprisingly, then, the movement has discovered the military as a fertile ground for political work, and all of the tendencies that exist in the Movement are now to be found in the Army. Civilian radicals, too, are discovering that there is much for them to do in terms of GI work. The result is that various different approaches to GI work have developed.

Most civilian radicals are, of course, encouraged -- and rightly so -- by the sight of GIs marching against the war. At the same time, the tone and direction of the GI movement are often imported, consciously or not, from the civilian movement. Moreover, in the end, no revolutionary movement can likely triumph if the armed forces of the status quo hold firm against it -- and no rank and file opposition in the military can succeed in the absence of support in the larger society.

The perspectives of the civilian radical movement toward the GI resistance thus can be of real importance to the future prospects of both. For example, it is in this context that the overall significance of the recent GI participation in the anti-war marches must be assessed.

What was an obvious plus from the point of view of the civilian movement by itself no longer seems such a civilian development when the dynamics of the GI movement are taken into account.

MULT-ISSUE MOVEMENT

In general, the GI groups that are emerging on bases around the country have been organized around a number of issues, of which the war is only one. It is of course true -- as will be seen -- that there would be no GI resistance movement were it not for the war in Vietnam. But the diverse nature of the issues around which GI action and organization are taking place makes it clear that this new movement, like the civilian movement today, springs from a variety of sources.

In fact the two most dramatic GI actions, those of the Presidio 27 and the Fort Hood 43 were radical in spirit and content, and did not center on the war at all; the Presidio sit-down was a protest against the shooting of a fellow GI prisoner and against stockade conditions, and the refusal of black GPs at Fort Hood to do "riot duty" in Chicago was fundamentally a protest against racism.

Yet the GPs who marched this spring were organized on an essentially liberal single-issue basis; that is, on the basis of the consciousness of the anti-war movement as it was two or three years ago. Moreover, the roots of this approach lie not in a natural development or spontaneous consciousness of the GPs but in one of the supposedly revolutionary tendencies on the left.

Thus, as the rather convulsive debate about strategy and tactics which has gripped the left proceeds, it is important that the nature of the GI resistance movement be one of the questions to be clarified.

Military service in the era of the Vietnam War and America's world-wide military "commitment" is inevitably a potentially radicalizing experience. Drafted without his consent, the GI who is sent to a foreign land is confronted by almost universal hostility to the role he is playing. In Vietnam, there is no popular support for US presence whatsoever, and yet it is precisely there that the GI is expected to risk his life for the myth that he was invited over to defend democracy.

This contrast between myth and reality, most exaggerated in Vietnam, is a fact of life to one degree or another around the world. In Europe or Japan, the GI sees massive demonstrations in opposition to American policy. Nowhere does he feel welcome.

Moreover, any army based on the draft is bound to reflect to some degree the society from which it re-

cruits. The large-scale growth of the anti-war, black liberation, and radical movements would have meant that the ideas of these movements would have found their way into the ranks of the military, even under normal circumstances. Today, the incipient breakdown of the normal functioning of American society that has been both the cause and, to a lesser extent, the effect of these movements can hardly go unnoticed by those who are expected to defend the US social system abroad.

In addition, the war in Vietnam necessitated a sizable, rapid expansion of the Army. From 2,653,142 men in 1965, the armed forces had grown to 3,376,511 by 1967. This growth was provided by the draft. And as a result of the swelled draft of 1966-67, the entire age level of the military was lowered: by 1967, 66.8% of active duty GPs were under 25, compared to only 56.4% in 1965.

It was college graduates and college drop-outs -- the kind of people who make up much of the anti-war movement -- who were swept up in the expanded draft. As a result, the ratio of young draftees to professional soldiers (lifers) was raised, and the whole new spirit of youth that has grown up in the last few years was brought into the army.

Even when not politicized, this spirit in no way lends itself to military discipline. The new draftees brought with them not only hard rock and hip culture, but, more concretely, pot and contagious disrespect for authority. And for those who had no politics when they entered the Army, the brass authorities, in the face of the life made the student movement an object of envy and, increasingly, an ally.

Similarly, in an Army which has always drawn disproportionately from the black community, the expanded draft meant that the older black lifer, always held up as proof of the myth of non-discrimination in the military, was gradually outnumbered by a new kind of black soldier -- the kind that took part in the Fort Hood strike, younger, more militant and black conscious.

As the war dragged on, disgust with it grew as fast as the size of the army required to fight it. Inductions and first enlistments rose -- many guys enlist rather than wait to be drafted with the hope of avoiding Vietnam or getting some job training -- but re-enlistments fell, from 247,000 on 1965 to 202,000 in 1967. Re-enlistments rose slightly in 1968, but not enough to compensate for the 1966-67 drop.

Of course, even the low 1967 figure is higher than that for earlier years when the war was invisible. The point is not that no one is willing to fight America's imperial wars -- there are still plenty of "gung ho" guys -- but rather that a growing percentage of men in the service simply don't buy the war or Army life.

The fruits of this dislocation in consciousness among servicemen can be seen in the dramatic rise of various forms of oppositional activity within the military. First, the desertion movement among GPs stationed in Europe, followed by a growing number of AWOLs among GIs destined for Vietnam. Then, the immense popularity of papers like Vietnam GI, and subsequently a certain amount of political organization or expression in connection with these papers. Finally, the open refusal of black GIs to serve as riot controllers in Chicago, massive riots in the Long Binh stockade in Vietnam, and attempts by entire Reserve units to prevent themselves from being shipped to Vietnam.

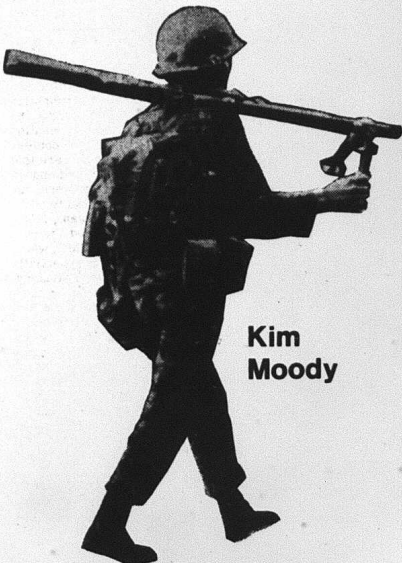
The failure of the debasing, brain-washing process of Basic Training to assimilate a large section of current recruits, and the cultural differences between the enlisted men and the "lifers" (rock versus country, pot versus booze), is the context, the necessary condition, for the growing GI movement. But the radical GI organizer is still confronted by an extremely difficult situation.

Not the least of his problems is an incredible tangle of laws and regulations which restrict any sort of ordinary movement by the individual and make political organizing hazardous to say the least. Along with all the specific regulations and sections of the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ), and failing the applicability of any of these, the Brass can always court martial a political activist under the infamous Article 134, which prohibits actions "to the prejudice of good order and discipline in the Armed Forces." In addition to these service-wide provisions, a post commander is free to lay down any post regulations he sees fit. At Fort Dix, for example, the post commander, General Collins, has forbidden the distribution of any of the underground GI papers.

Below the level of written regulations, officers may simply instruct or order GIs not to read certain materials or speak to certain kinds of people. Again, at Fort Dix, GIs in Basic Training are instructed not to take GI papers or leaflets that are distributed. The fact that such instructions are certainly unconstitutional does not lessen their effect. Most prevalent, of course, is simply endless harassment. Scarcely any GI activist or resister can hope to avoid interminable K.P.'s and C.Q.'s (sitting up all night in the Orderly Room), or the numerous variations on digging holes and filling them up again.

All these means of punishment, however, have not been enough to stop GIs from attempting organization and action. The courage learned in the civilian movement has found its way into the more difficult terrain of the military. The organizational concepts of the civilian movement, however, are not of much use in the Army.

To date, there are three main approaches to GI work: the union, the mass march, and the coffee house approach. The American Servicemen's Union (ASU) was the first attempt at GI organizing. It and its newspaper, The Bond, appear to be associated with Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF). The ASU's self-appointed leader, Andy Slapp, is a member of YAWF and does active recruiting work for YAWF within the ASU. The style and rhetoric of the Bond is generally in



Kim
Moody

in line with YAWF's style; full of "moneybags rapes Vietnam for fat profits," "Brass lynchings GI", cartoons depicting black and white GIs tearing down the wall of the stockade, and the like. Andy Stapp's style, however, is considerably more cool than this, and recently, The Bond seems to have adjusted its tone somewhat in response to criticisms from GIs.

The ASU itself seems to have small groups on most military bases in this country and many abroad. Many of its members join because they want to fight the brass or the war and the ASU is the first thing they see. Generally, the farther one gets from New York, the less influence Stapp and YAWF have. One of the organizers of the ASU at Fort Lewis, Washington, for example, was an ISCer. It is not entirely inconceivable that at some bases independent radicals might want to work in or with the ASU.

Nonetheless, as a perspective for long range GI work, the ASU approach is severely limited. The union conception itself is obviously an attempt to give GI organizing a working class coloration. For this reason, it is attractive to some radicals. However, for this same reason it is a misleading orientation. To begin with, the GI's position in society is not a working class one. On the contrary, for the working class draftee or enlistee it is, in fact, a removal from his class situation. Secondly, the GIs that radicals are interested in are only in the Army for 2 or 3 years and during that time are likely to be moved around a good deal. This means that a stable organizational base is lacking.

In addition, of course, open organization is virtually impossible, which means that anything pretending to be a national organization -- that deals with the Brass in a way that is in any sense analogous to a union -- must be run by outsiders (which is in fact the case with the ASU as a national organization).

The reality of the ASU, in any case, is that it is not a union at all, but essentially a political organization in which the politics of the national leadership are, by and large, unknown to the rank and file. This fact has opened Stapp to frequent charges of manipulation. Given even the best of intentions, which may actually be lacking, such a situation could hardly be avoided in a national GI organization posing as a union. Thus, while it is important to relate to the rank and file of the ASU, where possible, democratic revolutionaries must reject the ASU as a viable perspective for raising the consciousness of GIs or organizing a significant GI movement.

The second major approach to GI work is the mass peace march associated primarily with the Student Mobilization Committee, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP-YSA-SMC perspective is based on national mobilizations, i.e., marches around the country on the same day, a couple of times a year, focused on the slogan "Bring the Troops Home, Now." The only other issues allowed to impinge upon this strictly anti-war approach are GI civil liberties, in so far as they are needed to "speak out against the War," and the "legality" of GI participation in peaceful anti-war marches.

This orientation produced two peace parades on the West Coast in which several hundred GIs participated, and was also responsible for GI participation in the New York march this year. There can be little doubt that these marches and their success, at least on the West Coast, did contribute to the growth of anti-war consciousness among GIs and to the legitimization of their anti-war activity. The problem with marches as the basis of a whole strategy is not so much a matter of what it does as of what it falls to do.

The basic political content of the mass march approach applied to GI work is identical to the SWP-YSA-SMC approach to the civilian movement, and is in fact built upon the needs of that civilian orientation, on the notion that the most broad-based movement can be built by "uniting" everyone around the single issue of the Vietnam War. Much of the literature for this year's march made this explicit by claiming that the presence of GIs on the march would revive "the entire anti-war movement by calling attention to the new component, the anti-war GI."

This raises two questions: is simply reviving the single-issue anti-war movement what needs to be done at this point, and is this approach most likely to aid the growth of the GI movement, in terms of both its size and its political development.

On the one hand, the developments of the past year point to the fact that what we do now is not resurrect the anti-war movement per se but transcend it by building a mass radical movement. Any step backward toward single-issue politics would constitute a political retreat, a return to the liberal origins of the old peace movement.

Of course, it is quite true that the GI movement is relatively in its infancy, and partisans of the SWP-YSA-SMC approach often argue that the GI movement today is passing through a stage similar to that experienced by the student movement about three years ago. This argument might seem more plausible were it not for the fact that the single-issue orientation they propose for GIs happens to be the very perspective which this tendency is trying to jettison off the student movement of TODAY.

Any comparison between the early anti-war movement and present-day phenomena must, to begin with, take into account the fact that the past experience of the anti-war movement will have an impact on all future developments; the ground it has already covered will save those that follow it many steps, despite the traditional American reluctance to learn from history. But, moreover, there is very little analogy between today's GI resistance and the student movement at any stage in its history.

The military is a different constituency, in a different situation. The vast majority of GIs are working class youths, disproportionately black or Spanish speaking. While more often than not, the leaders of GI activities on most bases come from middle class backgrounds with some experience in the movement; the base which they must work with is working class in origin and destination. Furthermore, the situation in which they work is one of extreme authoritarianism, where "legality" counts for very little and where even one's theoretical rights are strictly limited.

Single-issue politics, particularly peace politics, are usually based on essentially moral-intellectual appeals.

Students, whose "job" is working with abstract ideas, are, within limits, susceptible to such moral appeals, as witness the moral origins of much of the new left. Even in the case of students, however, the movement has learned that there are severe limitations to moral single-issue politics; indeed, the intensified search for ideology that has gripped the movement in the last few months is a response to the rapid growth of the New Left beyond simple moral-outrage politics.

In the case of working-class youth, whose movement experience if any is one of struggle based on social self-interest, moral appeals are even more limited as a spring-board for organization.

It is of course true that, for GIs, the war in Vietnam can be a material consideration, and that that must be a major focus of GI work. To grant this obvious point, however, is not to argue that GI work should be based upon a single-issue approach. Vietnam veterans who turn to the left, or who come back opposed to the war, want to know why they were sent there. That is why they are willing to listen to radicals. Already committed to bringing the troops home now, what they want to learn is how the war relates to their other grievances about the status quo.

For those who haven't been to Vietnam, i.e. for those for whom Vietnam is still an abstract threat (a horrifying one to be sure), and for those who never go to Vietnam, there are other issues, arising out of the degrading, dehumanizing, totalitarian conditions of army life. These issues are not just "gripes" to be exploited by the left: they are the issues around which anti-militarism can be organized. To accept the purposes of the military, e.g., the war, one must accept the means -- militarism. To reject the means, because of your material condition, is to bring into question the purposes. This is in fact what has often happened. Most working class guys who enter the military have no pre-formed political attitude toward the war, unless it is one of support. They share, however, enough of the volatility of youth in general today to be "turned off" by Army life. It is at this point that they can be reached, and are being reached.

Thus, as has been mentioned, most of the organizing being carried on in the military is multi-issue and based upon the real experience of GIs. The emphasis of most GI papers, for example, both national and local base papers, is around on-base organizing.

Symptomatically, there is a sharp contrast between the majority of GI papers and those controlled by the SWP-YSA-SMC tendency. Most of the independent papers -- such as Vietnam GI, nationally, and Last Harass (Ft. Gordon), Flag-in-Action (Ft. Campbell), FTA (Ft. Knox), Fatigue Press (Ft. Hood), etc. -- carry a number of articles on what is going on at their base or at other bases, either atrocity stories or reports on actions, one or more articles on general conditions, such as the way enlisted men are treated by NCO's or officers, something on the war, and, interestingly enough, something on big-business or on politics. The SWP-YSA-SMC controlled papers, Task Force (Bay Area), Ultimate Weapon (Ft. Dix), Open Sights (D.C. Area) and Top Secret (Boston Area), in contrast, limit their articles to reports on the peace marches, legal cases connected with the marches, the legality of anti-war activity, and something on Ft. Jackson, the one significant on-base movement in which the YSA has played some sort of role.

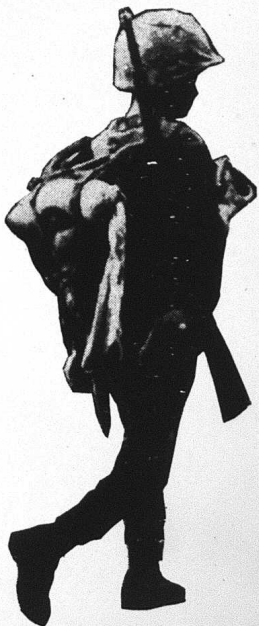
Moreover, whereas most of the GI papers are hard hitting in tone with a surprisingly broad appeal, the SWP-YSA-SMC papers appear liberal. For example, the pre-Easter issue of Ultimate Weapon carried an article, the longest in the issue, entitled "Why Demonstrate?" This article re-iterated all the old arguments given by liberal peace movement bureaucrats about the effectiveness of "peaceful" "legal" single issue marches: they put "effective pressure on the government" "affect public opinion" and so forth.

The tone and narrow politics presented by the SWP-YSA-SMC papers and their organizers is not only lower than the level of the rest of the civilian movement, but of the GI movement itself. Increasingly, GI groups and papers have been forced to openly oppose this orientation, in spite of their intention to abstain from what would appear as sectarianism. At Ft. Dix, for example, GIs doing serious on-base organizing felt compelled to start their own paper, Shakedown, because the Ultimate Weapon did not suit their needs. This group also opposed participation in the Easter march. Even many GIs who went were critical of the approach represented by the organizers of the GI end of the march.

Idealist and liberal in method, the SWP-YSA-SMC is often forced to impose their perspective by manipulation and misrepresentation. Their papers, for example, carry glowing reports on the GI-Civilian conference held last December which called for GI participation in the Easter marches around the slogan "Bring the GIs Home, Now." What these reports failed to mention was that there were fewer than 15 GIs at that conference. GI groups invited to the conference were told that the virtually "everyone else" was coming, and endorsers were listed who were not aware that they were endorsers. This led the editors of Last Harass to withdraw from the conference (see Vietnam GI, Jan, 1969). The phonyness of this conference has forced Vietnam GI and the Ally to openly criticize it and the SMC, which convened it. The December conference was essentially a rubber stamp for the SWP anti-war march strategy.

This rubber stamp approach continues to be their method of operation. Much of the publicity for the New York march, for example, played up the existence of a GI planning board which was alleged to have participated in the planning of the march. It failed to mention that the GI planning board consisted of from 4 to 10 members, depending on which meeting one attended. At the first meeting a number of GIs present criticized the idea of the march. When they discovered that the civilian march organizers fully intended to go ahead as previously planned, they dropped out. In fact, the GI planning board simply approved what had been decided in December.

Some of the GIs pushed for a conference to follow the march. They proposed a real working conference. The conference was held, but it was hardly a working conference of newly recruited GIs. In fact, there were about 15 GIs there, most of whom already had clear loyalty to either the SWP approach or to the American Servicemen's Union (ASU). These two groups launched



into each other leaving the few uncommitted GIs thoroughly confused -- some walked out early. The only decision of this "conference" was to call another meeting in a month, that is, to stage a repeat performance. Fortunately, the GI movement goes far beyond these conferences.

The third approach, the one associated with the New Left centers mainly on the GI coffee houses. Last summer, about five such coffee houses were opened in towns adjoining Army bases, notably at Fort Hood, Leonard Wood, Jackson, and Lewis, and loosely united under the name Summer of Support. The SOS (Support Our Soldiers) coffee houses survived the Summer and new ones have been added or planned.

The coffee house is meant to serve as a congenial place where GIs can talk to each other and to movement radicals about the war, Army life and what they might do about it. In some cases, notably the Oteo Strut near Fort Hood and the Shelter-Half near Fort Lewis, the coffee house has become a center for real organizing and civilians' supporting activity.

Some GI activists have been critical of the coffee houses for being havens for CID men (Criminal Investigation Division of the Army) and, indeed, some of the GIs hanging out at the various coffee houses have turned out to be just that. But this is a hazard in any sort of meeting of GIs, on or off base.

It has also been charged that since one group of GIs establishes the coffee house as its turf, it tends to keep other groups away. Puerto Rican GI from Fort Hood, for example, complained that black and Puerto Rican GIs felt that the coffee house was basically for white GIs and as a result tended not to go there. Still, most people involved in GI work feel that the coffee houses have played a valuable role in bringing GIs together and in supporting activities on post.

At the same time, it should be understood that the coffee house approach has many of the same limitations as the old community organizing approach to the civilian movement: It gets people together at least for a time, but has difficulty deciding where to go from there. Most GIs are only too conscious of their beefs about the Army. A growing number realize that other people are fed up too, and would like to do something about it. What they want is not just a place to get together but also a perspective. Unfortunately, there can be no single simple answer to the needs of the GI movement.

Any question concerning organizing is, for revolutionary socialists, ultimately a question of how such activity affects the consciousness of the working class. Indeed, many have entered GI work because it was obvious that the Army was a place in which working class youth were thrown together with more political, disaffected elements sympathetic to or even active in the movement.

The military is an arena in which working class youth can be radicalized. It is an institution in which class distinctions (in civilian life) are temporarily, and of course superficially, obscured and replaced by military hierarchy; where racism is theoretically abolished, but in fact emphasized by virtue of the artificial closeness of military life; where any democratic impulse is a threat to the preservation of "democracy" abroad; where America's "good will" and "integrity" are revealed as senseless murder and senseless death.

But the Army (and Navy, Air Force, USMC) is not simply one situation or one related set of experiences like a factory. In fact, 2 or 3 years in the Army may include 3 or 4 entirely different situations: Basic Training; Advanced Individual Training (AIT) or some specialized school; service in Vietnam or Europe; permanent service at a State-side base or installation. Each of these institutions is unique, from the point of view of the organizer, in spite of the fact that certain things, such as hierarchical authoritarianism, remain constant.

For example, during Basic and AIT, the GI, still insecure in his position, is subjected to a severe mental and physical regime, has very little freedom of action or movement, and is generally watched over by his "lifer" superiors day and night. Unless the GI was political before he entered the Army he is not likely to respond, on his own, in a political fashion.

For the in-service GI organizer, however, there is much that can be done. For example, he can raise questions in the brain washing sessions on foreign policy. Where this has been done it has usually been very successful since the NCO or officer running the class probably doesn't know much beyond the stock answers he has been supplied with. The guys are likely to respond positively to the radical GI posing the questions, almost regardless of his politics, because of the joy they feel in seeing a "lifer" made a fool of.

Further, many of the "excesses" which always accompany Basic Training -- like physical violence by an NCO against an enlisted man (EM); abusive language; harassment of "misfits" by assigning them unreasonable duties; etc. -- can be fought on the spot by collective complaints to the base Inspector General (IG), or to a superior officer. Experience shows that such actions can actually cause an NCO or even an officer a great deal of trouble. For the guys, on the other hand, it is, or can be, a consciousness raising experience. It is possible in a short period of time, a few weeks, to build a "tradition" of opposition to authority within a company or platoon.

Since opposition is likely to be occurring in several different companies on one base simultaneously, and since most likely each company or even each platoon is unaware of what is going on in the other, civilian organizers can play an important role by bringing different groups together through leafleting, etc. together.

This level of work is crucial for building GI consciousness and good will for the movement among GIs. A GI-civilian coalition is only meaningful if civilians are willing to help and support GIs when they need it. The slogans that summarize this sort of work are "FTA" (Fuck the Army), "GI Power" etc.

GIs who are permanently stationed at Stateside bases and installations, particularly those who have been to Vietnam, generally have a good deal of free time and freedom of movement. Furthermore, having been through a year or more of Army life they have a greater degree of self-confidence and a better idea of what they can get away with. By this time, also, they

are more likely to have a political opinion on the war -- again, particularly if they have been to Vietnam.

In addition, since "the worst is over" and they are more than half way through their time, GIs in this situation are beginning to look toward the time when they get out -- they are "thinking short." This often means that they are interested in defining their political attitudes in terms of the civilian movement or civilian society. Under these circumstances it is possible for civilians to organize and work with GIs on an explicitly, though still transitional, political level.

Given the increase in free time and the level of consciousness, GIs permanently stationed at a State-side base during the second half of their time in the Service can be organized into discussion groups, and even on-base semi-action organizations. Such organizations are springing up without outside help, spontaneously, at an increasing rate. Civilian groups organized for such purposes can put them in contact with other such groups, and provide meeting places, mimeo work, legal aid, and, most importantly, politics.

Both of these types of work -- with GIs going through Basic Training and with those in the second half of their time in the Service -- can be tied together and related by the mediation of civilian organizations. In this respect, the GI newspapers, and particularly local or base papers can be crucial. A GI paper can not only generally raise consciousness by reporting on-base activities and presenting political analysis, but also can serve as an organizing tool by bringing together isolated groups and providing a more or less political center for individual GIs. Again, the role of civilians in helping to produce and distribute local and national GI papers is invaluable.

The immediate goals of a GI perspective, therefore, must involve different levels and degrees of organization. These goals encompass day to day struggles as well as political work. They center more on building oppositional consciousness than on any particular form of organization or tactics. On an off-base actions, marches, etc. should be viewed as tactics to be used or not used according to the development of the network of GIs and their relationship to their base. Thus, while the mass marches will undoubtedly be a continuing part of West Coast GI activities, it may be that the GI movement on the Southern and East Coast bases is not strong enough to use these marches to their advantage.

As the GI movement sinks deeper roots and broadens its base, it may be that the informal groups, which are mostly what exists now, will want to emerge as GI committees and even move toward some sort of national organization. Some of the problems of open organization have been discussed. In the case of a national organization of GIs, as has been noted, it is difficult to see how GIs could maintain effective democratic control over such an organization. More than likely, such an organization, at the top level, would become, at best, a battle ground for the various tendencies in the civilian movement or, at worst, the property of one such tendency. Those who favor a national organization, e.g., the ASU, argue that this could "smash the military." As the current Congressional discussion would indicate, it is likely that it will speed the creation of a Professional Army -- which, needless to say, will be unorganizable in any form.

The military under current circumstances, is less an arena for stable or permanent organization, like the shop or the campus, and more an already existing organization in which it is possible over a period of time to reach large numbers of working class youth. More important than organizational or tactical considerations is the task of turning numbers of young (future) workers toward the movement.

Millions of working class people pass through the military every year. Already various movements, people and organizations are working with thousands of these young workers. The actual result of this work is a movement that is building consciousness and training young people for future struggles. It is important to note that it is the movement that is growing and working -- organizations, on the other hand, come and go; national organizations (ASU) are more so in name than in reality.

If GI work is seen in a working class context and if the goal is seen as a movement, united by action and consciousness more than by a national superstructure, the possible effects of a movement on the military itself and on American imperialist policy can be more realistically assessed.

"Smashing the military" will require a revolution, not a GI organization. Furthermore, the development of the GI movement is heavily dependent on the strength of the civilian movement. It is, obviously, more difficult for GIs to act. Without a strong radical movement in the society as a whole, massive, coordinated GI action against the military or against imperialist policy is impossible.

Given a dynamic civilian movement, however, GI action can become more open and more audacious. Mass mutinies, like more or less spontaneous actions can be "called", they are more or less spontaneous actions springing from a mixture of causes. It would be adventurism to advocate such actions. Nonetheless, the existence of a growing anti-military, anti-war consciousness among the ranks of the military is a consideration for the policy makers of imperialism. It is a limiting factor on their plans. It is not in the least necessary to advocate anything illegal for this consciousness and activity to be a limiting factor on imperialists. Obviously, the existence of a GI movement also has effects on the attitudes of the public at large toward this war and others in the making.

The GI movement is, in short, both a transitional phase in building the radical movement as a whole, and increasingly basing it on volatile sections of the working class, and a movement in its own right. As a transitional phase, it offers the possibility of radicalizing significant numbers of working class youth and thus opening up important future possibilities for the movement as a whole. As a movement in its own right, it can end GIs from the "excesses" of military life and, both objectively and subjectively, pose a limit on the possibilities of imperialist policy. Radicals and revolutionary socialists have both a need and an obligation to give it all the support and encouragement they can.





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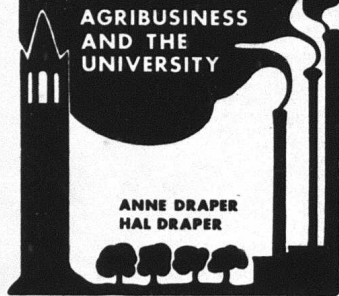
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Independent Socialist Clubs of America Program in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

black community, and the anti-war movement.

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

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

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

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

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



Albania Without Tears

Christopher Z. Hobson

Newspaper accounts of the Albanian-Chinese alliance have covered their ignorance of Albania by simply treating this country as China's satellite. Radicals, too, have grafted their image of China, whatever it may be, onto Albania. Thus a recent SDS resolution proclaimed that Albania is "waging fierce struggles against U.S. imperialism," though a spot check of twenty-one delegates revealed that only one could even name Albania's capital (Tirana).

In fact, Albania's policies and alignments are determined by her own history, and this in turn by her environment and the relations of her classes. Albania's Communist regime came to power by a war of resistance rather than through Soviet occupation. Yet this was neither a revolutionary war nor followed by a revolutionary upheaval, and Albania's subsequent politics--and her alignment with China--have been determined not by the struggles of her people but by international and internecine power struggles.

The fundamental facts of Albania's history are her tiny size and her primitive economy and social structure. Situated on the Adriatic opposite the heel of Italy, with Yugoslavia to the Northeast and Greece to the Southeast, Albania was conquered by Turks in the 15th century-- after a twenty-one year guerrilla resistance, led by the tribesman Skander Bey.

In the next four centuries, Turkish Beys occupied the Southern lowlands and built a system of feudal estates. The Northern hill country remained untouched and pastoral. In the 19th century, the beginnings of a merchant bourgeoisie emerged, as well as a tiny stratum of students who called for cultural revival and autonomy within the Ottoman empire.

The creation of Albania in 1912 (by the Great Powers, who could not decide whether the territory should go to Serbia or Greece) joined two tribes and cultures which had never been considered a single nation: the Southern Tosks, mostly poor peasants, though with a few towns and a little commerce; and the Ghegs in the mountains--pastoral clansmen straddling an artificial border between the new state and what is now Yugoslavia. The division between Tosks and Ghegs, and the Yugoslavian connections with the latter, have been central to Albania's subsequent history.

Social divisions deepened between the two world wars. A leftist government headed by Bishop Fan Noli (Harvard '12) held power briefly in 1924. As Noli himself described it-- in what one scholar calls "a classic statement of the liberal dilemma"-- "By proclaiming the agrarian reforms, I aroused the wrath of the landed aristocracy; by failing to carry them out, I lost the support of the peasant masses." He was toppled in a military coup backed by the rich Beys, and no subsequent government gave any thought to the peasants. In this period, Albania became more and more an economic satellite of her chief trading partner, Italy, and was occupied by it when war broke out in 1939.

Though the Communist movement would draw on peasant discontent, it developed no peasant base before the war. Before the war, indeed, there was no single Communist movement, but tiny Communist groups in four different cities, with little communication between them.

Ties developed early between Yugoslav Communists and one of these groups, led by the Gheg Koço Xoxë for the Ghegs, as much a part of Yugoslavia as of Albania, these ties were natural. Guerrilla war was launched in November 1941; a year later there was a "National Liberation Front," its operations closely coordinated with those of Tito's partisans. Though the Tosks Enver Xoxha (pronounced hodja) and Mehmet Shehu were respectively the political and military heads of the Front, Koço Xoxë's ties with Tito made him in fact its most powerful figure.

The Liberation Army was drawn mainly from the Tosk peasantry, and thus tapped not only the hatred of the foreign occupier, but also the peasants' class hatred of the Beys. During the war, however, no social measures were carried out. In turn, the Front had little following among the hills-men, whose form of social organization was the clan. Here British-led guerrilla war flared briefly and subsided, leaving the field to the Front. By 1944, the Axis was retreating, and late that year the Front entered Tirana.

Subsequent events fell into a pattern which would soon be familiar. The CP constructed a "Patriotic Front," in which non-Communist members followed Communist cues; anyone outside the Front was called a fascist, and in the 1945 elections the few non-Front candidates were terrorized into withdrawing. The distribution of land-- an immensely popular measure-- was followed by the forced collection of grain. Strikes were declared "unnecessary"; the secret police grew powerful.

Economic development has been minimal. Some real advances have been made in providing social services, at least in the towns. Chinese aid since 1961 has built several electrical, metallurgical, and chemical plants. But these are showpiece operations; there remains almost no industry.

Low economic development has meant, since World War II, foreign dependence-- to Italy before the war, then successively to Yugoslavia, the USSR, and China. The standard of living remains very low, agriculture is primitive, and modern transport hardly exists (there is a single railway line). Thus much of the rural popu-

lation is not really a part of the national life. The material basis for socialism-- for the genuine control of national life by the working masses-- did not exist in 1945, and does not really exist today.

Albanian life from 1945 until the late 1950's was characterized by two factors: politics as politics at the top, marked by the shifting of alignments according to factional and international considerations; and an unremitting hostility to any pressure for liberalization.

The Tito-Cominform split in 1948 caused an upheaval within the Albanian regime. Ties between Tito and the Koço Xoxë group had grown steadily tighter, and this group dominated the Party as Albania grew closer to Yugoslavia. It was said that Xoxha and Shehu would soon be purged. Stalin's denunciation of Tito caught Xoxë off guard; once Xoxha and Shehu managed to align Albania with Stalin, Xoxë was finished; he was subsequently executed. A complete purge of Ghegs followed; throughout the 1950's, all but one or two members of the Central Committee were Tosks.

But not only Ghegs were purged; Xoxha's crony Shehu fell in 1952, and purges continued until Xoxha emerged unchallengeable. Thus when Khrushchev in 1961 attacked Xoxha's "savagery" in executing a woman Central Committee member, Liri Gega, Xoxha was able to counter that Gega as head of the secret police had personally despatched several other Central Committee members by hitting them over the head with a sledgehammer.

Throughout this period, politics at the mass level remained non-existent. In 1956, the regime briefly fostered a "thaw" via the Khrushchev; this led to the rapid mounting of criticism of the regime, culminating in a public meeting at which Xoxha faced down citizens who hurled charges of abusing power at him personally. Those who made the charges were arrested and the "thaw" ended-- as in China slightly later-- with the regime claiming that the whole thing had been a ruse to smoke out counter-revolutionaries.

The Hungarian revolution confirmed that Communist regimes could indeed be threatened by popular upheavals, and in 1957-8 Albania like China lavishly praised Moscow's suppression of Hungary and the reimposition of her central authority within the "bloc." Thus until a short while before her own rebellion, Albania was more vociferous than anyone in praising the "leading

Now that the requirements to join SDS are becoming more stringent, prospective members may be presented with questionnaires which will enable the organization to determine who is a true comrade. Questions about Albania might run as follows: (Five questions - 20 pts. per question. A score of 80 and above ensures eligibility with regard to this section. Current members of SDS should also see how they do).

1. Who is the leader of the heroic Albanian people's struggle against revisionism and U.S. imperialism? In a couple of sentences describe the political background of this true revolutionary, his analysis of the revisionist USSR, and the vanguard role played by the People's Republic of China.

2. When did the Albanians, seeing the dangerous and revisionist line of the USSR, effect a split with the Soviet bloc?

3. The Albanians have always fought courageously for their right of self-determination. Describe 2 or 3 of these struggles in detail, showing how their anti-imperialist consciousness developed, making it the true people's democracy that it is today, an example to the struggle of oppressed people all over the world.

4. What do you think would be most effective in building a campaign of true international solidarity with the People's Republic of Albania (pamphlets, films, singing of Albanian songs, dancing of Albanian dances, the creation of a Skander Bey (an Albanian nationalist who put up a stout resistance to the Turks in the late 15th century) brigade to help with the grape harvest.

5. Draw a map of the People's Republic of Albania. Fill in the names of the capital and five largest cities. Indicate the industrial area and where grapes are grown.

You have now finished the Albanian section of the SDS membership quiz. Make sure that your answers are clearly written. Wait until the monitor calls time, then turn to the section on the Democratic Republic of North Korea.

role" of the Soviet party.

There was no contradiction in this approach. Albania's policy flowed from the twin sources of its fear of Yugoslavia and of its fear of its own people. Moscow's centralism appeared to Albania both as the reversal of the liberality which had led to pressure by the masses in Hungary and Poland, and as a guard against the local strength of Yugoslavism.

Thus, a decisive change in Albania's relationship to Moscow flowed from Moscow's own shift in 1958 toward favoring liberalization and curtailing Yugoslavia. Both aspects of "revisionism" spelt danger for Albania's ruling group. Destalinization meant devolution from the rule of a single leader over the party and administrative cadre, toward the unimpeded rule of these cadre in their own right. Xoxha was not ready for this, and indeed, with no economic development to speak of, Albania's productive apparatus could not give rise to a bureaucracy capable of maintaining elite rule without error. Thus destalinization was impossible if the "leading role of the Communist Party" was to be maintained.

More immediately, one price of Tito's friendship appears to have been that Moscow would press for a reshuffling of Albania's regime-- in the direction of friendliness to Yugoslavia, i.e., the participation of Ghegs and the replacement of Xoxha. Thus Xoxha had no choice but to meet Khrushchev's destalinization by emphasizing Stalinist orthodoxy and allying with the only other power strong enough to defy Moscow. The immediate roots of Albania's fight against "revisionism" lay in the need for doctrinal armor against a Moscow-Belgrade axis. Far from acting as China's satellite, Albania's ruling group used the rivalry of the Communist giants to keep itself aloft.

The new alignment also meant a turn toward Mao-Tse-tung's conception of a party which "serves the people." In 1958, it was decreed that all Party officials must engage periodically in manual work. In 1957, a "great proletarian cultural revolution" was announced; little is known of it, but apparently bands of Red Guards roamed the streets criticizing, and occasionally attacking, "bourgeois" officials.

It is hard to gauge how much of this has been done simply to maintain the alliance and prevent Albania's total isolation. Certainly there is a mechanical and imitative flavor about the whole process. At the same time, the Cultural Revolution may involve a serious attempt to regain the spirit of the war of resistance. Such a perspective would appeal to Party youth, whose class position-- distinct from the ruling group, yet part of the elite-- promotes a dedication to Communist ideals, yet one entrapped in the contradiction between these ideals and the institution of elite rule.

What is clear, however, is that all this has had absolutely nothing to do with the masses. If there has been any mass response to the Cultural Revolution-- other than the usual unanimous resolutions-- the regime has not let us know what it is, and this in itself is an ominous sign. This mass apathy is no accident; it results from the very conception of "serving the people." A bureaucrat who spends a month in the fields may become somewhat more understanding, but he still holds power in his hands.

Likewise, the Cultural Revolution has been no more than an attempt to cleanse the bureaucracy, to perfect it, rather than to move toward the governing of society by the working masses-- that is, toward socialism. Indeed, we should not have expected anything else: elites do not give up power voluntarily. Thus, like each previous twist in policy since World War II, this one points not toward socialism, but toward the continued rule of a desperately poor nation by a class with little or no connection with the masses except that of ruler with ruled.

It may seem strange to view the history of an avowedly socialist state as one in which the masses have neither anything to say nor anything at stake. At least, does not their inaction indicate that they are satisfied, perhaps with material progress? In fact, however, all over the world there are regimes precisely like this. The Albanian war of liberation briefly engaged the masses -- as have other wars of liberation -- but the new regime was constructed over the masses' heads; its quarrels have been palace intrigues; and the masses will step onto the stage of history only when the slow growth of the economy and the class struggle has built a working class and a peasantry linked to the cities by modern communications. Isolation and the swallowing of the world's goods by imperialism may delay this for decades.

This is the view which emerges if Albania is seen without tears -- without radical sentimentalizing and in the light of her own problems, not ours. Anyone who is ready to place Albania in the Socialist vanguard when he does not know so much as the name of its capital is not an internationalist, he is a chatterbox. Indeed, he is viewing Albania through an imperial lens, considering only her official position vis-a-vis the United States, not the realities of her class structure.

At the same time, we should not simply dismiss Albania and lampoon the rivalry of Gheg and Tosk as quaint tribal warfare. To do so would be to accept the psychological mechanisms of imperialism, whose schools' treat anything outside Western Europe as half real and less than half serious. In fact, Albanians are real and so are their struggles for independence and dignity -- but the latter struggle has hardly begun, and only a second revolution will complete it.

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