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monthly

No. 9

20¢ East Coast 15¢ West

APRIL 1969

## *The Berkeley Strike*

"THE FOUR HORSEMEN OF THE APOCALYPSE" with thanks to Albrecht Durer



*GI's on the March*  
*Spain • Cuba • China • Pakistan*  
*Black - White Alliances*  
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# feedback

## WHO KNOWS?

In his otherwise excellent article "On Marcuse", in the No. 8 issue of I.S., Hal Draper says, concerning the reluctance of Mr. Marcuse to consider the "people" right:

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

Now I'm no follower of Mr. Marcuse, but it seems that Mr. Draper is assuming what he's attempting to prove. In criticizing the statement by Marcuse that the people are not ever right, Draper says that they're right in "revolutionary situations." Even assuming that that word, "revolutionary situation," can be well-defined so that we know what we're talking about, the view of Marcuse is consistent enough to be applied here.

To take a historical example, in the Russian Revolution the people could have swung behind the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks, or the Social Revolutionaries; I think it not unreasonable to state that they supported the Bolsheviks in the crunch of the Civil War. So, then, were they right? Who knows? In other words, Mr. Draper has failed to show why the people are EVER right, just because they make up the majority. Most all of the time a small elite runs affairs for the majority; in revolutionary situations, to be sure, power shifts to the hands of the majority. But that does not determine some sort of revolutionary rightness and wrongness, distinct from ordinary right and wrong. The people probably like anyone are partly right and partly wrong in their choices.

Michael Meo  
grad. history, University of California, Berkeley

## REJOINDER

I'm not sure I understand just what Mr. Meo is objecting to. I was discussing Marcuse's argument for imposing the "criteria" (i.e. views) of a minority elite. Marcuse argued, in effect; to object to such imposition "begs the question since it assumes that the majority is ever right."

Now, is it true that if one objects to the self-imposition of a minority elite, then you necessarily must assume that the majority is always right? As far as I am concerned, this (the very crux of Marcuse's reasoning) is an empty non-sequitur. So I am puzzled when Mr. Meo writes as his summary: "In other words, Mr. Draper has failed to show why the people are ever right just because they make up the majority."

Everyone must decide for himself what he defines as wrong and what he defines as right. The question is, what is the relationship you seek to establish between what you believe to be right and what the majority believes?

As I wrote before, "the problem of building a revolutionary MOVEMENT can be formulated in the following way: how to convince the majority that it has been wrong and your minority been right." Marcuse, on the other hand, has a different problem; again as I wrote, "There is only one way by which this or any other elite can IMPOSE its criteria on the mistaken majority; by force and terror."

This then, is the issue--whether you seek to persuade people that you are right, from below, or whether you seek to force your definition of what is right down upon them. That is the point I was trying to make.

Perhaps Mr. Meo's question is, simply: "Are the people ever right?"--because they make up the majority or for any other reason. Right about what? It would be advisable to get concrete.

To continue Mr. Meo's historical example, the Russian people in 1917 were faced with cer-

tain choices on particular issues, like continuance of the war, land to the peasants, support of a coalition with the bourgeois parties, etc. In deciding to support the Bolsheviks, they supported the Bolsheviks' choices on these questions. "So, then, were they right? Who knows?" asks Mr. Meo, philosophically. Well, the Bolsheviks thought they were right, for one. And I agree. Again, everyone must decide for themselves. I think the Russian people were right on these issues, and these issues were the decisive ones for the fate of the society at the time.

No doubt, the majority was still wrong on other issues (such as wife-beating, smoking and many other questions). In this sense, Mr. Meo's last sentence is not only unobjectionable but platitudinous, but what has it got to do with Marcuse's case for elitism?

Hal Draper

## STUDENTS, WORKERS

The most crucial question for the radical movement is its relationship to the working class. The I.S. articles on the strikes at Berkeley, San Francisco State and the Richmond oil industry made the point that working class struggle is essential for social change, and students for their own needs must support workers against the corporations.

However, I feel that some additional points should be made. The student radical movement must raise demands to reach the working class. Just as black students mobilize black community support for the demand of open admissions for all blacks; the radical student movement must raise the demand for expanded education with open admission for all, with the expense paid by the corporations.

The radical movement can also fight around economic issues. The worker's concern about high taxes, runaway inflation, "big government bureaucracy" present powerful opportunities for the left. The tactics and militancy of the student movement can expose the government's program of taxing the workers to pay for war--while government shells out millions in debt service to banks and big capitalists.

The alliance between highly militant chemical and oil workers and students is an important step forward. However, the Richmond strike is the exception and not the rule in U.S. labor struggles. The oil companies are trying to destroy the union--rather than the more effective "capitalist technique of using the union to control and discipline the workers. As the economy falters militant struggles will be more common as companies no longer have the extra profits and expanding markets that allow them to compromise.

In every industry and plant there are two unions. The solidarity and strength of the workers in strikes and job actions represent the real union. The bureaucratic union structure and union officials represent the status quo clamping down on militant struggle. Socialists must be highly critical of the existing union structure and leadership. The union caucus that limits itself to electing new men to the union structure can do nothing about inflation, taxation, and state intervention in strikes. Political awareness is needed to fight for better conditions.

Socialists should help to build a rank and file movement that could be the basis of a future radical political party. A radical party would use demonstrations, strikes, propaganda work, and electoral action to build the movement and raise consciousness.

I feel that the Peace and Freedom Party middle class independent politics based on liberal anti-war concerns are no longer relevant. The recent West Virginia political strike illustrates the power of the working class moving outside the union structure. We should look to radical action by the working class, and urge students to adopt a working class program.

Joe Weiner, New York

## CASUALTY LIST

The ante is going up in campus struggles. Ten IS'ers were arrested on the Berkeley campus during the Fall and Winter quarters; three are charged with felonies. Jack Bloom is currently facing one to three years in prison for conspiracy in the Moses Hall sit-in of last October 23. Jack Weinberg and Dave McCullough are up on charges of assaulting a police officer and face one to ten years. The following is a list of all the IS'ers that have been arrested, their charges and sentences.

Fall Quarter (demonstrations in support of Eldridge Cleaver's right to teach.):  
Mike Urquhart and Richard Boyden; Sproul Hall sit-in. Trespassing, failure to disperse. \$125 fine and thirty days suspended for six months.  
Dick Arneson, Loren Goldner, Janice Sloben, Sandy Young; Moses Hall sit-in. Pleaded guilty to trespassing in "disposition" of three misdemeanor charges. Ten days at Santa Rita Prison Farm, \$300 retribution to the University for "damages", one year court probation.  
Jack Bloom; Moses Hall sit-in. Conspiracy and three misdemeanors. Cases pending.

Winter Quarter (demonstrations in support of Third World Liberation Front/American Federation of Teachers strike at UC.):  
Ernie Haberkern. Blocking a public thoroughfare. Case pending.  
Dave McCullough. Assault on a police officer. Case pending.  
Mike Urquhart; Blocking a public thoroughfare and resisting arrest. Case pending.  
Jack Weinberg; Assault (2 counts) and battery (1 count) on a police officer and blocking a public thoroughfare (2 counts). Cases pending.



## independent socialist

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by Richard Lyons

# THE BERKELEY STRIKE

by Mike Parker and Mike Urquhart,

Between quarters on the Berkeley campus, the quiet and emptiness of Sproul Plaza presents a striking contrast to the turmoil that had centered here for the past two months, during the most militant struggle the campus has yet seen. Although the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) has only declared a moratorium on strike activities over the academic break (and the teaching assistants union (AFT) amended their strike termination motion to call for a new strike meeting at the beginning of next quarter), it is unlikely that significant strike activity will resume when classes begin.

For many, the strike was exhausting and created great personal conflicts. Despite the good intentions which impell many students into struggles against the status quo, students nevertheless occupy a privileged position and have aspirations toward a permanent privileged position in the larger society.

As the strike went on, hard line responses from the university-- immediate suspensions and threats of dismissals, with numerous felony charges thrown in for good measure by the police-- forced students to face the possibility that their college careers and future positions were being threatened.

At the same time, a sense of powerlessness set in. For a variety of reasons, the strike failed to mobilize a majority of students. In addition, the faculty were openly hostile, the administration was unyielding, and the military force of the state of California was arrayed against the strike. This time, the specter of "Cops on Campus" failed to galvanize a faculty and student body made numb by repeated exposures to police repression.

Different tactics were tried; disruptive actions were called off, then on, then off; the strategy was "class room education" one day, and serpentine marches the next. Toward the end, nothing seemed to work and

morale continued to decline. Third World students as well as whites felt these pressures.

With the moratorium came a sense of relief, and students busied themselves trying to study for exams, get incompletes in courses, or make other arrangements so that their academic records would not be marred. The moratorium declaration by the TWLF was simply a recognition of the reality that strike support activities were rapidly declining.

While the TWLF demand for an autonomous Third World College has not been met, the strike did win some significant concessions, particularly given the massive opposition. Most importantly, the Third World Coalition was born, bringing new groups into a political struggle. Consciousness of the need for Third World self-determination has been heightened and the administration has been pushed toward the establishment of a Third World Department (a far cry from an autonomous college but still a real step in the right direction).

Perhaps the biggest problem during the strike was confusion about the relationship between Third World students and whites in the struggle.

Over the past several years, black people have learned that racism is so pervasive in the fabric of the American social structure that black people as black people have needs which often run counter to the social needs of even the best intentioned whites. This kind of national consciousness of themselves as a people has spread from the black communities to movements in the Chicano communities and has been developing more recently among Asians and Native Americans.

From it has risen the demand for the self-determination of Third World Peoples-- control over their own organizations, over their own struggles to achieve

control over their own communities and own lives.

While most white radicals have come to accept the notion of Third World self-determination, the implications that this has for white radical action are still widely disputed and very confused.

The Strike Support Committee (SSC), which had been formed to mobilize whites for the strike, was almost completely ineffective. It engaged in interminable debates over the "correct role of whites," but was unable to find an effective role to play.

At the beginning and during most of the strike, the predominant view (articulated most consistently by the Young Socialist Alliance and gullt-ridden liberals) was that, since the issue was one of self-determination (for a Third World College), and since as a result, it was only proper that the struggle should be led by the TWLF, therefore the SSC could raise no demands or issues itself-- could not send out speakers, write leaflets or engage in any other actions without the approval of the TWLF. Public criticism was absolutely forbidden.

As the strike wore on, many students began to feel uneasy about this position. The SSC and white radicals found that mobilizing the traditional kinds of support for this strike was extremely difficult.

In part this was due to the TWLF's lack of orientation at the time toward mobilizing masses of students. Moreover, given the conception of its relationship to the TWLF that dominated the SSC, the SSC too was unable to do the job of educating and mobilizing the potential mass support.

Further, many white radicals began to feel alienated from the whole strike as they found themselves with their bodies on the line but with no contact whatever with the changing politics, strategy and tactics of the struggle-- except as recipients of the decisions handed down by the TWLF.

Debate in the SSC and elsewhere continued to reflect these problems. Three responses to these problems are of interest, in the first place because they have appeared throughout the movement, and secondly because they can only result in a dead end.

1) The YSA and others responded in support of their original position by reaffirming that the issue was only self-determination, and that to feel uncomfortable with the present relationship was a sign that one was not a genuine radical.

2) The Progressive Labor (and Berkeley SDS) line was that the issue was not self-determination but racism. According to PL logic, since racism divides the working class, the struggle against racism is really a class struggle led by the most exploited section.

PL forgets that Third World people are the most exploited section precisely because they are Third World people. Their oppression and super-exploitation is made possible not only because workers believe capitalist myths but also because capitalism is so structured that white workers derive short-range advantages from the oppression of blacks and others.

PL too opposed separate demands or independent organization for white students, because this would take the focus off racism. However, since self-determination was not an issue for PL, they attached no special importance to the relationships between the TWLF and the SSC, and, unlike the YSA, had no qualms about demanding a change in the tactics of the strike.

3) A third kind of response, which was important in part because it indicated the depth of white discomfort, was the proposal that three whites be placed on the TWLF central committee.

While not recognized as such by its authors, this proposal was in fundamental contradiction to the very notion of self-determination.

What is common to all three proposals is a faulty conception of the meaning of self-determination and the way in which mass struggle best proceeds.

In the first place, to support the self-determination of Third World people does not mean that we may not discuss, persuade or criticize them, or publicize our own views on the politics, strategy, and tactics of the struggle.

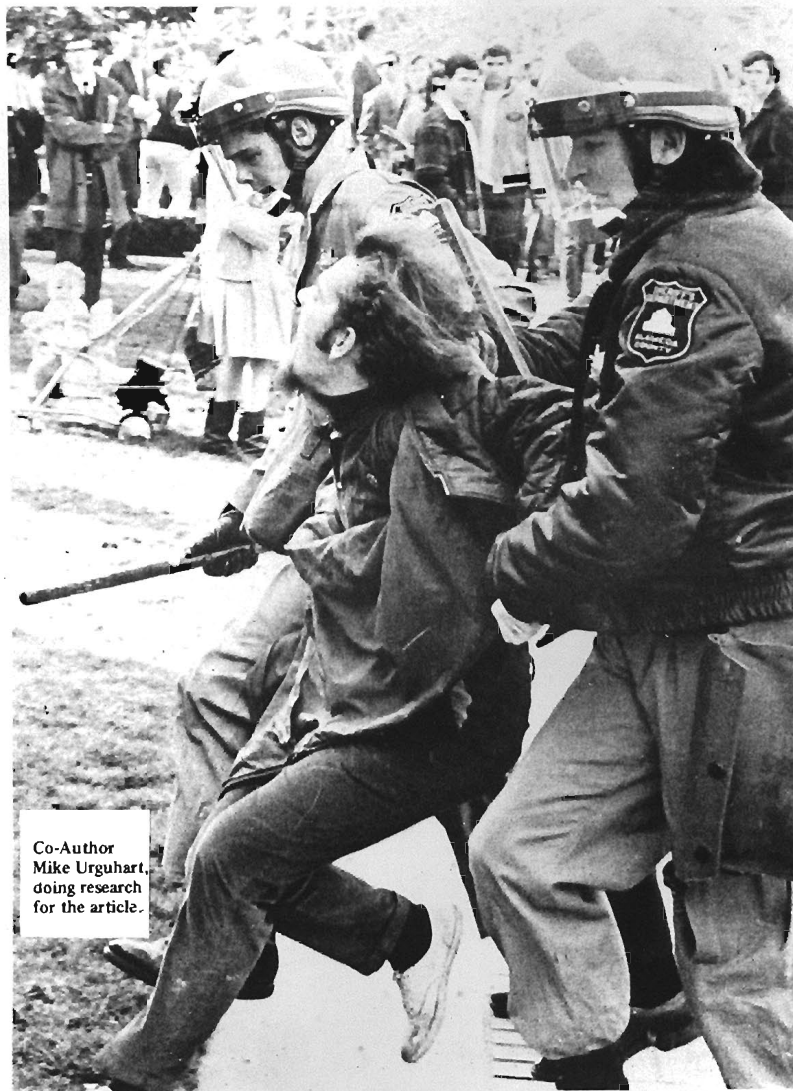
At the same time, however, the ultimate decisions about THEIR OWN organizations and struggles are theirs and their alone to make, regardless of how we may feel about their decisions.

It is crucial that radicals understand that support for self-determination does not imply giving up the ability and obligation to analyze and criticize movements for self-determination. There is no one monolithic movement for self-determination; indeed, within the black community, several conservative or reactionary movements (such as Ron Karenga's US and the movements for Black Capitalism) exist under the guise of self-determination.

The only way to win support in the white community for those movements or tendencies which are genuine radical expressions of the drive for self-determination is through honest political analysis and propaganda-- and not by succumbing (even if under a new name) to the old liberal gullt acceptance of anything presented in a colored package.

Secondly, the fact that an issue is one of self-determination does not automatically lead to the conclusion that it is best achieved through a single struggle around that issue alone.

On the contrary, one thing that made the issue of a Third World College so significant was the fact that to achieve even this small installment of self-determination it was necessary to challenge the fundamental prerogatives of the administration-- and the political and social power of capitalist society,



Co-Author  
Mike Urquhart,  
doing research  
for the article.



In view of the tremendous opposition faced, the best support that white radicals could provide was not to restrict activities merely to recruiting bodies for the TWLF picket lines but to open up a second, third, and many political fronts against the common enemy.

This could be done in a variety of ways, depending on the particular circumstances and social forces involved. It might entail organizing and mobilizing different groups into struggle by raising additional demands where these demands are organic and not artificial. Or, it may involve struggling on many different levels simultaneously with different groups using different tactics.

But to attempt (as did the YSA and PL, each in their own way) to force mass struggle into a single mold through a faulty conception of self-determination is to deny the people perhaps their strongest weapon against the ruling class.

The dynamic of the militant struggle for the Third World College itself provided additional issues for the strike. Reagan and the political forces he represents determined to make the conflict on the Berkeley campus a test of the "hard line" and to make a clean sweep of all campus troublemakers. Alongside the issue of the TW college there now was the issue of whether any struggle for social change was to be possible.

In fact it was this issue (dismissed by some radicals as the "liberal questions" of cops on campus and civil liberties) which mobilized a large part of the white support. Unfortunately this was in spite of the SSC and there was little leadership given to this struggle to expand it and deepen consciousness. People were left to find a place in the struggle for themselves.

The TWLF itself failed to perceive the nature of the issues and opposition. As a result, for most of the strike, the TWLF operated as though the question was merely one of bargaining positions between the TWLF and the campus administration.

From this point of view, all the TWLF needed was something with which to bargain - i.e., campus disruption - and it did not matter whether this consisted of a small group of militants engaged in semi-terroristic activities or of mass support among the students.

From this point of view, it did not matter whether there was community support or not. The TWLF would offer the administration campus peace in exchange for their Third World College. The negotiations could go on privately; there was no emphasis on the need to hold mass rallies or to carry on the other educational work necessary to build up mass support.

This was a classically liberal approach to conflict: the elites make their bargains and use mass activities as counters in the negotiations.

But this approach proved its bankruptcy when the issue escalated beyond the establishment of the TW college and the opposition became the military power and political apparatus of the state. It proved crucial to mobilize mass support on the campus. It proved crucial to build mass support OFF the campus and link the two.

Because no support was built off the campus, no attempt was made to explain the issues to the community. Even already sympathetic support like that of the Black Student Unions, community radical groups, etc., was not mobilized in defense of the struggle. Meanwhile Reagan's popularity climbed to a new all time high because of his handling of the "student disorders".

Despite their need to effectively wage the strike, the conceptions of the TWLF and of many radicals prevented the strike from expanding from a narrow campus bargaining conflict (with militant and adventurist tactics) to a major political struggle with mass support on the campus and in the community.

## A FAILURE OF LEADERSHIP

While the TWLF is partly to blame, the major responsibilities for the failures of the strike - especially after the issues had been expanded by the generalized repression - must lie with the white radical leadership. This leadership failed to provide, and effectively opposed the formation of an independent organization with its own integrity among whites.

Not only are such organizations not contrary to the principle of Third World self-determination, but they are crucial to achieving it.

The bringing together of large numbers of people, in a situation where they can decide to act together, helps overcome the sense of powerlessness that this society creates for most atomized individuals. Further, when people have a sense that a struggle is their own, that they have some say over their part of a struggle, they are more likely to participate actively rather than passively in that fight.

This in turn helps to unleash the kind of creativity, spirit and morale that is suppressed by the dynamics of this society but is absolutely necessary for waging a long, bitter fight. Independent organizations are a prerequisite to the opening of any additional political fronts which are to be real and not nominal.

Unfortunately, such organizations or movements with an integrity of their own were not established on the Berkeley campus and most individuals were left to relate to the strike as they are forced to relate to the society - as individual atoms with an intense feeling of powerlessness vis a vis the situation that confronts them.

Under these circumstances, people react much as they do in society generally - in view of their isolation and powerlessness, they withdraw from the conflict.

Getting whites involved in their own struggles helps build support for Third World self-determination movements in yet another way. PL and YSA opposed such struggles believing that they would take the focus off the issues of racism or self-determination. Instead, they would have us educate people on these issues.

This approach betrays a characteristically un-Marxist, liberal view of how peoples' consciousness is changed. Most peoples' consciousness is the product of years of personal experiences, racism, and the myths they

accept about the nature of this society, are not stripped away merely by "communication", leaflets and the like.

Instead, most people change their consciousness by being involved in some struggle which pits them against the reality of power in the society. They begin to discover the true nature of their opposition - who their real enemies are, and whom they can look to for potential allies. It is in the course of struggle that people become open to changing their conceptions of society and of other groups within the society.

For example, the TWLF gained support from the Richmond oil workers not because some radicals happened to go to Richmond and hand out leaflets telling the workers that racism or self-determination was the issue and why they should support the TWLF.

What happened was that the oil workers found themselves in a bitter struggle over their own trade union demands with Standard Oil. In the course of their struggle, they experienced the reality of the police power of the state, and the relationship between the corporations and what the workers had thought of as "their own" government.

They also found that they needed help and were willing to accept the support of student radicals. It was this experience in struggle which broke down much of the prejudice and hostility towards students and radicals and made them open to radical ideas. As a result, the Oil Workers endorsed the TWLF strikes at SF State and Berkeley and oil workers came over and joined the TWLF strike lines.

This same dynamic also applies to students. But the opposition of many radicals to students struggling against the police on campus, or against the generalized political repression - even though these were the issues which moved most students - not only prevented the opening of a second front, but also blocked the one dynamic which could have moved the bulk of the students to a better understanding and greater support for the TWLF strike.

## COALITION

But if the need, then, is for an organization or movement within which whites can fully participate and which has its own independence and integrity, what relationship can there be between this organization and the TWLF which does not deny the principle of self-determination? The answer lies in a genuine coalition arrangement similar to that pioneered by the Black Panther Party and Peace & Freedom.

Each partner in the coalition maintains its own integrity, formulates its own demands and engages in its own struggles. The recognition of a common enemy encourages each to come to the other's support and both to engage in mutually beneficial actions.

Such arrangements allow for opening second political fronts and waging struggles on different levels without compromising either organization or preventing each from building mass support within its respective constituency.

The problem is complicated somewhat by the fact that students are not a cohesive social group (or section of one) in the same sense as are workers or third world peoples. Student status by its very nature is transitional, and student demands as such do not reflect long range needs of students as students. Furthermore, the middle class background of most students, and the middle class aspirations which colleges are designed to reinforce, create tremendous strains on the students' abilities to identify with oppressed and struggling people on a consistent and long term basis.

Nevertheless, because students are, for a period of time, partially freed from the social fabric and pressures of the society around them, and because students tend to be trained to place greater emphasis on abstract ideas, a significant portion is capable of acting in the interests of struggling social groups with which they identify.

The issues around which white students must organize must go beyond the issues of students as students to those issues which are crucial in the building of an ongoing radical movement and those issues which catalyze other segments of society into struggle.

In other words, the issues for the student movement, unlike other social groupings, must stem in large part from its ideology rather than place the main emphasis upon the circumstantial needs of students. But it is still essential that the student radical movement, in support of Third World self-determination, must maintain its integrity in struggle through a coalition arrangement. Such an arrangement not only can provide for the most effective support at the moment, but also provides the best basis for the organization and building of ongoing movements in the future.

To a certain extent, a coalition arrangement was worked out during the Berkeley strike. The TA AFT (Teaching Assistant's local) initially failed to carry

a strike vote (more than half favored the strike but a two-thirds vote was required) but did vote to honor the TWLF strike and to continue pressing for its own demands. When the administration banned all picket lines, the AFT established a picket line of its own to reassert the right of peaceful picketing.

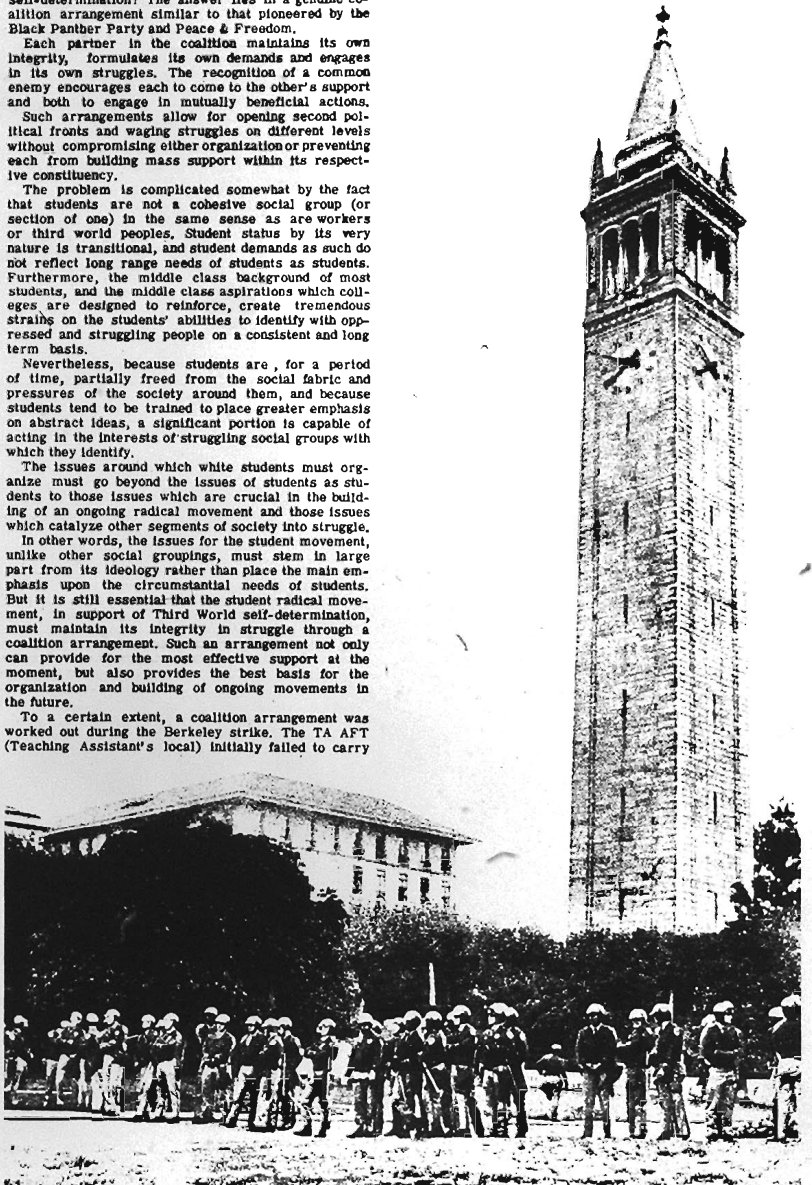
The arrest of the AFT line and the declaration of a "state of emergency" by Reagan (which effectively took control away from the administration and turned it over to the Alameda County Sheriffs) sparked the AFT to a strike by an overwhelming vote of its membership.

The AFT participation provided new life to the strike by giving a focus for students who were still confused about the TWLF demands to begin to struggle at least over the question of cops on the campus and political repression. Its different level of tactics (generally peaceful picketing instead of the serpentine march-demonstrations) allowed another entry point for students. (It was not uncommon for people to "graduate" from the AFT line to the TWLF line.)

Toward the end of the quarter the AFT was better able to hold tight under the pressures than were most atomized and isolated white student supporters. (Although the AFT suffered considerable problems and continued attrition itself, and finally ended its strike under these pressures.)

There were, of course, problems with the AFT's role. A good portion of the union was relatively conservative, and the leadership of the union was frequently out of touch with the membership and often tried to manipulate membership meetings. The union leadership tended to place undeserved faith in certain administrators and labor leaders. They ended the strike before several crucial matters were resolved only to discover that, with the strike off, the administration immediately hardened its line.

But what problems there were would have been much worse had the AFT not participated at all and left its members to act only as individuals. Part of the problems are traceable to the fact that because of the vacuum left by the inaction of the Strike Support Committee the AFT had to act as a surrogate for a genuine white radical organization independently involved in the strike.





# GI'S ON THE MARCH

by Kim Moody

Things aren't going too well for the military these days. The Senate Armed Services Committee, for example, reported in early March that desertions and AWOL's were "substantially" higher than last year.

According to the Committee's report, 155,536 GI's went "over the hill," in fiscal 1968 (mid-1967 to mid-1968), of whom 53,357 were classified as deserters, i.e., absent for more than 30 days. The comparable figures for fiscal 1967 were 134,668 AWOL's and 40,227 desertions. Senator Inouye, who you may remember from his famous role as hatchet man at the Democratic Convention, bemoaned the fact that "only 250 have been tried and convicted."

At about the same time, the Pentagon announced that the "drug" problem in the military was growing. The Pentagon's response to this situation has been massive investigations. In 1968, there were 14,041 investigations throughout the armed forces for suspected drug use, as compared to 7,641 in 1967.

The problem, they say, is most severe in Vietnam, where there have been 3,225 investigations of marijuana use alone. In fact, as the Pentagon knows very well, the "problem" in Vietnam is much greater than their figures indicate.

What they also know, but are not telling, is the fact that these "drug" investigations are sometimes used as a smoke screen for political harassment. This was the case with Pfc. Bruce Peterson, the publisher of the Fatigue Press at Fort Hood, who was given eight years at hard labor ostensibly for possession of marijuana,

## GI RESISTANCE

The biggest problem facing the brass, however, is the growing GI resistance movement. The mass GI-civilian marches last October, and again at Fort Lewis on February 16 (from 200 to 300 GI's attended), are the most visible form of this resistance.

More important are the growing number of groups and organizations appearing on bases across the country. The American Servicemen's Union, one of the first GI organizations, has small groups on most bases. The appeal of the ASU, however, is limited by the crass "old left" tone of its paper, "The Bond," and by the "cult of the personality" around its chairman, Andy Stapp. Nonetheless, many local ASU groups function like the other GI groups and are quite autonomous of the ASU's national office.

Most GI groups are informal and don't even have names -- more a network of activists on the same base than an organization. Others that are attempting to build some sort of in-service organization are the GI Association, in the S.F. Bay Area; the GI's and Vietnam Veterans Against the War in Vietnam, in Los Angeles; the GI's United Against the War, at Fort Jackson; the GI's Peace and Freedom League, in the Washington, D.C. area; the FTA, at Edgewood Arsenal, Maryland; the Mickey Mouse Club, at Fort Hood; the

Fort Dix Free Speech Movement, at Fort Dix; and the Vietnam Veterans Union, in the New York area -- are attempting to build some sort of in-service organization.

In some cases, unfortunately, the name of the group is longer than its membership list. On the other hand, on the larger or more active bases, such as Fort Hood, Fort Lewis, Fort Dix, and the Bay area bases and installations, it is not uncommon to find more than one on-going group or organization.

At Fort Dix, for example, there is an ASU group which functions on its own; the Free Speech Movement, a small group which orbits toward the Student Mobilization-SWP single issue approach; and a larger network of GI's with generally new left politics. This latter group now puts out its own tabloid paper, the Shake Down.

## ON-BASE PAPERS

Along with these growing and multiplying core groups have come a number of on-base GI papers to supplement national GI papers such as Vietnam GI and The Ally. In addition to Shake Down, these local papers include Fun, Travel and Adventure at Fort Knox; Flag-In-Action at Fort Gordon; Short Times at Fort Jackson; Counterpoint at Fort Lewis; and Head-On at Camp Lejeune.

For the most part these papers print local exposes and atrocity stories, reports on resistance activities on base, and general political articles, usually centered around the war. Most of these papers share a generalized version of movement politics; seldom do they follow any particular "line."

More often than not they are the result of collaboration between guys with different political backgrounds, or with very little political background. This is to say, that they are genuine products of the GI movement, which explains their popularity. Most importantly, they often serve as organizing and co-ordinating centers in a situation where open organization is difficult if not impossible.

Obviously, a military base is a difficult place to organize an action. For example, when a group of GI's at Fort Dix recently tried to organize GI's to give the peace sign (raised arms, fingers in a V--very much the symbol of the GI resistance) in the middle of Basic Training graduation, the word leaked out to the brass. As a result, each graduating Company was cut in half, the site of the ceremony changed, and numerous Military Intelligence (MI) agents placed around the edges of the auditorium. To avoid a disastrous bust, the leaders had to call the action off at the last minute.

Nonetheless, actions of various kinds do take place. These range from small incidents--such as a group of guys petitioning the base Inspector General (IG) to stop harassment by some NCO or officer--to the dramatic refusal of 43 black GI's at Fort Hood to do "riot" duty in Chicago last summer (their demonstration involved 160 GI's at its height) and the sit-down strike by 27 men at the Presidio military prison in San Francisco last October.

Recently, political petitions have been used as a means of organizing GI anti-war sentiment. At Fort Dix, a petition opposing the war was passed around a Medical Company (over 200 medics) and was signed by a majority of those in the Company. At Fort Jackson, GI's have been circulating a petition calling for a free and open discussion of the war on the base. The petition was initiated by GI's United Against the War in Vietnam, a base organization that claims to get about 35 guys at each of its meetings. The leaders, who face court martials for their actions, say that about 150 guys are circulating their petition.

GI's at Fort Dix are now discussing the possibility of a base-wide petition along the same lines. As with the underground papers, these petitions are viewed as organizing tools, rather than as ends in themselves.

The brass is, indeed, worried. And, with the aid of their political buddies on the Senate Armed Services Committee they are launching a counter-offensive. At almost the same time that the Senate Committee recommended a "get tough" policy for deserters, a Fort Dix court martial sentenced Spec/4 Edwin Arnett, who returned voluntarily from Sweden, to 4 years hard labor for desertion "with intention to shirk important service."

Even more shocking than this was the severity of the sentence given to the first three of the Presidio "mutineers" to be tried. The 27 GI's who sat down and sang "We Shall Overcome" at the Presidio on October 14, did so to protest the senseless shooting of a 19-year-old prisoner, Richard Bunch, by one of the guards. Their demonstration had been peaceful and when the guards carried them off they offered no resistance.

Yet, the first three tried received sentences of 14, 15, and 18 years at hard labor. The "leaders" of this spontaneous action are expected to receive even harsher sentences. Three of the 24 still facing trial have had the good sense to escape.

## BRASS COUNTERATTACK

The brass is making a "big deal" out of the Presidio trial. They had the whole thing moved to Fort Irwin, in the middle of the Mojave Desert--safe from the wrath of the movement. Then they turned around and accused the GI's defense attorney, Kayo Hillman, of having instigated the mutiny a full two weeks before the shooting of Richard Bunch. The Kafka-esque staging of the trial and the severity of the sentences is no doubt designed to intimidate the GI resistance. GI activists are, in fact, watching this trial closely, but they have not ceased to organize.

The Presidio trial, the "get tough" statement by the Senate Committee, and numerous other "no nonsense" pronouncements by the brass at some bases, indicate that the powers-that-be intend to fight the growth of the GI movement. It is crucial that the civilian anti-war movement respond by defending the Presidio 27 and the GI movement in general.





# Behind the Spanish 'State of Exception'

—ACCION COMMUNISTA VOZ OBRERA—

If the declaration of a state of emergency surprised anyone abroad, it surprised no one in Spain itself. The imminence of such measures had been a subject of discussion for months.

The "evolutionist" faction of the establishment has aspired to phase-out Francoism from above, via "neo-capitalist" institutions and Spanish membership in the Common Market. But for more than a year, it has been obvious that integrating the mechanisms of neo-capitalism in the midst of the "liberalization" process would prove to be more difficult than had been imagined.

The schisms within the bourgeoisie and its political representatives had already erupted into public view: on the one hand, there is the "hard" wing, linked to the military (such as Carrero Blanco); on the other hand, there is the evolutionist wing, with its different camarillas — Opus Dei, the monarchists, the "Right" Christian Democrats, etc.

In addition, there is the "respectable opposition": "Left" Christian Democrats, moderate socialists, etc. Certain tendencies are trying to work their way into the clandestine trade-union organizations and some left-wing groups with a "loose" and open ideology.

## EXTRAORDINARY DEVELOPMENT

During this time, the worker and student movements have undergone an extraordinary development. Two years ago, it looked as though the growth of workers' councils and student syndicalism was going to collapse.

The councils had found themselves dominated by

the Communist Party, thanks to the countless numbers of real and fictitious fronts it was able to create. The CP had rallied to politics groups like the AST (Accion Sindical de Trabajadores) or the FLP (Frente de Liberacion Popular) whose positions were always confused and fluid, oscillating between the Social Christians and anarcho-syndicalism or Marxism, without defining a revolutionary line.

In the same way, it was difficult to tell where the SDEU was going, having limited itself to student syndicalism without a perspective.

## STABLE NITCH

The CP sought simply to use its growing influence to negotiate a "democratic solution" to Francoism. It hoped, like its counterparts in France and Italy, to secure a stable nitch for itself within the framework of bourgeois democracy. Fearing exclusion from a "limited democracy" handed down by the monarchy, it tried to come on as both powerful and reasonable.

But the rise of a new generation and the intensification of struggle has triggered — as elsewhere in Europe — the development of a new vanguard seeking a revolutionary solution.

To be sure, there is great political confusion within this embryonic vanguard: neo-Stalinism (often in very subtle forms) and Maoism have taken their toll, and rhetorical revolutionism has often been taken to gro-

tesque extremes.

But already, this new vanguard, outdoing itself, has begun to make an impact — especially in the neighborhood workers' councils which have introduced new agitational techniques (blitz demonstrations, "comandos," certain forms of violent struggle). In supporting these councils, the young revolutionaries are trying to make themselves known and to struggle in what they call ironically the "adult" workers' councils.

It is no exaggeration to state that this new vanguard has upset and interfered with the plans of the Communist Party — as well as with those of the diverse social-democratic forces that have been trying to make inroads under the guise of a "new syndicalism," a "modern socialism" or even a "more supple" or "enlarged" Marxism. The traditional conflicts between the Communist and social-democratic wings of the working-class movement are being overshadowed by the new threat to both of them from the left.

Most of the old organizations in exile — the social democratic PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero de Espana) and their union, the UGT (Union General de Trabajadores); the anarcho-syndicalist CNT (Confederacion Nacional del Trabajadores); and the Basque Christian union, the STV (Solidaridad de Trabajadores Vascos) — are beginning to look like museum pieces.

The same process of radicalization can be observed in the student movement. New forms of organization are being worked out, especially in the wake of the May Days in France, the mass demonstrations in Italy, and the growth of the German SDS. A variety of different types of groups have sprung up (students' councils, revolutionary student unions, etc.), sometimes localized within a single city, sometimes more widespread.

The heightening of the struggle, which could be followed in the press all last year (and the foreign press did not cover all the strikes, occupations and university struggles), has convinced the hardliners in the establishment that the system as a whole will be jeopardized if it does not suppress the agitations of the student and working-class movements.

## A SPECTER HAUNTING SPAIN

The specter of the French general strike has been haunting a ruling class which has never been able to maintain its domination with flexible methods and liberal forms — which, only thirty years ago, almost lost everything to a working class movement that clearly proclaimed its revolutionary goals in the Asturias uprising in the first year of the civil war.

Thus it was decided to bring a halt to liberalization and check the opposition. But this about-face on the part of the power structure came up against everything the liberals (Christian Democrats, moderate socialists, etc.) had been patiently preparing for years. Suddenly, the skirmishes between the various wings of the bourgeoisie have become violent.

The Church is divided, Professor Tierno Galvan is reproaching the "hards" for their lack of serenity, the military, the police, and the state are getting nervous about radical priests and tolerant professors. "Where does the liberal end and the Communist begin," wonder the forces of repression, more obtuse in Spain than anywhere else, "who is a scab and who is a Red in this new crowd?"

The most encouraging thing about the present situation is the fact that the working class — braving a repression which has every possible means at its command, prison, torture, etc., and uses and abuses them as widely as possible — has continued the struggle and maintained its pressure despite the state of emergency. It would be an exaggeration to say that Franco's regime is in danger, but at the same time it must be recognized that the workers' awakening has revealed itself to be quite formidable.

Despite the present disarray in the secret and semi-secret organizations, despite the immediate imprisonment of every suspect after the declaration of the state of emergency (in fact, the dragnet began two days before the declaration), still the workers are solid.

## REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL

A situation full of revolutionary possibilities is beginning to develop in Spain. Unfortunately, one can be overwhelmed by Spain's backwardness in organization and political immaturity. Spain has lost the revolution several times because of it.

No one should imagine that Spain can make the revolution in the absence of a strong Marxist revolutionary party. This is the crux of our disagreement with most of the post-war groups in Spain, and we do not hide the fact. On the contrary, we are eager to pursue discussion on this point and others, before the working class and the revolutionary militants.

But at the same time we seek nothing less than close collaboration with all those who are ready to struggle sincerely, for an improvement in working class conditions, for the destruction of capitalism, for the construction of socialism under the democratic control of the working class.

Translated by Loren Goldner from Lutte Ouvriere, 3/5/69





# A Guide for the Radical Tourist

by Ernest Haberkern

There has always been a strain of "socialist" thought which has been the main mission of socialism the purification of man's souls of the greed and petty individualism that characterizes capitalism.

Characteristic of this sort of socialist--best represented by the Fabians, several varieties of Christian Socialists and those reformers George Orwell caricatured as the fruit-juice-drinkers-and-vegetarians--is a heartfelt distrust of revolutionary mass movements.

Mass movements are generally awakened, as Karl Marx pointed out, by the ordinary "material" needs and aspirations of the oppressed. They tend to bring to the surface the general self-assertiveness and combative independence that the typical "socialist reformer" longs to suppress.

The socialist puritans generally lean instead toward the man of destiny as an instrument of history. It is the dedicated leader, sacrificing himself to a noble ideal--and calling upon the people to sacrifice themselves too--that has been enshrined in their dreams. There is the vision of people hostile to the anarchy of capitalist society and frightened at the prospect of working class democracy--longing for an ordered and deferential world. The Great Man seems to stand above society and the class struggle in life as the re-

Iglesias does not stint on examples of good Cubans. Take his discussion of the housing question: In the local party office, Iglesias comes across a troublemaker. An old woman, wife of a pensioner, bitterly denounces the regime because of the wretched housing allotted to her. She attributes it to a policy of the regime toward pensioners and others who are not needed for production.

The woman, who along with her husband was a rank-and-file member of the old pre-Castro Cuban Communist Party (PSP), is in effect told that there are others worse off than she is and therefore she shouldn't complain. There is a certain amount of condescension expressed towards the woman's political past, the implication being that the lot of a rank-and-file CPer in Batista's days wasn't so bad.

Then on leaving the party headquarters, Iglesias runs across a seventy-three year old man who is obviously meant to represent the kind of response to the regime that Iglesias approves of.

After describing his life, that of a hard worker and an honest man (with no hint of militancy even of a trade union kind), the campesino tells of his good treatment at the hands of the revolution:

"I am seventy-three today. I am already retired and I am still drawing my salary until the pension comes.

Cuba (it means loss of job and other severe restrictions for the period of several months that it takes to process the case). Iglesias doesn't like, however, and Ventura has to make a point of finding him in the street.

When Iglesias finally submits to a conversation, he notes that Ventura had been a member of the July 26 Movement, and reports that the ex-labor leader defends the revolutionary government from some attacks which Ventura feels are unjustified (saying a lot of the complaints about housing, rationing and so on fall to take into account the external pressures on the regime).

But his conclusion is that Ventura is not being honest with him and is simply trying to put up a front, to present himself as an honest but objective critic of the regime. In Iglesias' words:

"It was this lying, this cat-and-mouse game that he played with me that made me dislike him... It seemed to me Ventura was a man who, after those years as a union leader, was unhappy about not being 'in'; yet he had no heart for the dreadfully hard work and devotedness of the Cuban party member; there was simply no juice in it for him."

Now all those things might be true--although Iglesias doesn't present a shred of evidence for any of his charges; It was simply a reporter's intuition that underlay his remarks. (Iglesias offers a picture of himself as an honest, objective reporter: sympathetic to the regime but willing to report the criticisms that he runs into or, as in this instance, run after him. But he doesn't offer any basis for judging the validity of his own unsupported opinions)

## NO POLITICAL REPLY

But regardless of whether or not Iglesias' criticisms of Ventura are valid, regardless of Ventura's personal strengths or weaknesses, Iglesias makes no attempt whatever at a political reply to the criticisms of the regime which Ventura had made to him. The gist of Ventura's objections were given in one paragraph:

"Listen, I agree that I should not be a union leader, though I was elected each time by a majority of the workers. A leader should be a member of the militia. Anyway, I am not good at being a leader of this kind of union. I am used to arguing and negotiating with the company for benefits for the workers. Now the union and the company are the same thing, they pursue the same objectives. And in 1960, I did not like what they did to remove the union leadership. They came to the top man and said he had to leave, that there would be new elections. They did not arrest him but there were militia standing by. What do you think of that?"

It's a straightforward question, but somehow Iglesias never gets around to answering it directly. It strikes right at the heart of the nature of Cuban "socialism," and there are hosts of others like it. Why are the Cuban people denied the right to any independent organizations of the working class or anybody else? (That would be "economism," no doubt). Why must the so-called unions, whose leaders are ultimately selected by the Cuban power structure, exist only to interpret the workers' true interests--as defined by the Cuban Communist Party--to the workers themselves?

Why can't Cuban "socialism" mean authentic workers' control of production, as opposed to the factory self-discipline that has been installed there today? Why can't the revolutionary government be based upon workers' councils, democratically elected on the shop level? Why must the "workers' state" in Cuba mean that the workers and the rest of the Cuban people have no power at all?

No public opinion poll in Cuba can answer these questions for you (any more than a public opinion poll in the US should make up your mind for you on racism, the war in Vietnam or student unrest). For Iglesias, these questions do not even exist.

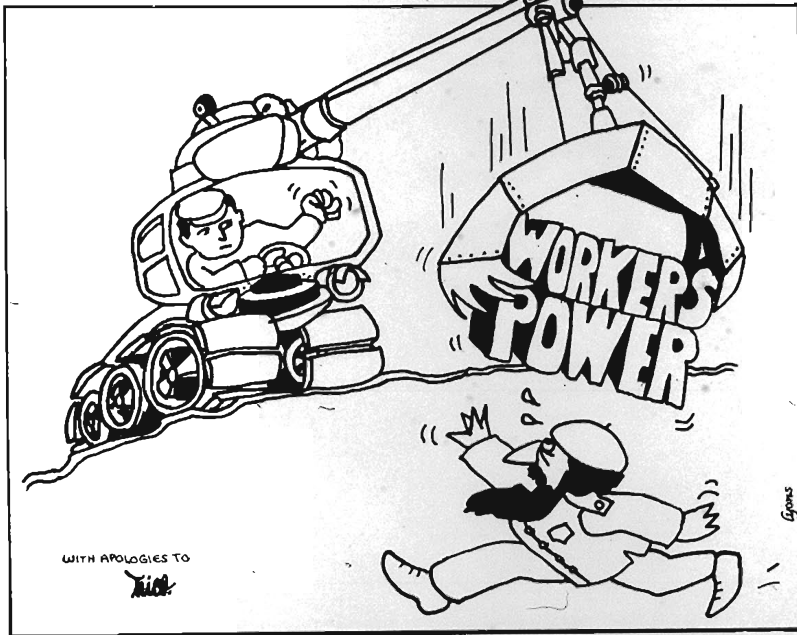
In so far as Iglesias is concerned, there are only two options open to Cuban workers: docile hard-working submission to the government or parasitical griping, the militant oppositionist whose opposition is based on the conviction that he is more faithful to the revolution than the time servers who end up with government posts simply doesn't exist.

## PURITAN'S DELIGHT

There are no revolutionary oppositionists except the bus driver Bill, who is treated as politically naive. And even Bill is resigned, his loyalty to the old revolutionaries he served with results. In nothing more threatening to the regime than nostalgia. He too, in practice, is just another hard worker who keeps his mouth shut.

Iglesias' Cuba is a socialist puritan's delight. Leon Trotsky, in the Revolution Betrayed, referred to the productions of the liberal apologists for Stalin (the "Friends of the Soviet Union") as Socialism for Radical Tourists. Iglesias' book, like so many reports on Cuba, can best be thought of as a guide for such tourists.

Like most tourist guides, it bears little resemblance to reality. For those whose main desire is to indulge their romantic fantasies, it is preferable to the actual tour--which always runs the risk of being interrupted by reality.



former does in ideological fantasy. He is taken to represent an all but unlimited ability to reshape the social order in accordance with one's will.

In fact, of course, the Bonapartist regimes of the nineteenth century and the fascist and stalinist dictatorships of the twentieth have been marked by a thoroughgoing "immobilism."

After an initial period of feverish activity--required to fill the vacuum created by the collapse of the old order--these regimes have tended to lapse into a profound conservatism, in part because they have tried to substitute faith in the Leader for popular initiative. An authoritarian or totalitarian regime may uproot the remnants of a corrupt order but it cannot replace the mass energy it must repress.

But the growth of a radical student movement at a time when the working class, though increasingly restive, remains politically quiescent nevertheless has led to a resurgence of a kind of social reformer mentality.

## CASTRO AND MORAL REFORM

There is no more obvious evidence of this resurgence than the adulation heaped on Fidel Castro simply because he puts forward the moral reform of the Cuban people as the justification for his dictatorship. And there is no better witness to this adulation than in the Fist of the Revolution, by Jose Iglesias.

Iglesias' book is a collection of journalistic vignettes which describe the virtues of "Socialist Man" that are being "built" in Cuba. In addition to the dedicated cadre, mostly militia and party men, there are only two basic types: the ordinary Cubans, who worship Fidel, and the "disgustados," the disillusioned,

Isn't it fine of the revolutionary government to do that? I knew Fidel and Raul and their old man too. I worked for him in Biran when they were boys, and look what a wonderful man Fidel has become. I am retired at higher pay and I can keep my house. I can keep my house! They will not throw me out, think of that! Isn't that a fine thing? Say it is a fine thing, man."

## FAITHFUL FAMILY RETAINERS

It is episodes like this, repeated throughout the book that give away the political assumptions that Iglesias brings to his work. Almost invariably, the good Cubans are presented as just this kind of faithful family retainer types. Occasionally, they may grumble a bit about hardship, and even about incompetence in the leadership. But generally they are portrayed as politically naive, basically simple and good-natured.

On the other hand, just as invariably, the disgustados are presented as self-centered whiners and complainers, dissatisfied with the regime for personal and usually disreputable reasons. Iglesias' one exception, a bus driver he calls Bill (a fighter in the Escambray Front and a prisoner under Batista, who participated in a prison break in which six of his comrades were killed), is included to prove the rule.

Consider his treatment of the case of Ventura, a former local union leader in the sugar mill at Central Guatemala in Oriente Province. The first thing that should be noted is, the fact that Ventura has to go out of his way to get Iglesias to listen to his story. He attempts to open up a discussion first in a local hotel where mill workers eat.

Ventura mentions that he is sending his wife and child out of the country, an act which as Iglesias himself makes clear is considered the next thing to treason in



# For a Genuine Black-White Alliance

by Sy Landy

We are approaching a crucial period in American history. In the next few years we may see militant movements launching mass struggles aimed at challenging the the whole capitalist system. Or we may very well witness a race war, fought by white and black workers against each other, while the ruling class escapes the brunt of the social crisis.

If a fratricidal race war is to be avoided, steps must be taken now to lay the groundwork for future united action by the whole working class. The outcome of present debate within the radical movement on the ways in which black and white struggles should relate to one another may have a great deal of impact on the growing social conflict in America.

The American working class is deeply troubled and becoming more so.

Given the war in Vietnam, unemployment has dropped to an extent, roughly 3 to 4%. This figure has to be at least doubled to see the true picture; for example, it doesn't include those who have given up searching for jobs or those whose life circumstances do not permit taking what society has defined as paying jobs.

The situation grows more ominous in that one of the chief policy aims of giant corporations is to increase unemployment still more in order to make the employed workers even more fearful of their job security, thus undercutting the increased militancy.

This condition is interwoven with the growing speedup on the job coupled with acceleration of inhumane conditions dictated by the greed for profit. The long term problems of automation, in addition, hang like a sword of Damocles over the heads of the labor force.

beyond what the individual or collective members of the ruling class desire. The system as a system is the generator and accelerator of racism which functions in the best interests of the capitalist society. The disease of prejudice pervades the entire fabric of capitalist America and is an ideological mechanism that works to maintain superexploitation and divisions in the working class.

We see the danger signs all around us of the turmoil within the white working class being deflected by the ruling class and its minions against the blacks: the teachers in New York pitting themselves against the black community; feather in the auto industry playing off the skilled white workers against the largely black assembly workers on the basis of ensuring large wage differentials.

We see the cry growing among white workers (as well as middle class people) - "the niggers are getting everything!" We see the enormous response Wallace got for a period of time amongst young white workers. As the material pressures against the working class accelerate so does the danger of the whites viewing the black upsurge as the threat causing them to lose money, purchasing power, job security and the like.

So we are entering a period where the alternatives are sharply posed - alliance against the ruling class or fratricidal warfare. The question is, how can real alliances between blacks and whites be fostered?

## TWO BISYMMETRICAL MISTAKES

The answer to this question depends in part upon an understanding of what should NOT be done. Two mistaken approaches - bisymmetrical opposites - have been under discussion in the movement.

On the one hand, it has been suggested that the black community should be told to "cool it" until the white majority of the working class has cured itself of racism. On the other, it has been argued that whites as well as blacks must make the fight against racism the major focus of their struggles. Let us look at each of them in turn.

There are some who have taken the racial crisis in the US to mean that black demands should be opposed because they "undermine class unity" and "threaten the short range interests" of white workers. The SDS Labor Committee in New York gave its support to the racist UFT strike on these kinds of grounds.

This is not a new approach exactly; history could provide us with any number of related cases. For example, Guy Mollet and the French Social Democrats (SFIO) carried on the war against Algerian independence on the grounds that they were opposed to nationalism because they were socialist international-

alists. After all, Algerians and Frenchmen should be united, etc.

Raising an ultimate demand to drown an immediate demand - counter-posing "class demands" to specific black demands - serves not a class interest nor an ultimate interest but the maintenance of the status quo. To submerge the struggle to the level of the least militant is to slide with reaction.

The approach to black-white relationships put forward by the SDS Labor Committee and other groups betrays a fundamental misunderstanding of the ways in which the fight for the liberation of the whole working class (the fight for socialism) relates to other struggles.

## SOCIALISM AND NATIONAL LIBERATION

Consider the ways in which the basic politics of revolutionary socialism are linked to wars of national liberation. To quote Hal Draper:

How does support to a war of national liberation relate to the basic politics of revolutionary socialism? In two ways:

1) In the first place, we support a struggle for national liberation or independence because this national aim is a democratic demand. We are for all genuinely democratic demands--for the same reason we are for socialist demands and aims; because their fulfillment is necessary for a world in which human potentialities can best flower.

National self-determination is a democratic demand even if it means self-determination under an undemocratic national government, as it often has. We should support this democratic demand even if it were unrelated to the further struggle for socialist democracy.

2) But, as a matter of fact, it is very difficult if not impossible for any democratic demand to be unrelated to the struggle for socialism, because of the nature of socialism itself. National liberation (independence) facilitates the struggle for socialist democracy if not immediately, then in a later stage.

The essential reason for that fact is this: domination or oppression from the outside by a foreign imperialist tends to overlay the social struggle (class struggle) of the indigenous society, and therefore to distort, dampen or moderate precisely those social antagonisms which bear a social-revolutionary potential. A people who do not enjoy national freedom will tend to pay primary attention to that immediate source of pain; their capacity to struggle will tend to be absorbed by it; their perception of who-is-the-enemy will tend to be dominated by it.

Therefore, imperialist oppression tends to set back or slow up a full crystallization and clarification of class antagonisms; and a liberation from imperialist domination will have the long-run effect of providing the conditions for the exacerbation of internal class strains (even if the immediate effect of a national-liberation victory appears to be otherwise for an initial period). This is not gained by the fact that, to be sure, revolutionary policy seeks to intro-

## Who Pays For War?

An agency of the government has made official what we have charged for a long time - the fact that the costs of the war in Vietnam must be born entirely by the workers, while the corporations and capitalists make more profits from the super-heated economy.

The California State Public Utilities Commission recently granted the Pacific Gas & Electric Company a rate increase. The company had complained that the income tax surcharge (passed, as you will recall, to help finance the Vietnam war) among other things had resulted in lower profits for the company. The PUC has obligingly given its OK to PG&E to pass the cost of the war on to the public.

It is possible to go on listing the causes of the growing unrest at great length, but we will mention only one more - inflation, which is a major factor. While money wages have risen through the past 5 years, the raises have only just managed to maintain the workers' living standards.

Given our retrogressive taxation system and the nature of the capitalist wage-price structure, working people pay for the war. Nor will this cease if the war ends. Nixon has promised the maintenance of war spending. Therefore inflation will continue to take its toll. Indeed, given the three year contract period current in Union negotiations, the wage lag can only intensify the reaction to inflation.

There are strata of the working class that are caught in much worse conditions than those of the generalized work force that we have sketched. There is a stratum of the working class that is super-exploited, relegated generally to the most menial tasks, subject to a much lower wage rate, "the last to be hired/the first to be fired" - Black and Third World workers.

With higher unemployment rates than the norm by far, with the relegation of many of its numbers to the modern dole system - welfare - black workers constitute a major proportion of the superexploited.

Poverty level wages keep the entire working class at a lower wage than it otherwise could achieve. Cheaply paid black labor not only results in super profits for capitalists but acts as a threat to the wages of others should they press for "too much." The "reserve army of unemployed" further acts as a pressure on the job insecurity and wage level of the white workers.

The division between black and white labor caused by racism has been a major weapon in the hands of the ruling class to prevent popular unity which would pose a real challenge to its social, political and economic power.

This is not because a cabal of capitalists decided that racism should work that way. Capitalism is far from being such a conscious system and certainly does not produce a ruling class brilliantly and insightfully aware of its own overall or long range interests. Rather it tends to produce a class parochially divided in its viewpoint and subject to the profit-grubbing views of its components.

Capitalist institutions have a dynamic which goes





## Brutality and Defense

The following excerpt from an interview with a Los Angeles policeman, "Paul Anderson" (carried in the San Francisco Chronicle, March 3, 1969), provides direct evidence of what militant black action against the police can achieve in the way of ending police brutality.

Anderson is one of the officers who joined the department after the 1965 riots. Many officers may not share his viewpoint, but Anderson maintains that the riots - rather than stabilizing hard-nose attitudes among police - actually softened them.

He says he is convinced that some policemen - even those who don't share his moral convictions - are softening their dealings with racial minorities out of a pragmatic concern for survival.

"Maybe 'survival' is a little strong," Anderson said, "but when everything is considered that's about what it boils down to. It's almost an indefinable thing. But you see guys (policemen) who make the effort on the street to communicate because, maybe, before they never really looked at what was going on. By that, I mean the neighborhood's problems, injustice and causes of these problems.

"But, aside from that, our guys know that, now, it can be impossible to even get a guy arrested and out of a black neighborhood without the neighborhood's help. Maybe the riots brought about the feeling in some policemen that you can't do it alone, that you not only get your power from the people, but that you get your help from the people. If the community's against you, your job is impossible. You make an arrest and, right away, there's 200 black people crowding around, trying to tear you apart.

"And there you are. You got a suspect and you can't even get back to your car to radio for help. And if the crowd REALLY doesn't understand (sic), REALLY doesn't want you to take the guy to jail...Man, it's a question of survival..."

duce class-struggle components even in the course of a national struggle.

In short, here, as in other sectors of politics, the fight for democracy and the fight for socialism go hand in hand; and the fight for democracy includes specifically the democratic demand for national liberation.

(A Political Guide to the ABC of National Liberation Movements, pp. 2 - 3)

In the United States, the black struggle has a similar although not identical meaning. Ask yourself a simple question. Does the black worker at this time identify his problem of being unable to control his life, to secure a stable livelihood, etc., with his condition as a worker? Or does he associate it with being black? Obviously, in his mind - in his state of consciousness - he associates it primarily with being black.

Before he can unroll or strip away his sense of powerlessness and inferiority as worker he must strip away his sense of powerlessness and inferiority as black. In practice, in struggle, there is a tendency for the two to begin to mesh - the one leading to and fusing with the other.

For the black in America, the American Heritage has meant centuries of actual slavery, eventually transformed into corporate 'free enterprise' slavery, poverty and physical terror.

But beyond even the lynchings and the poverty, the blood and the hunger, has been the systematic attempt not only to degrade the black, but to make him accept his degradation as his just due.

History, tradition and his material circumstances wove a blanket of social lies that smothered the black in his own supposed inhumanity, his fitness only for menial labor, his awareness of social and even physical dependence on the power and wealth of those outside his community, his incapacity to run his own life.

Much more important than explicit theories of black inferiority has been the conscious and unconscious racism that permeates the lives of whites living in a society built on the stooped backs of black people. And tragically, a great many blacks themselves accepted the racist concept of their own inferiority.

Deliberately deprived of their African heritage, virtually denied the history of their own past rebellions, forced into patterns of deference by the need to survive, forced into the most menial jobs, forced into filthy slums and dirt road shacks, many American blacks found it easy to accept the myth of their inferiority.

It is a tribute to the human race in general and the black people in particular that such a system was not completely effective, that black people could not be beaten down totally even by the vast powers aligned against them.

The need for self-identification and self-respect, the hunger for black pride, was the basic dynamic behind the appeal of the early Nationalist groups with a variety of concrete programs. Garvey's Back to Africa movement, separatism, Muslimism - all were symbolic of a refusal to kneel before white society.

The explosive impact of the Black Power slogan in the black community is an indication of the need for black militancy and independent black organizations. American black society had for too long accepted the idea that Negroes were incapable of uniting and leading their own groups.

Traditional civil rights organizations might "do good things", but the black man at the bottom could not identify himself with them. What appeared to the white community to be 'integrated' organizations appeared to the grassroots of the Black community to be white-dominated.

Ghetto uprisings, the formation of armed self-defense groups, and the organization of grassroots political combat organizations have marked the new period.

There are (of course) conservative and reactionary versions of black nationalism. Every observer and participant is aware of the fiery "revolutionary" who settles for a poverty program job.

In fact, a whole layer of politicians, professionals and upwardly mobile elements still vocalize much of the Black Power and nationalist sentiment. The most conservative versions of this are the Black Capitalist tendency and the cultural nationalists but they don't end the list by any means.

But the development of black consciousness and independent black organizations in balance represents a tremendous step forward for black people - and in fact for the US working class as a whole.

### BLACK CAUCUSES IN THE UNIONS

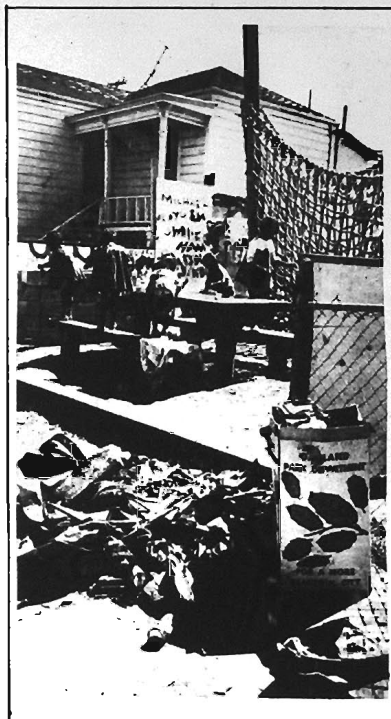
The rise of black caucuses in the union movement underlines this fact. Class consciousness is fusing with black consciousness.

DRUM, the big Dodge Black Caucus specifically traces its roots to the Black Power movement and says that it has learned that the way to organize the community is by organizing the work place!

Communities, ghettos, slums are by nature of the capitalism that creates them, atomizing institutions designed to turn inhabitant against inhabitant, neighbor against neighbor. The work place, the point of production, organizes workers by its nature, consolidates them, points to finite class enemies.

The caucuses of black workers have the potential both of raising the fight for black liberation to a new level and of revitalizing the stagnating trade union movement as a whole.

In short, any move by radicals to counterpose them-



selves systematically to black demands would represent a tragedy of historic dimensions.

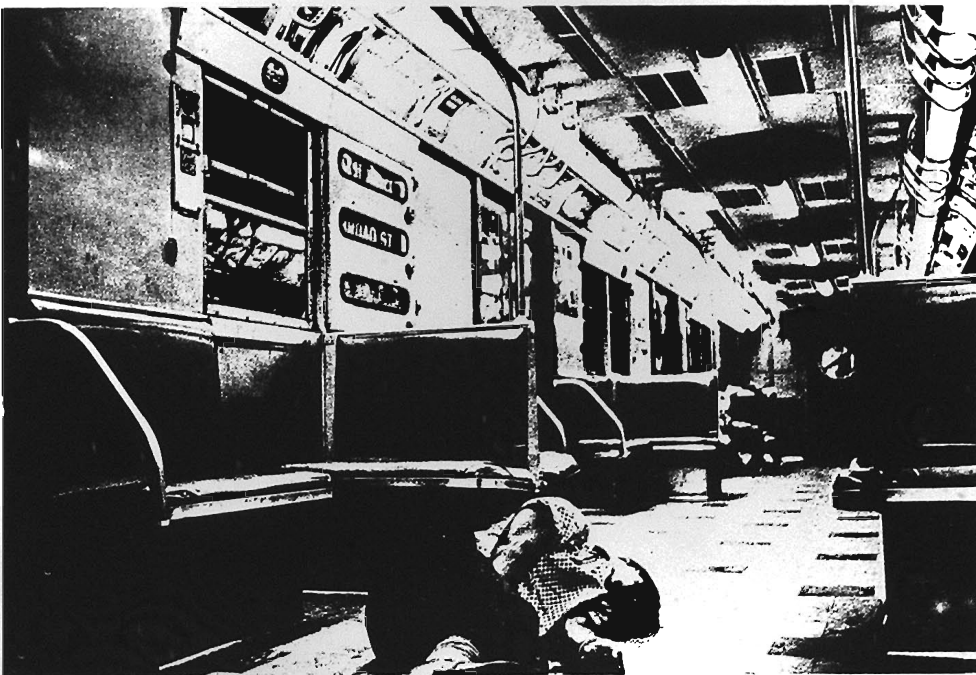
On the other hand, just as dangerous as the idea of counterposing yourself to black demands is the notion of raising no additional demands. The Progressive Labor Party has taken the position that since it is in the long range interests of white workers to have black poverty eliminated, therefore racism must be the main target against which white workers (and students) must fight as well as the blacks.

But to not use the catalytic effect of black upsurges to stimulate parallel developments amongst whites (on issues that have material significance to them as well as to blacks) means to abandon hope for the white working class.

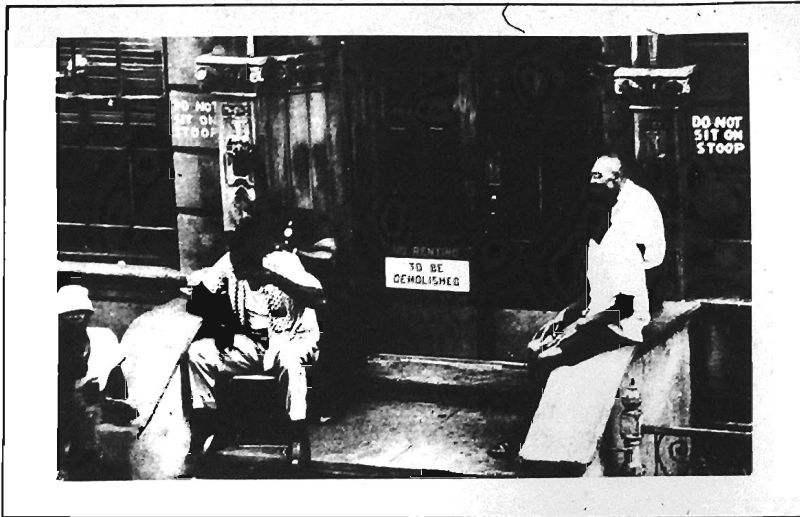
It means, in addition, in a troubled and polarizing situation, that right wingers will raise some of the very demands that workers want. They will do so in an utterly demagogic fashion and twist them into racist attacks on Black workers fighting for their own interests. Abandonment of class wide demands will result not just in a setback but in reaction.

The object of a class-wide demand is to raise the horizon of struggle. If the ruling class can limit the fight, all is lost. If, for example, a black demand is raised for jobs in a particular factory for all blacks who apply, and if this demand is not added to and escalated towards a program guaranteeing full employment for all throughout society, then inter-class collision is fore-ordained.

When white workers have been willing to follow black leadership - as in the recent series of wild-cat strikes of black and white workers led by black







caucuses - they have done so not because they waged a fight on the grounds of racism but because demands had been raised which were in the immediate self-interest of white workers as well as blacks.

Working class anti-racism is not learned by being convinced in the abstract that racism is bad, but as a byproduct of working together with blacks in a struggle for goals meaningful to both in a material sense. The most concrete example in American history of how to forge an alliance between white and black plebeians was the Populist movement in the south in the late 1800's. Separately organized blacks and whites (Colored Farmer Tenants Alliances and Farmer Tenants Alliances) joined together in a number of places in the South to fight the power of Northeastern capitalism and its Southern compradore class.

The demands of the movements were largely economic and potentially very revolutionary. The blacks and whites hated each other's guts. Prejudices waned however, as each realized the other's power and their need for the alliance against the real enemy.

Anti-racism was not, nor could it be, the motor force of the white organizing - it was a result. It lasted until the furious pressures of the power structure finally tore the embryonic coalition apart.

It is a middle class liberal myth to believe that anti-racism education can solve the problem of racism. It is a dangerous myth that the overwhelming bulk of the white working class is willing to fight, under the banner of anti-racism at this point. The gap between their present reluctance and their future willingness to do so can be closed by concrete struggles with their black brothers for material gain.

Does this mean that we do not press the question of racism of advise black caucuses not to demand the end of racism? Again, absolutely not. Black caucuses are now in the lead in militant struggles in the factories - you do not ask militants to reduce their militancy to the common denominator.

#### ADDITIONAL DEMANDS

What you do ask, and black caucuses frequently do without benefit of your asking, is to raise additional demands which have economic meaning both to their own constituency and to the white workers.

Thereby white workers, because they are attracted to the benefits of collaboration in an immediate gray sense, accept black co-struggle and even leadership - and the particular black demands - as part of the struggle for their common good. At first this is grudging and hesitant, later less so.

Interracial fraternity on a class conscious basis is at least a possible - not guaranteed - end product of such a strategy. Coalitions between independent, autonomous groups, based on mutual self-interest, offer the only road away from racist disaster.

Certain of the above guidelines hold true on the campus as well. The recent outbreak of black struggles on campuses across the country is only the beginning of a new development.

#### STUDENTS AND WORKERS

Students are not workers. They do not have the same class interests or ways of reacting. Students cannot and do not play the role of revolutionary agency that the working class can play. It does not have the relationship to the means of production, or the social strength or the long term concentration that the working class has demonstrated.

Students are even trained to think differently: they abstract more readily and generalize more quickly. Workers are trained both overtly and subtly to think in "practical" terms. Families, jobs, etc. press them to seek immediate gains rather than more abstract or long range fulfillments.

However, their relationship to the system forces them to widen their demands, and by a process of struggle and related education they learn their manifest interests on a broad or class-wide scale. Students' manifest or latent interests do not necessarily impel them to revolutionary conclusions.

Why are revolutionaries interested in students, and why are so many of the current revolutionary crop students? In the first place, despite the fact that students as a group are not propelled into revolution automatically, sizeable numbers of them can make the break with their class backgrounds or class aspirations and join together with other intellectuals who have made a similar break, and with advanced workers, to form a revolutionary vanguard.

This does not mean simply becoming as radical as "all get out", but decisively and profoundly identifying with the long range interests of another class, the working class. The jump is huge, and only a comparatively small number make it and stay with it.

The bulk of students, however, can and frequently



do play another kind of role - that of ally and supporter of the working class and even detonators at a critical moment.

The recent events in France illustrate both tendencies among the students: quite well, in a crisis situation. Groups of determined working class-oriented revolutionaries tried to forge links with small work-

ers' organizations, in order to play a vanguard role and displace the traitorous Communist Party leadership.

The mass of students supported this effort, but were spurred on by their own demands. They were the detonating factor that opened the scene for the working class to play its role.

Students are trained for many occupations - capitalist, professional, technician. They are supposed to provide the mythmakers and ideologists for the system. They are supposed to provide the official cultural consciousness. They are supposed to rationalize and dispense soap services to the working class and the superexploited. They are supposed to fill the bureaucratic mission of the establishment.

Upward mobility for those who enter college whether from the middle classes, seeking to better their lot, or from the working class, seeking to attain middle class or white-collar working class status represents a potentially more rewarding life than the backgrounds from which they come.

#### PROLETARIANIZATION

But the hopes of a considerable number of students are dashed when they become aware of the real content of their future. Most of the jobs that will be available to them are rapidly becoming proletarianized and parochialized.

The resultant lack of a goal or job orientation, moods of intense alienation, etc., are familiar features of the contemporary students' outlook.

A disturbing view of the future is foreordained in the college itself, as the academic institution in American society becomes increasingly impersonal and factory-like.

Students, as we have indicated, tend to generalize rapidly. They are supposed to be "programmed" to serve the mythmaking or socialization function in the interest of the ruling class. Students become aware of the horrors of the society, become more sensitized to them more rapidly than others frequently do - stark variance with reality.

In this context, the eruption of Black and Third World Consciousness among students is a tremendous development in terms of both the opportunities it affords the struggle of the superexploited and the opportunities it opens up among students in general.

Our attitude toward these struggles is similar to the attitude we expressed toward the working class struggles and the Black struggle in general.

We believe that autonomous Black studies, black control of Black curriculum, and the other associated demands are excellent and necessary transitional steps for Black consciousness. We support open admissions for Black and Third World students. We do not subordinate these demands with ours - but we do add others. We recognize the Black initiative, we support their struggle and, at the same time, seek to generate among white students demands for the liberation of all.

As opposed to this conception, PL specifically opposes raising general demands in addition to the Black demands. This stance is based on the notion that racism exists among students and that therefore they have to struggle under the banner of anti-racism alone to rid themselves of it.

#### NOBLESSE OBLIGE

By appealing to anti-racism alone, PL can only succeed in winning students on a liberal guilt basis. It appeals to noblesse oblige - elite patronization - not self assertion and identification with an exploited group. No conception of a genuine mutual interest alliance is raised.

The early 60's with its campuses still finding real meaning in liberal possibilities (eg. SDS's "Part of the way with LBJ" in 1964 and the general pro-civil rights moral upthrust), is over. The liberal center is marked by self doubt, vacillation, and confusion; there is now a really revolutionary alternative present on campuses.

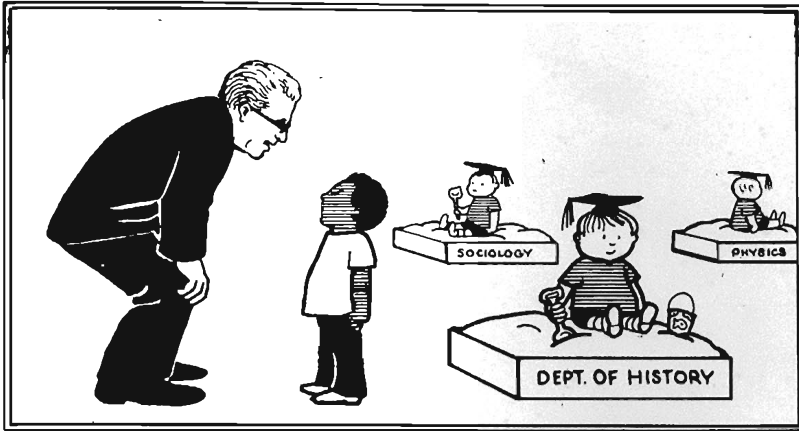
To present a strictly moral approach to people in these circumstances, to give them the same stuff that no longer awakens the spirit of the early sixties, because they've learned the world is more complex, is simply to conservatize things.





# Racism and Higher Education

by Jack Bloom



"Now, if you're a real good boy, you can have a department all your own, with just as much autonomy as the others."

The last few months have seen the outbreak of struggles for self-determination on one campus after another across the country. Led by Black Student Unions and Third World Liberation Fronts, the repeated confrontations have raised the issue not only of restructuring the academy but of changing the content of higher education as well. In fact, the various structural proposals that have been advanced are designed precisely to facilitate content changes.

It is almost to reassert a commonplace to state that the structure of the American college and university is built upon racist foundations; at the same time, it must be understood that the content of American education is permeated by racist assumptions.

Most social scientists, in particular, have brought to their work the presupposition that American society, however, flawed, is overall sound as a system—that only unfortunate mismanagement and regrettable misunderstandings bar the door to liberty and justice for all.

Even those who have become disenchanted with the war in Vietnam, for example, all too often base their opposition on essentially tactical grounds. Their support for the social set-up that spawned the war remains unshaken. It is within this framework of unwavering support, however critical, for the basic social status quo in America—that US racial problems have been examined.

James Tobin, writing in an issue of the scholarly journal *Daedalus* devoted to the "Negro problem," gave expression to the traditional approach in summary form: "I start," he wrote, "from the presumption that the integration of Negroes into the American society and economy can be accomplished within the existing political and economic institutions. I understand the impatience of those who think otherwise, but I see nothing incompatible between our peculiar mixture of private enterprise and government, on the one hand, and the liberation and integration of the Negro, on the other. Indeed, the present position of the Negro is an aberration from the principles of our society, rather than a requirement of its functioning."

Like many of his colleagues, Tobin was convinced that "...the nation, its conscience aroused by the plight of the Negro, has the chance to make reforms which will benefit the whole society."

Tobin's article was written in 1965, during the happy days of the Poverty Program—some months before the nation, its POLICE "aroused by the plight of the Negro," set about the imprisonment of black militants and the suppression of ghetto uprisings.

The massive crisis of racism which confronts American society today is wholly incomprehensible in the terms of analyses which assume that the "American Dilemma" is a discrepancy between basic American values and racial prejudice.

A professor at the University of California at Berkeley recently stated in one of his classes that teaching about Negroes has been in the hands of liberals for years; that there scarcely exists a book that is anti-black written in the last three decades.

He is quite right: the racism that is pervasive in the academic community is not the racism of the Ku Klux Klan but the racism of the ADA—not the racism of the boot in the face but of the gentle (but firm) pat on the top of the head.

Most professors recognize, at least to some degree, the oppression that black people face. Most have been agonized as the paternalistic attempts to "help the Negro gain the skills necessary to uplift himself" have given way to massive military repressions of the black community.

But their basic commitment to the status quo conditions the ways in which they conceptualize the causes of the oppression and repression of black people—and limits the range of solutions to racism that they are willing and able to contemplate.

American social science has been a white social science

not simply in terms of its practitioners, but in terms of its methodology and content as well. One symptom of this is the fact that very little attention of any sort was paid to the problem of racism until blacks began to assert themselves; embarrassing questions are better left unsearched.

Racism is part and parcel of the present structure of American capitalism and its political props; any thoroughgoing attack on racism must necessarily be prepared to go beyond the institutional boundaries of the status quo. What is true of life is true of ideas as well; any thoroughgoing analysis of racism must necessarily be prepared to go beyond the ideological boundaries of the status quo.

Reluctant to do so, American sociologists instead have tended, like the power structure, to blame black people for the effects of white racism. If you can't criticize the system, you must take out your frustration on its casualties.

The best known example of this approach is *Beyond the Melting Pot* (subtitled, "The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City"), by UC Berkeley sociologist Nathan Glazer and Patrick Moynihan, advisor on urban affairs to the Nixon administration. Glazer and Moynihan came very close to taking the position (unstated, of course) that "the Jews made it, so why can't the Negroes?"

The "Negro problem," as Glazer and Moynihan see it, revolves around the failure of the black community to develop a business class as the Jews did. Where did black people go wrong? Well, they didn't have the necessary skills; they had no culture to sell, as the Jews and Italians did; they were not clanish, like the Jews; and (most importantly) they failed to develop a pattern of saving (saving what?)

Glazer and Moynihan's black people are apathetic, undereducated, undermotivated, and practically unemployable—and all because of the weakness of the black family structure, a hang-over from slavery.

What is lacking in *Beyond the Melting Pot* (like the Moynihan Report, "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action"), is the least glimmer of a real understanding of the white problem: racism.

Nineteenth-century slavery did indeed set about the destruction of the slave family structure. But it is ongoing twentieth-century racism that undermines black families today. To the extent that the picture that Glazer and Moynihan draw of the black community is a truthful one, it is white society, not black people, that is to blame.

One might question as well the assumption that the development of a business class is the be-all and the end-all of the good life for a disadvantaged group—Italian workers and Irish workers, for example, may not necessarily agree these days with that time honored sociological proposition.

But in any case, the systematic society-wide oppression of black people that has been engendered by American capitalism—an integrated reciprocal network of bad housing, inferior food, second-class education, unemployment or menial jobs, poverty-level income, high prices and retrogressive taxes, medieval medical care, etc.—totally invalidates any invidious comparisons between the experiences of the black community and the achievements of other ethnic groups.

Even the better sociological analyses of racial questions rarely transcend the conceptual limits imposed by establishment perspectives. Consider Tally's Corner by Elliot Liebow, an excellent example because it represents some of the best contemporary writing by white social scientists on the topic of race relations.

Liebow spent a year and a half among the skid row population in Washington, D. C. He tried in effect to become one of the blacks, to get to know their problems and understand their view of the world. Since his contacts were with those who were the most oppressed among the black population, he is well aware of their suffering and does not seek to hide it. He understands the special

difficulties black people encounter:

"A man who is able and willing to work cannot earn enough money to support himself, his wife, and one or more children. A man's chances for working regularly are good only if he is willing to work for less than he can live on, and sometimes not even then. On some jobs the wage rate is deceptively higher than on others, but the higher the wage rate, the more difficult it is to get the job, and the less the job security." (p. 51)

Liebow points out that because of the discrimination that blacks encounter, they are often demeaned and accept a self-image which is further demeaning. He illustrates how this tends to poison family relations because women expect their men to provide for them as a white man does for his family. He argues that the black's act of deserting his wife, when it happens, is often in a sense an assertion of his manhood against a system that would define him as impotent.

## ALL-PERVASIVE OPPRESSION

In short, Tally's Corner details, at times with sensitivity, the all-pervasive effects of the oppression which black people suffer in this society, oppression which is felt not only materially but psychologically as well.

However, one gets no indication, by reading Liebow's book, that he is studying the same population that exploded into wild rebellion in the wake of the murder of Martin Luther King. Ghetto uprisings, Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party would seem out of place on Tally's Corner.

In a way, this is not surprising. Liebow says that within just two days he "had partly sloughed off that feeling of being a stranger and achieved that minimum sense of belonging". (p.242) He believes that a community which had been trained from childhood to hide its true feelings and hostility toward whites and white society had befriended him at once and was prepared to reveal itself to him. Of course he sees black people as white men in black skins, men who have the same values and aspirations as he—that is the image they choose to show to him.

Because Liebow, like so many others, assumes that the existing political and economic institutions in this country are basically satisfactory, if in need of modification, he tends to brush aside the militant black responses to oppression.

From this perspective, the ghetto rebellions, the Malcolms, the Panthers are troublemakers; they get in the way of progress rather than making it possible. They cause conflict where none is necessary. In Liebow's words:

"Most of the time, the great federal power will be used in direct support of the actionists (read: reformers, not militants). On some occasions, such as the outbreak at Watts, restraints will be the most judicious if difficult use of that great power." (p. 231) Judicious for whom? That is the question that goes unanswered.

This kind of attitude recognizes no legitimate expressions of the black community except "its attempt to achieve the values and goals of the larger society."

Even Ralph Abernathy of SCLC reacted to Nixon's black capitalism proposal by stating that he wasn't interested in black men exploiting black men instead of white men exploiting black men: he wanted the whole black community to benefit from any changes, and that meant that socialism was necessary.

But the implications of Liebow's analysis, one shared by the great majority of present-day social scientists, serve only to legitimate Ronald Reagan's irritated demand that black militants shut up and get out of the way so that "progress" (defined in his terms, of course) can be made.

## BENEVOLENCE

All too many analysts are willing to portray black and other Third World people as hopelessly oppressed simply in order to set the stage for a benevolent white administrator to ameliorate their problems in the way HE deems most efficacious.

The real question posed by the struggles on the campuses is who is going to define Third World people, and for what purpose? Are goals to be set for them, in terms of the interests of the existing capitalist society, or are they to set their own goals in terms of their own interests, interests which are inimical to those who rule this society?

The ideologists who accept the present structure of society lean toward the first option. Their perspective denies the legitimacy of all independent demands of oppressed peoples.

More generally, their viewpoint seeks to deny the fundamental class nature of American society, or to justify it as the only mode of social organization possible. It describes the violent struggles of the labor movement as a thing of the past. It sees the student movement as an aberration—the war in Vietnam as a "tragic blunder" (instead of a logical outcome of an imperialist foreign policy which is a necessary part of American society as it is presently constituted).

To look upon racism, not as an accident, remediable within the existing framework, but as a "functional imperative" of this social system, is to call into question the whole consensus image of American society.

The fight for a kind of universality and a type of education that can tell the truth about America, that will be responsible to the people, not to the power structure, is clearly in the interest of everyone, not just Third World people. These struggles against racism and for autonomous Third World Colleges and Black Studies Departments open the door to a struggle for all of us.

# The Crisis in Pakistan

by Nigel Harris

The explosion of revolt which has swept Pakistan since early last November is the most important event for socialists in South Asia since the overthrow of foreign political control.

In 1958, Ayub Khan—like de Gaulle in France—came to power through a military coup.

Now, again as in France last May, a completely unexpected revolt has cast doubt on a regime previously noted for its 'stability.' However, unlike France, the revolt is not that of a mass industrial working class.

Pakistan was created out of two territories at the extreme west and east of the Indian subcontinent. The two parts are separated by 1200 miles of India.

To the west, the dominant majority, Punjabis, control the main cities and the mass of fertile land. Minority groups on the edges of Punjab control - Pathans in the north-west, Baluchis and Sindhis - have sporadically challenged this control.

But in East Pakistan, opposition to the West has been continuous. The East has about 20 million more population than the West, but only equal representation in the National Assembly.

The East earns the largest share of foreign exchange, but in proportion to its population gets less than half of central expenditure. The East is very poor, densely populated and backward, separate in culture and identity (the population is Bengali).

Since Ayub came to power the differences between East and West have sharpened. Between 1959 and 1967, the difference in income per head between East and West increased from Rupees 88 to 150.

It is in the East that the banned Communist Party has what roots it retains (roots constantly weakened by Russian--and, even more--Chinese support for Ayub).

The Leftist National Awami Party (itself divided between pro-Moscow and pro-Peking factions) is also a party of the East.

Finally, the strongest opposition party, the Awami League, also comes from the East. Under Shaikh Mujib-ur-Rahman, the League consistently presses for increasing separation of the East from the West.

It demands a ban on capital flowing out of the East to the West, a larger share of national funds, restricting the national government (also in the West) solely to defence and foreign affairs, and giving the East representation in the National Assembly according to its population.

In the past the opposition to Ayub has been decisively weakened by its divisions. This includes not just the spectrum of small opposition parties, ranging from Right-wing religious mysticism to Stalinism, but also the rhythm of revolt which has meant East and West have reached the peak of hostility towards Ayub at different times (as was the case in the upsurge of opposition in the East in 1963).

Thus Ayub has been able to play one off against the other, or play off the relatively passive peasant majority against the much more consistently hostile urban middle class.

It is the urban middle class - particularly the students and various professional groups (journalists, doctors,

teachers) - of the West who precipitated and have since sustained the current revolt.

In November, the government de-rationalised sugar even though shortages had tripled its price. Separately, students in the West launched a campaign against government controls on the universities.

The two separate starting points merged and launched a more wide-ranging attack on corruption and inefficiency in the state administration.

An answering student echo came from Dacca in the East and this helped to broaden the movement in the West into a generalised attack on Ayub's authoritarian regime. He was denounced for destroying any semblance of a free press, and for his rigged constitution whereby only 120,000 'basic democrats' in the population are able to elect the President directly.

The champion of this movement was Ayub's former Foreign Minister (a minister from 1958 to 1966), Z.A. Bhutto, a rich Sindh landowner-lawyer, outside the old guard of opposition politicians.

His imprisonment sparked the massive student revolt and as this campaign spread outwards, in the New Year, some urban workers also began to participate.

Yet Ayub could possibly have survived all this: What he could not survive was the collapse of his own ruling-class base and, in particular, the withdrawal of the support of the army.

Important establishment figures - Air Marshall Asghar Khan, ex-East Pakistan Chief Justice Mursheed, ex-East Pakistan Governor General Azam Khan - began to 'struggle against tyranny'.

Ayub's governing party, the Muslim League, disintegrated. Thirty five members formed a 'critical opposition' group (including an ex-minister, with tacit support from the current Minister of Communications) to attack the East Pakistan provincial administration. Six others from the assembly joined Bhutto's People's Party.

In early January, junior army officers were court-martialed for refusing to fire on demonstrators in Karachi.

On the one hand, the army faced demoralisation and disintegration. On the other, the old rulers were moving over to praise the students and suddenly discover the merits of universal suffrage, so that if Ayub fell, the status quo would not fall with him.

The old politicians - organised, regardless of contradictory politics, in the Democratic Action Committee - have been overtaken by Bhutto's hurricane. Yet they have continued to try and lead the movement, to accept private talks with Ayub Khan as a settlement.

Ayub's weakness has grown steadily the more concessions he has been forced to make because he is now robbed of the strength of army backing. He is withdrawing the emergency (imposed in 1965 during the clash with India), releasing some political prisoners (including Bhutto and Mujib-ur-Khan), and finally has promised not to stand in the 1970 Presidential elections.

The politicians have found the concessions a useful pretext for escaping from the popular movement to private negotiations with the President on 'constitutional reform'. In doing so, they have forced Bhutto

into raising more left-wing demands in order both to keep control of the popular movement and prevent the politicians out-flanking him.

The combination of a regionalist and a middle class revolt can, however - as in Czechoslovakia last year - raise issues which cannot be simply signed away in private talks.

The movement can supersede the issues of civil rights - shall there be universal suffrage? - and the trivial personal questions of the immediate status quo - must Ayub Khan go?

All these questions protect those who control the land and the industries of Pakistan - the notorious 22 families.

Behind the politicians is the opportunist, Bhutto. But behind Bhutto are the millions for whom Pakistan's much lauded 6 per cent economic growth rate (nearly 9 per cent recently) over the past decade, has meant only increasing hardship and deprivation.

For Pakistan's ruling class, the first priority is to prevent the issue of popular power being raised. To do this, Ayub Khan is an excellent symbolic sacrifice.

In his place must go, at best, one of the establishment opponents like Asghar Khan - swapping an Air Marshall for a Field Marshall - or an opposition politician, or Bhutto.

And the changeover must happen before the virus of revolt infects the masses with a fever that cannot be soothed with such slight remedies.

Bhutto's aim is to keep the pressure just to the point where he can outflank his opposition rivals. His programme of militant anti-Indian chauvinism and flirting with regionalism contains little about internal social and economic reform.

Nor has the first part of the programme - the secret of his success among West Pakistan's students - any appeal in the East. It means even higher defence expenditure and military adventures on the Kashmir border (in which the East has no interest).

To keep the pot boiling, he has recently talked vaguely about land to the tillers' and will probably get away with it since he has so peasant support. He has won some industrial worker support, but he has not raised the issue of nationalisation or workers' control.

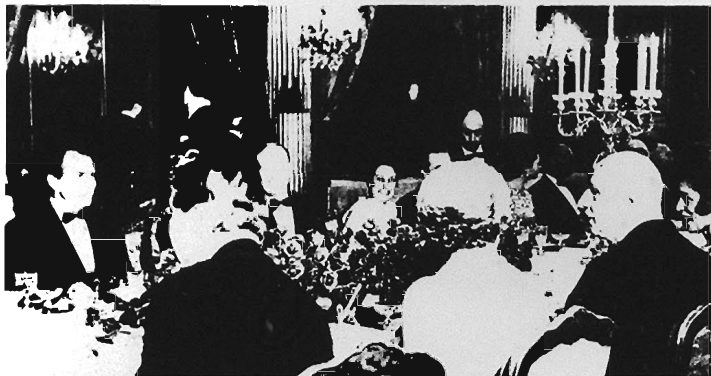
Bhutto is just what the ailing Congress in India needs. Another border squabble permits the ruling groups on either side of the Indo-Pakistan border to flood their domestic opposition in a tide of nationalist fervour.

For the Pakistan Left, the task must be to force Bhutto and the movement further and further left, to push the demand for civil rights into a demand for popular power, to build a movement which Bhutto cannot sell out.

A peasant and worker alliance to begin the permanent revolution in Pakistan can transform the whole perspective for socialism in Asia. Not least, it will raise for the first time on a massive scale an authentic alternative to the Indian Congress.

reprinted from Socialist Worker

## SAY IT WITH FLOWERS



With a final visit to the Pope, Nixon rounded out his European tour. Traveling from Brussels to Rome--by way of London, Bonn and Paris--the President had stopped at all the important capitals of Europe.

The Nixon tour was clearly a protocol junket by the new president, trying to familiarize himself directly with the outlooks of the political representatives of the European bourgeoisie. His decision to embark on such a trip should have come as no surprise, given the obvious fact that certain European leaders are contesting American imperial prerogatives.

However, even though some saw in the visit a recognition of the "fact of Europe," Nixon

did not come begging for support, advice or even ideas. He did not come seeking blessings for his international policies; he hardly needs them. On the contrary: it was clearly the European leaders who were begging for approval of their programs.

The Europe which Nixon supposedly "honored" has rarely appeared as divided by quarrels as it does today. Nixon's visit represented, for each country, a chance to demonstrate to public opinion at home and abroad that its own policies had won the blessings of American imperialism. This was particularly true in the case of France. Nixon's stop in Paris was a signal service for DeGaulle.

Gaullist politics sustained a series of blows in 1968 which severely undermined the confidence of the bourgeoisie in the President-General DeGaulle. First there were the events of May, which the General was neither able to foresee nor prevent. Then May was followed by the

financial crisis.

Moreover, the market aside, the free-lance politics of DeGaulle have appeared to be isolating the French bourgeoisie from other imperialisms--particularly, and most importantly, from American imperialism. This isolation was beginning to worry a bourgeoisie which has, while voting for DeGaulle, remained staunchly "pro-Atlantic."

Then, old quarrels notwithstanding, enter Nixon--not merely to pay a visit (as he had to his less troublesome allies Wilson and Kiesinger) but to issue a veritable panegyric of the French president. As the American press has noted, DeGaulle received more compliments from Nixon than did all the other European heads-of-state combined.

Nixon lauded DeGaulle's "qualities of wisdom and vision," presented him "as an example for millions of our own citizens and for millions of men throughout the world." He spoke of DeGaulle's life as an "epic of courage and leadership." He ended the apotheosis by calling him a "giant among men." Rarely has a used car dealer praised a lemon with so much ardor.

At one blow, the French bourgeoisie was reassured. The crisis of NATO, the gold drain, his declarations on the Middle East and Vietnam--all these became minor irritations, which could hardly undermine the immense prestige of a DeGaulle on whom Nixon had heaped such lavish praise (although it should be noted that, however much it caters to petty bourgeois chauvinists, the General's foreign policy appears no less precarious even gilded over by Nixon.)

To suppose that Nixon did what he did for nothing is to give him credit for more naivete and altruism than the president of the world's most powerful imperialism can be permitted.

Nixon knows what a favor he did for DeGaulle by dusting off his coat-of-arms in front of his clientele. He had his price. What was it exactly? Only the inside-dopesters know for sure. But it would be surprising if DeGaulle's attitudes, especially toward European affairs, do not undergo some "sensible" modification in the near future. Translated by Loren Goldner from Lutte Ouvriere



# The worker's share of art

by William Morris

I CAN imagine some of our comrades smiling bitterly at the above title, and wondering what a Socialist journal can have to do with art; so I begin by saying that I understand only too thoroughly how 'unpractical' the subject is while the present system of capital and wages lasts. Indeed that is my text.

What, however, is art? whence does it spring? Art is man's embodied expression of interest in the life of man; it springs from man's pleasure in his life; pleasure we must call it, taking all human life together, however much it may be broken by the grief and trouble of individuals; and as it is the expression of pleasure in life generally, in the memory of the deeds of the past, and the hope of those of the future, so it is especially the expression of man's pleasure in the deeds of the present; in his work.

Yes, that may well seem strange to us at present! Men today may see the pleasure of unproductive energy – energy put forth in games and sports; but in productive energy – in the task which must be finished before we can eat, the task which will begin again tomorrow, and many a tomorrow without change or end till we are ended – pleasure in that?

Yet I repeat that the chief source of art is man's pleasure in his daily necessary work, which expresses itself and is embodied in that work itself; nothing else can make the common surroundings of life beautiful, and whenever they are beautiful it is a sign that men's work has pleasure in it, however they may suffer otherwise. It is the lack of this pleasure in daily work which has made our towns and habitations sordid and hideous, insults to the beauty of the earth which they disfigure, and all the accessories of life mean, trivial, ugly – in a word, *vulgar*. Terrible as this is to endure in the present, there is hope in it for the future; for surely it is but just that outward ugliness and disgrace should be the result of the slavery and misery of the people; and that slavery and misery once changed, it is but reasonable to expect that external ugliness will give place to beauty, the sign of free and happy work.

Meantime, be sure that nothing else will produce even a reasonable semblance of art; for think of it! the workers, by means of whose hands the mass of art must be made, are forced by the commercial system to live, even at the best, in places so squalid and hideous that no one could live in them and keep his sanity without losing all sense of beauty and enjoyment of life. The advance of the industrial army under its 'captains of industry' (save the mark!) is traced, like the advance of other armies, in the ruin of the peace and loveliness of earth's surface, and nature, who will have us live at any cost, compels us to get used to our degradation at the expense of losing our manhood, and producing children doomed to live less like men than ourselves. Men living amidst such ugliness cannot conceive of beauty, and, therefore, cannot express it.

Not is it only the workers who feel this misery (and I rejoice over that, at any rate). The higher or more intellectual arts suffer with the industrial ones. The artists, the aim of whose lives it is to produce beauty and interest, are deprived of the materials for the works in real life, since all around them is ugly and vulgar. They are driven into seeking their materials in the imaginations of past ages, or into giving the lie to their own sense of beauty and knowledge of it by sentimentalizing and falsifying the life which goes on around them; and so, in spite of all their talent, intellect, and enthusiasm, produce little which is not contemptible when matched against the works of the non-commercial ages. Nor must we forget that whatever is produced that is worth anything is the work of men who are in rebellion against the corrupt society of today – rebellion sometimes open, sometimes veiled under cynicism, but by which in any case lives are wasted in a

struggle, too often vain, against their fellow-men, which ought to be used for the exercise of special gifts for the benefit of the world.

High and low, therefore, slaveholders and slaves, we lack beauty in our lives, or, in other words, man-like pleasure. This absence of pleasure is the second gift to the world which the development of commercialism has added to its first gift of a propertyless proletariat. Nothing else but the grinding of this iron system could have reduced the civilized world to vulgarity. The theory that art is sick because people have turned their attention to science is without foundation. It is true that science is allowed to live because profit can be made of her, and men, who must find some outlet for their energies, turn to her, since she exists, though only as the slave (but now the rebellious slave) of capital; whereas when art is fairly in the clutches of profit-grinding she dies, and leaves behind her but her phantom of *sham* art as the futile slave of the capitalist.

Strange as it may seem, therefore, to some people, it is as true as strange, that Socialism, which has been commonly supposed to tend to mere Utilitarianism, is the only hope of the arts. It may be, indeed, that till the social revolution is fully accomplished, and perhaps for a little while afterwards, men's surroundings may go on getting plainer, grimmer, and barer; I say for a little while afterwards, because it may take men some time to shake off the habits of penury on the one hand, and inane luxury on the other, which have been forced on them by commercialism. But even in that there is hope; for it is at least possible that all the old superstitions and conventionalities of art have got to be swept away before art can be born again; that before that new birth we shall have to be left bare of everything that has been called art; that we shall have nothing left us but the materials of art, that is the human race with its aspirations and passions and its home, the earth; on which materials we shall have to use these tools, leisure, and desire.

Yet, though that may be, it is not likely that we shall quite recognize it; it is probable that it will come so gradually that it will not be obvious to our eyes. Maybe, indeed, art is sick to death even now, and nothing but its already half-dead body is left upon the earth; but also, may we not hope that we shall not have to wait for the new birth of art till we attain the peace of the realized New Order? Is it not at least possible, on the other hand, that what will give the death-blow to the vulgarity of life which enwraps us all now will be the great tragedy of Social Revolution, and that the worker will then once more begin to have a share in art, when he begins to see his aim clear before him – his aim of a share of real life for all men – and when his struggle for that aim has begun? It is not the excitement of battling for a great and worthy end which is the foe to art, but the dead weight of sordid, unrelieved anxiety, the anxiety for the daily earning of a wretched pittance by labour degrading at once to body and mind, both by its excess and by its mechanical nature.

In any case, the leisure which Socialism above all things aims at obtaining for the worker is also the very thing that breeds desire – desire for beauty, for knowledge, for more abundant life, in short. Once more, that leisure and desire are sure to produce art, and without them nothing but *sham* art, void of life or reason for existence, can be produced: therefore not only the worker, but the world in general, will have no share in art till our present commercial society gives place to real society – to Socialism. I know this subject is too serious and difficult to treat properly in one short article. I will ask our readers, therefore, to consider this as an introduction to the consideration of the relations of industrial labour to art.

(Article in *Commonweal*, April 1888)

Decorative border from *The Tale of King Florus and the Fair Jehane*, designed by William Morris, 1893. Kelmscott Press.

# The Cultural Revolution and the Workers

by Nigel Harris

Excerpted from "China, Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom,"  
International Socialism, Winter 1968-69.

The Cultural Revolution was an attempt by a section of the central Party leadership to re-establish central control over the whole country, perhaps as a prelude to accelerating the rate of overall economic growth.

To do this, it had to destroy opposition at every level of the Party. It secured a monopoly of all official propaganda agencies, but it did not secure victory. On the other hand, the opposition remained (so far as one can tell) fragmented.

The national crisis which originally precipitated the Cultural Revolution remains as before. China's rate of economic growth is too slow to give any assurance that it will ever catch up with the advanced powers, that it will ever be able to institute a tempo of growth which will submerge domestic cleavages and integrate the country.

What was lacking to institute Mao's order was an agency for social change sufficiently powerful and diffused throughout the country, sufficiently separate from the old Party, to execute his will. The central leadership was forced to rely on the army, and then, to rehabilitate the Party, test disorder sweep away both sides in the conflict. Yet this retreat has settled none of the important issues, and indeed, it has exacerbated the solution of those issues.

Outside of the Party, the youth and some sections of workers have been involved in action, have seen the local ruling class completely discredited, have read rags of dirt on all the bureaucrats, and have perhaps glimpsed freedom. They cannot all be bought off with places on Revolutionary Committees, for there are too many of them. Subterranean communications survive, and pockets of resistance will continue, probably through to the next explosion.

For Mao will once more be forced to take up the same issues again if Peking's power is to survive. Next time he tries, he may find an authentic revolt on his hands.

Thus, as China returns to silence once more, a legacy remains. On the one hand, stalemate within the fragmented ruling class; on the other, a legacy of simmering hostility among the other urban classes.

## AN URBAN PHENOMENON

Since the Cultural Revolution was primarily an urban phenomenon, the industrial working class inevitably played an important role. In the older cities, there is now a settled core of urban industrial workers with a relatively long history. It is a group which is highly privileged relative to newcomers to the city, and even more so relative to the peasants.

The core of the urban industrial working class still includes men with political experience which long predates Communist rule, and possibly, for a few, stretches back as far as the great general strike of 1927. Such experience was at a premium during the turmoil of the cultural Revolution, perhaps suggesting what the Party leadership attacks as 'ultra-Leftism'.

Theoretically, the settled core of industrial workers is protected by movement controls from massive dilution with new rural immigrants, but in practice, urban working conditions are so much better than rural that there is constant pressure from peasants trying to get into the city. The municipal authorities, through check-points at railway and bus stations, and on incoming highways, or by use of the ration card, try to prevent illegal entry and expel illegal immigrants.

Any breakdown in the administrative structure permits both new immigrants to enter the city, and those previously exiled to distant provinces (where labour is scarce) to return. Officially, enterprises are permitted to recruit labour only through local labour departments, and, where rural labour is concerned, only with the agreement of the city and rural Commune authorities. When the economy is slack, the pressure to recruit labour is weak, and the problem of the authorities is how to expel the unemployed from the city.

## MIGRATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

But every increase in the tempo of industrial activity tends to threaten the control system--enterprises have a strong incentive to evade the regulations in order to employ cheap rural labour. Over a long period, migration raises the urban population well beyond the employment capacity available when the economy is slack.

For example, after the disasters of 1960-61, the Government officially sought to cut the urban population from 100 million to 110 million up to 1963, and banned the recruitment of rural labour. The effects of these proposals were probably not dramatic, since it is beyond the capacity of the urban administration to check everyone (despite the organization of 'Street Committees', District Committees, and so on, designed to check the urban population).

In any case, the steady expansion of the economy since 1963 has probably prompted enterprises to recruit rural labour: once more. If the urban labour force were not diluted in this way, the labour scarcity would become such that there would be a substantial pressure to raise wages.

If individual enterprises have an incentive to evade the controls on recruitment, the Government itself is also seeking to squeeze industrial costs. It has proposed the 'worker-peasant' system to span the credibility gap.

This system is supposed to overcome the distinction between town and country, but in fact it is the revival of a rather nasty capitalist tactic to employ cheap labour on temporary contracts from rural Communes, while sending expensive permanent urban workers out to the Communes.

Rural labour is not a charge on the city, receives few fringe benefits (housing, medical services, old age pensions), and urban labour is paid by the rural Commune (if the worker is old, the city avoids the cost of his pension while he is retired and therefore unproductive). However, rural labour is suitable only for a limited range of jobs, particularly seasonal and unskilled work (such as loading and unloading on the railways, in ports, mines and lumber plants).

## STRIKE WAVE

The clash between temporary and permanent workers and their mutual attack on the Party officials that sustain the system is one thread in the Cultural Revolution as it affected the cities and key industries, particularly the railways.

At the end of 1966, there were reports of large-scale firings among temporary and contract workers in Shanghai. Retrospectively, we might guess this occurred because the Shanghai Party officials feared a purge and sought to appease the grievances of permanent workers and damage production in order to discredit the Cultural Revolution.

Peking ordered the reinstatement of such workers, and this, in conjunction with massive immigration of Red Guards in Shanghai, precipitated a wave of industrial disputes, including strikes, demands for increased pay and lower hours.



Just before Christmas, a harbour strike had begun, and the railways subsequently went on strike: together, this could have provided the beginning of a general strike. Some Party officials are said to have raided the banks to pay increased wages and year-end bonuses as a means of safeguarding their own position against a purge threat.

In the middle of this, some eleven Revolutionary Rebel (supposedly 'worker') organisations combined in the Shanghai Revolutionary Rebel Headquarters to seize the city administration. In retrospect, it seems this coup was executed not so much by workers as by the faction that hoped to replace the existing Party administration (and probably included a good many ambitious cadres or Party functionaries) but was frightened by the appearance of a complete collapse in order.

For the city was not only flooded with thousands of Red Guards, but also youth returned from exile in the provinces or rural areas, and peasant immigrants. Strikes threatened to paralyse the entire city, different factions were fighting openly for supremacy, and thousands of workers took the pretext of the Cultural Revolution to down tools and take free trains to visit Peking and complain of their conditions.

## DECEMBER REVOLT

The revolt in December and January, according to Wen Hui Pao (Jan. 21st, 1967), 'swept over the whole city and quickly spread to the rural areas with temporary crushing success'. In the middle, 'hundreds of thousands' of temporary and contract workers demonstrated against the system of their employment, imposed, according to instant official explanations, by the evil capitalist route. Chiang Ch'ing (Mao's wife) offered the same explanation when she met a delegation of contract workers on December 26th. Yet the new Revolutionary Municipal Committee made no move to rectify the anomaly, and a bold statement of the All China Federation of Trade Unions in mid-January went so far as to say existing policy on contract employment was to remain as it was.

Temporary workers did not give up. Despite a ban on the independent organisation of temporary workers they continued to organize and agitate. Red Guard sources even said that one organization of temporary workers launched an attack on the Shanghai Revolutionary

Municipal Committee saying that conditions for workers were no better than in Kuomintang days.

The unemployed held a rally on February 20th demanding that they be permitted to keep their jobs in order to help the Cultural Revolution. The Municipal Committee, now firmly in the saddle and protected by the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA), sternly rejected their demand and ordered them to leave their jobs; it reproved them for 'egotistical ideas' and 'economism'.

The Revolutionary Rebels were clearly not in the main ordinary workers, and, indeed, there was much friction between workers and Rebels. Wen Hui Pao (May 3rd, 1967) urged workers and Rebels not to 'regard all workers as conservatives and to fight "civil wars" against them. We must be aware'. It went on, 'that, except for a few delinquents, most of the workers misled by conservative groups are our class brothers'.

## INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONS

In June, press and radio continued to attack 'economism' and also what appeared to be the formation of embryonic independent trade unions, officially stigmatised as workers' 'guild organizations'.

These 'guild organizations' had earlier featured in a People's Daily article where it was said that they were extending to cover busmen, cooks, and technical school students, and were designed to 'formulate economic demands and raise the egotistical interests of particular groups'. The People's Daily would not have attacked such organisations if they had been solely restricted to the Shanghai area.

In July, the Shanghai Municipal Committee again denounced a second wave of demands for higher wages and improved welfare facilities. It accused some of a conspiracy--'they even put pressure on the new revolutionary order by threatening to slow down work or refuse work assignments'.

Again, in December, the Shanghai Liberation Daily condemned 'some persons who are once again demanding greater benefits and higher wages' and others who were trying to organise temporary workers.

Early in the New Year, Wen Hui Pao attacked 'civil wars' among 'proletarian revolutionaries' in Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Anhwei provinces. These battles, it said, had started in January, 1967, and in some cases had not yet ceased.

In particular, it mentioned a plot to seize the railways--'These few people (the plotters) were so mad as to make out a plan for first controlling the towns and villages along the Shanghai-Nanking railway lines, occupying south Kiangsu, and advancing to control Shanghai and Chekiang.' Forces, it said, were assembling in south Kiangsu, and included former Party cadres.

## SABOTAGE AND THE RAILWAYS

The railways were a particularly sensitive area throughout 1967 and 1968, a sector most easily sabotaged since there are very few lines and what there are, are crucial for the economy. In addition, the railways must have been very overburdened with traffic, since the Red Guards and Revolutionary Rebels had been using them free since mid-1966.

The authorities persistently warned railwaymen to stay at work, to prevent sabotage and resist all attempts to stop trains running. In August, 1967, troubles were reported from Canton, and in the following January a conference of railway workers was called in Peking to discuss the problems of keeping the lines open.

In the following months, stoppages, disputes and fighting were reported on the route to Lanchow in the north-west, in Kwantung in the south, and, in particular, in Kwangsi on the route to North Vietnam.

On August 9th, Red Guard sources mentioned an instruction issued to railwaymen to end all violence along the Kwangsi route, to dismantle all factional strongholds along the Kwangsi line, return materials stolen from the shipments to Hanoi, and return arms lifted from the PLA (the order was supposed to be dated July 3rd, and to repeat orders issued by the Kwangsi provincial authorities on June 13th).

Again, another conference of railwaymen met in Peking in mid-May and Chou En-lai is said to have pinpointed the place of maximum difficulty on the railways as Liuchow, a point on the line from Nanning in Kwangsi to Hanoi. On August 11th, the Peking radio celebrated the victory of its supporters over the faction that had seized the Liuchow line.

Some of the major oil, coal and steel centres were also said to have been affected by spasms of revolt. It has been estimated that two-thirds of the mining labour force is 'worker-peasant'. In 1967, clashes affected the main steel centre, Anshan, also the industrial city of Wuhan, as well as Paotow, Shanghai and Chungking.

The leading role of the 'working class' was embodied in factory reorganization to set up 'collective control' of production. Again, this was a 'revolution from above', designed almost certainly to inhibit authentic revolt rather than enshrine it, and to prevent wage pressures. It was said collective responsibility had replaced individual responsibility, wages had been made more egalitarian, and the clerical staff heavily pruned.

The overall evidence is fragmentary in the extreme, but it does suggest that some workers have been stirred into activity by the Cultural Revolution. The sediment will not settle in the coming years.



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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.

# TV GUIDE

by Charles  
Leinenweber

Once a prominent sociologist asked some people in Detroit how much television they watched. "A lot", they said.

"If the day were 30 hours long instead of 24, would you watch even more television?" "Strongly agree," they said, and then turned back to the tube. The sociologist returned to his study in Ann Arbor, and wrote an article about how these people were lonely.

Maybe he was right. I once had a friend who drank a lot and watched TV all the time. He even watched daytime shows, which is a bad sign. His favorite show was Queen for a Day, where whoever told the hardest luck tale became Queen. My friend wept each time the Queen was chosen. He was a lonely man.

Undoubtedly, a lot can be said about television (like religion) as medicine for the alienated. But whatever the reasons for people watching so much television, a lot can be said, too, about its content—especially its political content.

Unfortunately, few radicals watch enough to develop any sense of what it's all about. In fact, most radicals act as if TV doesn't even exist, except perhaps for the news. I watch a lot of television, and so I will tell you about it.

## NEUTRAL SHOWS

Excluding feature-length movies (which are difficult to categorize because they vary widely), there are a little over 60 regular, prime-time shows per week. Approximately 60 per cent of these are of neutral political content—which is another way of saying they have none.

This category includes all situation comedy shows, with the exception of Holgan's Heroes (set in a hilariously Nazi POW camp), and Get Smart (whose star riotously disposes of five or six enemy agents per episode). Several other shows—such as *Come Fly With Me*, *USMC*, and *The Beverly Hillbillies* (usually directed against youthful non-conformists)—fit only uneasily within this category. Most situation comedies, however, are like the *Flying Nun*, *Doris Day* and *Family Affair*. They may be old-fashioned and occasionally objectionable, but politically for the most part are innocuous.

The bulk of "live" variety shows also fit within this Neutral category. These include such shows as *Jackie Gleason*, *Carol Burnett* and *Red Skelton*. I would also include the celebrated *Laugh-In* in this category, because its political content is pretty much limited to DeGaulle jokes.

Finally, there are a small number of neutral shows—such as *Peyton Place*, *Suspense Theatre* and *Lassie*—that are neither comedy nor variety. Some of these shows may have "social" content, but are rarely political (although *Lassie* is pro-conservation).

It should be noted, however, that from time to time these neutral shows do venture a political statement. Whenever they do so, the statement is reactionary. *Laugh-In*, for instance recently featured a skit on our beleaguered police. Walt Disney ran a three-week episode on a child spy. The ranger Gontie Ben turned a drop-out into a bureaucrat. There are numerous examples of this sort of dabbling in reactionary politics—all the way down to Ed Sullivan's adulation of Vietnam war heroes.

## IMPERIALIST POLICE STATE

Far more important than these occasional defections from the neutral category, however, are the routinely political shows. Almost all of these, some 40 per cent of prime-time series (26 in number) fit within the category, "Imperialist Police State." I consider this a single category because "pure" imperialist shows (such as *I Spy*, *Man from U.N.C.L.E.*, and war adventures) have gone out of style, and their replacements tend to integrate domestic and foreign policy that is, they work both on the home front and abroad.

The most obvious candidates for this category are those shows that glorify the official police. These include *Adam-12* and *Dragnet* (both produced with the endorsement of Los Angeles' Chief Reddin), *N.Y.P.D.*, *Ironsides* (San Francisco), and *Hawaii 5-0*.

Generally, the pigs on these shows adhere to the "rules." They never beat up people, even though obviously provoked. They advise every suspect of his rights. But they kill a lot, and they intimidate, bully and moralize. (*Ironsides* wages a fierce campaign against hippies and campus radicals).

Still worse are the shows about unofficial, or secret police. The worst of all may be *The Mod Squad*, a show about three hip informers—a Black guy with an Afro, a white girl with long blond hair, and a white youth with curly brown hair. These informers drive a round in a beat-up station wagon, working for a crew-cut pig called "captain."

Another secret police show—extremely popular—is *Mission: Impossible*, which is unadulterated fascism. This may well be the most exciting show on television. It's beautifully done (in color), although entirely predictable. The Impossible Missions Force gets its orders directly from someone called "The Secretary." Without hesitation, they carry them out—topple revolutionary regimes, assassinate foreign leaders (always indirectly and diabolically), and round up social bandits.

Other secret and unofficial police shows include *Wild Wild West*, *The Outsider*, *Mannix*, *It Takes a Thief*, and *My Friend Tony* (not a comedy).

Ironically, the one show that is famous for turning on to—*Star Trek*—is the most fascist and imperialistic of all on television. Essentially, *Star Trek* which lists the Rand Corporation among its consultants is about a galactic police force ("scientists" and "explorers") that keeps backward planets and aliens in line. In a recent adventure, they armed a white tribe that (believe it or not) worshipped a tattered American flag—armed them to defeat a yellow tribe that wore quilted uniforms.

All Westerns fit within the Imperialist-Police State category. This may sound strange, until you examine their content. Most are latifundia Westerns, shows about great land barons who crush out all opposition to their empire-building. *Bonanza*, *Lancer*, *Big Valley* and *High Chaparral* are examples. It should be noted, too, that today's TV cowboys are no less bent on Indian and Mexican killing than their recent predecessors.

Of the remaining Westerns, some—like *Guns of*

*Will Sonnett*—are openly reactionary. The Outcasts features a black militant bounty hunter. The hero of *Here Come the Brides* spent a whole episode last month breaking a strike.

Others—like *Gunsmoke*—are more subtle. *Gunsmoke* is about Matt Dillon, who rules over Dodge City with a fast gun. He is Law and Order in both concrete and abstract form, both simultaneously. Matt Dillon even sleeps in his U.S. Marshall's Office. In a recent adventure, Dillon prevent two Union army veterans from seeking revenge against the ex-commandant of a Southern death camp—a camp in which they had been imprisoned. The veterans—one black, the other white—ended up getting killed.

A bare handful of shows—four or five at most—fall outside the Neutral and Imperialist-Police-State categories. Included are "unbiased" shows like *Name of the Game* (adventure), and *Dean Jones* (variety), which are extremely erratic in content. *Name of the Game*, for example, recently ran an outstanding show on the Panthers—and then followed it up with a CIA-Imperialist show.

Of all prime-time network television, there are only two shows that could possibly be called "left." These are the *Smothers Brothers* (anti-war and anti-pig) and, to a lesser extent, *Glen Campbell* (anti-war). *Glen Campbell's* show has deteriorated recently, but the *Smothers Brothers* show has remained strong. *Smothers Brothers* show itself has remained strong.

You should realize, however, that this show is "strong" only within the context of American television. Otherwise, it is tepid. (An example of how thoroughly rotten the TV industry is: The producer of *Laugh-In* recently praised his "brave censors" at NBC—and he was serious!)

That's what American television is all about. It is not a wasteland. It offers the heady dream of an Imperialist-Police-State to all the lonely people.



"Phasers on 'kill,' Mr. Spock!"



# TV GUIDE

by Charles  
Leinenweber

Once a prominent sociologist asked some people in Detroit how much television they watched. "A lot", they said.

"If the day were 30 hours long instead of 24, would you watch even more television?" "Strongly agree," they said, and then turned back to the tube. The sociologist returned to his study in Ann Arbor, and wrote an article about how these people were lonely.

Maybe he was right. I once had a friend who drank a lot and watched TV all the time. He even watched daytime shows, which is a bad sign. His favorite show was Queen for a Day, where whoever told the hardest luck tale became Queen. My friend wept each time the Queen was chosen. He was a lonely man.

Undoubtedly, a lot can be said about television (like religion) as medicine for the alienated. But whatever the reasons for people watching so much television, a lot can be said, too, about its content--especially its political content.

Unfortunately, few radicals watch enough to develop any sense of what it's all about. In fact, most radicals act as if TV doesn't even exist, except perhaps for the news. I watch a lot of television, and so I will tell you about it.

## NEUTRAL SHOWS

Excluding feature-length movies (which are difficult to categorize because they vary widely), there are a little over 60 regular, prime-time shows per week. Approximately 60 per cent of these are of neutral political content--which is another way of saying they have none.

This category includes all situation comedy shows, with the exception of Holgan's Heroes (set in a hilarious Nazi POW camp), and Get Smart (whose star riotously disposes of five or six enemy agents per episode). Several other shows--such as Gomer Pyle, USMC, and The Beverly Hillbillies (usually directed against youthful non-conformists)--fit only uneasily within this category. Most situation comedies, however, are like the Flying Nun, Doris Day and Family Affair. They may be old-fashioned and occasionally objectionable, but politically for the most part are innocuous.

The bulk of "live" variety shows also fit within this Neutral category. These include such shows as Jackie Gleason, Carol Burnette and Red Skelton. I would also include the celebrated Laugh-In in this category, because its political content is pretty much limited to DeGaulle jokes.

Finally, there are a small number of neutral shows--such as Peyton Place, Suspense Theatre and Lassie--that are neither comedy nor variety. Some of these shows may have "social" content, but are rarely political (although Lassie is pro-conservation).

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The most obvious candidates for this category are those shows that glorify the official police. These include Adam-12 and Dragnet (both produced with the endorsement of Los Angeles' Chief Reddin), N.Y.P.D., Ironside (San Francisco), and Hawaii 5-0.

Generally, the pigs on these shows adhere to the "rules." They never beat up people, even though obviously provoked. They advise every suspect of his rights. But they kill a lot, and they intimidate, bully and moralize. (Ironside wages a fierce campaign against hippies and campus radicals).

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