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Laos: Nixon's Last Stand?



New Attack On Labor
Sylvia Pankhurst: Red Suffragette
Kim Il Sung · Uganda · Guinea
Poland and the Left

Neil Chacker

FIVE EASY PIECES

Five Easy Pieces is a miss. Somebody could have made a pretty fair movie about a man, brought up as a classical pianist, who decides that he can't hack it and spends the rest of his life trying to kill time. Director Bob Rafelson didn't.

The hero, if such he be, Jack Nicholson, just can't be believed. One minute he's happy as a clam, bowling, drinking beer, playing poker and screwing waitresses; the next he's slopping over about the tragic futility of his wasted life. He insults his best friend, tortures his mistress, makes fun of his brother, seduces his brother's fiancée, and fights with his sister's lover.

None of this really matters because they are all, both workers and intellectuals, comic-strip parodies. The only character in the whole movie not guilty of overacting is the father, who is totally paralyzed.

Nobody is forcing the guy to play piano or work an oil rig or anything else. The only thing holding him back

is his self-pity and it's not worth the price of a ticket to watch a guy feel sorry for himself for an hour and a half. In the end he runs out on his girl and his family, which is probably the best thing that could have happened to them — even though they must be at least part masochist to want him around in the first place.

Several scenes in the movie have nothing to do with the plot and are apparently just thrown in for filler. About all the picture has going for it is the very good camera-work of Laszlo Kovacs, and a lot of snappy, Don Rickles-type insults.

Strangely enough, a lot of people are going to see this film. Either the advertisers really put one over or the nihilistic message has touched a sympathetic chord in the audience. It's to be expected that last year's collapse of the anti-war and radical movements would provoke a certain amount of pessimism, but how far down can you go?



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Portrait of an Officer

Richard Lyons

He stands like a knight almost, armored in the Right the armor gives him, his head encased in plastic, its strap holding the rolling flesh of his chin in place, a shield of clear plexiglass arched over cloudy eyes.

Sir Knight stands steadfast, holding his night stick, angled from hand to hand under his ballooning belly, seeming to hold his gut up, his vulnerability hanging on round wood, exposed to the slivering verbs and arrow nouns of small dragons hissing at him like natural gas vented in the hot caves of technological basements.

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Nixon's Last Stand

James Coleman



When the leaders speak of peace
The common people know
That war is coming.

When the leaders curse war
The mobilization order is already written out.

— Bertolt Brecht

What the German poet Brecht wrote more than thirty years ago was proved again this month. Loudly cursing war, President Nixon gave the go-ahead signal for an American-run invasion of Laos by South Vietnamese troops.

In terms of its effect abroad (but not yet at home), this new escalation threatened to touch off the sharpest crisis of the war. On Feb. 12, the government of China warned, in the conventionalized language of diplomacy, that the action in Laos was a "grave menace to China" and that China "will not remain indifferent to it."

The Laos action explodes the pretense that the United States is becoming less involved in Asia. The U.S. is in up to its nose. In the first five days, between ten and 20 U.S. helicopters had been shot down. The U.S. is supplying weapons to the South Vietnamese troops.

Moreover, Americans are involved on the ground, despite denials; U.S. officers are acting as "advisers" — that is, commanding the South Vietnamese units — and there are reports of Americans disguised in Vietnamese uniforms.

This time there has been no pretense that the invasion is temporary, as there was when the U.S. invaded Cambodia last April. Officials have stated the invaders will leave Laos when the rainy season begins — but will return when it ends and stay until the rains come again.

Officially, what is being planned is a permanent cut-off of the supply lines of Viet Cong and North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos itself. But so far, as in each previous

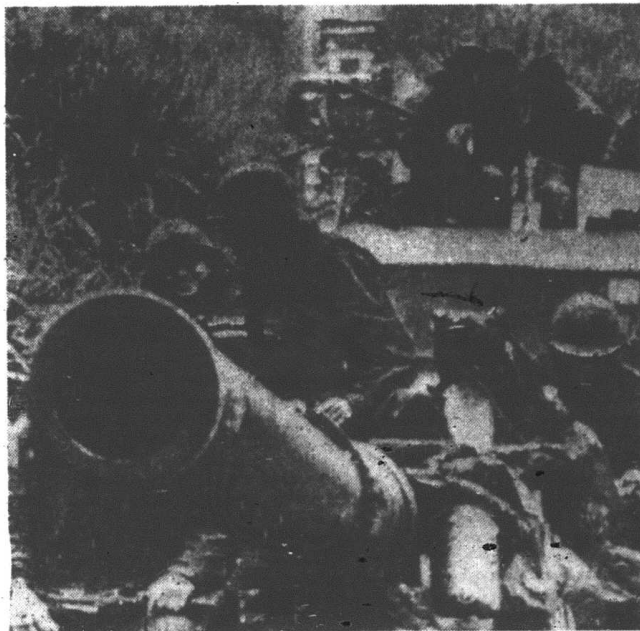
"interdiction of supply routes," the invaders have found only a few arms caches, some supplies of medicine, and — wonderful detail — several thousand chickens.

They haven't found the enemy — although enemy anti-aircraft has steadily been shooting down helicopters. In fact, they won't find the enemy. When the troops have noisily swept through the jungle, the enemy will return, as quietly as panthers, moving supplies and weapons south by different routes.

What then is behind the latest escalation? The several different wars being fought in Southeast Asia would bewilder anyone without a score card. The thread tying it all together, however, is the constant tendency of both

sides, stalemated in South Vietnam itself, to widen the war in order to gain an advantage elsewhere. Thus, the pro-Communist forces have gradually been consolidating a position in Laos, as the U.S. tried, unsuccessfully, to consolidate one in Cambodia.

In part, the present moves are probably related to the situation in Cambodia. In the wake of a U.S.-sponsored coup last winter, and the U.S. intervention last April aimed at strengthening the already tottering pro-U.S. government, pro-Communist and North Vietnamese forces now control most of Cambodia, and operate freely near and even inside the capital. The government is shaky (and the head of government is critically ill).



American howitzers on the road to Khesant

Despite past experience, those who planned the operations in Laos may have had hopes of slowing the supplies and reinforcements for the pro-Communist forces, in order to gain time for the pro-U.S. troops and allow the U.S. satellite government to patch together a hold on part of the country.

But behind this relatively limited operation loom more dangerous possibilities — the possibility of U.S.-South Vietnamese operations against the Communist areas in Laos itself, and the possibility of the U.S.-backed South Vietnamese invasion of North Vietnam, which South Vietnam's Vice-President Ky has repeatedly proposed. These would probably mean China's entry into the war.

China has so far limited its role to sending supplies; it has even held up the flow of Russian supplies because of its quarrel with the USSR. But China has issued warnings that it would intervene if the fighting spread near China's borders. This week's warning was only the latest. An invasion of the North is unlikely at present, precisely because the U.S. doesn't want to get involved with China, but it cannot be ruled out.

Peace or Victory

What creates these dangerous possibilities? Many have accepted the idea that Nixon has settled for a "phasing out" of the U.S. role in Vietnam. Why "phase in" again? Indeed, Nixon would like to phase out — but not on any terms; he himself has stated the terms: "to end the war in a way that would win lasting peace." (Nixon at the University of Nebraska, Jan. 13.) Behind the rhetoric, "lasting peace" means exactly what it has meant to generations of imperialists: continued dominance of someone else's corner of the world.

Those who think in military and not political terms see any settlement other than a military victory on the field as a compromise. Since both sides know they can't win a military victory, they reason, compromise should be easy. But the basic question of victory or de-

(continued on page 4)

A new twist in Nixon's much-heralded Vietnamization program is developing. On Jan. 11, the *N.Y. Times* reported a plan adopted by the Saigon government and supported by the U.S. to move anywhere from 200,000 to 3 million peasants from the northern provinces of South Vietnam to the southern provinces. Not only is the U.S. government supporting this plan, but your tax dollars are going to pay for it.

Critics in South Vietnam claim that this massive shift of people is being undertaken in order to break up opposi-

tion to the Saigon regime which is particularly widespread in the northern provinces, an area which has always been sympathetic to the NLF. Most of the peasants are refugees now, driven from the land by U.S. search and destroy missions and bombing raids which have devastated the area.

When questioned about this, Minister of State Phan Quang Dan said: "For those who say yes, we would bring them right away. The others will follow, I know. They are like sheep."



feat in Vietnam is political. In political terms any settlement, negotiated or not, can only be a disguised victory or a disguised defeat.

The National Liberation Front is demanding a coalition government, followed by elections. But any elections will be rigged — on both sides. Therefore the questions are: who controls the "coalition" government — who gets the ministries controlling the army and police? Who controls the territory in which the elections will be held?

If the "Saigon government" (the U.S. satellite government) controls these ministries, if an end to the fighting lets this "government" reassert its authority in NLF areas — that is, send in its hired assassins and corrupt officials — the result will be favorable to the U.S. There will be no elections until the "Saigon government" is sure it can win — if ever. If the NLF controls these ministries and thereby gains control of the cities as well as the countryside, the elections will favor the NLF. All very simple, predictable, and anti-democratic.

The U.S. aim remains gaining enough power in a negotiated "settlement," to begin dissolving the NLF's military position and to allow its satellite "government," backed up by the CIA, a free hand in terrorizing the countryside into voting its way. The apparent changes in U.S. policy since 1968 do represent a realization that outright military victory is impossible — but there has been no change in the aim of politically gaining the domination of Vietnam.

Vietnamization

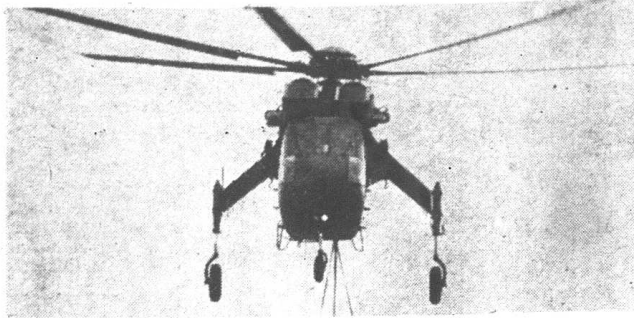
Nixon's strategy of "Vietnamization" is designed to facilitate a continuation of the military stalemate until a political victory is possible. Nixon has promised to "bring the boys home." He has not, however, acknowledged U.S. defeat, much less Vietnam's right to self-determination.

Rather, his plan is to make the Vietnamese fight the war, with U.S. support. Nixon's motive is to reduce the U.S. ground involvement — because of the cost of keeping so many troops abroad, which hurts the U.S. balance of payments; because of the steadily worsening morale of the U.S. troops themselves; and because of the political unrest at home caused by the war.

"Vietnamization" can force South Vietnamese troops into combat, but it can hardly alter the war's political character or the U.S.'s overall involvement. The South Vietnamese government is without credit in its own country; every opposition movement in the last three years has aimed at ending the war. The South Vietnamese government continues the war only as an American puppet, representing no one.

The conscripts are fighting only for the interests of a foreign ruler, the U.S. This is what explains their famous "lack of morale." Diligent training has produced few crack units; but without U.S. air support, supplies, and even command officers, South Vietnam's "war effort," an effort supported by no one not directly tied to the U.S., would end in a week.

Meanwhile, the military stalemate is inherently unstable. On both sides, stalemate leads to a strategy of waiting — waiting for the other side to start faltering, politically or militarily. But this can only be temporary. Each side must also continue to probe at the other, hoping to find a weak point which will tip the balance. Therefore both sides must attempt at every point to gain back the military initiative.



This is especially true for the U.S., since the NLF can also fight politically — at this point, any political crisis in Southeast Asia threatens to be favorable to the NLF side, and the U.S. has no political weapons. In any case, the aim is not outright military victory, but enough of a military advantage combined with political weakness on the other side to persuade the opponent to accept a settlement which means his political liquidation.

Ever since 1968, the U.S. has fought the war in this way, trying many different schemes to tip the balance in its favor: Nixon's Cambodia coup, the Cambodia invasion, the probing operations in North Vietnam (ostensibly to rescue American prisoners that weren't there). The U.S. has tried time and again to tip the military scales, but without success.

All attempts have failed, yet Nixon keeps on. If this appears irrational — and many liberals say it is irrational — this is only because the situation is irrational, from the imperialist point of view: the U.S. is being defeated; and yet — it cannot let itself be defeated.

Why not? What of the argument that the U.S. has no interests in Vietnam? Not only does an important wing of the political elite (McGovern, etc.) believe the game is too risky to play, but in addition, an important wing of the capitalist class believes the same.

The *Wall Street Journal*, for example, has advocated withdrawal for three years, on simple logic: we can't win. But what has kept first Johnson, and now Nixon, from following this advice is not pride, irrationality, or the influence of the military.

Rather, Nixon knows that the international effects of defeat, for the capitalist class whose interests he represents,

would far outlast the immediate domestic rejoicing. A U.S. defeat in Vietnam would be a calamity for U.S. imperialism.

Generally, the U.S. must show potential opponents that it cannot be defeated. These opponents include nationalists and social revolutionaries leading movements against U.S. property in the "under-developed" world; they also include the Communist "bloc," which even disunited, remains a powerful rival; and last but not least, they include other capitalist powers which might seek to expand their power and markets at the expense of the U.S.

In particular, the last two factors operate in Vietnam (though the U.S. has few economic interests there). If the U.S. is defeated in Vietnam, the lesson that it can be defeated will be learned not so much by Thais or Filipinos — who like the Vietnamese would have to fight for 25 years to win — but by China and even more by Japan, which, unlike China, has the economic strength soon to become once again a major imperialist rival of the U.S.

What flickers before Nixon's eyes in the night is the specter of the end of the United States' imperialist domination of Asia, and eventually of the world.

We are for it. On the international scale this domination has increased the misery of tens of millions, from the oil baronies of the Middle East to the coffee plantations of Latin America. On the domestic scale too, the emergence of the United States as the world's strongest imperialist nation, after World War II, led to the political reaction of the Cold War fears and to the derailment of the once-shining hopes of a new democracy through the labor movement.

As the economy stabilized, based on

overseas investment and a permanent arms economy, it seemed as if economic expansion could raise everyone's living standards. But the gains that were made came at a terrible cost in working conditions, in the decay of the social environment, in the conservatism of a period when labor's battles seemed to be over.

America's imperialist domination is now ending, and the costs of its declining empire are being imposed on the working class. The longer the process goes on, the greater will be the burden. In the long run the working class always pay for Empire, until it moves into opposition and resumes the struggle for labor's birthright.

The fact that Vietnam is being played for world wide stakes determines the politics of the war at home. Nixon must hold on, he must widen and win the war — if he can. Whether he can depends in part on China, but mainly on the Vietnamese themselves. If the stamina of the NLF breaks, Nixon will drive for total victory. If it holds, the next major break in the war may well be in the cities.

South Vietnam's cities, which seethed with unrest in 1955 and again in 1965-1966, which sheltered the Viet commandos in 1968, are again simmering. In Que Nan, for example, rioting has occurred twice in the last month over incidents involving U.S. troops.

Whether a major movement builds in the cities or not, it is the Vietnamese themselves, by maintaining their struggle, who will eventually break the will of the U.S.

Options

The options available to the U.S. also depend on domestic opposition. There are two sides to this. First, the popular opposition to the war, the uncertain economic situation, the growing labor militancy — all this makes continuing the war risky.

Moreover, it makes any major escalation — such as a major ground action — riskier still. (Although ground actions should not be ruled out, especially if they can be palmed off as temporary, and especially if the anti-war movement remains as disunited and inactive as it is today, which would reduce the political cost of such moves.)

On the other hand, the "withdrawal" program of the McGovern-Hatfield group in the Senate offers no real impediment to Nixon. They are for withdrawal. But this is based partly on their hope of calming social discontent at home — a factor which becomes less important if the movement is in disarray — and partly their political sense of the needs of the moment in electoral terms. If these forces captured the Presidency, then, like any administration, they would be forced to look at things from the viewpoint of the real worldwide interests of the capitalist class.


At present, there is a split in this class, not on the wisdom of trying to dominate the world — but on the costs of Vietnam in particular. The McGovern wing of the political elite represents one wing of the capitalist class. McGovern, Muskie, or Nixon, if elected, would each have to examine this split, decide whether the war is a dead loss, as the *Wall Street Journal* argues, or whether there remains a chance for a settlement favorable to the U.S. (that is, fatal to the NLF).

Only if convinced of inevitable defeat will they embrace the calamity which this would mean for U.S. capitalism. This is the lesson of the Laos invasion.

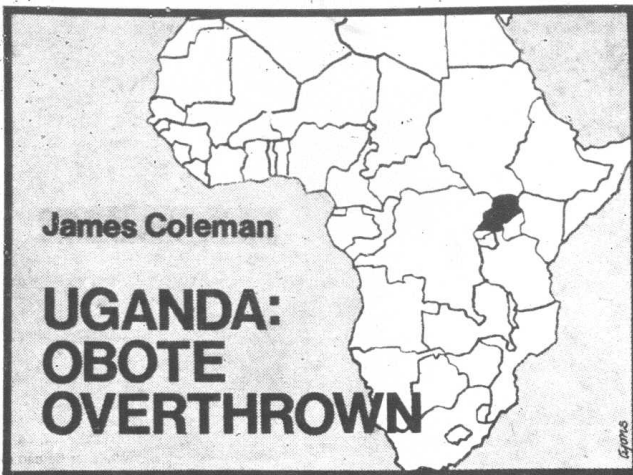
GUILTY

Leading civilians of the Johnson administration responsible for our policies in Vietnam are guilty of war crimes. So said Telford Taylor, former chief U.S. prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials, on the Dick Cavett television show on Jan. 8. "I certainly suggest very strongly . . . and would be quite prepared to say it a little more explicitly, that if you apply to the people you've mentioned, or to the high commanders at Nuremberg, like General Westmoreland, if you were to apply to them the same standards that were applied in the trial of General Yamashita (Japanese commander in the Philippines who was convicted and hung) there would be a very strong possibility that they would come to the same end as he did."

Other criminals mentioned included: Secretary of State Dean Rusk; Defense Secretary Robert McNamara; and former Special Assistants to the President, McGeorge Bundy and Walt Rostow.



Gen. W. C. Westmoreland



On Jan. 26, an army revolt overthrew President Milton Obote of Uganda. Although there were some reports of continued fighting, huge crowds cheered in the streets and the new military government seemed secure.

Obote had led Uganda's independence movement around 1960. He became Prime Minister when the country gained independence from Britain in 1962. In 1966 he became President, defeating an attempted coup by Edward Mutesa, the traditional king of much of Uganda.

What changed between independence in 1962 and the coup last month? Many Americans think of Africa as a continent where governments are always being overthrown. Perhaps, many people think, Africans really weren't ready for

self-government.

In fact, the coups which have hit nearly half the independent states since 1960 have quite different causes. Powerful social forces are tearing apart the regimes set up by the independence movements of the 1950's. And these social forces are based in the developed countries of Western Europe and the United States.

Uganda suffers from a problem shared by most of the new African states: the lack of a basis for a modern industrial economy. Much of the North is an arid plateau, as is northern Kenya and central Tanzania. The main crop is coffee. There are no major minerals, and only a little light industry. The capital, Kampala, is the only major city.

In the late 1950's the trade union

movement was very new (union organization was illegal until 1941), and workers played no real part in the independence movement. Obote's People's Congress Party, the first real nationalist party, easily won great popularity.

Britain did not try to obstruct the road to independence: they had already tried in Kenya and Tanganyika, with no success; and unlike Kenya, with its big commercial farms and large population of British settlers, Tanganyika and Uganda had no important British investments.

The new government had the conception of solving Uganda's problems from the top through social reforms, and particularly through economic development. The new regime did not see the working people — wage workers and farmers — as the rightful rulers of their own country. Rather the new regime looked to economic development to end poverty and bring a better society. Indeed, workers were looked on as backward, and selfish for trying to gain higher wages.

Fragmentation

A major roadblock to economic development throughout the continent is Africa's economic fragmentation. Taken as a whole, Africa has more than enough minerals, water power, and arable land to make economic development possible. But the minerals and more and more of the industry is foreign-owned; and the continent is divided into more than 40 countries, few big enough to be prosperous alone.

Worse, the former French colonies have most of their trade with France, the former British colonies with Britain. Pan-Africanism, the idea of uniting Africa politically and economically, was

a popular idea in the early 1960's, but it was discouraged both by the imperialist powers (which wanted Africa divided), and by many African politicians who preferred the short-term advantages of protected trading with one state.

Federation

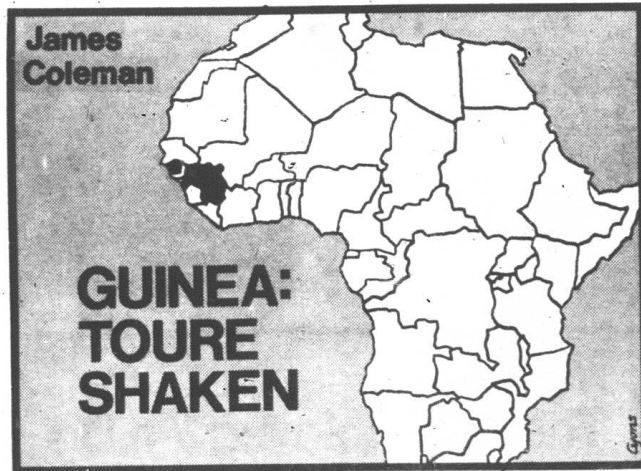
In East Africa there was a local variant of this idea — the proposal for an East African Federation of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika (now Tanzania). Britain, which had promoted some economic unification for trade purposes in the colonial period, wasn't unfriendly to this idea.

But there were problems. Economically, unity would have meant that Kenya, the richest of the new nations, would have to share with the other two. Politically, would the new Federation — much more powerful than the three separate states had been — lean West or East? How would it act toward the independence movement in Mozambique (secretly opposed by the United States) and the revolutionary movement against the racist South African government (where the United States and Britain had huge investments)?

Events moved the three states further apart: as Uganda and particularly Tanzania became more pro-revolutionary, and anti-Western, in foreign policy, Jomo Kenyatta's conservative government in Kenya became cold to the idea of federation. The United States and Britain no longer encouraged the idea. In 1966 Kenyatta secretly backed Sir Edward Mutesa's attempt to overthrow Obote. From this time on, the East African Federation was dead.

Alone in a small nation with a back-

[continued on page 13]



The nationalist regime in Guinea, in West Africa, has hanged 58 persons on charges of involvement in an unsuccessful invasion of Guinea last November.

The invasion, by sea, was aided by Portugal's Fascist regime, which is engaged in a war against the independence movement in its colony Guinea-Bissau, on Guinea's border.

The persons hanged included six former officials of the Guinea government. The most important was Ibrahima Barry, who headed the Guinean Socialist Party in the 1950's, joined Sekou Toure's government when Guinea declared independence from France in 1958, and later broke with Toure.

There's no proof that Barry — or any of the other 57 who were hanged — was actually involved in the Novem-

ber invasion. Whether they were involved, or whether the government simply chose this occasion to get rid of some opponents, their execution shows that dissatisfaction with Guinea's regime existed in Guinea, not just in Portugal.

Guinea faces many of the same problems as other African countries. Most of its citizens are dirt-poor subsistence farmers. Guinea's major economic asset is its huge deposits of bauxite (the raw material of aluminum), but the existing mines are French-owned and new deposits are being opened by an American company.

Countries like Guinea perceive only two alternatives — to take advantage of Western technology by allowing capitalist firms to develop minerals, but with

the "host" country getting only a royalty payment — or to stagnate. They have been unable to develop existing resources except on the capitalist countries' exploitative terms.

Toure, after going it alone for nearly ten years, moved in the late 1960's toward seeking Western aid. But this will simply replace stagnation with Western control and exploitation.

No real left-wing opposition exists in Guinea. Some dissatisfaction with the government has existed among workers, but has not taken organized form since Sekou Toure jailed the leaders of the Teachers' Union (and deported the Soviet Ambassador on charges of working with them) in 1961.

The six former bureaucrats who have now been hanged would probably have favored increasing ties with the West. As indicated in the accompanying article, this course really leads nowhere.

Portugal

The question of Guinea's development, however, is overshadowed by another aspect of the invasion — the role of Portugal. It's unlikely that Portugal would have provided ships, a staging area in Guinea-Bissau, and European mercenary officers, without being promised something in return. Undoubtedly the deal was that a new Guinean regime would stop all aid to the rebels in Guinea-Bissau.

Thus, if the invasion had succeeded this would have meant more than simply a change of regime in Guinea — it would have been a blow to the anti-colonial movement in Guinea-Bissau. This would have strengthened Portugal in its wars against the independence movements in Mozambique and Angola.

The defeat of the invasion is a victory for the cause of independence in Africa. But it is only a temporary victory.

Toure's regime is getting shakier by the day, as economic stagnation undercuts the huge popularity Toure once enjoyed.

Repression offers no way out for Toure. With no stake in the regime, the masses will be ready to welcome a Western-oriented coup (particularly if Portugal stays in the background). But a coup would only worsen their situation.

Only in a state genuinely controlled by the workers, with full freedom of organization and political debate, could the citizens develop the commitment to deal with poverty over the long haul, and resist the glittering but empty promises of development through Western "aid." Even then, a holding action alone would not be enough. An isolated Guinea cannot survive or develop economically. The imperialist stranglehold on Africa, dividing and exploiting the whole continent, must be fought continent-wide.

The basis for a counterattack by Africa's workers exists. It is possible for the trade unions to overturn the decayed nationalist regimes and the newer regimes of generals and civil servants in a dozen African countries.

Such trade union governments could work toward continent-wide economic unity, and unity against the racist regime in South Africa in which the wealth of Africa's most developed economy is controlled by British and American firms. Only in such a continent-wide counter-attack against imperialism does the basis exist for economic growth or democratic states in Africa. ■



Education: Reagan and the CFT

Ed Walker

The teacher union movement in California exhibits some of the same strengths and weaknesses of the national movement, but also has problems which are unique to California. These points were seen in microcosm at the recent state convention.

Amid what was otherwise a lackluster off-year convention, there were concrete manifestations of rank-and-file militancy. For the first time blacks and women functioned as organized opposition caucuses at a California Federation of Teachers convention. Also playing an active role was the newly-formed New Caucus, a broadly based — radical to left liberal — opposition grouping, including socialists, New Left types, and long-time trade union militants.

These sometimes diverse tendencies came together around a platform concentrating on three general issues: 1) the need to build a militant, democratic, and socially conscious teacher's union; 2) the need for building community and student alliances with the teacher movement; and 3) the need to effectively counter the Reagan administration's attack on education.

No Leadership

Such rank-and-file militancy has been growing in California precisely because of the present leadership's failure to act or even to acknowledge any of these needs. The C.F.T. leadership is closely tied to the national leadership of Shank-

er/Selden, et al., and like them has been based in the large, urban locals (Los Angeles and San Francisco) among veteran teachers.

There has been little effort to appeal to young teachers — many of whom have come into teaching directly from the student, anti-war, or third world movements. Rather than attempting to build the union through militant organizing campaigns among young teachers, the leadership has responded in a bureaucratic way, attempting to build the C.F.T. through mergers from above with N.E.A. affiliates or accommodating to conservative forces within education.

"Accountability"

This accommodation is evident in the leadership's apparent inability to launch an effective counter to the Reagan administration's attack on teachers and education. One thrust of this attack has been the promotion of the idea of "accountability" — the theory that teachers should somehow be held "accountable," through various types of quantified tests, for the progress, or lack of it, their students make during a school term.

Opposition to such testing has been growing among teachers. It came out in the open last fall when dozens of Oakland teachers, with the support of the Oakland local, refused to administer the required state tests. This move received wide community support, since black

and chicano communities especially consider these tests to be culturally biased against them.

Here was an opportunity to mount an attack against accountability and at the same time build alliances with third world communities. Where was the state leadership? Silent.

Similarly, the state bureaucracy has only been lukewarm in its support for the only ongoing teachers strike in California, the strike of Vietnamese language teachers employed at the Army language school in Monterey. Since the strike is, in essence, aimed at the Defense Department, too much support from the C.F.T., it might be surmised, would be embarrassing to the political allies of the AFT leadership in Washington.

Reagan's Purge

Another facet of the Reagan attack on education is the attempt to purge teacher's ranks of radicals and liberals. The vehicle being used is the state's tenure law. But rather than proceeding in a straight-forward way, Reagan and his Democratic party allies are cloaking their attacks in the language of "accountability" — calling for the weakening of tenure laws because they "protect" incompetent teachers.

This kind of approach assures Reagan et al of a certain amount of support in third world communities, which are rightfully distressed about the deteriorating quality of public education. It is a highly sophisticated tactic because it takes the heat off Reagan and his corporate allies — where responsibility for the educational crisis rightfully belongs — and focuses community pressure on teachers. It drives a wedge between two logical allies in the struggle, teachers and the communities.

Here again the CFT leadership's response has been inadequate at best. Rather than taking on Reagan directly and exposing his motivation for the attack, the leadership has done practically nothing. There have been no serious attempts to focus public attention on the issue, and no attempts to organize mass action, even though the convention called for such action.

What has been done has been carried out in a bureaucratic manner. The main thrust of the leadership's activity seems to have been participation in various "advisory" committees of the state educational bureaucracy, attempting to influence through persuasion the course

of state legislation.

In fact, rank-and-file teachers are confronted with the incredible situation where the NEA affiliate, the California Teachers Association, appears to be more actively militant on the tenure question.

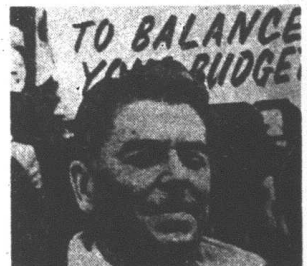
Build The New Caucus

The only way to counter such leadership tendencies is through militant rank-and-file organization, that can bring organized, consistent pressure on the leadership. The New Caucus hopefully represents the beginning of such organization. But in order to become a viable force in the teacher union movement, the New Caucus must develop into more than simply a paper organization that meets once a year at conventions to pass radical sounding resolutions and run slates of candidates.

New Caucus chapters must be organized at the local level. It is not enough for radicals to engage in "resolutionism" at conventions and then go back to business-as-usual in the home districts. A base must be built among rank-and-file teachers.

Radical teachers should not feel they are somehow above dirtying their hands in struggles around bread-and-butter and community level issues. Rather, radicals should be drawing the connection between these day-to-day issues and the larger, society-wide issues like racism and imperialism.

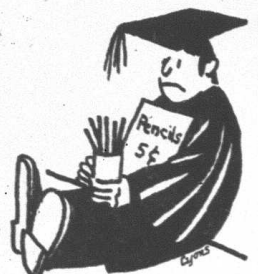
To foster the development of such a local base, the New Caucus plans to publish a monthly newsletter, hold regional meetings throughout California, and develop links with the national AFT New Caucus, which has largely existed only as a paper organization thus far. It is hoped that the New Caucus will have a significant impact on the AFT national convention to be held in San Francisco next August. ■



My Son, The Unemployed Ph.D.

Education has long been viewed as a means of escaping the drudgery of the blue-collar work force, and advancing up the economic ladder. Unfortunately the capitalist system doesn't work too rationally, and so while we are turning out ever greater numbers of college graduates, the job market for them is remaining the same or actually shrinking.

The College Placement Council estimates that visits by company recruiters to campuses will be down by as much as 25 per cent this year; at Michigan State job offers are down by 25 per cent. Teaching, sciences, and engineering are the hardest hit, reflecting perhaps the cutbacks in the federal budget, but all categories are affected. And if you think this is bad, it is expected to get worse by June.





Sylvia Pankhurst

The Red Suffragette

Celia Emerson

In a small park next to the houses of Parliament in London, England, there is a statue dedicated to Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughter Christobel. These two women are credited with leading the militant suffrage movement in England which won women (over 30) the vote in 1918 (over 21 in 1928). Conspicuously absent from this memorial is Sylvia Pankhurst, another daughter of Emmeline and equally important in the suffrage movement.

Why was Sylvia forgotten, left out of the memorial, as well as out of most history books? Perhaps it was because Sylvia was more than just a suffragette — she was a revolutionary feminist and a revolutionary socialist as well.

Her greatest contribution to woman-kind was her work in the East End of London. Here, working with the poverty stricken women of the area, she helped build a feminist woman's movement which demanded much more than the vote, which did much more than set up communal kitchens, clinics, day care centers and birth control clinics. Her organization, the East London Federation of the Suffragettes, was calling for a socialist revolution which would emancipate women.

Sylvia was born in 1882 in Manchester, England, during a period which saw the rebirth of the socialist, trade union and feminist movements. Her parents, Emmeline Goulden and Richard Marsden Pankhurst, were involved in all the major struggles of the time, both being ardent feminists, trade unionists and radicals.

As a young child, Sylvia met the

leading radicals of her time: Annie Besant, socialist and organizer of the great Match Girls Strike; William Morris, artist and revolutionary; Tom Mann, the internationally famous syndicalist; Harriet Stanton Blatch, and her mother Elizabeth Cady Stanton. It was in this milieu that Sylvia's attitudes toward feminism and socialism were forged.

The WSPU

In 1905, Emmeline and her eldest daughter, Christobel, founded the Women's Social and Political Union, which launched the militant suffrage movement in England. From 1905 to 1912, Sylvia, with thousands of her sisters, heckled politicians, marched in parades, sold newspapers, and suffered beatings and arrests — all for the vote. (Women were often arrested just for asking politicians if they were going to give women the vote!)

In 1909, the first woman went on a hunger strike to protest the way the government was treating women. The Liberal government retaliated by instituting a barbarous and tortuous policy known as forced feeding. After this period of the greatest militancy of the suffragettes began.

One afternoon almost every window in the West End of London was broken. Empty houses were blown up, sports pavilions and piers were burned to the ground, golf courses were seared with the acidic words of "votes for women." Even the King was harassed.

In 1913, Alice Richardson slashed the famous Rokeby Venus in the National Art Gallery. In that year, too,

Emily Wilding Davis committed suicide by running in front of the King's horse on Derby Day. All this was done to rouse Englishmen's attention to the woman's cause.

However, by 1912 Sylvia found herself in disagreement with her mother and sister. She was opposed to their policy of violence, not because she was against militancy but because individual and sporadic acts of violence would not give women the vote. Rather, argued Sylvia, what was needed was a mass movement of working women who would demand not just the vote from Parliament but other reforms which would better the position of women.

Sylvia argued that in order to involve working women in a suffrage campaign the vote had to have some meaning; it could not stand alone, but must be part of a series of demands and reforms. In that year, Sylvia went to the poverty ridden East End of London and organized a working woman's contingent of the WSPU.

Christobel, who was now allying herself with the Conservative Party and aristocratic women, was not only embarrassed but angry that "her" suffragettes were being associated with working women. In 1914, Christobel told Sylvia that the East End woman's movement was "too democratic" and because it was a working woman's movement it must leave the WSPU. Sylvia gladly obliged.

After that, the East London Federation of the Suffragettes (ELFS) grew steadily. As it grew, it was met with savage repression by the State. The

tacks these suffragettes faced were far worse than what their middle class sisters suffered. Police often came into the East End, looking for women to arrest, wildly swinging their clubs. They would either arrest hundreds of people, or beat men and women senseless.

In order to carry out their activities the women were forced to take up means of self defense — for themselves and for their community. They went armed with huge clubs to all their rallies and formed the "Peoples' Army of Self Defense," which at one point had almost a thousand members and drilled openly in the streets of London.

It was this mass movement of working women which forced the government to take seriously the question of granting woman suffrage. In 1914, Sylvia led a deputation of working class women to Prime Minister Asquith. This was the first deputation to break his long silence. Asquith knew very well that a revolt of aristocratic women, militant and disruptive as it was, was not as potentially dangerous as a revolt of working class women.

Sylvia's work had made an impact but nothing tangible could follow, for within three months England was at war. The first world war opened up another chapter in the history of the ELFS. Unlike their middle class sisters, the women of the East End did not encourage their husbands, sons, and fathers to be cannon fodder for the rulers of Europe.

In order to alleviate the misery that wartime conditions imposed on the poor, these women set up communal kitchens, milk stations which distributed free milk to infants, and free nurseries. The ELFS often came to the aid of army deserters or CO's. Sylvia fought for and won concessions from the government promising equal pay for equal work for women war workers.

All these activities were carried on while the ELFS worked to oppose the war. Every Sunday the women would march behind their red banner, and hold a rally trying to get people to oppose the war.

Pankhurst and Lenin

After 1917, the ELFS faced new problems. It became one of the first organizations in England to give unconditional support to the Bolshevik revolution. At this point Sylvia was considered to be England's leading revolutionary and she was the first to write about Lenin and Trotsky in her paper, the *Woman's Breadnought*.

When the English, French and American forces intervened in Russia to smash the revolution, Sylvia organized the Hands Off Russia movement. It was largely because of her work that the London dockers refused to load arms going to the army of counterrevolution.

During the period after 1919, Com-

[continued on page 13]

DEVLIN ON TOUR

Bernadette Devlin, Independent Socialist Member of Parliament for Mid-Ulster, is presently on a college speaking tour of the U.S. to raise funds for the Socialist Research Centre being established in Northern Ireland.

Devlin has taken a prominent place, in association with the British International Socialists, in fighting the Government's attempt to shackle the trade unions even further to the demands of troubled British capitalism. When she returns to Britain on March 10, she is scheduled to resume the struggle against the anti-union measures and also to

build the rank-and-file resistance which is sweeping the country. The worsening conditions in Ulster's cities, provoked by the increasing violence and arrogance of the British occupation troops, may require the radical M.P. to return home sooner.

Devlin will be in the New York City area on Feb. 19, and in San Francisco around Feb. 20, where she will speak at a meeting sponsored by the Bay Area International Socialists. She will return to New York on Sunday, March 7 to speak at a meeting sponsored by the New York International Socialists.



Working Class Hero?



Leonard Woodcock, President of the UAW and leader of the Alliance for Labor Action, is one of the most important labor leaders in this country. It is of no small concern to working people what kind of leadership he plans to provide. Unfortunately, recent statements he has made indicate that he aspires more to being a labor statesman than a real leader of the labor movement.

Just last week, Woodcock stated that he favored the establishment of a wage-price review board. Both companies and unions would have to appear before such a board to justify their price and wage increases.

Wage Control

No explanation was given as to why labor needs such a board to justify its demands. In fact, what Woodcock is actually calling for is more government intervention in order to hold wages down (which is what every wage-price board has done in the past). He admitted this later in his statement when he said that "there is no question that the wage increases in the construction industry are excessive."

Remember now, this is a labor lead-

er speaking, not the head of the construction industry. Presumably Woodcock does not think that his salary is excessive, a salary which is almost triple what a construction worker makes in a year.

What is really behind Woodcock's statement is an attempt to justify the UAW's wage gains, not to the public, but to the rank-and-file members of the UAW. For what the UAW members need is not a justification of why they won so much, but of why they won so little. It was precisely Woodcock's inability to win larger wage increases which was behind his attack on construction workers.

In his statement he also pointed out that electricians in the construction industry who do work in auto plants get \$2 to \$3 more per hour than a UAW member who does the same work. Needless to say, this has not made Woodcock too popular among skilled auto workers.

This is a dangerous move that Woodcock has made. For what he is doing is asking for support from outside the union movement, specifically the gov-

ernment, in his struggle against the rank and file. He hopes that such a board, in depressing the wages of all workers, would help to prop up his sagging image. With such an approach, Woodcock has turned his back on the labor movement and rejected the only strategy which could win him support.

Super-Profits

Wages are not the cause of inflation. During the period of 1965-68, when inflation was rising rapidly, the spendable income of all workers was actually falling. The wage gains being won now are only an attempt to keep up with the run-away inflation.

The real cause of inflation is the huge expenditures on the war in Vietnam and the super-profits that the corporations are earning. What the labor leaders should be doing is leading a real struggle against inflation. This would mean taking on the policies of the government and also the ability of the companies to unilaterally raise their prices to maintain their super-profits. Unfortunately, Woodcock has not chosen to do this. It thus remains for others to take up this struggle. ■

Employees at the University of California's Berkeley campus voted last week by an overwhelming majority to walk off the job February 25, to press demands for higher pay and better working conditions for dormitory workers. Strike sanction was immediately secured from the county Central Labor Council, and the stage has now been set for a labor dispute of unique importance to students and workers alike.

Weary of abysmally low wages (dorm maids make over \$100 a month less than male custodians doing similar work) and frequent layoffs, the dormitory workers joined State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 1695 some months ago. In negotiations this fall and winter, the union won two important victories.

At Christmas, for the first time, there were no vacation layoffs. A promised 7½ per cent interim pay raise was at first withdrawn by the University.

AFSCME 1695 Strike Vote

Ron Flaherty

After a mass picket of hundreds of students and workers, however, the pay raise was restored. (For an account of the demonstration, see *Workers' Power*, no. 28).

Since that time, the University has

refused to budge on any of the union demands. Unless it softens its stand by the 25th, AFSCME will strike, with all AFL-CIO and Teamster members expected to honor the picket lines.

The significance of this strike goes far beyond the economic issues involved. The strike poses questions of black liberation, since most dorm maids are black. Support has come from black community organizations, and from the campus Black Student Union. No less important, this is a women's struggle, and the demand of equal pay for equal work is a central one.

Finally, the strike will occur on a highly political campus, one long in the public eye. Last month's combined student-worker demonstration provided a hint of what could emerge from this struggle. AFSCME will ask students to honor the picket lines at the entrances to the campus, and groups such as Female Liberation and the campus Labor

Committee may call for students to actively organize their own strike.

If a coalition of workers and students can successfully challenge the monolithic University system (U.C. is the biggest employer in California), Berkeley will have taken an important step in revitalizing the student movement, and directing it toward that group in society which is potentially its mightiest ally: the American working class.

By its willingness to mobilize its own rank and file, and to encourage student support, to organize mass rallies and demonstrations, AFSCME 1695 offers an equally important lesson for the labor movement.

The old "business unionism" will not be enough in the seventies. We will need rank-and-file action, and political alliances with other social movements. It is AFSCME's recognition of these facts that has made it able to challenge the University monolith. ■



The distribution of wealth in America has not changed in the last twenty years, according to the latest census figures. In 1947 the poorest fifth of the population got 5 per cent of the income, while the richest got 43 per cent. Comparable figures in 1969 were 5.6 per cent and 41 per cent. This is the case despite all the anti-poverty laws and the welfare legislation.

Money: Who Has It?

Jack Trautman

According to the census, about 60 per cent of American families make less than \$11,000 per year. This is what the U.S. government says is necessary for a family of four to have a decent standard of living.

As a matter of fact, things are even worse than this. According to a book by Gabriel Kolko - *Wealth and Power in America* - there has been no real change in the distribution of income since 1910. In 1910 the richest tenth of the population got 33.9 per cent of the income and the poorest tenth got 3.4 per cent. In 1959 the figures were 28.9 per cent and 1.1 per cent.

In other words, in sixty years of American history there has been virtually no change in the distribution of income. The same is true of stock ownership, despite the myth that millions of Americans now own the large corporations. In 1937-39, 4 per cent of the owners of common stock held 64.9 per

cent of it and 4.5 per cent of the owners of preferred held 54.8 per cent. In 1951 only 2.1 per cent of the common stock shareholders owned 58 per cent, and 1.1 per cent of the owners of preferred stock held 46 per cent.

This is the case despite the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontier and the Great Society. These programs have had virtually no impact on who gets what in this country.

What about social security legislation and unemployment compensation and welfare and pensions, etc? They've certainly helped make things easier for some people - don't they redistribute the income?

No, they don't. What these measures do is to redistribute income within social classes, not between them. Unemployed workers pay the way for themselves; social security is paid for by the workers who "benefit" from its paltry benefits (the social security administration has made a profit in all but four years out of the 30-odd years that it has been in existence). When employers have to make contributions they pay for them by getting more work out of their workers. Profit rates do not drop because of these measures.

It's a sinking deal - unless you're on the top, of course. ■



Mrs. T. Charlton Henry. On the third floor of her house, there are three rooms full of clothes racks, in which each ensemble hangs in its own plastic wrapper, together with gloves, shoes and handbag.



Jack
Trautman

NIXON ATTACKS CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

On January 18, President Nixon asked the construction industry to come up with proposals to end the "wage-price spiral" in their industry. He was, in fact, asking the unions to tone down their demands — this would allow employers to slow down prices and maintain the same profit rate.

The government has pointed to the high wages won by construction workers as the major cause of inflation. Federal "experts" and many economists argue they not only push up building costs, but provide a target for other workers to aim at in their own negotiations. A whole campaign is being waged to attack their wages.

The presidents of the 17 construction unions met and responded that they were not going to initiate or endorse any wage freezing or stabilization program applied to the construction industry alone. One union official stated that they "were not elected by their rank and file in order to recommend wage freezes." Thus, they handed the problem back to President Nixon. Sounds like tough talk, right? Wrong.

Everybody knows what side Nixon is on. His program will undoubtedly be an attack on the wages and living standards of the construction workers. But, as the *New York Times* put it, then "the union presidents could tell their

members that they must either accept the program or face unilateral action by the Administration. The political onus then would be borne by the Administration rather than by the union chiefs."

These tough-talking bureaucrats have saved their own necks, but what about that rank and file they claim to represent?

The union leadership should have waged a campaign to demonstrate that construction workers don't in fact earn very much. Their work is seasonal and dangerous and they lose time between jobs.

According to the Census Bureau, construction workers earned only \$7,089 in 1969 — about two-thirds of what the government says is minimally necessary to support a family of four. They have gained little on the inflation.

It is not construction workers who are behind the spiralling prices — their wages are a relatively small portion of construction costs. Land speculation is far more important. The bureaucrats should have demanded that the government immediately put a freeze on land prices.

The Nixon administration has been consistently anti-labor. It continually defines problems as though they were the fault of workers who are simply struggling to stay in the same place. Its solutions are always to ease the pressure on employers and to weaken labor.

In response, the labor movement must put forward a real program to end inflation and unemployment — one which would be in the interests of all working people. Such a program should include the following sorts of demands:

- 1) Wage increases with a guarantee of no price increases, written into the contract;
- 2) voluntary instead of compulsory overtime;
- 3) thirty hours work for forty hours pay;
- 4) end the war and dismantle the war economy and use it to produce the things people need and

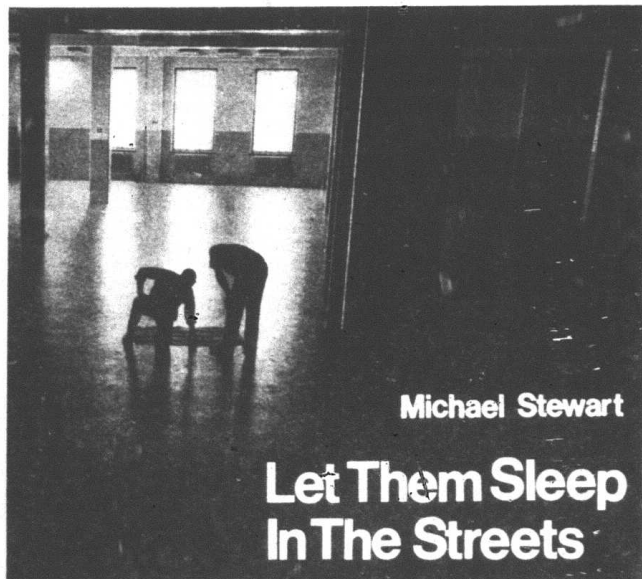
to rebuild the rotting cities; and, 5) a guaranteed job for all to be paid for by taxing corporate profits.

Such a program would clearly be in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population in this country. But to take it seriously the construction union leaders would have to make links with other unions and begin a real battle. They would have to break not only with Nixon and with the Republican Party, but with the Democratic Party "friends of labor." They would have to think about forming a labor party which could fight for such a program.

All this these "tough" union presidents are unprepared to do. They support the war and the war economy; they are in thick with the politicians they would have to bitterly oppose; they have good salaries and secure jobs.

So they sit back and wait for the President to make his attack. They even told him that they would be willing to accept a wage freeze if it applied to all of labor — so that they could not be held accountable.

A wage freeze is easy enough for men whose income comes to \$60,000 to \$120,000 per year to accept. It's no skin off their noses, after all. ■



Michael Stewart

Let Them Sleep In The Streets

The housing situation in New York City offers a classic illustration of the inability of American capitalism to meet even the most basic human needs.

For some time now there has been an acute housing shortage in New York. The vacancy rate has been below 1 per cent for several years, a rate which even

the government lists as critically low. New York is currently losing more than 20,000 housing units a year.

As housing availability has gone down, rents have gone way up. This trend was exacerbated when the Lindsay administration pushed through a bill revising New York's rent control

laws, virtually the only protection that apartment dwellers have had. It allowed for a 15 per cent across-the-board increase in rents, and seriously weakened other provisions of the law.

As the situation deteriorates, more and more people are living in overcrowded conditions, unable to move, and, even if they could find a bigger apartment, unable to afford the higher rents. Daily more and more apartments become slums as the rip-off landlords take their money elsewhere and let the buildings deteriorate.

The housing crisis was dramatically highlighted recently when it was discovered that a welfare family in New York was residing temporarily at the Waldorf Astoria because no decent housing could be found for them.

The shortage of housing, however, does not mean that the construction industry has collapsed in New York. As a matter of fact, there is a boom in construction. Unfortunately, it is offices, rather than apartments, that are being built.

Ordinarily, offices are more profitable than apartments. But free competition does not lead to good planning, and there is now a glut of office space on the market, with over 7,500,000 square feet of office space unrented. (This figure may go as high as 16,500,000, the equivalent of a dozen or so new skyscrapers.)

More and more offices are being built each day, including the twin mon-

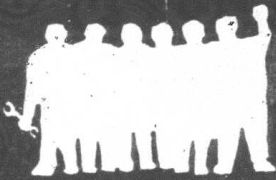
strocities of lower Manhattan, the World Trade Center buildings. So while millions of people in New York live in slum housing, and there is a chronic shortage of apartments, office space is overabundant.

It would be entirely justified if the people in New York marched on the superfluous offices and occupied them, turning them into living quarters. Certainly when private property is used in such flagrant opposition to the people's needs, the people have a right to set things right.

But it is not only private owners who are responsible for the housing situation. Both a large office building in Harlem owned by New York State and the World Trade Center were built with taxpayers' money. Thus, the government is working in complicity with the building industry speculators and ignoring the needs of the city's residents.

Some protests have taken place. There were demonstrations against the building in Harlem by members of the black community. There have been marches on the Mayor's office. In a few isolated instances, squatters have occupied vacant apartments. Rent strikes too have been organized in some places.

But so far, these demonstrations have remained scattered and thus ineffectual in dealing with the problem as a whole. Meanwhile, New York City itself stands as a monument to the ever increasing irrationality of capitalism. ■



Pass It On

John Single

Poland And The Left

In spite of developments that should greatly encourage all who want to see radical and democratic change, there is a considerable amount of demoralization and confusion in American radical organizations, and especially in those that developed out of the "New Left" of the university youth.

There are several major causes for this crisis, not the least of which is the belief held by the vast majority of young radicals that the "Communism" of the select groups that rule over the Chinese, or Russian, or Cuban or Yugoslav peoples to a greater or lesser degree represents progress. They have not yet made a serious attempt to analyze the system in any one of the so-called Communist countries, to understand either what it is or what it means to the working people of that country.

Since the birth of the New Left it has been standard to see young radicals cheer one or another national varieties of "Communism," because they are opposed to American capitalism. The time has yet to come when large numbers of young (or old) radicals realize that "Communism" represents not only a different but an equally anti-working class and anti-democratic system, and that the Chinese or Russian, etc., leaders, like the American leaders, can afford to tell the truth only when criticizing their opponents and not themselves.

No more Lies

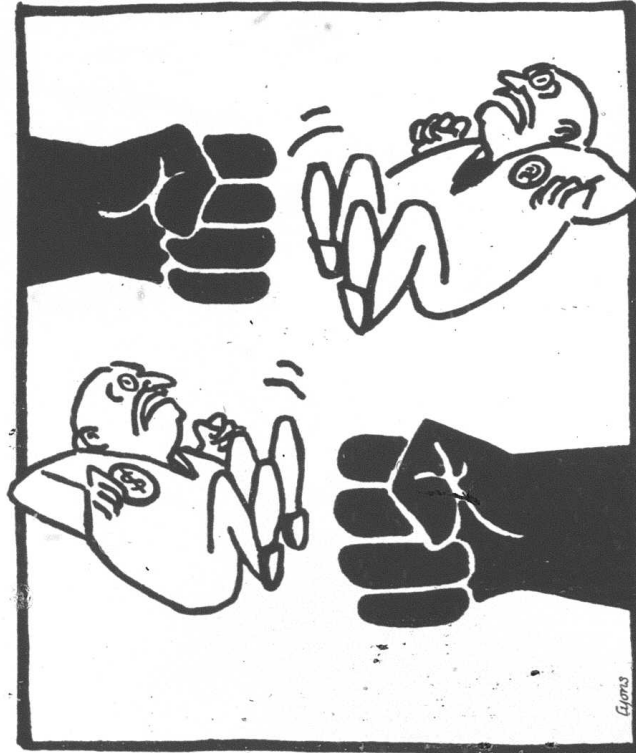
On December 16, the Polish workers of two major industrial and transportation centers, backed by demonstrations in other areas, including at least one city (Rostok) in East Germany, revolted. They burned the headquarters buildings of the Communist Party and then police stations. Only the presence and threat of Russian troops restored "law and order."

It was impossible for the Communists in the U.S. or anywhere else to seriously claim that fascists or the American CIA were behind this working-class uprising accomplished with the aid of Polish students. This claim was made about the Hungarian Revolution against Russian imperialism in 1956, but in the fourteen years that followed the combined forces of both the Hungarian and the Russian cops and secret police have not been able to find a single fascist to indict. Exposed in their lies, Communist parrots like the corrupted Communist academic Herbert Aptheker, cannot make that argument again.

The Russian rulers are robbing the economy of Poland and starving the Polish workers. The workers of Gdansk (Guh-dynsk) and Szczecin (Sh-chay-tzin), at first longshoremen and shipyard workers and now public transport workers, have themselves exploded all the big lies of "Communism."

It does not allow free trade unions, let alone workers' control. Rather than improve the standard of living, it impoverishes the workers. And it is dominated by a giant imperialist nation — Russia.

The clarity of the message from the Polish workers, students and housewives (who began the revolt with a joint sit-in in the Gdansk food market area) has



paralyzed the ability of much of the university left to react.

Year in and year out they have shown themselves able to get out leaflets and call meetings in response to crises all over the world, from Southeast Asia to the Near East. But the second chapter of the Polish revolution which opened at Poznan in 1956, has caused no wave of meetings on American campuses, against either the murder of at least 170 demonstrators and the imprisonment of over 2,000, or the reactionary role of the Polish Communist regime and its Russian overlords.

Even those who feel forced to admit the truth of the Polish events are disarmed. Some have too recently held

that "Communism" is a progressive system. Others have too recently and carelessly hailed one or another of the Communist chairmen. Boxed in, they feel that to admit the truth about the Communists would in some way aid American imperialism.

Not the least strait-jacketed are the supporters of Fidel Castro and his regime. They feel it is a foregone conclusion that Castro will oppose the Polish uprisings. After all, he supported the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia.

They believe Castro's rule to be a good one, and have never settled for themselves the question of the relationship of ends and means. To them, sup-

port of the Polish workers becomes an act against Castro's revolution.

Their support of the Castro regime has put them in the position of opposition to the cause of the Polish workers. Until they find a way out, workers' liberation, for them, is not a principled question.

It is impossible to take comfort from the unenviable and embarrassing position that so many people, who consider themselves socialists, have been put in by the Polish workers. They are not the first to find themselves in this wise. Their predicament is not caused by any character flaw, but by an incorrect analysis of a particular social-economic-political system, in which an elite bureaucracy rules a collectivized economy for its own class privilege.

CP Comeback

Prolonged failure to find a working-class political analysis that can be applied to the struggle of the workers in all nations must lead to either corruption or demoralization. Witness the American Communist Party; the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and the almost simultaneous confession by the then Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev that Russian under Stalin was a workers' prison, all but wiped it out.

In the last few years, the effect of time and the presence of a new generation of workers — plus the bankruptcy of the top union leadership in America — has allowed the C.P. to begin to make a comeback in a number of industrial centers.

Nationally, by region and industry they have begun to build so-called "rank-and-file" committees in the unions. Because labor's ranks are so alone in their fight against their own bureaucracy, some innocent workers have for a short time now been attracted by the Communists.

If it depended only upon the small number of socialists who don't believe Russia and China are socialist nations to expose the Communist Party to American workers, the future would be bleak. Thousands would have to undergo what the generations of the 1930's and 1940's underwent: getting "sucked in" by the Communists for a time and demoralized when the truth was realized.

But the East Berlin, Hungarian, Czech and now Polish workers have supplied the knowledge that will save American and other workers in capitalist countries from undergoing the Communist experience in large numbers. American workers will go along with the rank-and-file committees organized by the Communist Party only so long as they are not aware of who are the organizers.

Socialists oppose the attempts to expel Communists from unions, or to ban Communists from holding union office. Whether done by Congress or by liberal union leaders, these attempts are meant to stifle all opposition groups, and to make workers afraid of all radicals in the unions.

But we don't oppose these attempts by making heroes out of the Communists. We want full rights for everyone in the unions because we want workers in free debate to learn how their interests

are opposed by both the Communists and the union bureaucrats.

As the Communists reveal themselves, they will find themselves alone. And this will be a result of what is progressive and not reactionary in American workers: American workers are involved in a struggle to keep their own unions free and they are not about to support those who will support puppet unions in countries outside the United States.

All this is not to say that there is presently among the laboring class in America a tremendous awareness of the revolution developing in Central Europe. But the Polish rebellion forewarns of the rebellions that must follow in all "Communist" countries — including Russia, China and Cuba; rebellions that will demonstrate that Gdansk and Szczecin were just part of what the "happy" workers in "Communist" countries have shown "for openers;" rebellions that will put their message before all the workers of the world, inescapably bigger, louder, and more visible.

Trial and Error

Thus far, the New Left has learned each of its lessons only as it has been buffeted by events, by trial and error. This method is wasteful of energy and forces. Busy fighting one issue at a time, it has opened up the American establishment's institutions, but has never shed the basic methods of liberal political analysis.

To mention the methodology of Karl Marx, materialist philosophy and the materialist conception of history is to bring up terms now too often best known for their misuse. But the rapidity with which a new generation of radicals attains the ability to make a correct analysis of both the "Communist" and capitalist systems depends on its ability to analyze those systems, in whatever nation, first of all by the relationships that exist between the workers and the owner representatives (management) in the workplaces of those nations during the process of production.

Such an analysis will reveal that while there are varying methods of social rule and degrees of freedom in the nations of the world, the economic systems in each has no usefulness to the working class and is reactionary. This in turn makes it certain that in each the working and oppressed sections of the population will attempt to find a new system of their own. Rebellion against the old systems is cause for celebration, no matter where it breaks out. ■



POLISH ARMOR IN SZCZECIN

On February 8, the trial of 26 young militants accused of belonging to the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Czechoslovakia (RSP) will open in Prague. Seventeen of them, including a German student, Sibylle Plogstedt, were arrested at the end of December 1969 and have been in prison more than a year.

The Czech press accuses them of being in the service of "foreign interests" and having created a "trotskyist organization hostile to the State, looking to upset the process of consolidation and to create political crises." *Rude Pravo*, central organ of the Czech Communist Party (CPC), goes further, to talk of a plot aimed at "overthrowing the socialist regime, not only in Czechoslovakia, but also in the other socialist countries, including the USSR."

But for the moment, the only connection with "foreign interests" found by the Czech police seems to be several revolutionary texts and the nationality of one of the accused (Plogstedt). As for the aim of the supposed plot, it was defined in an article by a governing official, Vladimir Rasin, who wrote on the subject in the review *Tvorba*: "I do not want to offer publicity to this 'Revolutionary Socialist Party,' but if I must characterize its counter-revolutionary goals I will say simply that beneath its slogan 'all power to the armed people' is concealed the decomposition of the working class and the CPC, the destruction of the State power, and the bringing about of a state of anarchy and desolation in production and consequently in the whole economy."

It seems paradoxical to see a leading so-called "communist" of a so-called "socialist" state comparing the exercise of power by a people — that is, notably, by armed workers — to chaos and anarchy.

But the objectives of the young revolutionaries of the RSP are precisely to shatter this paradox, to demonstrate that the ruling strata of Czechoslovakia do not represent the working class and that the establishment of a real workers' power will succeed by eliminating them. This is what led the comrades to prison, this is what will take them tomorrow before their judges.

The RSP

How was the RSP born? During the bubbling over of ideas which was the "Prague Spring," some young militants set out to re-establish ties with the ideas of revolutionary marxism, which they felt had nothing in common with the pallid, lifeless ideology broadcast by the CPC, the radio and official instructions. In January, 1968, these youths grouped into the "Revolutionary Left Club," which was no more than one of a number of discussion groups which flowered at the time, especially in the universities.

Then, after the invasion of Czechoslovakia on August 21, 1968 by Warsaw Pact armies, they began to develop a more and more critical attitude towards Dubcek and the whole "liberal" wing of the CPC. It was this "liberal" wing which, from compromise to compromise, preached patience and resignation to the Czech people and the working class, thus making the bed for the Husaks, Bilaks and Indras.

In November 1968, after a three-day student strike, these militants went on to create the Revolutionary Socialist Youth Movement, which transformed itself into the RSP in the summer of 1969.

Over the opposition of many others, what the RSP demanded was not just a "liberalization." They declared that the



Czech Revolutionaries On Trial

only possible road to socialism was seizure of power by the working class, organized into workers' councils. They also declared that Yugoslav-style "workers' self-management" was nothing but a sop and that workers must, before all, control the State. They argued that all this was impossible without a revolutionary party capable of joining itself to the workers and leading them to victory.

For the bureaucrats of the CPC and their Russian friends, these views were sufficient grounds for the indictment of their authors. And it is not surprising that this indictment should try to pass off the accused as agents of the CIA, FBI, etc. For a long time the stalinist method has treated all opposition, especially left opposition, as puppets of Hitler, the Emperor of Japan, Franco or Nixon, depending on the times and Stalin's political shifts.

In attacking these comrades, the gov-

erning strata have struck through them at their ideas and above all at the possible meeting between these ideas and Czech workers. What frightens Husak and his friends is not the present strength of the RSP, which must be limited to a few dozen members, mostly students. What scares Husak is the fact that the ideas of the RSP, the "ideas of trotskyism," as the Czech radio says, may some day penetrate into the Czech working class and become a material force which will cast out Husak and his like.

It is this danger which the judges of Prague want to exorcise by coming down heavily on the RSP comrades. All revolutionaries should be in solidarity with the militants of the RSP and must demand their immediate liberation. ■

[Translated from *Lutte Ouvriere*, a French revolutionary socialist weekly, February 2 - 8, 1971.]

Question — In what country are there no long-haired youth, no misbehaving children, no premarital sex, no rock music, a working class which doubles production in a year (according to official statistics) and which never engages in strikes, and a political philosophy based exclusively on one man's ideas?

Answer — In North Korea, "a socialist society governed by a dictatorship of the proletariat led by the Workers' party which follows a unitary ideology composed exclusively of the ideas of party secretary-general Kim Il Sung."

Question — What group on the "left" proclaims all this as the very summit of progress?

Answer — *The Guardian*, an "independent radical newsweekly," which has been proclaiming exactly the same thing about every "Communist" country in succession for more than 20 years.

Foreign Heroes

The American radical movement seems to require foreign heroes. A few years ago — and still to some extent today — Cuba was the left's hero-country, the place where radicals looked for an image of what they were trying to accomplish. Later China filled the bill for a time. Briefly, in the death agony of Students for a Democratic Society in 1969, support for Albania was made compulsory (see "Albania Without Tears," *Independent Socialist*, Sept., 1969).

The current hero-country seems to be North Korea. When North Korean leaders welcomed the exiled leaders of the Black Panther Party, the *Black Panther* newspaper ran centerfold spreads showing a stony-faced Kim Il Sung.

The fullest example so far of this effort to make an omelette out of a cow pie was a special issue of *The Guardian*, published last September. Based on a visit by two members of its staff, the special issue contains what it calls "an in-depth report on the incredible political, economic and social progress registered by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea."

The Guardian has improved on the *Black Panther's* coverage: Kim Il Sung is smiling in three out of four pictures, and his name appears more often, too — 112 times in 20 pages. These 20 pages also contain a full account of the ideology, politics, and conditions of life in North Korea, as viewed by two sincere friends of the regime.

Since its 30,000 words contain not even one sentence critical of the North Korean regime, it is a guide to the self-image of this regime, and more importantly, to the kind of regime which excites the admiration of one prominent current within the left.

This political current is the same one which has been admiring such regimes for a long time — that is, Stalinism, the ideology which opposes capitalism not in the name of workers' control, but in the name of the class rule of a revolutionary elite. The elitist essence of Stalinism is particularly blatant in this case because North Korea lacks many of the features which make Cuba or China relatively attractive from the viewpoint of many in the new left.

Unitary Ideology

The first thing to notice about North Korea is that it lacks the politically open style of Cuba — in which the emphasis is on what is called "freedom within the revolution," although independent organization of any kind is forbidden. Instead, the emphasis is on "unitary ideology," which, it is frankly stated,



KIM IL SUNG MYTH AND REALITY

Part One of a Two-part Series on Kim Il Sung, North Korea and the American Left.

James Coleman

"means there are no contending ideologies."

This ideology, in turn, is defined "exclusively" in terms of Kim Il Sung's ideas as its "sole guiding principle." It is emphasized that if "any ideas other than those of the leader" exist within a Marxist-Leninist party, "it is no longer a Marxist-Leninist party in the true sense of the word, but a mere club."

In terms of this definition, Lenin's Bolshevik party was a "mere club," for it was characterized, before, during, and for some time after the Russian revolution by intense ideological debate and

struggle between organized factions. Even when the 1921 Party Congress banned factions this was regarded as a temporary emergency measure — not until later was the absence of debate defined as a virtue.

But this is exactly the point. The closed political machine which Stalin later created indeed had nothing in common with the Bolshevik party of the revolutionary years. People who call themselves "Marxist-Leninists" (Lenin didn't) almost always are thinking of Stalin's methods.

How did this "unitary ideology" in



Poster: "Long Live the Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country!"

North Korea come about? The answer reveals a little more about North Korean Stalinism. Blandly *The Guardian* explains that there were always too many factions in the Korean Communist movement. In 1945, when the Japanese occupiers were driven out, there was a conflict between North Korean Communists.

One faction held that there should be no revolution until North and South Korea were reunified; the other that "an immediate proletarian revolution should take place in the north." This is how the dispute is described in 1970 by the opponents of both sides — we don't really know whether the group which wanted "revolution" meant a workers' uprising or the use of the Russian Army to create a state-owned, bureaucratically-controlled Stalinist regime.

But in any case, Kim Il Sung opposed both factions, calling for "a national democratic revolution against feudalism and imperialism in Korea" (North and South). This was in fact the line taken by all Stalinist parties in the period just after the war.

They postponed any moves against capitalism — telling the workers to stay in their places, please — so long as a deal with the United States looked possible. They tried to create states which were completely under the thumb of the USSR or local Communists but still capitalist. Only when it became clear about 1947 that the United States wanted all these states under its own thumb did the Stalinists abolish capitalism and complete the creation of bureaucratic regimes — still telling the workers to stay in their places, please.

Revolution?

The Guardian is silent on how all this happened in Korea. We are told only that "in a remarkably short time" Kim Il Sung's position had won out. Later, in 1947, elections were held (apparently on a one-party basis) and the resulting "People's Committee" than "began to develop the proletarian dictatorship" — without the workers seizing a single factory or holding one demonstration. Apparently it all happened by magic.

Not quite. Another way in which the North Korean regime is different from those in Cuba or China is that it did not come to power through a popular revolution of any sort (even one, as in those two countries, led by a stratum of intellectuals based on peasant support, rather than on the action of the working class). Rather, it was placed in power by the USSR — a fact revealed by a careful re-reading of the *Guardian* article, even though it highlights every sneeze of Kim Il Sung and scarcely mentions Russia.

Korea — not then divided — had been occupied by Japan since 1905. Korean resistance to Japan intensified in the 1930's, but except for one successful engagement in 1937, the Communist-led Resistance headed by Kim Il Sung made little impact during the war.

In 1945, Kim's forces "supported" the Soviet landings... and took part with Soviet troops in the final battle that defeated the Japanese forces" (emphasis added). Thus, after Japan surrendered, the Russian Army — not any Korean revolutionary force — held real power in North Korea.

This balance of forces determined the events which followed. The U.S. had occupied southern Korea, the USSR the north. Both powers wanted to unite Korea — under a government friendly to themselves.

The U.S. insisted that instead of becoming independent after the Japanese

occupiers were defeated, Korea should be placed in "trusteeship," that is, short-term colonial rule. President Roosevelt originally wanted a 30-year trusteeship; Truman and Stalin compromised on five. To the *Guardian* this shows Stalin a friend of Korean independence.

This compromise, however, reflected on both sides a reaction to strong Korean agitation for immediate independence, which the naive Koreans had imagined would be granted by the powers which had just won a War for Democracy. When the news of the trusteeship agreements was revealed at the end of 1945, demonstrations and riots broke out all over Korea. All Korean political groups, including the Communists, supported these demonstrations for independence.

Then after five days, the line changed — the Communists came out in support of trusteeship. In January 1946, Tass, the official Soviet news agency, condemned the "reactionary demonstrations against the decisions of the Moscow conference" — the demonstrations for independence.

Thereafter the Soviet Army Command in Korea solved the problem of how to jockey for a friendly government by simply refusing to negotiate with any political group which had opposed the trusteeship agreement. This guaranteed both a pro-trusteeship government and a Communist one, since only the Communists, of all Korean parties, had supported trusteeship.

Genuine independence, and even more, working-class socialism, were the opposite of what Stalinism had in mind for Korea. The USSR insisted not only on friendly governments in its satellites, but on bleeding their economies. Right after World War II, this took two forms — creating heavy industry under Russian ownership, and extracting raw materials from satellite economies at reduced



prices.

But this could never work permanently. With heavy industry came a group to manage it and to ride herd on the local working classes — a technical and political bureaucracy much like the ruling bureaucracy in the USSR. As industry was built, these satellite leaders emerged more and more as a ruling class in their own right.

In the late 1950's, Stalin's successor

Khrushchev tried a new scheme: the satellite economies would produce mainly light industry, food, and raw materials, while the USSR produced heavy industry. This would have destroyed the independent economic base of the satellite ruling groups.

Khrushchev of course didn't see it this way; from his imperialist viewpoint, it was simply more "rational." But this

conflict between the USSR and the satellites laid the basis for several satellite ruling groups' breaking away from Soviet control.

This breakaway had nothing in common with the Polish and Hungarian workers' movements of 1956 — movements to throw off Soviet control and the local Stalinist dictatorship, and to create socialist states based on workers' control of industry. All the Stalinist states, including "democratic" Yugoslavia, "anti-revisionist" China, and North Korea, supported the crushing of Hungary. The later breakaway was a case of local ruling classes developing minds of their own.

In North Korea this process began after about 1957, emphasizing an independent national economy based on heavy industry in opposition to Khrushchev's schemes for "integration" of Communist economies. The regime refers to this move toward independence as "Juche," or "self-reliance." It means independence with respect to the USSR or China — which is important in terms of national pride. But what has it meant for North Korea's people? ■

[A concluding article next issue will discuss North Korean society today.] ■

Pankhurst

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

Communist Parties were being organized all over the world, and Sylvia was one of the architects of the British Communist Party. However, she had serious differences with Lenin over questions such as the nature of the party and its relationship to the masses, and also over the question of operating within the existing parliamentary system.

Lenin's *Left Wing Communism — an Infantile Disorder* was a critique of the Pankhurst position of anti-parliamentarianism. When Sylvia went to Moscow in 1919, Lenin considered her one of the most important members of the British delegation and spent most of his time trying to convince her to work within the British Labour Party.

Sylvia also opposed the temporary abolition of factions within the Bolsh-



British suffragette

hevik party. When the *Dreadnought* published Alexandra Kollontai's articles on the Workers Opposition (an organization which opposed Lenin's policy on Workers Control and other issues), she was ordered to turn her paper over to the British Communist Party or be expelled. Sylvia chose to leave.

By 1924, Sylvia was no longer participating in workers' or women's movements. Part of the reason was her de-

teriorating health. She suffered over eight imprisonments as a suffragette, which often involved hunger, thirst and sleep strikes as well as forced feedings.

Although the latter part of her life was spent in isolation from the women's and workers' movements, she had spent her early years as a dedicated fighter for the emancipation of women. Her philosophy of life was best summed up by another tremendous revolutionary woman and Sylvia's revered heroine, Rosa Luxemburg:

"To be human is the main thing and that means to be strong and clear, of good cheer in spite of and because of everything. To be human means throwing one's life on the scales of destiny if need be, to be joyful for every fine day and every beautiful cloud." ■

[Celia Emerson is active in Seattle Women's Liberation and a member of the International Socialists.]

[Reprinted from *And Ain't I A Woman?*, Seattle Women's Liberation Bulletin, v. 1: 4.]

Uganda

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

ward, undevelopable economy, Obote first sought foreign aid. Little was given: Britain and the United States were interested only in gaining a profit in backward countries. (Other countries, such as Ghana, got aid from the Soviet Union, but found that the USSR was also exploitative. Sometimes the Soviet goods promised in return for Ghana's products arrived late or not at all, so that in effect Ghana was making interest-free loans to an industrialized country!)

Without foreign aid, Obote turned to belt-tightening and political tightening. Although formally opposition parties were legal, the opposition leaders were held in detention. Eventually five former cabinet ministers were in detention and other opposition figures were exiled. The unions were controlled and wages were kept down.

Trying to hold on to some popular support, Obote spoke of a move toward "socialism" and in 1969 issued a "common man's charter." But what was meant by "socialism" was a greater government role in directing the sagging economy — not control of society by the working people.

To have encouraged popular democracy, to have allowed the unions to function freely, would first of all have

brought open expressions of discontent. There was talk of greater equality, but with no way of controlling officials and with bribes the only way to get anything done, the officials got richer — and the people were disgruntled.

In the end, it was the Army which benefitted. This has been true in most African states, for the Army is usually the only group in society with enough power and discipline to take over from a faltering government.

But the Army cannot solve Uganda's problems, or those of other states. If Uganda follows the pattern set by Ghana and other states which have had Army coups, there will eventually be elections; they will be called "free elections," but Obote's party will be banned. The new government will plan to revive the economy by encouraging trade with the West — on the West's terms.

Other African states, which gained independence under conservative regimes, followed this road from the start. In either case, the result is the same: a

facade of prosperity in the capital city, as foreign trade creates a rich middle and upper class; grinding poverty in the rural areas, and even in the back streets of the capital.

So long as capitalism takes more from these countries than it puts in — and this is its only reason for trading with them — poverty will deepen. Neither the few remaining "socialist" regimes — increasingly without popular support — nor the new "moderate" regimes, tied to Western capital, can change this situation. Only the African working class can do so.

Because Africa is so undeveloped, the working class has hardly appeared on the scene: only in Congo-Brazzaville, in 1963, did workers through a general strike bring down a corrupt government, and there they had no real power in the new "revolutionary" regime. But imperialist trade not only swells the pockets of the middle and upper class, it also creates a larger, more modern working class. Whether in five years or twenty,

it is this class which will write the next chapter in independent Africa's history. ■



APOLO MILTON OBOTE

TV GUIDE

The Young Heroes Erica Dunn

Several of this year's prime-time T.V. shows reflect television's attempts to deal with the problems of the sixties — even though it's now 1971. Television has finally had to admit that things aren't running as smoothly as could be. We now have a new brand of hero that will try to solve the problems of our day, to make the system more responsive to the people — at least on television.

Most of these new heroes are young, like the Young Lawyers, the Interns, the Storefront Lawyers, Dan August and the Mod Squad. All are fairly hip, even the cops. They are sympathetic to the problems of the poor as well as the rich. They want to help blacks and third world peoples, so that the latter won't have to make a ruckus to get what they want.

Because the young tend to be overimulsive, they are all guided by

some older sympathetic expert against whom they might rebel once and a while, but who is usually right.

The Interns love and fear Dr. Goldstone, played by Broderick Crawford, and he, in his gruff way, really understands the young and is on their side. The Storefront Lawyers have the same relationship with Lee J. Cobb, who is their guiding light. And the Mod Squad is aided by their Captain, who watches over them with loving care (because even if they don't look like it, they're cops).

Doctors, lawyers, and the Police Department — they all understand the modern world and want to make the system work. In fact, they do make the system work — again, that is, on television, for an hour or so.

Monstrous Illusion

Television is trying to tell us something in these series. They are trying to put across a monstrous illusion, the idea that life is like a T.V. show, that everything will come out right in the end, if we just keep quiet and have faith.

The sponsors and producers are trying to cast a spell on us. They think they can con us into forgetting what things are really like in law firms, hospitals and jails, while we're watching the antics of these new heroes.

In the hospitals of the Interns, no one ever has to wait three hours to see a doctor. Emergency rooms are never over-crowded. By no means.

Instead about five to ten young interns wander about looking for people to help. They help the young, the poor, the needy. One time, one of them went into a prison and with his sympathy and understanding managed to quell a prison riot, help a hardened prisoner rea-

lize that the world wasn't against him and close down a dangerous work area, all in only fifteen minutes.

One of the Young Lawyers risked her neck going into a Third World area to plead with understanding police not to make certain arrests that would cause a riot. Naturally they heeded her warning and everything went well for everyone. Only three people were arrested instead of ten.

None of these lawyers or doctors ever worries about being paid. If you can't afford it, that's perfectly all right. Don't worry about a thing (we all know how generous doctors and lawyers really are with their time and money).

Happy Ending

The Mod Squad is the best example of television's belief that the public is too stupid to distinguish between fact and fiction. The Mod Squad is made up of three hippie-looking kids. One black guy with a huge Afro, a white girl with straight long hair, and a long-haired white guy. All wear bells, look cool and act cool.

They too help people. And if anyone gets arrested as a result, it's not their fault. They're just acting in the public interest. Gentle people, doing gentle work.

Policemen on television rarely use clubs to smash demonstrations, and they never hit strikers over the head and favor the bosses. If they did, they would be punished for it. They treat the rich and poor, black and white, long haired and crew cut exactly the same.

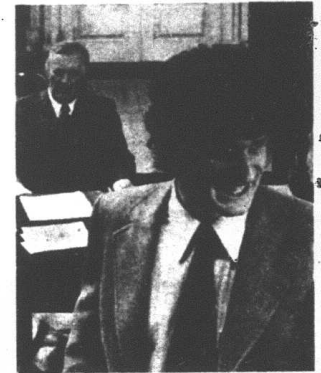
On television, a systematic, national attempt to wipe out the Panthers and suppress dissent would never be made.

Because of the black movement, the student movement, the women's libera-

tion movement and rising militancy in the labor movement, television has had to face reality. But this is how they have chosen to face it: by giving token recognition to the problems and inventing fantastic solutions that try to convince the viewer to leave things in the hands of the experts. The television industry above all wants us not to take things in our own hands because that would be a direct threat to the establishment institutions that it serves.

Despite television's attempts to hoodwink us, we all know, and can't help knowing, that what happens on the tube has nothing to do with what happens when the real show is on. When somebody gets sick and can't pay the doctor bills. When someone gets arrested and can't afford a good lawyer. When somebody gets their head busted by a cop.

Life is a different story, and we can't tune in next week and hope to see a happy ending. ■



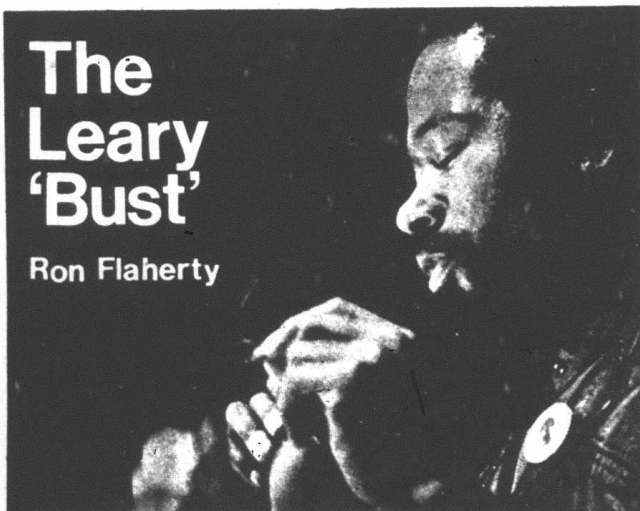
ZALMAN KING IN "YOUNG LAWYERS"

Sex, Drugs and Treason



The Leary 'Bust'

Ron Flaherty



In Algiers last week, the Black Panther exiles who live with Eldridge Cleaver invaded the home of LSD guru Timothy Leary, and kidnapped him and his wife Rosemary. The action, said Cleaver, was a "revolutionary bust," and

Leary was in Panther custody "for his own good."

This is only the latest in a series of weird episodes that have marked the uneasy alliance between the Panthers and the Yippie "cultural revolutionists."

As far back as 1968, when Cleaver was the Peace and Freedom Party candidate for President, he astonished the radical movement by endorsing Yippie Jerry Rubin for V.P. The same Eldridge who now condemns Leary's acid-revolutionism as idiocy, led the mass turn-out at a big drug orgy on that election day, abandoning any politics at all, not to speak of "Marxism-Leninism."

When Tim Leary was sprung from jail by the Weathermen, he fled to Algiers where he was welcomed by the Panthers. They soon discovered, though, that the Algerian government was not so taken with Leary and his antics. Leary was sent off to Lebanon, but the government there was even less anxious to have him around, so he returned to Algeria, where he has kept quiet and stayed out of sight.

Yesterday, Cleaver saw the Yippies as the only really revolutionary force in the white community. Today, Leary's clowning has become an inconvenience. The Panthers' response is to "kick his ass, and whip him into shape." That is the logic behind the "revolutionary bust."

We would be the last ones to offer support to the Leary-Yippie sort of tragic foolishness, which contributed

to the present demoralization and fragmentation of the radical movement. But, the movement must not adopt the attitude that it is all right simply to rip off everyone you think is doing the wrong thing; that the Panthers have the right to be the police force of the movement.

The Leary episode seems only to be a weird political footnote, but his kidnapping by the Panthers is part of a pattern. It is a pattern that spells disaster for the radical movement. There should be no sympathy for Cleaver's authoritarian act. ■

ARMY GOES TO POT

The U.S. military command has just ordered the resumption of the infamous "search and destroy" missions. However, this time they're after a new enemy — marijuana! In a report issued by the military command, it was estimated that 65,000 GI's used drugs in 1970 alone. (By the way, Vietnamese grass is reported to be some of the best around.)

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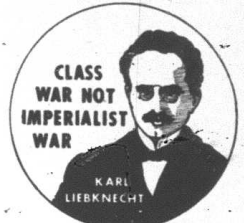
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Workers' Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

New Attack On Labor

1970 was a year of significant struggle for the labor movement in this country. There were more strikes this past year, and more man-days lost than at any other time since 1959.

This struggle was mainly a holding action, aimed at defending the standard of living of workers against the ravages of inflation. But it was only moderately successful even within that limited perspective. While some unions (such as construction unions and the Teamsters) won real gains, the average wage increase of all workers was only 4 per cent, well below the rate of inflation which was 5.7 per cent.

Even this increase was too much for the government economists and big businessmen. What upset them most was that the unions did afford some minimal protection to their members (thus providing an excellent argument in favor of unionization). Not satisfied with their managed recession and high unemployment, they are planning to launch an attack directly against the unions, in an attempt to weaken them and make them less able to protect their members.

Fortune magazine, a sort of theoretical journal of the capitalist class, has spelled out this strategy quite explicitly. "The underlying trouble," they state, "is the labor's unique monopoly power." What does this mean? Simply that unions have been able to "gain higher wages and benefits for their members than they could get in the open market" (that is, if there weren't any unions).

What they object to is the power that workers have when organized in unions, and the ability they have to struggle for and win better conditions. The solution they propose is therefore a frontal attack on the power of the unions. "Time may prove that there is no remedy except a direct legislative assault on the monopoly power itself," they state, "perhaps... a revision of the antitrust laws."

Such a revision, making unions subject to the anti-trust laws, would virtually destroy the unions as we know them today. This is a drastic step for any government to take, and it is unlikely that it will be attempted in the near future. What is more likely is that laws will be proposed which will chip away at the position of the unions.

In this context, *Fortune* recommends the following: ending the practice of letting strikers draw unemployment insurance and food stamps, abolishing union control over the admission, training and certification of skilled workers, and cracking down on the union's use of violence in industrial disputes (that is, their ability to defend a strike).

"Independent" Panel

Already the Nixon administration is planning such an assault. For the second year in a row he has submitted to Congress a proposal to outlaw strikes in the transportation industry. This would be accomplished by requiring both sides in a dispute to submit final offers to an "independent" panel ap-

pointed by the President. This panel would then choose between the two offers, its decision being binding on all parties.

The unions have been quick to denounce this proposal as calling for compulsory arbitration, something the labor movement has been fighting against for a long time. The President, not surprisingly, disagreed, saying, "Unlike arbitration, which too often merely splits the difference between the parties, and thereby encourages them to persist in unreasonable positions, this procedure would reward reasonableness and thereby facilitate negotiation and settlement." It is unlikely that Nixon's verbal gymnastics will convince anyone.

The difference, to the extent that there is one, will only mean that the decisions from such a panel will be more anti-labor than those that have resulted from compulsory arbitration panels. Nixon has spelled out quite clearly what he considers to be "unreasonable demands" — recently denouncing the auto settlement as inflationary because it included a Cost of Living Escalator clause. It is not hard to imagine the type of decisions a panel appointed by him would be like.

Even with the best of panels, the effect of such a procedure would be to depress wages. Each side of a dispute would have to jockey for position to make its proposal seem more "reasonable." The corporations, faced with no threat of a strike, could offer less, arguing all the time that lower wages

mean lower costs which are in the public or consumers' interests. Unions would thus be forced to ask for less, in hopes their proposal might be chosen. Regardless of the panel's choice, workers in the end would get less.

Whatever the machinery set up for deciding on a final offer, the main thrust of this bill is to take away the only power that workers have to win their demands — the power of the strike. It is that aspect of the bill which makes it so reactionary, and makes it necessary for all workers to oppose it.

Numerous other proposals are being considered, and may come up for discussion in Congress. These include: the suspension of the Davis-Bacon Act, which would allow the government to pay construction workers on Federal projects less than the going wage for the industry as a whole, thus depressing all wages in the industry; and a special tax on companies which grant "excessive" wage increases. Roger Blough, former Board Chairman of U.S. Steel and now chairman of the Construction Users Anti-Inflation Round-Table has proposed that the government outlaw the union hiring halls, particularly in the construction industry.

One other thing needs to be mentioned — wage controls. There is considerable discussion of such controls both in the administration and in the national news media. The Democratic Party in Congress has already passed a bill giving Nixon powers to impose emergency wage controls.

However, it is unlikely that wage controls will be imposed in the near future, unless business gets really desperate. Wage review boards have been tried in both England and Canada, and have failed to work (although they can be useful to the corporations and government in attempting to influence public opinion against the labor movement).

Of course, the government could take the advice of the economic correspondent of the *N.Y. Times* and outlaw any wage increases above 3 per cent a year, while letting prices be controlled only by the "free market." This proposal would control wages, but it would also provoke the unions — and if not the unions, the ranks — to fight back. It is unlikely that any administration would try to force through such a policy until all other measures had been tried.

Thus, the probable avenue of attack is against the unions themselves, a direct attack to weaken their power. This approach is not isolated to the U.S., but one which is being adopted in a number of the industrial countries.

Great Britain is considering passage of an omnibus anti-labor bill at the present time. This has led to bitter opposition from the unions; especially the rank and file. Already, two general strikes have been called and more demonstrations are planned. Even so the bill is expected to pass, so Committees of Action are being organized now to continue the fight against the laws by actively violating them. The struggle for better living and working conditions in Britain will go on.

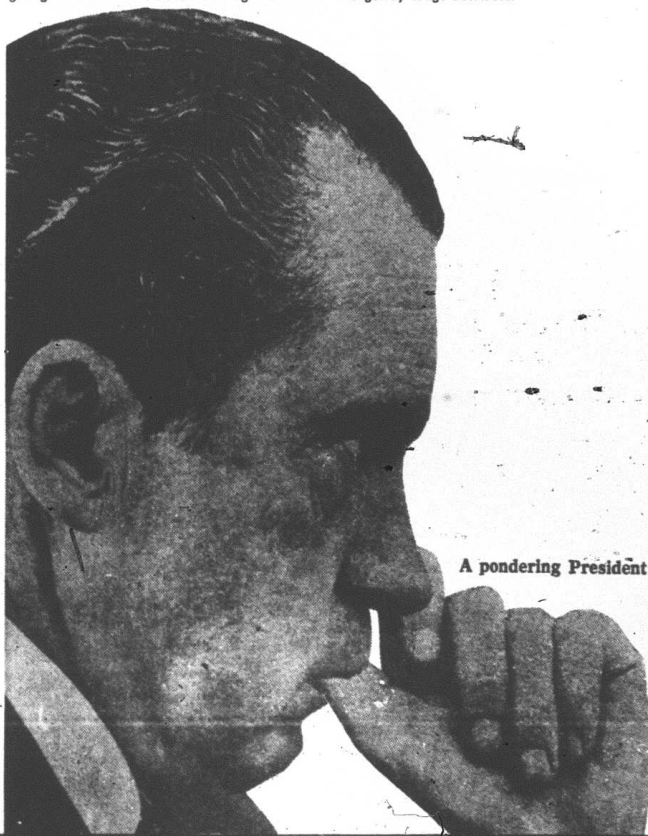
American workers may have to consider the same kind of actions in this country if they are to defend their strength. It is too early to tell. One thing is clear — they are going to have to fight harder than they have in the recent past if the new anti-labor legislation is to be defeated.

Political Struggle

To begin with, a political struggle must be launched against Nixon's attempt to outlaw transport strikes. This fight must go beyond testifying to Congress and lobbying for support from the supposedly pro-labor Democrats, who have sold out labor a dozen times before. The transport unions should call mass demonstrations of all their members in every city.

Moreover, since Nixon's bill is an attack on all labor, the AFL-CIO as a whole, and the almost-defunct Alliance for Labor Action, should organize demonstrations of the whole labor movement. If the law comes close to being passed, or if it is passed, strikes must be called.

We demand this from the official leadership of labor. But since this leadership has shown its timidity twelve times a year for 24 years, the ranks of the transport unions should follow the example of British workers and begin to organize direct action committees to push their unions into action and to fight where and when their unions fail to fight.



A pondering President