

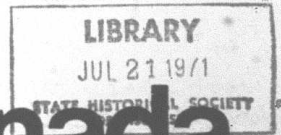
Workers' Power

formerly International Socialist

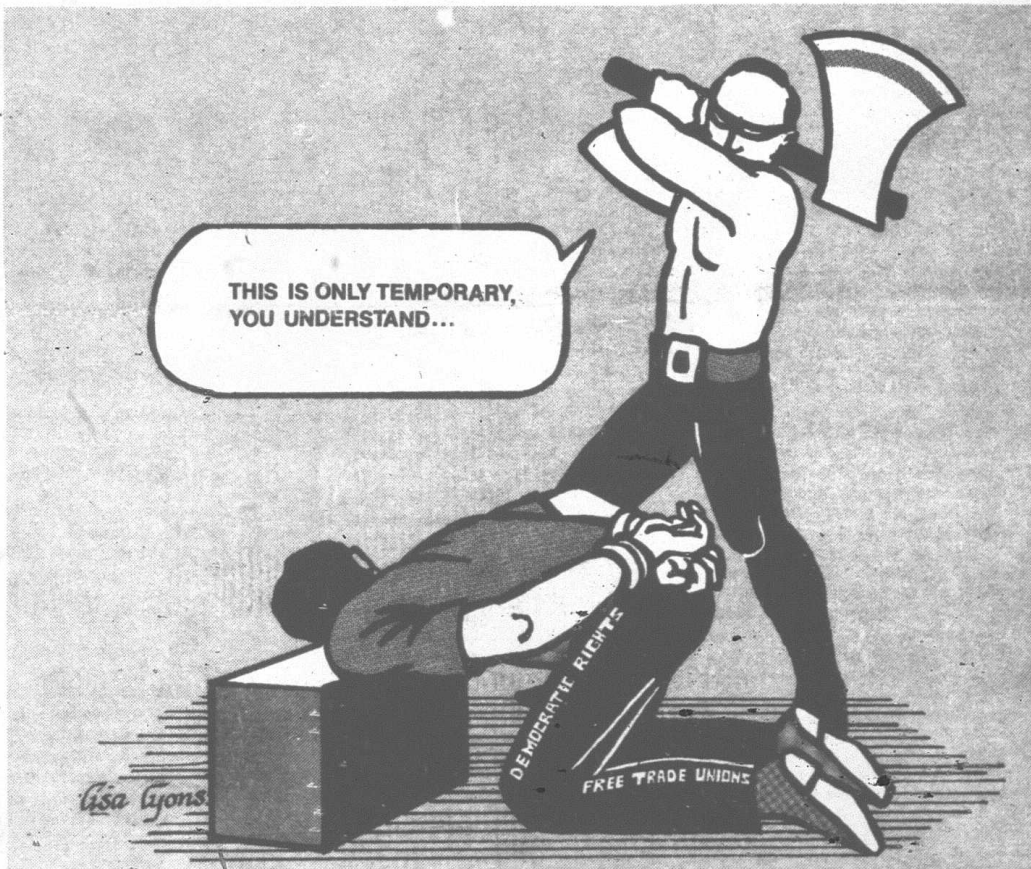
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Police State In Canada



**Oct. 31: Nothing Ventured...
Ecology Strike · Terrorism · Zionism
Explosions in the Schools**

Tweedledum and Tweedledee Agreed to Have a Battle

The current electoral campaigns have performed a difficult feat; they are even duller and more insipid than usual. They are characterized by an almost total absence of issues. This is common enough. Indeed it is the hallmark of American politics and considered the very acme of political wisdom among bourgeois politicians. What is unusual is that from the electoral campaign one would never get the idea, now recognized by even the most near-sighted observers, that the country we live in is in the midst of one of the most profound crises in its history.

An unpopular, disastrous war grinds on seemingly endlessly in Vietnam. The economy is faltering, with mounting inflation. Crippling taxes are drained from pressing social needs to bail out a faltering imperialism. Millions feel the pinch and millions more are unemployed or on the relief rolls. Social services, the schools, the cities, our very environment continues to deteriorate. Both the standard and the quality of life are declining.

The intensified social crisis has radicalized greater and greater numbers of people in recent years. The revolt of blacks, women, students and young people continues — sometimes quietly, sometimes explosively. These revolts are joined by a growing, widespread sense of dissatisfaction with life as it is in America and a search for new alternatives. More significantly, it is now being joined by intensified activity on the part of the working class, fighting the deterioration of living and working conditions. Strikes are more frequent, longer and more intense. The new generation of industrial workers rebels against the very work discipline that makes the American factory regime notorious for speedup, industrial accidents and inhuman working conditions.

Yet none of this is reflected in the elections or any of the traditional political institutions of the country. While millions search for an alternative, the Democratic and Republican parties have remained impenetrable to change. Both have a vested interest in turning all of the questions of American politics into non-issues. Neither party has a program for ending the war or solving the social crisis. Their answer to the masses struggling for a better life is repression at home and imperialist war abroad.

For the working class revolt, the only response of the capitalist politicians is to think up new ways of chaining the rank and file. Some "liberal friends of labor" are for wage controls, others are for new anti-union legislation to force compulsory arbitration or take from the ranks their ability to vote on contracts,

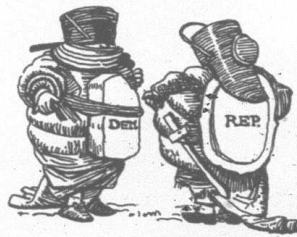
The Democratic and Republican parties are the liberal and conservative wings of American capitalist politics. As parties of capitalism, committed to its preservation on a world scale, they cannot accept any program which challenges the prerogatives of American imperialism or goes against the basic interests of the corporate monopolies that control the economy, government and the parties themselves. Agents of a decaying social system, they dread any major social change, domestic or international.

The two capitalist parties always prided themselves on their essentially identical, Tweedledee-Tweedledum character. Although this made a farce of America's much vaunted electoral democracy, it didn't stop learned professors from advertising it to an astonished world as the "Genius of American Politics." Now, with the growing inter-relatedness of the economy, and the interpenetration of the state and economy, the needs of the system leave even less room for maneuver.

Whoever attempts to administer this complicated, bureaucratically-stifated capitalism is forced to pursue those policies which fit the requirements of the system. Even professional confusionists would have difficulty explaining how the policies of a Nixon differ from those of a Johnson. Understanding how and why the differences between the liberal and conservative politics have narrowed, explains why, in the midst of a social crisis, our elections have become devoid of real issues, of real differences in social program.

This understanding also points to the only way out of the stagnation of American consensus politics — to boldly charter political action independent of the two capitalist parties. For the anti-war, black and women's movements, their future development, and even existence, requires their breaking with the Democratic Party. The liberal wing of that party works overtime to derail any social movement which threatens to move in a direction independent of capitalist politics.

The aftermath of the recent Cambod-
(continued on page 14)



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Canada is a police state.

On October 16, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau put into effect a law which deprives every Canadian citizen of his or her civil liberties and places the entire country effectively at the mercy of the head of state.

Under the terms of this law — the War Measures Act — the police and armed forces of Trudeau's regime can break into any home without warrant or notice. They can arrest and imprison anyone suspected of membership, association, or support for the newly outlawed group, the Front for the Liberation of Quebec (FLQ). Those arrested under the authority of this law can be held in prison without bail and without the right to confront their accusers for 90 days. And any act of support for the FLQ is a violation of Federal law, punishable by up to five years in prison.

Why? What provoked this drastic step? According to Trudeau, the actions of the FLQ left him no alternative, "no responsible choice." They had kidnaped two members of the government service; Trudeau felt he could only respond by doing away with the civil rights of every single citizen of Canada.

Sledgehammer

This explanation is nonsense. According to newspaper reports, the FLQ numbers only some 100 people. As a spokesman for the New Democratic Party put it, using the War Measures Act against the FLQ amounts to swinging "a sledgehammer to crack a peanut." Even Trudeau himself has admitted that "the authority contained in the act is much broader than is required in the present situation," and that the law "is a somewhat unsatisfactory measure." Mr. Trudeau comforts Canadians by promising to employ only those measures absolutely necessary to deal with the specific danger of FLQ terror.

The facts already prove him a liar. The entire French-speaking province of Quebec is an occupied zone, with troops of the central Canadian government patrolling its towns and cities. Quebec's citizens are being pulled by the hundreds from their homes and from their jobs. And as a *New York Times* reporter cabled from Montreal, "The (Government's) dragnet was aimed chiefly at labor leaders, journalists, professors and students, and others who have expressed radical views..." (Oct. 17, 1970). Among those jailed immediately was Michael Chartrand, the chairman of the Montreal Executive Committee of the Quebec-based Federation of National Trade Unions.

Obviously, then, much more is involved than a hunt for a few kidnapers. What, in fact, is the meaning of the Trudeau police state?

The answer lies in the situation of the French-Canadians in general, and of the province of Quebec in particular.

Throughout Canada, the upper class of businessmen and their politicians is composed of English-speaking Canadians. The English run all of Canada's five big banks, most of her securities houses, and the country's biggest conglomerate, the Canadian Pacific Railroad. In Quebec, where Canada's French minority composes 85 percent of the provincial population, the same pattern exists. It is still the English who have the incomes, the jobs, the corporate power. The typical English resident of Montreal, for example, lives in a private home or a new apartment in the fashionable west side. The French-Canadians, on the other hand, live in faded brick tenements in the east, or the cramped pill-box duplex houses on the north side. It is the French who bear the burden of Quebec's chron-

ically high unemployment.

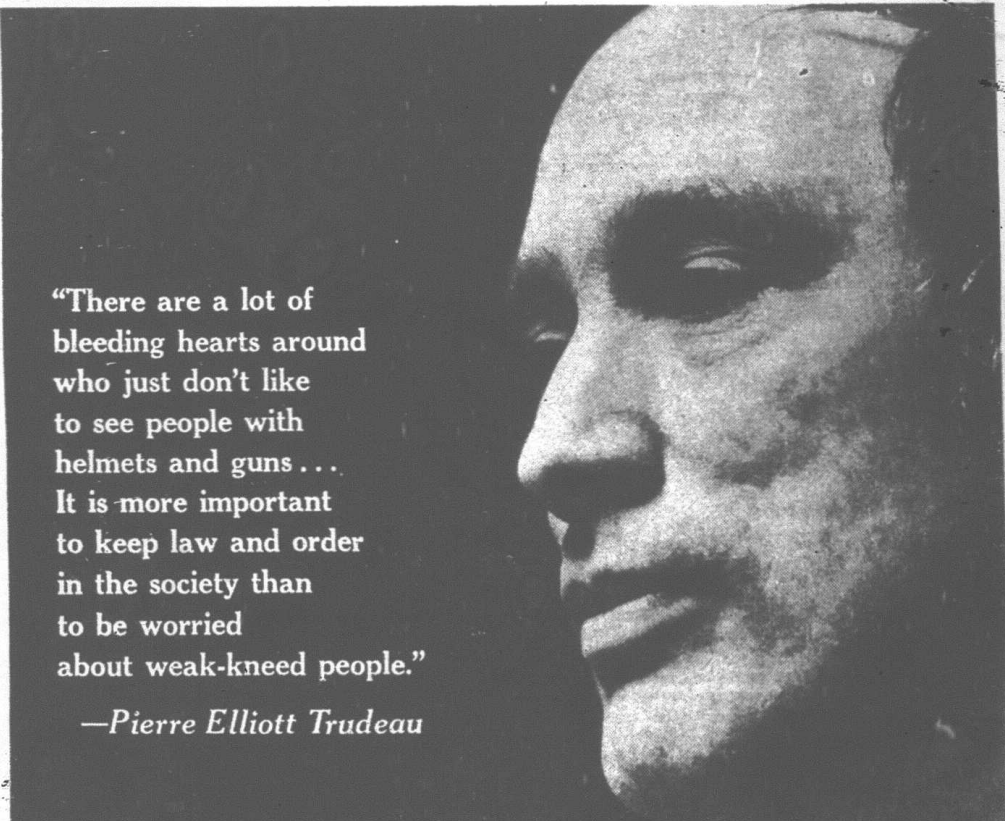
As a result, resentment against being incorporated into an English-speaking and cultured nation with almost no autonomy for themselves has given rise to a long-standing and growing sense of nationalism among French-Canadians — and a growing insistence on independence for Quebec from English Canada.

Moreover, this nationalist-separatist sentiment has, because of the way in which the social classes break down in Quebec, begun to develop an increasing-

bund hangover from pre-separatist days, was rebuilt by Trudeau and Provincial Premier Robert Bourassa into a bastion of reformism and accommodation. Even the pro-separatist Parti Quebecois of Rene Levesque, once considered the far left of the movement, has moved to the right in renouncing all extra-electoral means to an independent Quebec.

At the same time, Trudeau and the English-Canadian ruling class he represents are fully aware that his stopgap measures only postpone the crisis; they

Over 60 percent of Canada's industrial wealth is owned outright by American corporation — in some industries, such as auto, it is 100 percent. As a result, the Canadian economy has been wildly unstable; all Canadian workers have faced lower wages than in America, chronic high unemployment, and continual inflation even in times of economic contraction. Canadian auto workers, for example, take home a paycheck that is 8 to 10 percent smaller than their American counterparts — in spite of the



"There are a lot of bleeding hearts around who just don't like to see people with helmets and guns... It is more important to keep law and order in the society than to be worried about weak-kneed people."

—Pierre Elliott Trudeau

Support Your Local Police State

Trudeau le Premier

Bruce Morgan

ly radical social side as well. Resistance to the power of the English over Quebec can only mean, practically speaking, resistance to the power of the English business class. A growing number of French-Canadian Quebecois are coming to see that the drive for self-determination is impossible for Quebec unless supplemented with an anti-capitalist program. Such a union of socialist and nationalist currents has become increasingly evident among Quebec's students, workers, and intellectuals.

This development has triggered a rapid sorting out of tendencies within the separatist movement in the past two years. The middle-class French-Canadians, who, while supporting some form of separatism, were deeply frightened by the growing radical direction in the movement, have moved toward political compromise with the English ruling class: The Quebec Liberal Party, once a more-

buy time, but provide no real solution. For the growing militancy of Quebec's working class — and their growing demand for separatism and socialism — is beginning to cut the ground out from under the carefully erected structure of French-Canadian liberalism.

And more than the officially conservative politicians like Stanfield and Dieffenbaker, it is Trudeau — as a "reformer" and a "liberal" — who is most threatened by the growth of radical separatism in Quebec. It is his constituency, after all, which that movement is attracting, not the constituency of the conservatives.

Nor can Trudeau afford to ignore the danger that an increasingly radical French working class might set up sympathetic vibrations among the rest of the Canadian workers. The conditions of life for working people in English Canada are only marginally better than in Quebec.

fact that the cost of living in Ontario, where most Canadian auto workers live, is 12 percent greater than in the U.S.

It was Trudeau who pointed out three years ago the dangerous possibility that radicalism in the U.S. might stimulate radicalism in Canada. Surely the same man understands that provincial borders are even more porous than national ones. The longer the Quebec problem exists, therefore, the greater is the chance that it will spread.

Full-Scale Attack

The FLQ kidnappings are only the excuse which Trudeau uses to cover his actions. His police-state measures can only be understood as a full-scale attack on the entire movement for Quebec's self-determination, and upon the Quebec labor and left movements in general. This is why, understanding itself to be the real target of Trudeau's attack, it is

precisely in the ranks of the Canadian labor movement that criticism of Trudeau is most intense.

None of this should come as any surprise. Civil liberties under a capitalist government are not the "absolute guarantees" that our high school textbooks would have us believe. They are concessions that were won from the ruling class at the price of great struggle in the past; any government is content to retain them only in times of social peace. When the ruling class feels sufficiently threatened by any movement for change from below, these concessions will be withdrawn and replaced with whatever repressive machinery the rulers feel they can get away with. It's happened many times before, and it will happen again. In the final analysis, capitalism simply cannot be trusted to preserve any form of political democracy; when push comes to shove, a capitalist government will inevitably move to liquidate democracy to preserve its class rule. Only a socialist society can guarantee democracy on a permanent basis.

It is important to note that it was no fascist demagogue, no disgruntled general, no lunatic reactionary who established the first police state in North America. No, it was Liberal Pierre Trudeau, the Kennedy of Canada, who sent the Canadian Bill of Rights down the tubes in the name of Law and Order.

For a General Strike

What must be done?

In Canada, a movement must be organized at once demanding full restoration of civil liberties and immediate repeal of the War Measures Act once and for all. The movement must also demand specifically the release of Michael Chartrand and all other political prisoners. French-Canadians must be allowed to collectively decide their own national destiny — whether to separate completely from English Canada or whether to remain as part of a genuine bi-national state, not an English state with some French dubbing which is Canada today. For the right of the Quebecois to self-determination!

Since Quebec is as much a colony of the United States as of English Canada, all American-owned property should be



nationalized under workers' control. (A step that would serve the workers of the rest of Canada, itself a U.S. colony, in good stead as well.)

The best demands are empty when they stand alone and in the face of the armed might of the state — especially a police state. The only force that can put teeth into such demands and such a movement, the only power that can compel Trudeau to stand down from his attack, is the power of the entire Canadian working class. To call a general strike throughout Canada is the absolute minimum responsibility of those trade union leaders now content to engage in purely verbal "criticism" while their brother, Chartrand, languishes in prison.

The trade unions must also demand that the New Democratic Party, supposedly the "labor party" of Canada,

take the offensive against Trudeau. To date, their criticism of his reign of terror has been lukewarm in the extreme. Four out of twenty NDP members of Parliament even went so far as to vote to endorse Trudeau's repression.

In the United States, there is also a great deal that can and must be done. So long as the U.S. government continues to underpin Trudeau, it is carrying on a proxy war against the Canadian people.

As in Canada, so in the United States only the labor movement can assure success against repression. It is a minimum obligation of the U.S. unions to solidarily with their Canadian fellow workers and to refuse to handle Canadian goods until all civil liberties have been restored and until all imprisoned trade unionists and political prisoners are

freed. This obligation is most clearly apparent when it involves U.S.-based unions who have members in Canada — and who add the word "International" to their titles. Solidarity is the only way such unions can demonstrate that they are "international" in more than name only.

We must demand that the U.S. government desist from any cooperation in the manhunt for FLQ activists; and that any FLQ members who escape to the U.S. be granted political asylum.

Beware of Imitations

Such a movement in the U.S. would serve a double purpose. On the one hand it would support the fight of the Canadian people to restore democratic rights and free trade unions. On the other hand it would help shore up civil liberties in this country as well.

Since the beginning of Trudeau's repressive campaign, powerful voices in the United States have been making admiring noises. State Department officials, for example, "leak" to the press their "admiration...for Trudeau's gutsy assault on the provincial separatist movement...and even suggest that the United States might follow the Prime Minister's example." (*New York Times*, Oct. 17). The "liberal" *New York Times* editorially defends Trudeau's actions, declares that he was, after all, "provoked" into them, and then adds, (with a sly wink) that "Canada is riot alone among the countries" facing such provocations. Attorney General Mitchell wonders aloud whether gangs of vigilantes might not soon arise on this side of the border to deal with American nuisances.

As the *Times* predicts, therefore, "the outcome of this confrontation in Quebec will have repercussions far outside that province, and outside Canada as well." Only a movement, based on the workers, which makes it absolutely clear that no imitation of Trudeau's tactics will be tolerated in the United States can defend the American people against a police state, American style. ■

[Bruce Morgan is a student of labor history and a member of the International Socialists.]

As we go to press, the latest development in Bolivia is that the tin miners seized control of the mines and announced their intention to reorganize the state mining cooperation. They said its officials were "privileged bureaucrats causing massive drainage of resources necessary for production." They are demanding a say in management decisions, big wage increases for workers and peasants and the nationalization of foreign-owned companies.

The Bolivian tin industry, second largest in the world, is the most important element of the Bolivian economy. And the tin miners have for years been well-organized, militant and class-conscious. They were the backbone of the 1952 revolution in Bolivia. When Che Guevara entered Bolivia in his unsuccessful attempt to repeat his Cuban experience of organizing a revolutionary movement based on the peasantry, the tin miners were in the midst of armed warfare with the military.

In the latest government changeover, the labor federation supported General Torres, who took over, and put forward the above demands. Torres has agreed to carry out the expropriations of foreign-owned mines, but has remained silent on the issues of workers' control

and wage increases. He will not grant these and will not be able to tolerate workers seizing control themselves because that threatens the authoritarian control of the country and the capitalist ruling class which he has no intention of getting rid of.

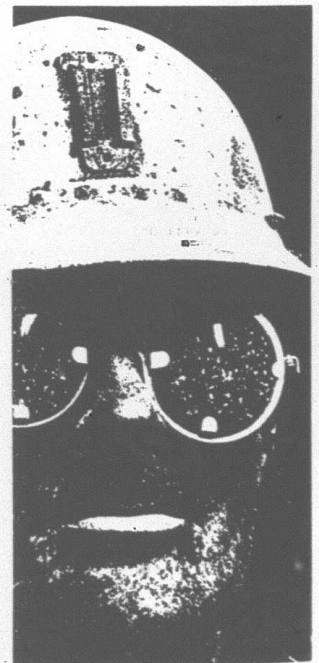
A situation of dual power exists in Bolivia today — Torres and what he represents — capitalism and its army — are contending with the miners for control. Such a situation is inherently unstable. Torres cannot permit the workers to run the key industry in the country; the tin miners will find that in order to keep control of the mines they will have to fight for state power.

We may expect some toleration of the miners until Torres is able to consolidate his control, and then an attempted crackdown that could lead to civil war. The only possible solutions are a new state based on workers' control of the economy and state, or a crushing of the miners' movement and a reassertion of reactionary authoritarianism.

We must support the miners, and in particular demand that NO U.S. TROOPS OR ARMS BE SENT TO AID THE BOLIVIAN MILITARY. ■

[A full story on Bolivia will appear in a subsequent issue.]

Bolivia: From The Depths



October 31: Nothing Ventured, Nothing Gained

Michael Urquhart

The culmination of this year's fall offensive against the war comes on Oct. 31, with demonstrations planned throughout the country. These will be the first major anti-war activities since the upsurge of last May, and there were hopes that they would constitute large-scale expressions of the anti-war sentiment that is so widespread. Unfortunately, the expectation that the fervor of last May could be rekindled this fall has not been realized, and all indications are that the demonstrations will have a relatively poor turnout.

So far, most campuses have seen little or no activity on any issue. Rallies and demonstrations have been very poorly attended, only a few hundred in Ann Arbor and New York. There has been no influx of anti-war activists into the existing organizations to help build the fall actions.

Even the Movement for a New Congress, the "realistic alternative" to mass demonstrations, has had very little life. Of course, it has not been helped by the various "peace" candidates who, if they mention the war at all, do not differ much from Nixon. Even worse, such well known "liberals" as Kennedy, Tunney and Adlai Stevenson III have spent much of their campaigns attacking the student and anti-war movements. Stevenson even went so far as to make Thomas Foran, notorious prosecutor of the Chicago conspiracy defendants, his campaign co-chairman.

Paradoxical Decline

The apparent decline in organized opposition to the war at first seems paradoxical. In the wake of the Cambodian invasion last May, the movement reached deeper into this society than ever before, as millions of new people were brought actively into the movement. All opinion polls testify that anti-war sentiment is higher than ever. Furthermore, the war continues to have a devastating effect on the nation's economy. Unemployment jumped to 5.5 percent last month, inflation is continuing at a rate of 5-6 percent a year, and needed social programs continue to lack funds which are going to finance the war.

Since the decline is not the result of a change in external conditions, it must therefore be due to weaknesses in the movement itself. This is in fact the case.

The first problem is that the movement has been built around a single-issue: immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam. This approach has been pushed not only by liberals, who are anxious not to have the war raise fundamental questions about American society, but also by certain "revolutionaries" such as the Socialist Workers Party.

The single-issue approach has made it impossible to generalize from opposition to the war in Vietnam alone, to op-

position to American imperialist foreign policy as a whole. It has made it difficult to challenge the illusion that there is a real difference between a Lyndon Johnson who escalated the war and increased the killing, and a Nixon who has withdrawn some troops and decreased American casualties — an illusion which persists despite the fact that the objectives of both are the same.

Vietnam is part of the world-wide imperialist strategy of the United States. This same policy is responsible for the invasions of Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Lebanon, and for arms sales to Fascist Greece and Spain, as well as to both Israel and Jordan. This strategy is aimed at preserving capitalism as a world system.

To say this does not mean that we are unconcerned about American troop casualties. It does mean, however, that we realize that limited troop withdrawals will not mean any change in the basic policy. As Nixon withdrew troops from Cambodia, he increased military support to the Lon Nol regime, and greatly intensified air strikes in Cambodia. The same routine, of course, has been followed through in Vietnam.

When the crisis in the Middle-East broke out and it appeared possible that the United States might invade Jordan, not only was the anti-war movement powerless to prevent a U.S. invasion, but it was not even able to make an outcry against it. Since nothing has been raised about U.S. military aid as part of an imperialist policy, no one batted an eyelash as Jordan's army defeated the Palestinian rebels with U.S. arms, and Israel prepared to invade Jordan in case the government lost, to do the same job — also with U.S. arms. We were faced with the spectacle of a one-war anti-war movement incapable of intervening against another, equally deplorable war.

This movement should have been raising not only IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL TROOPS FROM SOUTH VIETNAM, but also END

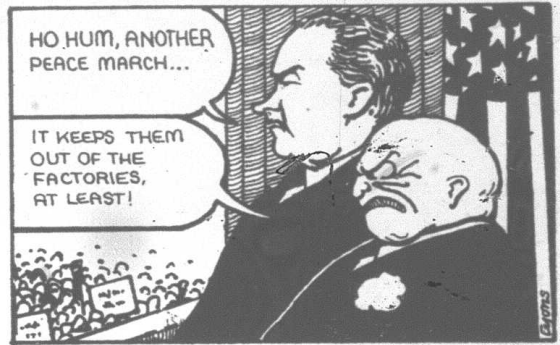
AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND NO MORE U.S. FOREIGN AID.

The same factor that underlies the inability of the anti-war movement to take on American expansionism in general — its concentration on a single issue — has prevented it from bringing together the different movements of protest against oppression and exploitation in this country. Militant blacks have seen and argued that their struggle for liberation is linked to the anti-war movement, but the movement has refused to make that link and to attempt to convince the American people about it. The same is true in relation to women, chicanos, Indians, working people, and even students when they are fighting for anything but an end to the war.

Anti-war sentiment is significant in all sections of the population today. However, it has so far been mainly students that have felt strongly enough about the war to take action against it. Some feel that this is because students are the section of the population where anti-war sentiment is strongest. But, recent studies of opinion polls have shown that working people have been more consistently opposed to the war than students. The difference has been that workers have not seen opposition to the war as a necessity, in terms of the interests that they see as paramount.

Workers are second to no one in militancy and determination when convinced of the necessity of a fight. Auto workers are on strike, fighting against being made to pay for inflation. What they have not yet realized is that in order to win a more-lasting victory over inflation they will have to end the war. It is the massive defense expenditures which have caused the high inflation; these expenditures were responsible for a 20 billion dollar deficit in 1968.

The anti-war movement should have gone beyond the single issue and raised other slogans which could have given public expression to the connections that exist between the war and inflation.



unemployment, and other aspects of the social crisis. These slogans could have included: SUPPORT FOR WORKERS STRUGGLES, ESPECIALLY GM STRIKERS; SUPPORT TO BLACKS AND WOMEN IN THEIR STRUGGLES FOR LIBERATION; END INFLATION BY ENDING THE WAR; and RECONVERSION OF THE ARMS INDUSTRY TO PEACETIME PRODUCTION WITH GUARANTEED JOBS FOR ALL.

The movement has failed to challenge the belief, pushed by Meany and other labor bureaucrats, that the cold war is actually in the interests of the working class. We must point out that the defense of capitalism, as a world system, means the continued oppression of workers throughout the world, and that the fate of American workers is not independent of workers elsewhere.

Some bureaucrats have now come out against the war, and in opposition to Meany. However, they are less concerned with the war than with the need to keep labor in the Democratic Party.

The movement cannot expect these bureaucrats to mobilize their ranks against the war; for these same bureaucrats are not even defending workers against the effects of the war. Rather, the movement is going to have to go beyond the labor bureaucrats to the ranks themselves. They should go armed with a program like that above, not only to try to build the demonstrations that may be planned in the future, but more importantly to convince the workers that they must organize themselves to take their own actions, on the shop floor. It is there, in the factories and work places of this country, that their real power lies, and there the hope for the anti-war movement lies.

Political Abdication

The fact that the demonstrations on October 31 have been timed to just precede the elections underlines the greatest weakness of the anti-war movement: its failure to offer a political alternative to working for peace candidates inside the Democratic Party. Like its reluctance to go beyond a moralistic, single-issue framework, the inability of the anti-war movement to pose an electoral alternative to the two war parties has limited its impact on the mass of the American people.

Its refusal to mount independent campaigns has limited the credibility of the anti-war movement. Long years of experience with bi-annual demonstrations and semi-annual Democratic Party Peace Candidates have convinced most people, if only on an intuitive level, that to bring an end to the war you must pose a real challenge to the power that supports it.

To ignore the elections altogether, or to try to work for peace inside a party of war, is to give up the struggle without a fight. ■



They Bombed in New Haven

James Coleman

Terrorism,
the New Left
and the
Working Class

In the first two weeks of October, bombings hit public buildings in six American cities, climaxing in the bombing of six buildings in Rochester, New York, the night of October 11 - 12.

The bombings have been widely attributed to "Weatherman," the most terroristic of the groups which emerged from the wreckage of Students for a Democratic Society when it fragmented nearly a year and a half ago (see "The Split in SDS," *Independent Socialist*, Sept. 1969). The most recent series of bombings began on October 8, the anniversary of the "Days of Rage" in Chicago, for which most Weatherman leaders are facing indictments. The current bombings seem to fulfill the promise in a taped message from underground Weatherman spokesman Bernadine Dohrn, that Weatherman would launch a "fall offensive" all across the country.

You Don't Need a Weatherman

But it would be wrong to attribute all the bombings to the original Weatherman group. "Weatherman" is more than an organized group — indeed, the group itself is tiny. "Weatherman" is also an idea which has gained a following among a sizeable fraction of the radical student movement. It is phenomenally easy to get hold of explosives — the government admits it actually does not know how much dynamite has been stolen from Army depots — and powerful bombs can be made from ingredients too widely used to be controllable. "Weatherman" is anyone who chooses to use the name and the tactic.

The President, the Senate, and the liberals who have opposed student radicalism for years — long before it was violent — have reacted to the bombings with predictable outrage. Undoubtedly the bombings had something to do with the nearly unanimous passage of the President's "crime control" bill, which contains sections that provide the death penalty for those convicted of fatal bombings.

The government's motive is not to protect lives — not this government, which has coordinated police armed raids on the Black Panther Party and other black militant groups in cities from coast to coast, which shot Illinois Panther chairman Fred Hampton in his bed last December 4. The "Weatherman" bombings have not in fact been aimed at taking lives. Only one fatality has occurred — in Madison, Wisconsin, August 24, when warning time was too short to clear the building, probably as a result of miscalculating fuse time.

Nor is the government's motive to protect scholarship. Despite all the talk about "campus radicals burning libraries," the targets of the bombings have been different — military facilities (ROTC, an army, a military research project),

courthouses (one in New York in sympathy with the prisoners' rebellion in the jails, one in San Rafael, California, where three prisoners had been killed during an unsuccessful attempt at armed escape during trial) and business enterprises (particularly the Bank of America office in Isla Vista, California, burned last winter during a student uprising).

The government's immediate motive is to protect property — both the property of the banks and corporations it serves, and the property which houses and services its own forces of repression, the troops and the courts.

As for the bombings themselves, they are a political disaster for the movement.

The wave of bombings must be distinguished from other events which on the surface look similar because they are all violent — the riots in prisons, the riots of youth in the streets. The prisoners in American jails, a large majority of them black, are subjected to violence and brutality by their jailers, kept for months without trials, "defended" by indifferent Public Defenders, railroaded back to prison. Their "riots," in which parts of prisons are seized and hostages taken in an effort to force an improvement in conditions, are a form of collective struggle by an oppressed group.

The riots of youth — as in Chicago in August when thousands fought police at a rock concert, or in the Detroit suburbs last month when for three days youths battled police trying to force them out of a park — are somewhat different. Youth are rioting because their way of life is being suppressed. Dope-smoking and rock music may not sound like a "way of life," but they are part of an effort to reach out to life without supervision, as youth always has — an effort intensified in desperation by a lack of jobs and by a justified hatred of the commercial and exploitative culture

in which kids come of age today.

When police harass and arrest youth simply for smoking dope and trying to have a good time, the youth fight back — as they should. Neither youth riots nor jail riots are fully political, but they are — in their different ways — struggles of self-defense for oppressed groups.

The recent wave of bombings, on the other hand, was a conscious political act — an attempt at least to cause serious disorder. We do not oppose them because they are disorderly. We stand for a revolutionary movement of the working class, aimed at taking power in the state. Anyone who claims to act as a revolutionary has a claim on our serious evaluation. But just because the bombings can only justify themselves as a conscious political strategy, they must be evaluated in the same terms — and opposed for political reasons.

The strategy of sabotage has been justified in two ways: first, as a serious attempt to paralyze the government; second, as an attempt to "polarize" the political scene, to force people to choose sides.

The first is a romantic illusion. Anyone who thinks a capitalist state can be paralyzed by destroying ROTC installations, courthouses, or even banks does not understand that the power of this state is based on the corporations' control of industry and commerce as a whole, backed up by their ability to call on the armed forces — police, National Guard, and Army — against any attempt to interfere with this control. So far, it is true, the government has been relatively incapable of preventing bombings. For precisely this reason, the main danger that the bombings pose is not to the government but to the movement — the danger is that the government will soon turn from the ineffective attempt to guard buildings against bombs, and instead attempt an

all-out repression of the radical movement on campuses and elsewhere, drying up radicalism at its source while slowly picking off the few underground saboteurs.

Such an attempt would provoke intense protest, of course — the government's chance of success would depend on the degree of popular support for its moves — that is, in the last analysis, on the mood of the working people who form the most unpredictable element in American politics today.

So both justifications of a sabotage strategy — as an attempt to paralyze the government, or to polarize opinion — turn on the same question, the effect of the bombings on the political climate, and particularly on the working class.

To move the country to the right and prevent the current surge of labor militancy from becoming a full-scale labor revolt, Nixon must not only break strikes and "hold the line" against wage demands, must not only try to convince the public that strikes are against the public interest — he must also whip up "law and order" sentiment and try to convince the public, especially the workers, that militant blacks and students are against their interests. This is precisely the strategy Nixon has been following, and the chief question is whether the mass of blue and white collar workers will respond to it.

In this strategy, the bombings aid brilliantly. The political reasons for the bombings do not come across to those who read about them in the newspapers. They do not appear as the acts of a mass movement, which even those who oppose violence must make an effort to understand. They appear as — and they are — the heroic but isolated acts of individuals or a tiny group with no connection to any mass movement and no program for building one.

The newspapers, skilled in playing a propaganda game, make the most of such incidents as that in Rochester, where in addition to federal and county office buildings, two churches with black congregation, a grocery store, and the home of a union officer — all about two miles from the office buildings — were bombed.

Misplaced Focus

The reactionary union bureaucracy has not been slow in hammering home the lesson to union members. For example, the President of UAW Dodge Local No. 3 (Dodge Main) in Detroit, writing in the Local newspaper, described the bomber as "persons with deranged minds... using such targets as our colleges, schools, factories and other public buildings to release their pent-up hatreds."

"The livelihood of the employees in such public buildings or factories or the



BOMBED-OUT WISCONSIN MATH CENTER

lives of the young people in our schools or the workers in our factories or public buildings should be uppermost in our minds," the President proclaimed virtuously, conveniently using the bombings to mask the fact that the lives and livelihood of workers were not important enough in his mind to cause him to fight for decent wages and working and safety conditions. In the meantime, all the union newspapers hammer on the theme that the way to get real change is to ... vote for good Democrats. The radicals are just deranged, see?

Some younger workers, in fact, do approve of the bombings — which mirror their own hatred of the oppressive conditions in the plants and the unions which never defend them. But even so, the acts of the bombers remain distant from life in the plants. Sympathy for the acts of others has never brought masses of people into struggle — only the determination to fight for their own needs can do that. A movement which fights to "polarize" the country as it must be polarized — with the working people on one side and the employers and government on the other — must base itself on the needs of those working people.

The Weathermen and their sympathizers are incapable of building such a movement. Behind the bravery of their acts of sabotage is a real contempt for ordinary people and their needs. Seeing themselves as the American arm of a revolution which is "already happening" in the "third world" and the ghettos, they see the only real question as whether one is ready to join the revolution now. It follows that anyone who is not, must be a reactionary.

Substitutionism

Romanticizing Cuba, China, and North Vietnam, they identify not with the working people of those countries but with the leaders — at best indifferent to the needs of their own working classes, at worst their bitter enemies. The Weathermen and — at least until recently — much of the American student radical movement has always regarded the American working class as hopelessly reactionary. The bombings are an attempt to substitute sabotage by a few dedicated individuals for mass radical action by the working class.

In fact, the working class at this moment is less radical than sections of the student movement and black community. Over the last decade, the student

movement along with the black movement has resurrected American radicalism and recreated a left in this country — but the student movement has reached the limits of what can be accomplished by a movement of moral outrage. It is for precisely this reason that it has broken apart, with a minority turning to sabotage and the more moderate majority, tragically, turning to the deceptive "practical politics" of dove Democrats.

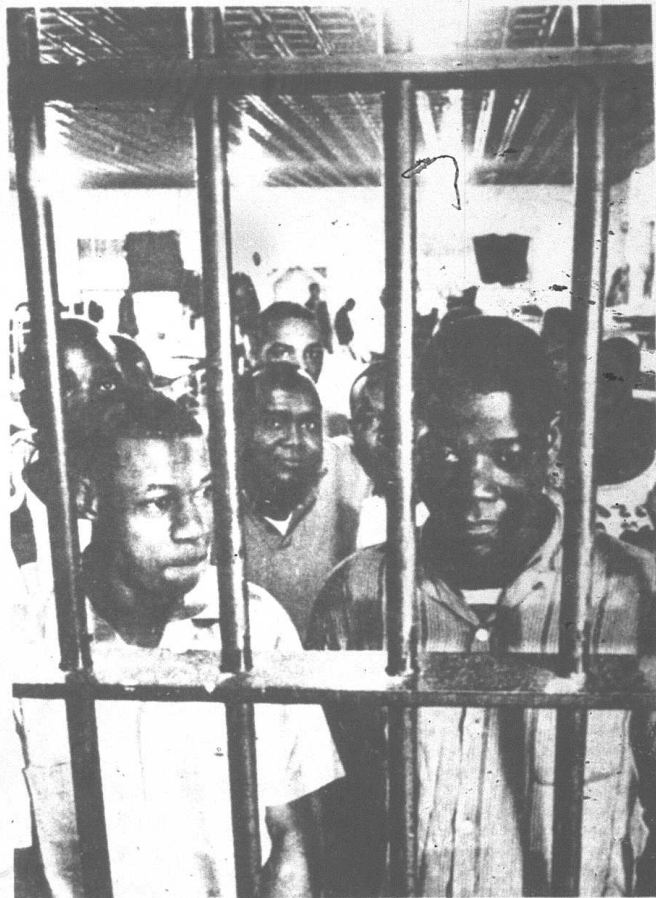
The working class, on the other hand, in response to the deterioration of living standards and working conditions, the decay of the cities, and a losing imperialist war, is more rebellious than it has been for decades. It is with this class that hope lies.

To the Working Class

As working people struggle to cope with an intensifying crisis, they find themselves turning to radical ideas once thought to be discredited — ideas of struggle for control of production, of a worker's party, of grasping the power to solve the social crisis at the expense of the employers, not of the workers.

Not only in the shops, but on the campuses: the social crisis which has caused cutbacks in education, a growing lack of places in colleges for whites as well as blacks and Chicanos, the use of tuition hikes in state universities as a way to cut enrollment while imposing the costs on working people — all these provide the basis for student struggles which speak to the needs of working people, by fighting for open admissions for all to higher education, an end to all forms of tracking and discriminatory admissions, the expansion of education to meet social needs, and retraining at full pay for all workers — all funded not by more taxes on working people, but by taxing corporations. Such student struggles based in the real needs of students at these schools, could concretely show working people that the radical movement is a movement in their interest.

The critical need in the next few years is for the redevelopment of a radical wing within the working class. The Movement can contribute to this, both in the shops and through struggles on campuses — or it can impede this development by engaging in acts which identify it as at best indifferent, at worst hostile, to the needs of working people and the necessity of building a mass movement. If the Movement follows the road of the "fall offensive" bombings, it will be cutting its own throat. ■



INS

The Hostages

Kate Spieler

New York's overcrowded and brutalizing prison system, where arrested people without money to make bail are held for months without trial, was shaken up last month by widespread prisoner rebellions. Prisoners took hostages and kept them under guard for days to insure that their demands would reach the public through the newspapers. The demands varied from prison to prison (nearly 2,000 people were involved altogether), but usually mentioned the brutality of guards, racism, bad food, shocking overcrowding, and excessive trial delays.

The comments of prison guards who were among the hostages throw an interesting sidelight on the rebellion. William Zeman, a Department of Corrections guard for the past eighteen years, was one of 17 guards held hostage in one prison, the Tombs. He seemed shaken by the experience of two and a half days lived with prisoners desperate to make their case known before the rebellion was smashed. (As it was, even with the promises and concessions they won by holding out, surrendering prisoners were set upon and beaten by guards on Oct. 6, in full view of reporters and photographers.)

Standing outside the Tombs after his release, Zeman remarked, "This is just the beginning. Nothing has been done for those men up there. We're out, but what's been done for them?" It is understandable that Zeman was

mostly conscious of the sense of helplessness of people in jail — he had just been held hostage for two days. But the prisoners themselves are longterm hostages of a social system which in turn finds its ugly reflection in the prisons.

It should be emphasized that whatever is done "for" the prisoners in the coming weeks will be the result of their own efforts and no act of charity.

Walter Starke, another hostage of 10 years standing as a guard, described his fear of the "fanatics" who did not want to surrender. But when asked if he sympathized with the prisoners' demands for lower bail and an end to trial delays, he replied, "I have to, I'm a man myself ... There's got to be a change in the judicial and penal system."

Being a man may not be the point but sensing the justice of the prisoners' demands certainly is. Zeman summed up this understanding when he concluded:

"They did for us better than we do for them. What they did, we should have done. They fed us first from what was available and let us call our wives. They set up a security system to protect us from the psychos."

The next step is realizing that what guards do for or to prisoners is not the real cause of the generally brutalized conditions of prisoners in the U.S. That cause must be sought in the social system that maintains poverty, injustice and racism as a way of life. ■



AMERICAN GOTHIC 1970: WEATHERMEN DORHN AND RUDD



Zionism, the Arabs And the Jews

Stephen Marks

The bloody massacre in Jordan raises the tragic question which lies at the root of the current crisis in the Middle East. How could a movement which claims to solve the age-old persecution of the Jews lead to the infliction of similar horrors on the uprooted Palestinians?

By looking at how the state of Israel was set up we can see the origins and significance of the present struggle of the Palestinians.

Zionism was never merely a movement to find a refuge for Jewish victims of persecution. It aimed to set up in Palestine an exclusively Jewish state, "as Jewish as Britain is British."

This meant that Jews were encouraged to go to Palestine not to share the lot of its existing inhabitants; and may, be join them in struggle against their foreign rulers, but to carve out a self-contained Jewish economy employing only Jews, to create a Jewish working class and peasantry.

As European Jews had higher living standards than the Arabs, this meant a

strict economic separation and boycott of Arab produce and labor. In its turn this meant that the Zionists always looked for support not to the Arab people already living in Palestine (Jews were only 10 percent of its population in 1917) but to the various imperialist powers which ruled over Palestine, or which wished to.

When Britain got possession of Palestine in 1917 and promised to set up a "Jewish national home" there, the Zionists became supporters of British rule and opposed independence as long as Arabs were a majority.

The basis of Zionist colonization in Palestine made conflict with Arabs inevitable and the eventual uprooting of the Palestinians.

Land for settlement by Jewish immigrants was bought by the Jewish National Fund from feudal Arab landlords. The peasants, who had no legal rights in the land, were thrown off it and made homeless.

Land once bought by the Zionist organizations could only be leased or sold

to Jews. The Zionists opposed any land reform which would give the peasants more rights and make it harder to take their land.

Jewish employers were encouraged to employ only Jews, and Arab produce was boycotted. Zionists picketed Jewish-owned orange groves to keep Arab workers out. And the Zionist "trade union," the Histadrut, was not open to Arab workers.

Ben Gurion, later Israel's first Prime Minister, said in 1932: "Nobody must think that we have become reconciled to the existence of non-Jewish labor in the villages. We will not forego one piece of work in the country."

And Frumkin, another Zionist leader, wrote: "Every new industry is a blessing only if Jewish labor dominates it. Otherwise it is a calamity for the Jewish community."

The native Arab economy was smashed and large numbers of Arab peasants left landless. As a result, no modern Arab middle class or working class developed and the Arabs remained led by a corrupt clique of feudal landowners.

The next step to the creation of Israel came with the 1930's. As capitalism entered into the crisis of the great depression, it found its usual way out in the use of racial minorities as scapegoats.

German Nazism stepped up the persecution of the Jews. The great "Western democracies," Britain, France, and America did not want to know.

No Sanctuary

"Not one country was willing to open its doors to the homeless Jews fleeing from the road which was to lead to Auschwitz.

In the early years after 1917 many Jewish victims of racialism looked to revolutionary Russia, the first country in the world to make anti-semitism a crime. But now Stalin had come to power, and no help was forthcoming from there.

The Zionists at last began to get a hearing among Jews for their claim that Palestine was the only hope. The Jewish population of Palestine rose from 174,000 in 1931 to 553,000 in 1944.

In the 1930's the Arabs of Palestine rose in revolt against the British. The Zionists, instead of fighting with them, supported the British.

Zionist squads helped British troops

raid Arab villages and guarded the oil pipe lines. When the Arabs called a general strike the Zionists helped to smash it.

With the crushing of the revolt, which at one time held down half the British army, the Arabs were weakened. During the war some of their reactionary feudal leaders supported the Nazis.

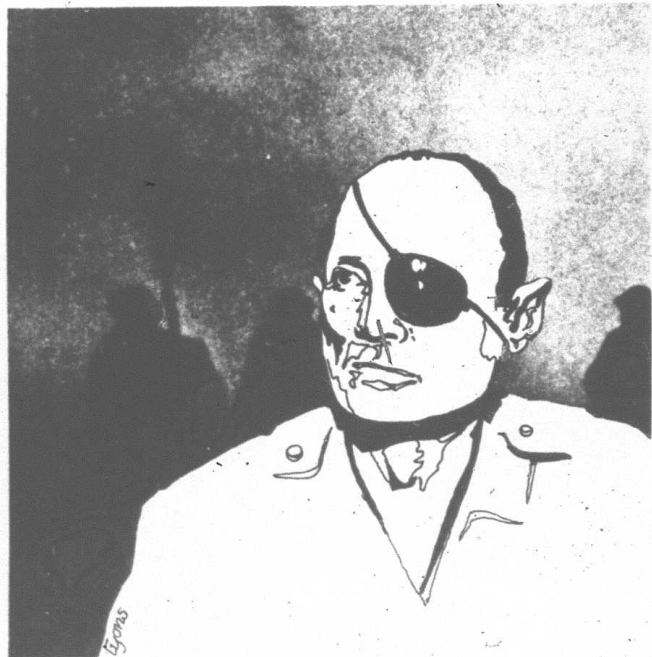
At the end of the war the only real forces left on the scene in Palestine were the Zionists and the British. And now the Zionists embarked on the course that was to lead to the creation of their state and the terrorization and expulsion of the Palestinians.

Yasir Arafat, leader of El Fateh, spoke on October 15 before a rally of over 1000 Arabs in Amman, Jordan. Besides stressing the necessity of armed struggle against Zionism and Israel, he urged them to observe the truce with King Hussein and praised Nasser. In other words, he urged that the struggle against the reactionary rulers in the Arab world — especially Hussein — be put aside.

Arafat is practising a cruel deception on the Arab masses by attempting to direct all energies against Israel and by not calling for revolution in the Middle East. His road can only lead to further bloodshed and the continued suppression of the Palestinian Arabs, or the future suppression of Jews in an Arab state and a new movement of national liberation. Neither of these latter alternatives is a way out. (See *Workers' Power* no. 23 for a full statement of the International Socialist position on Palestine.)

Arafat's statements should serve as a lesson to those American radicals who have been uncritically supporting Fateh in its struggle — most recently the SWP. It is crucial to support the struggle for liberation in the Middle East. But not every form of struggle must be supported — and some, such as Arafat's latest disastrous compromise, must be condemned.

Arafat's line — that the present need is for national liberation, that social questions must be postponed — may sound convincing. But in reality the two questions cannot be separated.





JUBILANT ISRAELI OFFICER AFTER TANK RAID ACROSS GULF OF SUEZ

When the war ended in 1945, hundreds of thousands of Jews were left as the survivors of the butchery of Hitler's death camps. The Zionists used their plight to further their goal of a Jewish state.

As in the 1930's, none of the "democracies" wanted to be reminded of the problem. They refused to admit the homeless Jews. The Zionist leaders knew that their cause depended on the argument that the Jews had nowhere but Palestine to go. They therefore opposed any attempt to settle the Jews elsewhere.

In 1947 when a Bill was introduced in the American Congress to revise America's racist immigration laws to permit more Jewish immigration, the Zionists would not support it.

And when in Autumn 1947, 55,000 out of 100,000 Jewish camp survivors in the American zone of Germany applied for American visas, the reply of the Zionist Klausner report was brutal: "I am convinced that the people must be forced to go to Palestine."

The survivors saw no other refuge but Palestine and attempted to land illegally in ramshackle chartered vessels. British

troops forced them back on their ships and returned them to the death camps in Germany.

Zionism had helped the Western powers to avoid responsibility for the fate of Hitler's victims, and helped them instead to portray the tragedy as a quarrel between Jews and the Arabs, who were shortly to pay the price for the West's long past of anti-semitism.

In 1947 the U.N. General Assembly voted for the partition of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state. This move was backed by America and Russia to embarrass Britain, which preferred to back the reactionary Arab rulers.

It was also a defeat for the Arabs, still two-thirds of Palestine's population, who demanded a united independent Palestine with majority rule. The Arabs refused to accept the plan and the surrounding Arab states backed by Britain, moved into Palestine to prevent it being implemented.

When armistice ended the war and the smoke cleared, Israel wound up with one half more territory than the U.N. had given it and the Palestinian state provided for by the U.N. had disappeared.

Hussein is basically opposed to the Palestinian movement and cooperates with it only because of its strength.

Jordan joined Israel in 1948 in cutting up the Palestinian Arab state and owes its present borders to the Palestinian territory it gobbled; it has nearly as much to lose as Israel from a Palestinian success. As a result Hussein has always veered between trying to politically co-opt the movement and trying to crush it.

The development of revolutionary tendencies in the Palestinian movement, and the outbreak of civil war, were not a free choice of the Palestinians, but the only way their struggle could be defended and extended.

Arafat's pledge of allegiance comes at a moment when the Jordanian government, in turn, is proclaiming El Fateh the legitimate voice of Palestine, and vilifying the revolutionary tendencies — the Popular Front which carried out last month's hijackings and the Democratic Front which takes a class-struggle approach. The Jordanian government has labelled both groups as "criminals" and placed bounties of \$14,000 on their leaders' heads.

Any compromise with Arab reaction is a death blow to the only solution to the Palestine problem: the development of a movement that can break the ties between the masses of Arab and Jewish workers and peasants and their reactionary, nationalistic ruling classes and unite them in a common revolutionary struggle from below for a binational Palestine in a Middle Eastern Socialist Federation. ■

Arafat And Hussein — No Deals With Arab Reaction

Jack Trautman



Yassir Arafat

ed. A secret agreement between Ben Gurion and British-backed King Abdullah of Jordan (Hussein's grandfather) ratified the carve-up: what the Israelis did not grab was left to Abdullah.

The losers were the Palestinians. By the time the fighting ended they had lost not only a state but their homes and lands as well.

The Israelis claim the Arab refugees (650,000 out of 800,000 Arabs in pre-1948 Palestine) lost all their rights when they left during the fighting "of their own free will" or "because their leaders told them to go." This is a simple lie.

Careful study of the BBC records of all Arab broadcasts of the period have revealed not trace of the radio messages in which the Zionists claim the Arabs were "told to leave."

The Arabs were terrorized and driven out, often at gunpoint. The flight did not reach mass proportions involving the ordinary peasants and workers till after the infamous massacre of Deir Yassin.

This village, known for its cooperation with the Jews, was picked out in cold blood by the Irgun, an extremist Zionist terrorist group. 250 Arabs were killed in cold blood, with the knowledge and protection of the official Zionist forces.

In several places, especially the towns of Lydda and Ramla, the entire Arab population was driven out at gunpoint.

Since then an entire generation has grown up in exile in the refugee camps, most with nothing to live on except a U.N. handout of a few pennies a day. The lands and property they were forced to leave behind have been confiscated by the Zionists.

The total amount of land taken from the Arabs came to two-and-a-half times the land owned by Jews before 1948. The laws defining a refugee for the purpose of taking over their lands were so widely drawn that the Arabs who remained in Israel lost up to 40 percent of their lands, all of which were of course used for Jewish settlement.

Arabs in Israel are second-class citizens, discriminated against in jobs and employment, subject to military government, their organizations often banned and their militants under police supervision.

Self-Reliance

It is against this treatment that the Palestinians have been fighting for 20 years; relying first on the Arab governments, then since the six-day war taking up the struggle themselves. Just as the feudal ruling class of Arab Palestine sold the peasants' land to the Zionists at the same time as it talked the language of nationalism to placate the people, so the Arab regimes of today have done next to nothing to help the dispossessed Palestinians.

And when the Palestinians, realizing this, moved against their own rulers to remove this obstacle from the road to the liberation of their country, King Hussein's army has smashed them with a brutality more than equal to that of the Zionists.

For twenty years and longer, imperialism has used Zionism and Arab reaction alike to protect its oil investments and play its game of divide and rule. The heroic resistance of the unconquerable Palestinians is the living proof that the fight against Zionism, for a democratic non-racialist Palestine, is a vital part of the world revolutionary struggle. ■

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Elections

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

dian student strike, which resulted in the now chimerical Movement for a New Congress, is only the latest instance of the disintegration of movements which continue to pursue the mirage of Democratic Party reform politics, of a process in which those movements subordinate their independent existence and political programs to the electoral hucksterism of Democratic liberals and wind up in no way denting the system but only in destroying themselves.

Where independent movement candidates and parties exist in opposition to the capitalist parties they should be supported by the entire left. The most promising step toward independent political action in recent years was the formation of the California Peace and Freedom Party in 1967. The failure of that party to develop, and its marginal existence today, simply proves once again that if independent political action is to be successful or sustained it can only do so by rooting itself in the working class. The working class is the only class of modern society with the numbers, potential power, social cohesion, and self-interest to carry through progressive social change.

For a Worker's Party

Independent political action can only be successful if it leads toward the formation of an independent workers' party: a party which for the first time would organize the masses of American workers independently of the capitalist parties and politicians; a party which would be controlled by the rank and file of the labor movement and would be subservient to their needs and democratic decisions; a party which represented the interests of the whole working class — female and male, black and white, skilled and unskilled, blue and white collar — and could thereby unify the progressive and radical social movements which exist today in such profusion, and such impotence; a party with no vested interest in the perpetuation of capitalism and so able to fight for its program even if it challenged and went beyond the bounds of capitalist social relations; a party which would be part of the process of developing the political consciousness of the working class, the essential ingredient for socialism and the only hope for any long-term progressive development.

Such a workers party can only result from a new upsurge on the part of rank and file workers — an upsurge which, in today's stultified capitalism, must take a political direction if it is to be successful, and which will have to deal a body-blow to the trade union bureaucracy (the loyal "labor lieutenants of capitalism," who march in the rear of imperialism and reach new depths of degradation as they tilt at windmills in the cause of a Rockefeller or a Goldberg). Such an upsurge and such a workers' party have been needed for decades. Today they are an imperative necessity for any progressive social transformation. In this election campaign, as in all our political work, our efforts will go to hastening that development. ■

Somehow it seems as if there has always been an anti-war movement, and anti-war candidates. Somehow it also seems that there has always been the Vietnam war, which continues almost irrespective of the continually mounting popular sentiment against it. Each year we march and demonstrate, and every fall (especially on even numbered years), we are presented with still another version of the perennial Peace Candidate, running in the Democratic Party.

1970 is no different. We are again confronted by that same political charade of blustering accusations, hollow promises and manipulation of our needs and emotions which the twin capitalist parties pass off as political program and the "democratic process." Seeing no other solution, people once more begin a search for some bright new hope, someone who at long last will begin to address themselves to our domestic problems, who will bring the troops home and "...get on with the business of making America a decent place to live in once again." Enter Bella Abzug.

Bright Hope?

Bella Abzug, Democratic party candidate for New York City's 19th Congressional District, dove and women's liberationist, civil rights, labor rights, and consumer rights lawyer for 23 years, and mother of two, may not have the same national pretensions or perspectives as past bright hopes such as Kennedy and McCarthy, but from the vantage point of New York City, the rotten center of a decaying society, she appears to be the brightest hope around. It is precisely because she is such a "bright hope" — capable of tying the anti-war movement, the women's movement, and other groups struggling for social change to the Democratic Party — that her campaign warrants further discussion.

The 19th Congressional District zig-zags across Manhattan island, covering a wide range of ethnic groups and economic levels. Leonard Farbstein, the Democratic Party machine-backed incumbent, had maintained his position through continual gerry-mandering of the district by the Democrats, machine backing, and appeals to ethnic chauvinism.

Bella Abzug was a dark horse who successfully dumped this do-nothing liberal opponent in what was considered a fairly important political upset. She won the primary and will win the election in November because of her highly dynamic and energetic campaign, conducted mainly in the streets of the city, with a broad reform program designed to appeal to anti-war forces, blacks, Puerto Ricans, Jews, the women's liberation movement, the white working class, intellectuals, and the liberal wing of the ruling class.

What her program comes down to is a list of positions that address themselves to the needs of one group or another and which can be mixed and matched according to the audience, making sure that the contradictions remain hidden behind the aura of a dedicated, progressive fighter.

Central to that image, and also to her strategy for solving our domestic problems, is her position against the war. She very correctly relates rampant inflation, shrinking paychecks, and our inability to begin to deal with the growing social crisis, to the war in Vietnam and its staggering costs. In an extremely well-done campaign leaflet — which compares food prices before the war with today's prices for the same items, and then explains the effects of the war on inflation — she quickly breaks down the costs of the war and who pays: "A typical American family earns \$6,300 a year. If this was your income last year, you paid \$1,250 of your

hard-earned money for the war." Her position is "...let's turn this around. Let's get all our soldiers out of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam — now!"

Curiously enough, it is on the question of the war, one of her strongest positions, that the flaws in her program become most obvious. For Bella Abzug, peace candidate in terms of Southeast Asia, becomes a positive "hawk" in terms of the Middle East. Although she is not for war between Israel and the Arab nations, she is for arming Israel to the gills. Her position is that Israel "...in blood, in suffering, in sweat, in heroism...has earned the right to whatever she needs." Specifically this means jets and money.

Thus, although she is for ending America's military involvement in Vietnam, she is for its escalation in the Middle East. In addition, although she correctly points out that it is working people who pay for Vietnam, no mention is made of who will pick up the tab for Israel's military needs. Obviously, it would continue to be working people. Is her program to pull us out of Vietnam only to use the same money in the Middle East? What then happens to her program for solving the social crisis at home?

Unwitting Accomplice

The key problem, however, is not with Bella Abzug's program. She could declare herself a revolutionary socialist (and probably would if necessary) before she would repudiate the Democratic Party. Her campaign cannot be viewed independently from the fact that she is running in the Democratic Party, and it is for that reason, if for no other, that her campaign should not be supported.

Campaigns like those of Bella Abzug's and her countless predecessors, have come to play a particular social role in this society, with the individual candidates acting as conscious or unwitting accomplices to the establishment. That

role is to keep movements to the left of the Democratic Party inside it, to prevent the development of any independent movement capable of actually challenging the existing institutions of power.

The Graveyard of Protest

Occasionally (now more and more often) social turmoil forces some Democratic Party figure to step out to the left of the rest of the party to attract dissenting voices. This happened, for example, when Eugene McCarthy launched his "peace campaign" in 1968. But so long as these candidates keep the protest bottled up in the Democratic Party, they fade away, as McCarthy did. The only result has been to sustain, through one more election, the illusion that something is actually going on inside the Democratic Party, that we can accomplish things inside it, that success is just around the corner. In this way the Democratic Party has become the graveyard of one protest movement after another.

Of course, it couldn't be otherwise, for the Democratic Party is every bit as much a part of the ruling class as is the Republican Party. Even when a maverick is elected, he is far from the real levers of power. Controlled at the top and impervious to change, the Democratic Party when backed up against the wall does not hesitate to show its muscle and attempt to smash any movement that gets in the way of the controlling corporate interests; witness the escalation of the Vietnam war by the "Peace Candidate" Johnson or the brutal attempt to crush the anti-war movement in Chicago.

Currently, it is the Democratic Party that is moving towards the right to counter Agnew, and jumping on the "law and order" bandwagon. Such well known liberal Democrats as Ted Kennedy have recently equated student dissenters with hijackers and stated that they must be dealt with accordingly. When asked by a reporter what she would do to break up the log-jam of delayed legislation in Congress, Abzug's reply was that she would bring 50,000 people down to City Hall to demonstrate. Will she be bringing people out into the streets only to be hit over the head by her own party?

Having held the various groups in motion under the control of the Democratic Party for another two years, what will she do when she fails to win even the most minimal reforms? ...will she abdicate in complete frustration as did Eugene McCarthy, leaving a demoralized following with little strength left to do anything other than wait for 1972's bright hope?

No Lesser Evil

In the end, the only way that we will begin to address the growing economic and social crisis which is the constant context of our lives is not to be fooled by the Bella Abzug's but to build a party that is independent of the twin ruling class parties. We must build a party that is based on the strength of the working class, which is capable not only of ending the war but also of ending the policies which got us into the war in the first place; a party that can speak for the needs of the working class as a whole and to the special needs of oppressed groups such as blacks, Latins, women, and gay people.

We must begin to agitate for such a party now so that we can break out of the maze and stop pushing the button marked "Lesser Evil" or "Bright New Hope," or any of the other labels that have kept us tied to the Democratic Party and powerless for so long. ■

Oh No, Not Again

Bella Abzug and the Democratic Party

Rose Veviaka



Problem for a President: How do you win an election when the economy is in the worst state it's been in ten years? Answer: You go to Ireland and try to dig up some ancestors there — just like Kennedy; and you make a gesture toward ending the most unpopular war in the history of the United States.

The economy is in rotten shape: the number of unemployed reported rose by 1.5 million in the last year. In September alone the increase was 376,000. Among blue-collar workers the unemployment rate is currently 7.5 percent — up from 4.4 percent a year before. Among blacks it is more than twice that rate. Moreover, by the election on November 3, about 960,000 workers will have had their unemployment checks cut off this year.

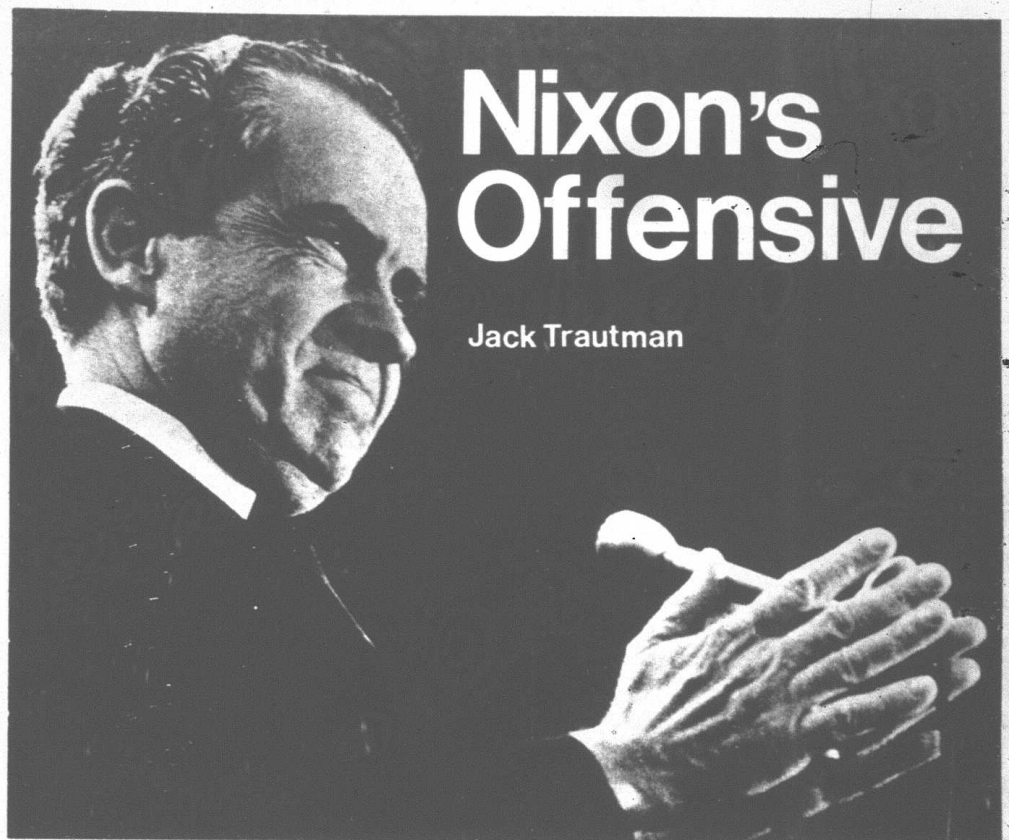
People are feeling the pinch: a Louis Harris poll showed that 58 percent of Americans feel the country is in a recession and they do not anticipate any early recovery. There is every reason to believe that this feeling will be translated into anti-Republican votes.

So, Nixon scrambles off to Europe on a headline-making tour and returns with a "major proposal" to get us out of the impasse in Vietnam (perhaps a resurrection of that "secret plan to end the war" that he claimed he had before the election but has never divulged).

The War and Inflation

The election is not the only reason for Nixon's making another diplomatic offensive in Vietnam — though it does explain why he chose to do it now. The pressure to end the war is enormous. The continued presence of American troops means continued casualties which means growing opposition to the war. Moreover, as the war drags on there is a good possibility of Nixon's being pulled into something like the Cambodian invasion again — with the consequent social turmoil. Nixon knows that he must end the war or at least sell the American people on the idea that he is moving in that direction.

Furthermore, as everyone knows, it is the war and the war economy which is behind the current inflation. Nixon is attempting to attack the inflation by throwing people out of work, driving down wages and generally attacking working class living standards. But the only way to get at the real causes is to cut down on military spending and the war. That explains the cutback in military bases in this country: an effort is being made to streamline the military — get rid of the waste and still maintain a machine capable of securing American control on a global basis.



Nixon's Offensive

Jack Trautman

But, if anyone has looked for a serious change in American policy in Vietnam, they've been sadly disappointed.

Nixon's new "peace" proposal has virtually nothing new about it! The offer to release prisoners of war is militarily a small item, though it could have considerable political impact in this country. (There is no mention, by the way, of the release of the considerable number of political prisoners being held by the South Vietnamese government because of their opposition to the war.) The only new point is the offer of a cease-fire.

But the United States has long wanted a cease-fire. This government would prefer that there had never been a war in Vietnam — that is, they wish the Vietnamese people had never taken up arms against the oppressive government in South Vietnam. If there were no shooting then the United States and its puppet government could continue in power unchallenged. Moreover, the Cambod-

ian government is seriously threatened by NLF troops; a cease-fire would permit it to gain some time to recoup its losses, and save Nixon from having to face a major political disaster in this country.

The only way the NLF can carry out its objectives, that is, throwing out American imperialism, is to defeat it militarily and politically. The United States has indicated time and again that it will never abdicate its control willingly. Nixon's speech is only the most recent of these indications.

Nixon's proposal fails to speak to what the radical wing of the anti-war movement has from the beginning insisted is the real issue: that the United States has no business in Vietnam. That is the sticking point.

With all Nixon's rhetoric he has refused to retreat from the notion that this country has a right to force a political settlement on Vietnam. There is a very simple reason for it: the govern-

ment intends to maintain, by force if necessary, the right of U.S. corporations to exploit the population and resources of the world. It is unwilling to give up that right in the Middle East or in Latin America any more than in Vietnam. It may be willing to pull out ground troops and to allow Thieu's troops — financed with U.S. money, using U.S. weapons and backed up by U.S. naval and air forces, and Thai troops and mercenaries — to carry out its policy. But it will never voluntarily give up its power in Vietnam.

The only settlement the U.S. has a right to is one in which it has no say over what happens in Vietnam; the only thing to negotiate is the safe and immediate withdrawal of all American troops. And from the looks of what is happening and the rejection in Paris of Nixon's proposal — that is the only settlement this government will get. Nixon will have a hard time running in '72 if he tries to run as a peace candidate. ■

new administration

Richard Lyons

Someone pulled the master switch,
And all the voting machines defected
Early in the morning. Nothing tallied.
The mayor declared himself elected

Then early in the evening to forestall
Panic and anger and to preserve
The efficient continuum of public
Service, he said, speaking with a verve

And tingle that infected us to favor
His proposal. The night without electricity
Turned tickless slowly into the next light,
And the sun with a hard lethargy,

It seemed, burned away the shadows
Of the still buildings, inched and burned
Dryly over the smoke stacks and offices
And checkered suburbs. When we turned

A corner on the way to a drugstore
It happened to be next week under new
Edicts of administration. The pistols
Of the police were gone with the blue

Of their uniforms. They stood, in fact,
Directing the spiritless traffic in underwear
And with badges tied with green ribbons
To their long hair. "It isn't, it isn't fair."

Said officer Jones, blowing a sweet melody
Through his harmonica, a Commission issue,
At a jaywalker in the middle of the street.
"The new manual orders me to wish you

Good morning in the morning even in the rain
And to hold the flashlight while you pick
The parking meter if the streetlight fails."
The city staggered peacefully, sick

As an alien in a world of change. Phones
Had no numbers. All the old signs
In City Hall were erased but left pinned
On walls and doors. All the numbers were 9's

Even on the clocks and the hand typewriters.
Business was not as usual. One arrest
Was made of a man who refused to live
With dusty joy. He was sentenced to zest.



Explosions in the Schools: The Fruits of Racism

Karl Fischer

In the first week of October, the industrial town of Pontiac, Michigan, exploded into racial violence. A fight between black and white students in a public high school soon spread over the city, and for an entire week the town was consumed in bitter racial fighting. At the same time, violence flared between black and white students at Henry Ford High School in northwest Detroit. The race violence in Pontiac and Detroit deserves more than passing attention; for they shed light on one of the most important — and tragic — features of the deep social crisis America is caught in today.

Pontiac is a town of about 100,000 people about 25 miles north of Detroit. It is not a suburb in the strict sense of the term, but rather a separate and distinct city. Like most towns in Michigan, the entire economy revolves around one product: the automobile. General Motors practically owns Pontiac; its five large plants employ over a third of the city's work force. Of the rest, the bulk are employed in the many "feeder plants" that inevitably surround any large auto factory. The city government is tax-starved, dependent on GM for what tax funds it does get, and largely non-existent.

The working population of Pontiac is largely made up of refugees from the South. The first wave — mainly white — began coming to Pontiac around the time of the first world war, and continued to arrive throughout the boom twenties as the automobile industry continued to expand. The second wave, both black and white, started coming at the start of World War II, and has continued ever since as rapid mechanization of agriculture in the South wiped out the sharecroppers and tenant farmers. Today, over a third of Pontiac's

population is black, with southern whites making up the majority of the rest.

Pontiac is a poor city; the town's ruling class is largely absentee, and uninterested in financing any "civic improvement" programs. The typical unit of housing — the thirty-year-old wooden frame house, often subdivided into family flats — has remained unchanged and unimproved, and the working-class residential sections have deteriorated badly. Far from being able to launch any programs of renovation, the city government is so broke that they were planning to lay off twenty police officers, although the outbreak of the riot forced a cancellation of this move. The school system, starved for funds, is rapidly becoming non-functional, and succeeds only in containing most students, black and white alike, in a barely suppressed state of anger and frustration.

But with all these problems, Pontiac was not too bad a place until recently. The middle sixties were boom years in the auto plants; work was easy to find, overtime was plentiful, and a man could house and feed his family on his weekly paycheck from the plant. But in 1969 the bottom fell out of the auto industry, and the city was hit even harder than others because the one model that its plants produce — coincidentally enough, the Pontiac — suffered a tremendous drop in sales as car buyers switched to the lower-priced compacts and imports.

Over 10,000 Pontiac auto workers were laid off last year, and the ones who remained were working short weeks and getting small paychecks. That — combined with the worst winter in Michigan since 1951 — intensified the misery of the working people of Pontiac.

As the misery increased, so did the

anger and frustration. But the UAW leadership abdicated its responsibility to project a program to deal with the crisis, and no rank-and-file elements or groups existed to provide any leadership. In the resulting vacuum, the anger was turned away from its true source, and turned inward. As the general social relations in Pontiac deteriorated, the city's race relations — never harmonious even in good times — became a time bomb. The old and familiar story of race hatred being used to deflect workers' anger from the real cause of their oppression and misery was rerun again.

A Ku Klux Klan was formed among white high school students. The policeman most disliked by black students was voted best cop of the year by the Pontiac Kiwanis.

In early October, the time bomb went off. A fight between blacks and whites at Central High School ended with three students shot and critically wounded. The next day the fighting spread to a junior high school and the city's only other senior high school. By the middle of the week, adults — many of them idled because of the UAW's national strike against GM — joined in. By Thursday city police and state troopers were patrolling the battle zones, national guardsmen were placed on alert, and a dusk-to-dawn curfew was in effect.

"Complete Neutrality"

The Pontiac police — who are over 80 percent white — acted in a fairly predictable manner; they acted as if the white students were all innocent bystanders, and the blacks were the enemy. Of those arrested, 75 percent were black. Time and time again, the cops stood by and refused to intervene if the whites had the upper hand in the fighting, and moved in only if the tide turned. The racism of the cops was so bad that the Michigan Civil Rights Commission — well known as the graveyard of racial and sexual grievances in the state — issued a strongly worded statement denouncing the cops and their actions.

The Chief of Police immediately denied the charges, stating that his men acted with "complete neutrality" in the incidents. His account was belied by a news report from the *Detroit Free Press*, which described an incident in which cops were caught in the middle between black and white students, both of whom were pitching rocks at the cops. They turned their backs on the white students, and attacked and beat only the black students.

The differing accounts of the way the riot started underscore the basic racism of the situation. According to the mayor, the police, and the entire mass media, the trouble started on Monday afternoon when a white student was shot and critically wounded by two blacks outside Central High in the after-

math of a fight. Yet the real incident, which touched off the trouble occurred the previous Saturday night, after a high school football game, when a group of whites attacked black spectators, and beat a 16-year-old black youth so severely that he was in a coma for four days.

Pontiac cops witnessed the entire incident, but refused to intervene. When the father of the beaten boy took a protest of the police complicity to the City Commission on Police-Community Relations, they police didn't even deny the charge; they simply shrugged their collective shoulders. Yet this incident — the true beginning of the violence, and the direct prelude of the Monday fighting — was ignored by the press for nearly a week, and then only reported by one newspaper in one paragraph buried at the end of an article on page 16. The Monday shooting was, of course, headline news in both Pontiac and Detroit.

Showcase

The situation at Henry Ford High School in northwest Detroit represents a somewhat different pattern of development. Ford is one of the newest schools in Detroit, and the Board of Education has for some time been trying unsuccessfully to turn it into a showcase school of Detroit's rapidly dying educational system.

The immediate neighborhood around the school is a largely upper-working class, totally white area; in the middle sixties (when this writer attended Ford) the school's district was expanded to include a large upper-middle class neighborhood to the east. This was done largely because of the influx of black kids from the inner city into the school in that neighborhood, Mumford; the redistricting permitted a route of escape for these white middle class students, and turned Mumford into a nearly all-black school.

But by 1966, this adjacent neighborhood too had become largely black; the middle class whites had moved out to the "golden ghetto" suburbs of Oak Park and Southfield. As a result, black students began attending Ford in some numbers for the first time; as they did so, they encountered the hostility not only of white students, but of the entire white neighborhood that surrounds Ford.

What finally happened at Ford was hardly a "race riot," in fact it took the form of a clear and unprovoked attack on the outnumbered black students. A resident of the neighborhood, a graduate of Henry Ford, described the situation:

"All the black kids have to walk about two-thirds of a mile down to Seven Mile Road to catch a bus home. For some time, whites had been harassing blacks as they walked down to the bus, to the point that the black students



had begun to make the walk only in large groups for their self-protection.

"One day, a large group of blacks was confronted by an even larger group of white students as they tried to leave the school. The whites began pitching bottles and rocks at the blacks, and the blacks started fighting back."

What followed, for the next three days, was a desperate pitched battle every day after school as the badly outnumbered black students tried to hold their own. The neighborhood considered the riots as some kind of event; many white adults showed up carrying baseball bats to join in the fun. As in Pontiac, the many cops called to the scene stood around, intervening only if the blacks seemed to be winning. As in Pontiac, the vast majority of those arrested were black.

The response of the school's principal, Samuel Milan, was to a) deny that any real problem existed, and b) blame the trouble on "inner city children unfamiliar with the customs and decorum of Ford and the immediate neighborhood." Finally, after three days of violence, the school was closed, and reopened a week later only with heavy contingents of police patrolling the halls.

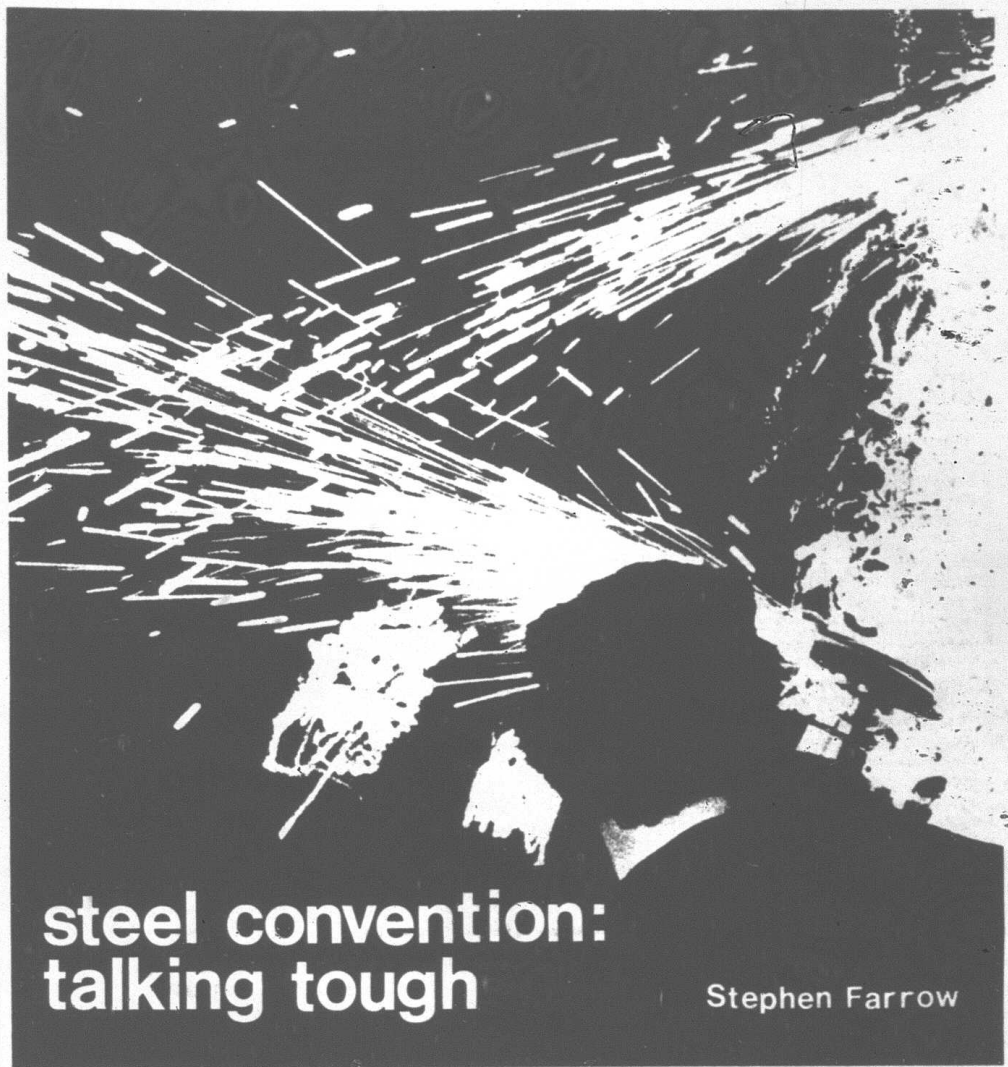
Schools and Society

What is important about the fighting at Pontiac and Ford is two things. The first is that the immediate source of conflict is neither the black students or the whites, but the schools themselves. The decay of the educational systems in urban areas have turned the high schools into glorified prisons. Student's behavior is carefully regulated every minute of the school day; in most Detroit schools, uniformed city cops are constantly on duty in the halls. Students are kept at a high pitch of frustration and latent aggression; it takes very little for something to pop, and when it does, students will lash out at the handiest target — usually each other. At that point, the "natural" (for American society) racial hatreds come into play, and the result is a race riot.

Moreover, the racial violence expresses a deeply felt sense of anger and bitterness on the part of the participants; an anger caused not just by the decay of the schools but by the crisis of society as a whole. As schools fall apart, as neighborhoods rot, as jobs dry up, the brutalization of people increases drastically. The tragedy is that the resulting anger has been directed, not at the proper source, but simply at the handiest target. The real source of the crisis — the corporations, the politicians, the school bureaucrats — want it that way. As long as black working people and white working people continue to take their anger out on each other, they are safe, and they know it.

Last year in Pontiac, the entire city was shut down for over a week by a general strike of city employees. The core of the strike were the garbage men — mainly black — and the firemen — mainly white. These two groups of workers were able to overcome their ingrained racial hostilities, and cooperate fully in waging a dramatically effective struggle that won wage increases of nearly 20 percent.

It is toward that kind of inter-racial mutual cooperation and respect that people must begin to look. Indeed, so long as working people in America are kept at each other's throats because of their race, the future will hold nothing for anyone but more misery and oppression; a misery made all the more certain and unyielding by the impotence of its chosen victims. ■



steel convention: talking tough

Stephen Farrow

The atmosphere at the recent convention of the United Steel Workers (USW) forecast a year of stormy battles for the USW in 1971. Everyone was talking "strike," even I. W. Abel, USW international President, who only three years ago tried to get his members to give away the right to strike in favor of binding arbitration. In the past Abel has been no lover of strikes, and the USW itself has not struck the steel mills since 1959. What produced the change?

Abel's strike-talk was his response to rising rank-and-file militancy among steel workers. The USW members are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with their union's officials, and their inability to defend the living standards of steel workers. Between 1961 and 1969, the economic gains made by the USW were almost completely eroded by inflation. One USW official has estimated that, in the eleven years since the union bargained away the cost-of-living escalator clause in their contract, steel workers have lost between 68 and 72 cents an hour. As a result, the union's ranks are on fire, and the international officials are beginning to feel the heat.

Abel has begun to feel especially uneasy. In the 1969 union elections, he was reelected by a slim majority. During the Local elections this year many of the Local USW presidents were voted down and replaced by younger, more militant leaders. Abel came in for even more criticism at the convention when his request for a \$10,000 a year raise

(from \$50,000 to \$60,000) was loudly jeered. It barely passed. Blacks and other minority workers organized an ad-hoc group at the convention to press for the addition of minority representatives on the union's 28-member executive board. There are none, at this time.

Cost of Living

Abel's response to this criticism has been to talk tough. Of all the strike demands which surfaced at the convention, including a big wage increase, a shorter work week, improved pensions, better vacation schedules, and a cost-of-living clause, Abel has given priority to wages and cost-of-living, and is demanding a return to the old wage escalator clause. USW officials allowed the steel companies to place a cap on the clause in 1959, and gave the clause away altogether in 1962. This demand will probably be included in the list of official strike demands.

But Abel won't fight for the most volatile demand now coming from the rank and file: for an end to the no-strike clause. The USW grievance procedure has never been effective, and many steel workers would like to get rid of it, and the no-strike clause as well. But Abel is the man who only three years ago wanted to limit the right to strike. It is doubtful that he will be willing to fight to extend that right today.

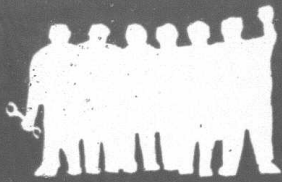
Three years ago he wanted to tighten his control over the union by intro-

ducing binding arbitration. Today, he fears that abolition of the no-strike clause will undermine his control of the union. If he had been successful in introducing binding arbitration, he would not have had to worry that the ranks might get out of control during a strike; he would have been left to negotiate peacefully with the steel corporations. Binding arbitration would also mean that contracts would not have to be ratified by the membership. But as things stand now, a possible contract rejection will be a big worry for Abel in 1971.

Although Abel is talking tough now, the steel companies are also taking a hard line. Steel workers have the power to force their reluctant officials into line, and to successfully take on the corporations. But that power will have to be organized if they are to win their demands, especially an end to the no-strike clause. Tough talk never won a strike.

Three To Get Ready

The USW will go through strikes in four industries in 1971: the container industry, aluminum, copper, and finally, steel. This wave of strikes, mounting up to the big battle in steel, will give steel workers a chance to watch their officials in action, before their own strike. Steel workers should keep an eye on the international, and begin now to prepare for the strike, for the settlements won in the preliminary strikes will set the precedent for steel. ■



Pass It On

John Single

The Faceless Crowd

There are a lot of bad things about having to labor physically for a living, but one of the worst things about it is something that seldom if ever gets talked about: if you work for wages you are not visible in the culture or art of the country. This is particularly true if you work in heavy industry.

How many moving pictures made in this country take the viewers inside a factory even for a moment? You can question all the active movie goers you know and even the most addicted of them cannot name more than half a dozen, and that includes those old enough to remember Charlie Chaplin's classic *Modern Times*.

The same is true of television (and radio). You can live in the bayous of Louisiana, on the plains of Nebraska or in the High Sierras, but if you have a television set you are taken inside the big city American office several times a night. The shows may not portray office life accurately, but this section of the labor force at least is visible.

The same lack of balance exists in books and comic strips. Even if you are willing to seek out hard cover book stores and pay the high prices, you will not find a serious novel about life below on the physical work side of industry published more often than once a decade. Novels about labor union struggles of any kind are just as rare.

With the possible exception of the popular music recording industry, American "mass media" art industries and the fine arts alike do not often admit to the existence on this earth or in this nation, of factory hands and motel maids, restaurant cooks and hospital orderlies. In fact, the existence of the people who do this work is so rarely admitted and so poorly shown when it is that when all added up it amounts to less than nothing.

Shrewdly Ignorant

If you work in industry it is usually hard to describe to others just what it is that you do for a living. There aren't many employers willing to arrange family tours at convenient times and the culture does not provide a substitute. How many workers have sat in movie houses or before their television sets and been able to point to the screen and say to their wives or husbands, children or friends: "That's what I do all day long," or even, "that's something like what I do at my job." It just doesn't happen.

All this is not to say that all blue collar or hourly-waged occupations fail to get representation: some do, but the question then becomes the dishonesty of the representation. For example, parts that call for actors to play truck drivers and longshoremen are regularly written into movie and television scripts. It must be simple to cast the parts. Each story calls for a man who is large,

not handsome, and who can act stupid.

During forty years of talking pictures, the Hollywood film industry has retained a stable of men who could easily be made up into semi-gorilla types. They took turns playing typical workers. Three facial expressions were called for: vacant, brutal and shrewdly ignorant.

The television industry carries on in the Hollywood tradition. We regularly see the vacuum headed washing machine repairman who recommends a cure-all detergent soap. And then there is the lazy but sinister plumber who uses a commercial acid solution to clear drains, but charges housewives for complicated

raising children and that's great and you wouldn't change that...still, something big is missing.

There is nothing in the world around you that shows others the value of what you do for a living. You make a product and it gets advertized, but all that is said is that it is a good bargain and how much good it will do for the user. You, the maker, just don't get mentioned. If something, some method of communication existed that would tell others in some way that you do something valuable in this world and that it helps to keep the society in operation, then your life would have more expression and meaning than it does now.

and services has this as a built-in problem. Moreover, capitalism does nothing whatever to overcome this inherent problem.

Business and industry own or control the press, television, and the motion picture and publishing industries. If they allowed a number of television programs, even situation comedies for example, to be about factory life, they could hardly allow it to be shown truthfully in any way. To do so would be an open admission that the wealth and riches of this country is built upon overworking and underrewarding a majority of its citizens.

Keep It Quiet

On the other hand, to show industrial life to millions nightly and not show it accurately would increase the anger of those who were able to detect the lies, and it might start Americans thinking more about the whole question of work. If you watched a program about an auto assembly line and could tell that the work pace of the actors was phoney and would produce no more than about 10 jobs an hour, and then you returned to a line the next morning that was running over fifty jobs an hour, it might tend to radicalize you... and the employers are smart enough not to want to risk that. They are having a hard enough time getting all they want out of you as it is.

Even when a script or a book comes along that tells the truth about industrial work, and was written by someone who has actually done industrial work and speaks from experience, it doesn't get bought up by Hollywood or television. Harvey Swados' great novel *On The Line*, based on the time he spent working for Henry Ford at Mahwah, New Jersey, was given only a couple of printings. After a few thousand paperback copies were marketed, it was allowed to go out of print. Despite significant continuing demand for the book, the publisher sits on it and the work remains unknown to the people about whom it is written and for whom it could be a valuable life expression. It is only available in libraries.

The tremendous demand for popular art media that could give enjoyment, meaning and expression to the lives of those who make up the working class, is one market that American business and employers ignore and have no intention of taking advantage of. Businessmen and employers are very conscious of what class they belong to, and are capable of concerning themselves with the long term as well as immediate interests of this system that keeps them very rich. They know that, if they give the people who work for them an idea of how important they really are, they might turn around and want to make some big changes in the way things are.



waiters.

Waitresses and nurses get little better treatment on the screen than the so-called rough laborers. More often than not they are part of the set decorations rather than a part of the story. The camera includes them because the "beautiful people" who are central to the story have entered a restaurant, nightclub or a hospital. No matter that the actresses who play the waitresses or nurses roles are many times "goodlooking," the stories most often show them as people whose highest goal is to find romance and riches. The real problems connected with serving food and bedpans are not presented to the public.

To work in these occupations and to witness the handling of them by the mass media only adds to the frustration of what it means to spend one's life at them. Whether you are behind a counter or an assembly line most of your waking hours during your life, one of the deepest tragedies you feel is that a large part of your life is meaningless. True, you have brought a home and are

When you think about what you do, you know that the whole works wouldn't run if it were not for you and others like you, but this message doesn't even begin to leak into the official culture. Country and western music sometimes speaks to us for a moment about our lives, but that is not enough. No one wants to have lived without leaving some trace behind beyond children and personal belongings. Assembly line work, garbage collection, janitorial and elevator operation is boring work, but that is no reason to treat it as if it were nonexistent or unimportant work. A nation and an economic system in which the majority of the labor force is invisible is in trouble.

Part of the problem of course is that if you labor for a living you will never get around to writing books or television scripts. And, if you make your living at writing for the mass culture media it is not too likely that you have worked in a factory. Any society that divides its people into classes according to where they fit into the production of goods

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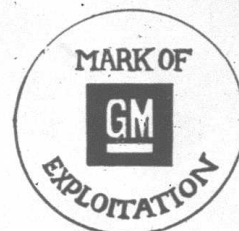
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Auto Strike Buttons



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.

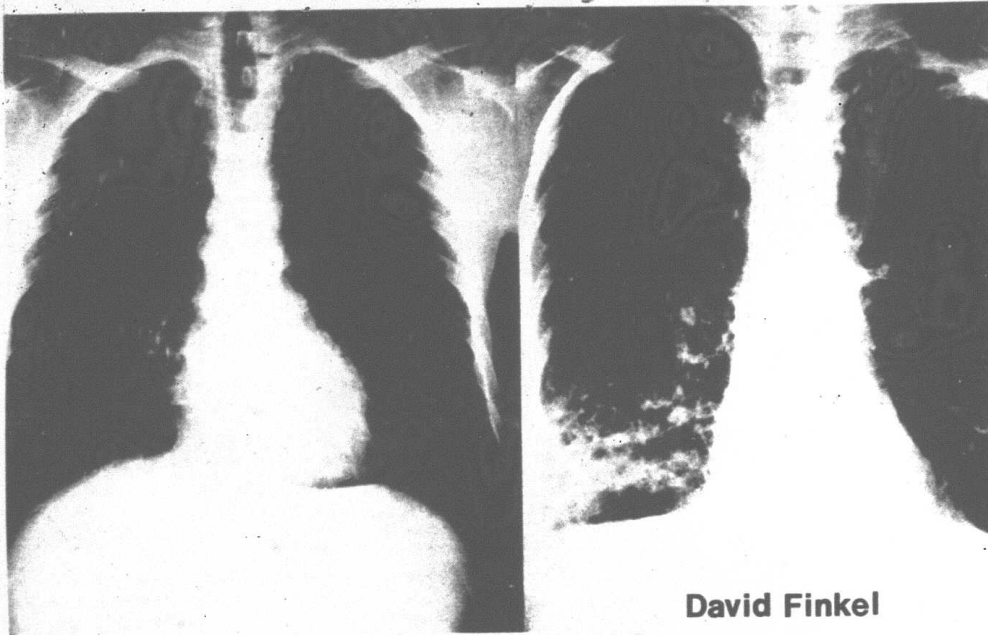
Nor can any part of the working class free itself at the expense of another. We stand for the liberation of all oppressed peoples: mass organization, armed self-defense, and the right of self-determination for Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans; the liberation of women from subordination in society 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.



David Finkel

The J-M Strike

A Matter of Life and Breath

A dramatic struggle is occurring in New Jersey which could have far-reaching consequences for the issue of pollution and the environment. For 2500 production workers at the Johns-Manville Products plant in the town of Manville (named after guess what), September 10 marked the beginning of the eleventh week of a strike which has stopped production at papermaking and pipe-making facilities of the gigantic J-M corporation.

During this time the striking workers (members of Local 800, United Papermakers and Paperworkers) have received no pay except for \$40 per week strike pay. They have been placed under a permanent injunction which prohibits mass picketing and interference with management and salaried employees. Over a hundred, including the Local president Joseph Mondrone, are facing contempt of court citations for organizing mass picketing to keep the plant shut and to keep fuel and garbage trucks out. The prosecuting attorney in the contempt cases, appointed by the court, will be the lawyer for the corporation itself. In short, the strikers are facing the usual battery of measures designed by the companies and the courts to crush them and destroy their right to strike.

Dust and Disease

By way of compensation, during the ten weeks of their strike they have not been forced to breathe the asbestos dust which circulates through the pipe-making plant, slowly crippling and killing everyone who works there. The key issue of the strike is the union's demand for protection at company expense against the hideous effects of the asbestos dust, for the installation of effective equipment to filter it out of the air and the provision of oxygen masks to workers who directly handle the asbestos material.

A medical display in the union hall across the street from the plant tells the

story of what the asbestos particles have done to the workers at Johns-Manville. Those exposed to the dust over a period of years — many have worked at the plant for twenty years or more — contract a lung disease called asbestosis, which involves extreme shortness of breath and incapacitation. Victims of this disease cannot walk or climb stairs without difficulty, let alone put in a full day's work. In 1969 alone, there were 285 diagnosed cases of asbestosis at Johns-Manville, out of 342 in the whole state.

Even worse is a deadly form of cancer known as mesothelioma. Pictures in the union's display indicate the progressive course of the cancer, which may appear anywhere in the body, although the lungs and peritoneum are apparently most often affected. For many years diagnoses of the disease were suppressed by company-owned doctors, who attributed hundreds of deaths to other causes. To illustrate the virulence of mesothelioma, strikers cite the story of a British woman who died after exposure to asbestos dust solely from washing her husband's overalls.

The pictures show greatly enlarged x-rays of coatings on the lungs, large tumors in the chest and stomach, and other pathological features. An accompanying explanatory chart describes the "diagnostic criteria" and the radiological symptoms in technical language. Under the heading "Treatment," it states simply that none exists, that mesothelioma is fatal within eighteen months of diagnosis. Striking workers in and around the union hall can provide detailed explanations of the various features that appear in the pictures. They know what's there, since it's their own lungs on display.

In this context, it is not difficult to understand their determination to maintain the strike, and to defy the injunction against mass picketing when necessary, so long as it takes to win what

they regard as acceptable protection. Recently the union leadership has begun to solicit large-scale student support, to help when necessary with mass picketing if the next negotiating session fails to produce serious results.

Actually, the union's demands can only be described as extremely moderate. On the asbestos question, president Mondrone states that the company must present a concrete timetable for serious measures to clean up the air in the plant. The J-M management has replied that U.S. Public Health Service "inspections" have found no violations of state environmental control standards.

Challenged Prerogatives

This is true, and it shows how much the state's standards and the PHS inspections are worth. A real system of environmental controls would be one based on standards set and inspections made by the union with the authority to shut the plant at any time for violations, at the company's expense — in other words, on control of working conditions by the workers themselves.

The logic of the union's demand clearly points in precisely that direction, because it challenges the "management prerogative" to run the plant any way it wants regardless of safety or health. This, of course, is why J-M refuses to grant the demand — it's not the money it costs to install protective equipment (which they can make back by raising prices), it's their sacred "right" to control what happens in "their" factory which is at stake.

Another demand made by the union is for a decent pension plan, which is presently almost nonexistent, for five days paid sick leave (right now there is none), and for five years disability pay instead of the present two. In a dangerous plant like J-M, an asbestos worker should get retirement with full pay after about ten years service, full medical service paid by the company, and regular

checkups to make sure he or she doesn't develop asbestosis in the first place.

If the company claims it could never afford this kind of program, its books should be opened to the inspection of the union and the public to find out what its profits look like. If J-M really is unable to provide decent protection and medical care for its workers, that's fine — the company should be taken over under workers' control and the costs paid from the profits of other corporations.

The other main issue in the strike is control of overtime — the company insists on the right to assign overtime arbitrarily, while the union wants to guarantee a fair distribution so that everyone gets an equal chance to earn extra money. It's some indication of the wage levels in the plant that even under the hideous safety conditions the workers feel they have to get the chance to work overtime in order to make a living (of course this is partly because they don't figure to be able to work very many years there before they won't be able to breathe anymore). It goes without saying that in a plant where workers handle a material like raw asbestos the wages should be at a premium level and any overtime work strictly forbidden.

Ecology and Class

The importance of the Manville strike can be fully understood only in relation to other struggles which have been waged around "environmental" issues. One of the largest in recent times was the "Black Lung" movement of West Virginia miners, around the issue of protection from the fatal effects of breathing coal dust. The immediate result of this movement (see *International Socialist*, Feb. 1970) after a massive wildcat and a political demonstration in the capital, was a completely inadequate Mine Safety Bill.

Another major struggle has been carried on by the Farm Workers' movement, which has raised the issue of DDT spray in the fields and its deadly effects on both the farm workers and the consumers (see *Independent Socialist*, March 1969). What all these struggles have in common is that in challenging the corporation's right to destroy the environment and cause injury and death to their employees (and the entire society as well), they raise what inevitably becomes a political question: how, and by whom, will it be decided how the wealth created by the labor of working people is to be allocated?

Will the corporate giants be free to invest this wealth in whatever way will guarantee their own profit, even if this means worsening the conditions under which everyone lives and killing the workers who produce the wealth in the first place? Or will it be the working people themselves who gain power and begin making these decisions in the interests of the vast majority, creating rational economic development based on production under safe and healthy conditions and designed to meet the real needs of the population?

Most of the well-meaning liberals who worry about pollution and its effects have completely failed to notice, or else have chosen to ignore, the section of the population most directly affected by the environmental crisis — the men and women who work in the factories and fields. These are the people who spend their whole working lives breathing the poisons which are poured into the air because that's cheaper than cleaning them up. Furthermore, they are the people with the power to stop production cold until real measures are taken to solve the problem. ■