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May 23, 1969

HANDS OFF BERKELEY

For a full week now, the Berkeley community has been faced with a state of seige. Police by the hundreds and National Guardsmen by the thousands have rampaged through the streets of Berkeley and across the University of California campus, waging indiscriminate war against virtually anything that moves.

Teargas, pepperfog, C-N, C-S, nausea gas, bird-shot, buckshot, bayonets, helicopters -- a nightmarish arsenal of modern weapons technology has been brought to bear. UC students, faculty and staff, street people, ordinary Berkeley citizens -- all have felt the fury of a power structure seemingly gone berserk

For the first time in the history of the (white) student movement, police have used firearms to disperse a crowd, wounding over a hundred, critically wounding several. In fact, the forces of law and order have gone so far as murder: on Thursday, May 15, an Alameda county sheriffs deputy blew out

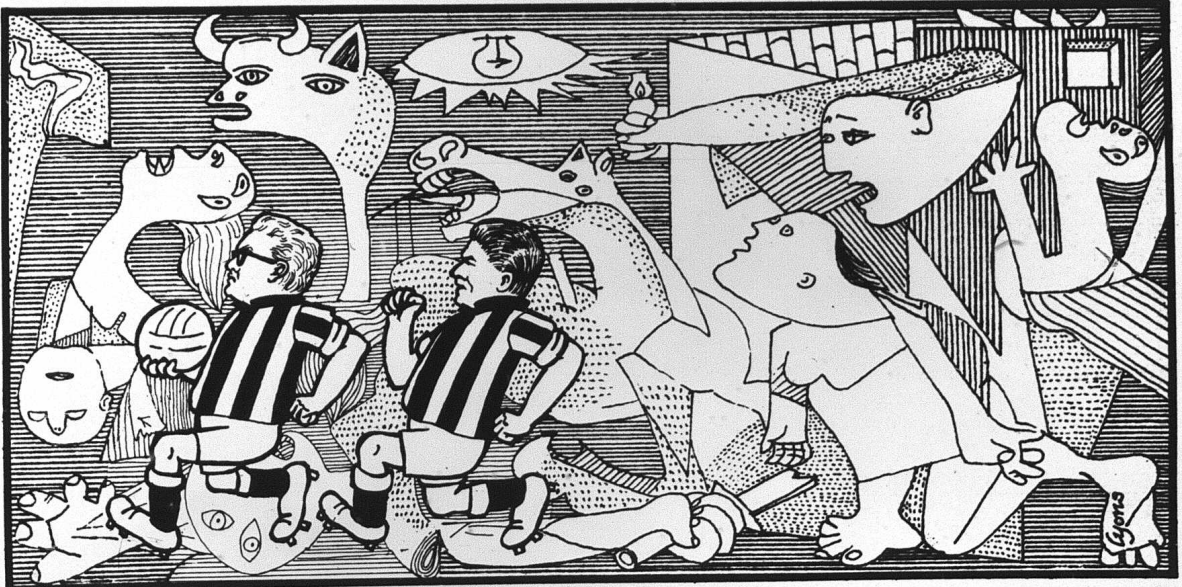
the stomach of James Rector, who died the following Monday night.

As this is being written, over 800 people have been arrested, and countless others beaten. A ban on public meetings and a city-wide curfew remain in effect.

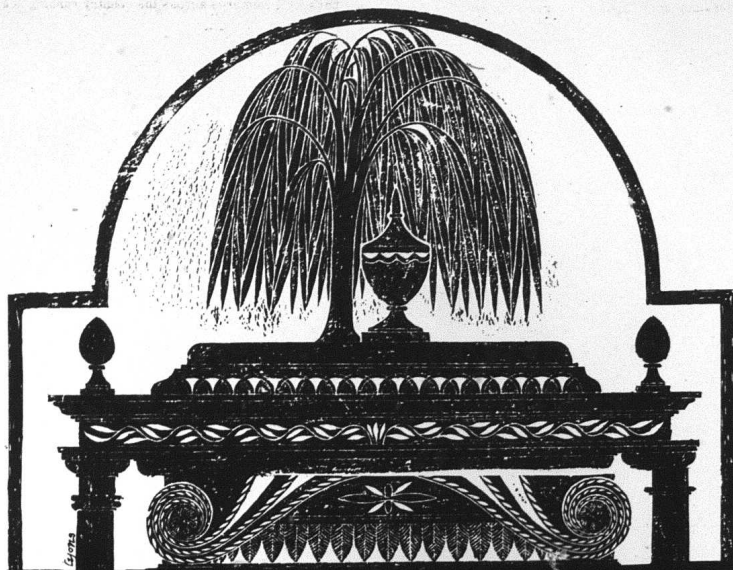
What is at stake in the latest battle of Berkeley? What was James Rector's crime? Free Speech? Student Power? Third World Studies? Socialist Revolution? Well, not exactly. Berkeley Chancellor Heyns says he wants to build a soccer field to the south of the UC campus. He has given orders that a small community park near Telegraph Avenue be cleared and held at all costs.

Of course, as California Governor Reagan has pointed out, the park per se was "obviously a phony issue, seized upon for the purpose of promoting a riot." Reagan has not mobilized the National Guard and Sheriff Frank Madigan has not authorized the use of shotguns to save a soccer field for democracy. The crisis in Berkeley can only be made sense of as a microcosmic if vicious manifestation of the generalized crisis in U.S. society.

Several months ago, the University arranged for the city of Berkeley to condemn almost a block of



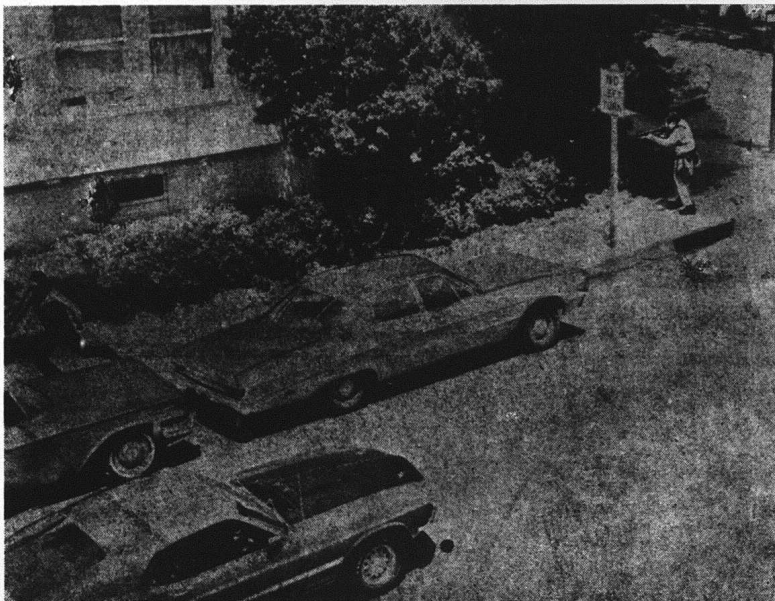
YOU'VE GOT A GREAT SOCCER FIELD, ROGER, BUT I KEEP SLIPPING ON THE BLOOD



In Memory of
JAMES RECTOR

He departed this Life the
 19th of May 1969 Aged
 25 Years

Young Friends regard this solemn Truth.
 Soon you may die like me in youth:
 But I have died in freedom's fight
 Keep on for me, push back the night.



Fleeing demonstrator (left) was brought down by a shotgun blast in Berkeley Thursday

low-cost and predominantly student housing, four blocks from the campus. Plans had been made to build a dormitory on the site, but funds ran out and the project was postponed.

The confiscated property was razed anyway, primarily in an effort to push street people and radical students farther away from the campus. The University expected to let the land lie vacant for two or three years. UC staff members, driven by the continuing failure of the University to provide adequate parking for its employees, began parking on the lot, despite recurrent mud and debris.

As the winter rains tapered off, students and area residents became caught up in a proposal to turn a portion of the lot into a park and community center. In a matter of weeks, the mudhole was transformed. Sod was laid, trees and flowers were planted, brick paths were constructed, swings and other playground equipment were put up, sculpture was erected, benches and other materials were donated by area residents and even "city merchants." Large numbers of men, women and children, a growing cross-section of the community, not only began to frequent the site, they worked long hours on its transformation.

OPPORTUNITY AND THREAT

The remarkable success of the People's Park, fast on its way to becoming the most popular institution in the city, both presented an opportunity and posed a threat to Heys and Reagan. Therein lies the key to their overwhelming overkill response to what seemed such an innocuous stimulus.

The park presented an opportunity to the power structure, in the sense that a broad spectrum of establishment figures, both "Liberals" like Heys and reactionaries like Reagan, have been searching for an excuse to try to teach the Left a lesson. The embryonic climate of repression in the country has been looking for a pretext to come down hard, and thinks it has found one in the People's Park.

The kept press has been rooting for "law and order," for more protection for property and privilege. Reagan, Heys, Berkeley Mayor Johnson and their similars are all literate men; they have had no trouble reading their orders.

At the same time, the Park also posed a threat in the sense that ruling-class institutions like the University simply cannot tolerate independent popular initiative from below. They fear (rightfully so, one might hope) that if they give people an inch, they will take a mile.

What the creation of the People's Park focused attention on was one of the central contradictions in American society: that is, the question of how the social and economic institutions in this country are to be controlled -- by whom and for what purpose?

The University of California is a "public" institution. It is governed by public officials and by people appointed by public officials. It is paid for with public funds. It is run "for the benefit of the public." But who is that "public"? How does it arrive at and exercise its will?

What public had an opportunity to intervene in the present crisis? Reagan and the Regents support Heys -- does that mean that "the people of California" do? Mayor Johnson of Berkeley supports Heys and the use of the National Guard -- does that mean that the "Berkeley community" does?

The fact is that the vast majority of people in this country are politically atomized and powerless; "the public" as an organized, conscious social entity does not exist. Institutional power in this society works in the interests of a tiny minority -- while working people, blue collar and white, black people, students and intellectuals, the bulk of the population, are in no way represented.

The authorities in this country would never let decision-making power fall into the hands of the people. The people can't be trusted. They are too dangerous. Direct popular control of the institutions of this society would present an immediate challenge to the whole structure of the status quo.

POPULAR INITIATIVE

A park in itself is a very meager reform. Surely even a declining, stagnating social system like American capitalism can afford a park, or even several parks. But the People's Park in Berkeley became symbolic of popular self-initiative, of genuinely democratic decision-making, of resistance to control from above -- and as such, it had to go.

American society is racked by social tension and social upheaval. Students, poor people, black people, and, increasingly, white working people, have begun resistance to the exploitation and oppression that plague their lives. In this context, even the smallest breach in the established patterns of control and respect for property can have serious implications.

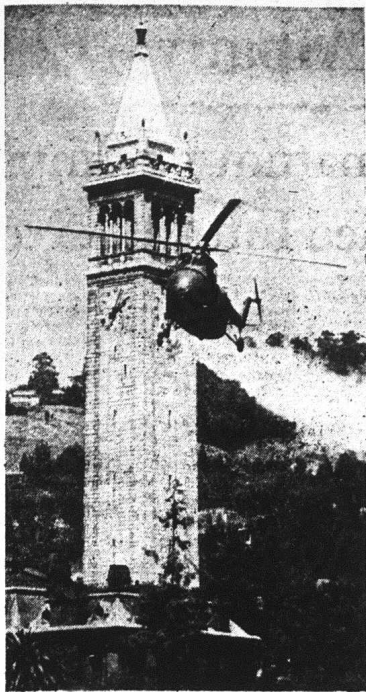
Even in the short time before the University went on the offensive, the example of the People's Park had begun to spread. Vacant land had been appropriated on two other sites in Berkeley. The Black Panther Party had ideas about vacant Bay Area Rapid Transit land in Oakland, and was thinking about converting empty buildings into free health clinics.

Abruptly, Heys announced that the University had plans for the vacant lot after all: it was to be made into a soccer field for jocks and fraternity boys, and right away at that.

There is a serious shortage of student housing in Berkeley, a crisis of parking space, and inadequate park and recreation facilities -- and the University (one of the largest landowners in the city) announces a soccer field, for fraternities that are dying out and a student body that by and large has little time for games, or little inclination to play on University turf -- as the eternally empty or near empty playing fields above Telegraph already prove.

The park people elected a committee to talk with University officials. Heys agreed to negotiate, but only (as was learned in retrospect) to cover his preparations for a massive military assault on the park.

During the sham negotiations, Heys himself spelled



out the real issues involved. It wasn't the park, he said, it was WHO CONTROLLED the park. Part of the soccer field could be a park, for all that, so long as the University's unlimited power to design it and control it was not challenged. This was the principle that had to be preserved: rule from the top. Heyns is past master at manipulating community sentiment and causing confusion, but this time the issues were too clearly drawn and his time was too short. On May 13, he issued a statement in which he reasserted his "duty" as a "public representative" to decide how to dispose of the land. He inveighed against those "demagogues" who would appeal to the beauty of the park as against the inhuman bureaucracy that was destined to build a soccer field come hell or high water. He was going to build a fence, he said, to establish the "commonly forgotten fact that the land belongs to the University."

With visible popular support for the park growing stronger every day, Heyns broke off negotiations and, under the cover of darkness, at 4:00 a.m. on the 15th, called in the cops. The bulldozers of People's Park were expecting an invasion by workmen and bulldozers, and a group of park supporters had camped out for the night, intending to sit down in front of the bulldozers. Instead, they were swamped by 400 fully armed police, who arrested those who refused to leave.

The site surrounded by police, an eight-foot steel mesh fence was hastily thrown up, and the demolition of the park begun. Word spread quickly, and at noon a protest rally was held on the steps of the administration building at the UC campus.

When the demonstrators marched toward the park, they were met by literally an army of cops, and the reign of terror began. That night, Mayor Johnson

of Berkeley and Governor Reagan proclaimed a state of emergency and the guard was called in. Basic civil liberties have been suspended, and although martial law has not been declared, people are being charged with violations of military codes.

The means of violence employed by the police and the National Guard have no precedent in the previous treatment of student struggles (it is only black people and "foreigners" that U.S. forces have attacked with such severity in recent times). If ordinary C-N tear gas were not bad enough, the potentially lethal C-S gas (commonly employed for flushing out Vietcong tunnels in Vietnam) has been liberally sprayed about.

Nausea gas is odorless, but causes projectile vomiting and violent diarrhea. Blister gas causes second-degree burns when it encounters perspiration or water on the skin.

The reason for this massive display of force and violence is simple: Reagan and Heyns and those they represent have no constructive alternatives to offer. American society is incristis because people's needs are not being met.

On the one hand, there is a growing movement which is demanding an end to the accelerating deterioration of our lives: an end to the war, racism, poverty, violence, boredom and anguish, which is all this society has to offer us. On the other hand, there are the structures of corporate capitalism, fighting to maintain their profits and their prerogatives against black rebellion, student radicalism, labor insurgency, third world liberation struggles and the general instability of their system.

An ever-increasing part of our ever-soaring taxes is devoted to repression; there is money for war, for police, for missiles, tear gas and bullets -- but none for houses, hospitals, public transportation, or parks. Billions for "defense" (read: defense of capitalism) but not one cent for people.

NOTHING NEW

This is nothing new, of course; any system which is fundamentally oppressive must, when push comes to shove, maintain itself by force. Black people have already learned this lesson, as have the Czechs, and the French (confronted with DeGaulle's threat of civil war last June), and most notably the Vietnamese, to cite only a few recent examples.

As the radical student movement begins to transform itself into a revolutionary movement as it turns toward building roots in the working class, it is inevitable that attempts at repression will escalate. Right now, American radicals are still isolated -- but many things about America are changing these days, and those whose interest lies in preserving the basic boundaries of the status quo are uneasily aware of that fact.

The new rank-and-file insurgency in the labor movement is also being met with repression, and that in turn has its effects. Oil workers in Richmond, California, had their perceptions of social reality changed overnight, when during their recent strike against Standard Oil, they too were met with beatings, mactings, arrests and even a murder at the hands of Chevron's kept police. Students from Berkeley joined their picket lines in a coalition whose implications can be far-reaching.

SDS's planned summer work-in has the various Cham-

bers of Commerce across the country running scared. They understand the possible implications of radical organizers entering an already discontented working class. At the same time, black militants are turning toward the organization of black workers into independent rank-and-file caucuses that have the potential of helping revitalize the labor movement as a whole.

In this context, an escalation of repression should come as no surprise. An assortment of approaches to legal repression have already been tried over the last few months: the Spock conspiracy case, the Oakland 7, the Berkeley 3, the Presidio 27, the Chicago trials, etc. More and more serious charges and penalties are being leveled against those arrested in demonstrations.

Frank Bardacke, one of the Oakland 7 and a leader of the current struggle in Berkeley, has been charged with assault with a deadly weapon, and faces a possible ten years in jail. Any number of similar cases could be cited, and not only ones involving students.

In Oakland, the Oakland Federation of Teachers is involved in a conflict with the school board over the appointment of the new superintendent. The President of the OFT recently got into a tussle with a cop and was arrested. He was charged with a "Crime against the executive power of the state" -- a felony. Similarly, severe anti-student legislation is being passed by California and other state legislatures. Congress is threatening to do the same. HUAC is beginning an "investigation" into SDS. Grand Jury

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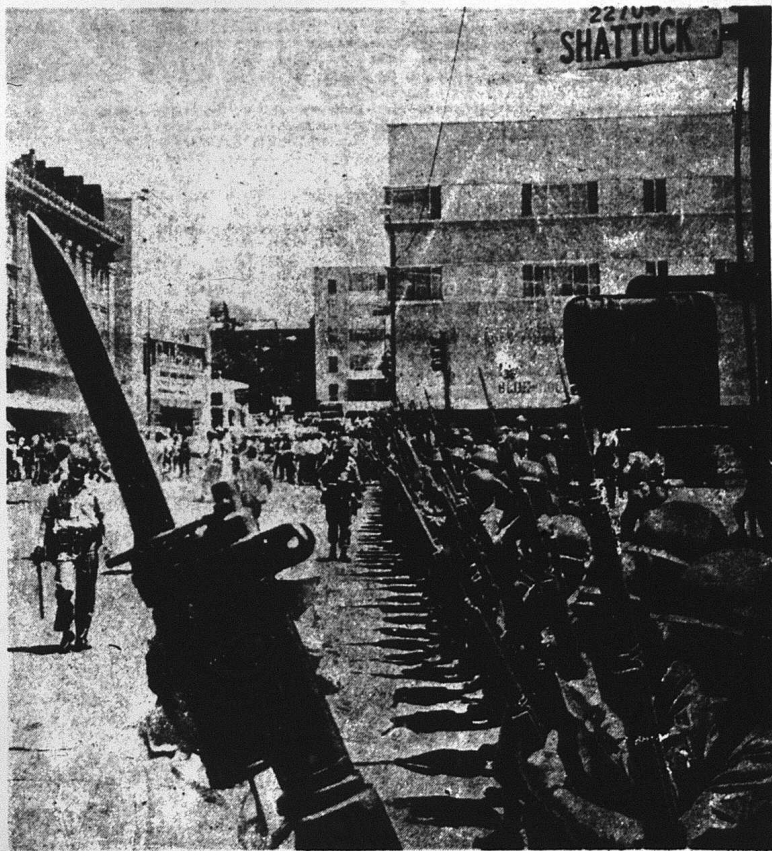
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incidents are coming down all over the country. Within the last few weeks, 17 were indicted at Brooklyn College, 13 at Stoneybrook, 109 at Memphis State, and 21 at Cornell.

Thus, the murder of James Rector and the wholesale spraying of tear gas from a helicopter were not, in a sense, the exceptional aspects of the war in Berkeley. They represented simply two more steps among an already well-traveled path toward military repression of social dissent in the United States.

If anyone was uncertain about it before, the power structure response to the People's Park has underlined the fact that real changes in the character and quality of American life will demand a revolutionary transformation. A struggle for even the simplest of reforms more often than not sweeps people headlong into a full-dress confrontation with the agencies of class power.

RESISTANCE

What was remarkable about the events of the past week has been the ability of the people to stay in the streets and continue to protest, despite the systematic brutality of the police and, most recently, mass arrests. Whatever people's attitudes toward the student movement, they must realize that Berkeley will not be shut up; the roots of the culture of resistance are too deep.

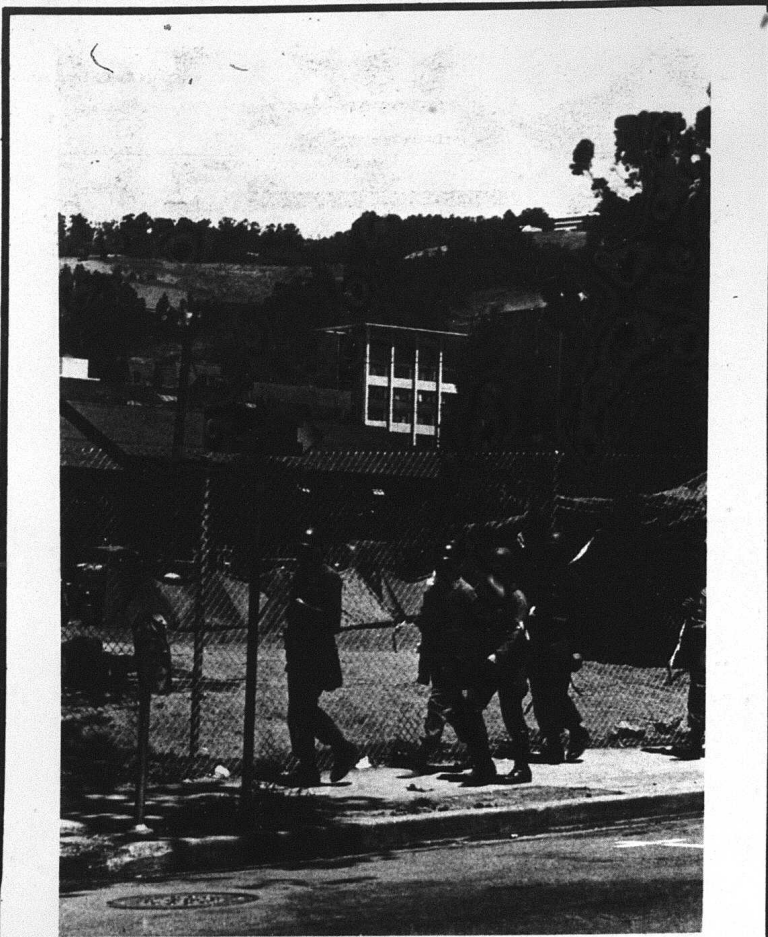
The University of California is all but shut down. Over 200 faculty members have refused to teach, and are calling for Heyns' resignation. The teaching assistant's union has done the same. The clerical and technical workers union, AFSCME Local 1695, has called a work stoppage, and also demands Heyns' resignation. Very few students are attending classes.

Heyns has resumed negotiations. Of course, if he is forced to make concessions, he will do his best to depict them as gifts -- the last thing he wants to do is give credence to the notion that militant struggle from below can win gains.

PARK OR WASTELAND?

The people may not win back the park -- but then Heyns (or his successor) will never get a soccer field either. A platoon of soldiers or a ring of cops cannot be maintained forever. Workers will not work there (the nephew of the President of the Alameda Central Labor Council was among those shot by the cops); students obviously will not play there; Berkeley mothers will not walk their children through a bitter travesty of a place for trees and grass.

If the People's Park is suppressed, the land it was built upon will remain a wasteland, a symbol of the wreckage of Heyns' career, a monument to repression, a potential graveyard of the status quo.



NATIONAL GUARDSMEN PATROLING PERIMETER OF PEOPLE'S PARK.

These pages, 11-14, reprint a special supplement distributed by the Independent Socialist Clubs of California during the week of May 26-30. The article "Hands Off Berkeley" is by Jack Bloom. "No More Heyns" is by Ken Blum.

No More Heyns



Time and again over the past five years, UC presidents and Chancellors -- in the midst of one crisis or another -- have corralled faculty support for repression with threats to resign.

In effect, they demand a vote of confidence for their attacks on the student movement, and raise the spectre of Somebody Worse taking their place if they don't get it.

Time and again, a good part of the faculty has wailed, "Chancellor Heyns (or Chancellor Meyerson) (or President Kerr) is our best defense against Reagan (or Brown) (or the Right). If we don't let him get away with attacking the students, an outsider will come in and do it."

This methodology has worked to very good

advantage -- for the Administration. The Chancellor stays on (for a while, at least), the faculty shuts up, and the movement takes it on the chin. The irony has been, of course, what could Somebody Worse do?

Take the case of Roger Heyns. He was brought here in the first place to clean up in the wake of the FSM. First he suspended students and fired staff members for supporting the Peace/Rights Organizing Committee demonstration against Arthur Goldberg. Then he turned over University files on student and faculty opponents of the war in Vietnam to HUAC and the John Birch Society.

He joined the Board of Directors of Hunts Foods, owned by Regent Norton Simon -- partly motivated, as he explained, by a desire to improve the University's image with the business community. And to improve the University's image with the Marines, he donated blood to the war effort when students donated blood to help the NLF.

In the fall of 1966, he attacked the Sproul Steps rallies (a gain hard won by the FSM) because of their political content. He charged the speakers with slander and demagoguery, and tried to move the rallies to lower Sproul, using the old "traffic problem" as an excuse.

Later that fall, Heyns let the Navy set up a special table in the ASUC Building, and had an SDS counter-table torn down. When students resisted, the cops were called after scarcely two hours deliberation, touching off the December 1966 strike.

At the time of Stop the Draft Week, he suspended several students and penalized many others -- all for speaking during a rally, held in violation of an injunction which the University nominally did not support.

During the Dow-CIA demonstrations, Heyns threatened to suspend or expel anyone who took part in picketing or disruption to protest the special privilege granted those agencies of recruiting through the placement center. Just as the anti-war movement was coming under increased attack at large (the Spock trial, the indictment of the Oakland 7, etc.), Heyns aspired to stop it single-handedly, by crushing the Berkeley movement and setting an example for the entire country.

Then this fall, he sent the police against students demonstrating for credit for 139X, the course which included lectures by Eldridge Cleaver, and which even Earl Ceit said should have been given credit. And of course, just a few

months ago, in response to the Third World strike, he called for the state of emergency declaration that inaugurated a police state on the campus, and gave us a foretaste of the mass violence we are undergoing today.

Yet despite all that and more, even leading faculty opponents of the Chancellor could state "I have respected you despite differences . . ." The fear of Somebody Worse kept all too many docile and quiet.

Now, the last figleaves of illusion have been cut away by bayonets, burned away by blister gas. Somebody Worse is in Sproul Hall right now; he has been there all along. Just as Clark Kerr was the "Liberal" hatchet man for Governor Brown, Roger Heyns is Reagan's man on the campus.

If the campus is ever to see an end to mass police violence and repression, it will have to get Somebody Better. But the only way to get Somebody Better is to pick him out yourself -- to make the Chancellor responsible to the university community, not to the ruling class of the society at large. It is not so much a matter of the man as of who controls him.

In the long run, of course, the problems which beset UC cannot be resolved outside of the context of a resolution of the problems that beset the society as a whole. A transformation of the University of California depends upon a transformation of America; genuine student-faculty control of the campus cannot survive except given workers' control of U.S. society.

But there are various concrete steps that can be taken today, towards the overall task of rooting out the institutions of American capitalism. One of these is rooting out the representatives of those institutions within the University. The campus unions and various student and faculty organizations have begun to raise the demand that Heyns resign and his successor be elected by the campus community.

What is needed is an administration that will defend the university instead of helping to destroy it, that will be responsible to students, faculty and staff, not to agrribusiness, real estate interests, the military, etc. Many more baths of tear gas and buckshot, and the university will simply disintegrate and cease to exist.

Heyns has tried to argue, "Apres Moi, Le Deluge." APRES?! -- who is he trying to kid? If Heyns wants to play DeGaulle, we should let him. The French people bid DeGaulle adieu, and we should do the same to Heyns.

全学連

Zengakuren
1969

- Nigel Harris -

The January 18 assault of 8,000 Tokyo policemen on Yasuda Hall, the administrative centre of Tokyo University (Todai), has brought to a close the first phase of Japan's most militant student revolt.

This summer, the Lower House of parliament comes up for re-election, and in 1970 the US-Japan Mutual Security Pact can be altered or scrapped.

In both cases, the official opposition is not presenting an adequate attack. The student movement, as elsewhere, is filling the vacuum.

Eleven months ago, the Todai Medical Faculty went on strike against the disciplining of some students. In June, Todai's President called in the police to clear the campus.

The result was a storm of protest. Other faculties went on strike, and by the end of October, the university had come to a halt.

The campus was converted into a series of fortresses, commanded by different factions. The bitter battle to remove these factions has occupied the police ever since.

Todai is the nucleus of the opposition and the premier university of Japan.

Elsewhere, in some 50 of Japan's 370 larger universities, the revolt has also developed.

A year ago, students and workers fought to prevent the US atom-powered aircraft carrier Enterprise from refueling in Japan.

In May, there were violent demonstrations as militants of Zengakuren (Federation of Student Self-Gov-

where, the same combination of local student grievances and major political issues. In particular, because a majority of Japan's universities are operated for private profit, the continuous raising of fees is a constant threat to all students.

The Japanese universities are much more authoritarian in character than elsewhere, and they have been vastly over-expanded in recent years (the staff-student ratio in private universities is 37 to one; in some universities, it is as high as 100 to one).

But in addition, many of the students recognize the key role Japan plays in the US domination of the Far East.

Okinawa--Japanese territory in the Ryukyu islands to the south of Japan proper--has been under US occupation for 23 years, and is now a major supply and servicing point for the Vietnam war.

It is the largest US troop garrison in Asia outside Vietnam, a base for the giant B-52 bombers that raid North Vietnam.

In addition, the US maintains extensive bases in Japan itself, and has long been seeking to push Japan into the role of its major agent in Asia--the lynch pin of an east Asian Treaty Organisation, and the major Asian

nuclear power.

On Okinawa itself, the local population has been agitating for a long time for US evacuation. US requisitions of land since 1955 now cover 15 per cent of the total land area.

The peasants complain bitterly that the giant Kadena base was built on the best sugar-growing soil, and that sugar cane must be cut on demand to a height of one foot so as not to interfere with electronic communications.

They argue that US troops enjoy extra-territorial rights so that they cannot be tried by Okinawan courts--and that the waters around the island have abnormal radioactivity because of the transit of nuclear submarines (a frog mutation was discovered by an Okinawa newspaper last July).

LAND ROBBERS

There have been peasant demonstrations and sit-downs with the slogan: 'Yankse land robbers get out! Your dollars are here today, gone tomorrow, but our land bears fruit forever.'

The Japanese government has tried to conceal the fact that it would basically like to be the major nuclear power of Asia, and is not averse to using US power in achieving this.

On Okinawa, it has restricted itself to polite criticisms--requesting that schoolrooms be sound-proofed against the noise of US jets.

Even if the US does return Okinawa to Japan in the 1970's both Washington and the government of Japan would like to keep the nuclear installations there intact. To do so, they must revise the Japanese Constitution to delete the clause which forbids Japan to hold nuclear weapons.

MASSPURO

The particular student issues and the wider political questions cannot be separated. Control of the universities, the 'masspuro' (mass-production) of students, is part and parcel of the corrupt businessmen's regime of Prime Minister Sato.

And Sato cannot be separated from his friends in Washington. The profits flowing back from Vietnam help him to survive.

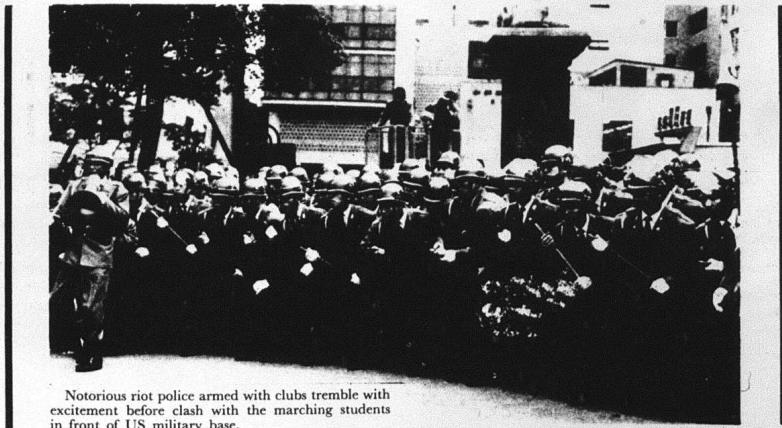
Whether in the row at Keio University--which began when medical students protested against the faculty's accepting US military funds for research--or at Kyushu University, the intimate links between the Japanese establishment and US foreign policy and the Vietnam war have been at stake.

Thus, all the central issues of Japanese politics--its relationship to the US, the rearmament of Japan (and the revival of Japanese imperialism), the right of Japanese capitalism to rule, the revision of the Constitution, and the fate of Okinawa--are being fought out on the campus.

In 1970, Japan can either reject its pact with the US, or continue its rightward slither.

At the moment, the students are the most militant force fighting for the first alternative.

Reprinted from Socialist Worker, an English revolutionary socialist weekly, February 8, 1969.



Notorious riot police armed with clubs tremble with excitement before clash with the marching students in front of US military base.

erning Associations) tried to block railway fuel supplies to the Tachikawa US air base.

In the summer, a US military plane crashed into a building of Kyushu University. Militants prevented US recovery of the aircraft until the US promised to evacuate nearby Itazuke air base.

Further attempts to block fuel and ammunition trains culminated in the enormous demonstration of October 21, against the Vietnam war and US bases in Okinawa and Japan.

Some reports state that 700,000 workers, of the largest trade union federation, Sohyo, and a smaller one, Churitsuroren, demonstrated in 363 areas of Japan. Three and a half million held workshop rallies, and the students stormed the parliament building.

The demonstration coincided with government attempts to penalise 10,000 railwaymen for a work-to-rule. The railwaymen held a one-hour strike and boycotted fuel trains supplying US bases, and 175,000 other workers held one-hour solidarity strikes.

This year, apart from the battle over Todai itself, students sacked a Tokyo police station in reprisal for the assault on Todai; Chuo and Meiji universities held solidarity demonstrations and occupations; and there was a riot at Kyoto University.

Both Nihon University--the scene of an enormous demonstration on September 30 that forced the chancellor and five other directors to resign (because they had been milking university funds for their own pockets)--and Todai were closed, affecting perhaps 150,000 students.

In all, the police claim 4000 police were injured and 5000 students arrested. Incidentally, the level of violence was higher than it might have been because the Japanese Communist Party students (the Yoyogi faction) fought openly against the action of the militants.

The issues behind the revolt are the same as else-



Meiji Univ. Strike against higher tuition in December, 1966.

People's Park in Retrospect

Jack Weinberg
and Jack Bloom

The struggle over People's Park in Berkeley has set in motion political ripples which have yet to quiet down. It mobilized thousands of people throughout the state, stimulated secondary movements on other campuses, and cracked the iceberg of political reaction which has been growing in California.

At the same time, the struggle was faced with more serious repression than the white radical movement has known in the recent past. The gassings, the shootings, the killing, the beating and harassing of prisoners; the occupation of the city by the national guard have all been widely publicized. Less well-known are the rules Berkeley citizens were forced to live under. A 10:00 p.m. curfew was declared and loitering was forbidden. Leafleting was illegal and while few people were arrested on this charge, many had their leaflets confiscated. Public meetings were not allowed, and neither were rallies or sound equipment (although some rallies were held in defiance of the ban).

The State was attempting to impede political organization. It was by no means wholly successful, but its efforts forewarn of a long-term trend as the social struggle in America deepens and intensifies. The wholesale repression presented serious problems to a movement lacking an organized and recognized leadership.

The fact that the movement did manage to achieve so much is a tribute to the spirit and vitality of the people involved, and testifies to the spontaneous power of masses in motion. But there are inherent limitations to spontaneity as a strategy, which were illustrated by the course of the struggle in Berkeley. The movement never developed a leadership decisive enough or with the consciousness necessary to overcome the obstacles which confronted it.

On the day before the Park was invaded by police, a hastily-called meeting of 200-300 people elected an eleven-man negotiating committee. This committee was picked to represent those who had worked in the Park. It was purposely not chosen as a political body; its members were not selected on the basis of who could best lead a political struggle. In part this was because, although people were aware that a struggle over the Park was inevitable, no one really expected that this would be the body that would lead it.

That night the occupation took place. The next day at a rally the newly-elected President of the ASUC called for a march on the Park. 2000-3000 went down to confront the police and their new eight-foot high fence. Bloody Thursday began.

The negotiating committee met briefly Thursday night to plan a press conference for Friday -- but it did not formulate plans for action on Friday. On Friday night a large mass meeting was held in Oakland.

This meeting accepted a proposal which was presented by some independents who had caucused toget-

her. It voted to shut down downtown Berkeley in order to prevent the city from carrying on as usual while the Park was being desecrated and the community occupied by outside police and national guardsmen.

On Saturday night the negotiating committee met along with others who wished to participate in the formulation of plans for Sunday (and who knew of the meeting). Planned was a vigil outside the hospital for those wounded on Thursday.

When the vigil was prevented by the national guard, an attempt was made to seize some unoccupied land and begin planting a second park. That, too, was broken up by police. A subsequent march through the Berkeley hills eventually dispersed without confrontation.

That night the Negotiating Committee met again. Already it was recognized that a serious problem of leadership had emerged. The negotiating committee and its friends could more readily make decisions than carry them out. Moreover, since the negotiating committee itself was not a politically decisive body, the political center of gravity at most of its meetings revolved around people who were not in fact elected members of the committee, although they attended meetings and participated fully.

It was only through this ad hoc inclusion of other political points of view that the negotiating committee could function at all. However, their participation was never institutionalized. The meetings took on the character of a floating crap game. There were different people at each one, changing the political character of the body from meeting to meeting.

It was never clear who was welcome and who was not -- who could participate in decision making and who couldn't. By Berkeley tradition, "movement old-timers" had easy access to the committee -- it was they who provided much of its direction. But the structure discouraged those who were providing direction from then assuming ongoing responsibility. It also established a very intimidating and politically constrained atmosphere. Since it was never clearly established who was welcome and who wasn't, those who were unpopular with the negotiating committee's establishment -- or alternatively, those with proposals likely to be initially unpopular -- felt inhibited about coming. Similarly, it was considered in bad taste to argue too vigorously for a point of view -- such arguing would "turn off" certain people.

Since no one but the Negotiating Committee had the "right" to be there, these factors prevented the open political struggle and thrashing out of ideas -- including initially unpopular ones -- which would have been necessary for this or any body that wished to provide real leadership for such a mass struggle. Leadership from the center at every point tallented the conscious-

ness of the broadest mass, its uncertainty as well as its militancy, its myths and prejudices as well as its radical spirit.

Nevertheless, a marked tendency arose among some members of the Negotiating Committee and some others to fetishize the Negotiating Committee: it had been elected by the people; it was the only thing left of the Park. Representatives of radical groups and/or of other organized constituencies were not wanted. Nor were any other proposals put forward to provide an organization and leadership dynamically interacting with the people in motion. The Negotiating Committee, though elected by a constituency, was no longer responsible to that constituency or any other.

Thursday night marked the decisive turning point in the struggle. During that day, over 400 people were entrapped and arrested in downtown Berkeley. Unsuspecting shoppers, reporters, and even a postman delivering his mail were swept off to Santa Rita, the county jail. It was the culmination of a solid week of militant street action.

OCCUPIED BERKELEY

Uniformed troops and military vehicles all over Berkeley; the incessant drone of helicopters circling and watching -- a sound which one could not escape; the indiscriminate use of gas not only on campus, but even in the vicinity of the city schools; the impact of James Reitor's death; all contributed to an atmosphere of military occupation and marshal law. This was impressed upon not only the militants, the students, and the hip community; it was felt by a substantial portion of the entire Berkeley community. The outrage generated by the feeling that Berkeley had been invaded by a force outside of, and hostile to, the city unified otherwise diverse sections of the population.

A mass meeting of the movement Thursday night -- called at the last minute, poorly publicized, and held in downtown Oakland several miles away -- packed in 500 to 1000 people. The mood was one of both high morale and exhaustion, both bravery and fear, both dedication and impatience.

The high point of the meeting was a proposal by Frank Bardacke to put out a call for people throughout the state, across the country, and around the world to converge on Berkeley on Memorial Day, 8 days away; with thirty to fifty thousand, we would march on People's Park, and tear down the fence. Wild and thunderous cheers, applause, and war whoops greeted the proposal, and, together with a schematic plan of action for the following week, it was adopted.

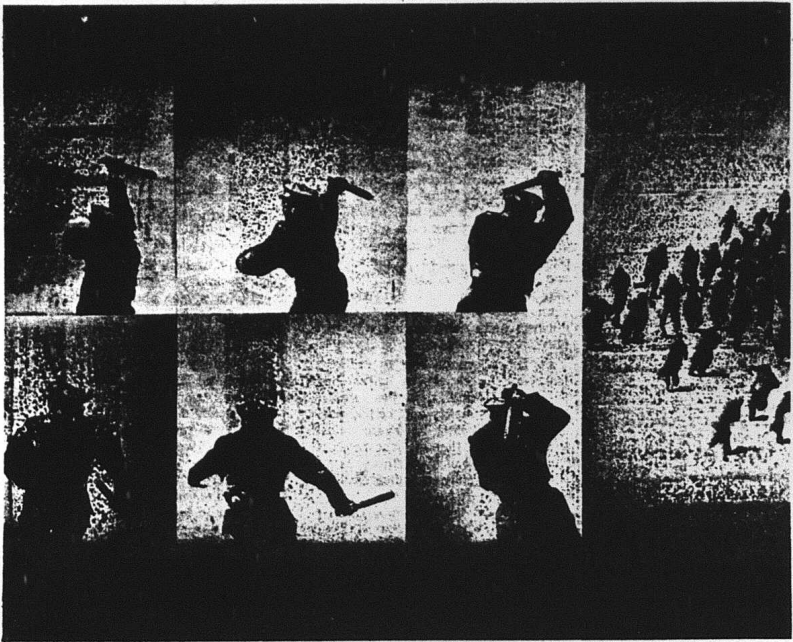
In light of the fact that there were less than a thousand people at the meeting, it was also proposed that a genuine mass meeting be held at Tilden Park in the Berkeley Hills on Sunday to firm up plans and to elect a number of people to be added to the Negotiating Committee, expanding the leadership. This too was adopted. However, partly because it is almost impossible to hold a serious mass meeting in a park on a beautiful day, and partly because the atmosphere was different by then, the Sunday meeting was transformed into a pleasant picnic with a skit and a few pep talks. There was to be, after Sunday, no further opportunity to change or expand the "official" movement leadership, and no opportunity for the mass of the activists involved to politically express themselves in determining the further direction of the movement.

The Memorial Day mobilization proposal had a contradictory character. On the one hand, it was the expression of genuine militancy and determination. On the other, by projecting a showdown 8 days away, it served as a cover for a rest, for a slowing down of the movement -- it was in part an expression of fatigue and exhaustion.

As the Berkeley movement saw during the Third World Strike, the dynamics of struggle and militancy cannot be turned off and then on again at will. It is true that the fatigue which had set in, and the effectiveness of the repression, would have made it very difficult to continue the militant street struggle through the week; on the other hand, failure to maintain the militant struggle for seven days would make it very difficult to resurrect a fighting spirit on the eighth. The movement, looking ahead to Memorial Day, failed to understand the critical importance of maintaining the struggle in the streets in the meantime. By and large, the events of the week amounted to little more than marking time.

It is the job of radicals and revolutionaries in every political struggle to press that struggle toward its highest possible development; to generalize the lessons of that particular struggle toward an understanding of both other struggles going in the society, and the nature of power in that society; to have the greatest possible radicalizing effect on the consciousness of the greatest possible mass. The organizational failure of the radical and revolutionary left in Berkeley was responsible for the fact that the movement, particularly after the Thursday mass meeting, expressed in action a consciousness far lower than its potential.

A broad movement had emerged not only throughout Berkeley, but also across the state, in response to the



"Test of Violence," painting by Genova

repression and terror. There were strikes at most of the other University of California campuses; there was a march on the capitol building in Sacramento; in Berkeley itself, liberal groups, parents' committees, even the Consumers' Co-op, began to move around the issue. For many who became involved, the issue was "peace in Berkeley." It viewed the militant struggles as provocative, but considered the real problem to be the "rigidity," "overreaction," and "excessive" use of force by the authorities. They felt that if giving the park to the people was the price of peace, it was a small price, and anyway, the park wasn't really such a bad idea. A few liberal politicians gave explicit expression to this "peace in Berkeley" attitude. The political effects of the current they generated penetrated into the ranks of the radical movement itself.

The vast majority of those who had been shocked into motion throughout the community and across the state did not have a sharply defined attitude. Finding themselves in what was to them a new political situation, they were open to considerable movement in any of several directions.

The radical movement should have confronted the "peace in Berkeley" mentality head-on. It should have argued that militant struggle is not a lesser evil, but a positive good; that increasingly, even the most modest concessions to people's needs are granted only as the result of struggle or the threat thereof; that it is the state which maintains a virtual monopoly on violence, which it uses to prop up an increasingly degenerate social system; that the full blame for all violence rests squarely with the state and the authorities, who are committed to repressing the real interests of the people in the interest of the maintenance of that system.

REPRESSION

To oppose the "peace in Berkeley" sentiment with "solidarity with the struggle" the movement should have focused on police power and repression-- the issues around which most people were first set in motion. It was our responsibility to put forward a program around these issues-- to challenge the terms and context in which they were raised by the professional liberals-- to put forward a program designed to move people from a simple concern with these concrete questions toward a broader understanding of what they demonstrate about the nature of American society.

Significant elements of the movement, however, resisted efforts to take on, in a serious political fashion, the question of police and repression, in the fear that this would detract from the struggle for the park. This resistance to generally politicizing the struggle, in order to concentrate solely on the park, in the long run decisively weakened the very struggle to free the park. The failure to take on the "peace in Berkeley" sentiment enabled it to invade the movement and disarm it.

The concentration on the park as nothing but a park encouraged the generation of such slogans as: "we will build the new society in the vacant lots of the old." What was going on was portrayed as the beginning of a movement to put the land back in the hands of the people-- as though people lack power because they are alienated from the land-- as though this were a peasant and not an advanced industrial society.

In American society, it is the alienation of the people from the means of production which deprives them of power. People will only be able to control their environment, including the land, after seizing power in the factories and in the society as a whole. The struggle for People's Park is a part of the struggle for a new society, one responsive to people and their real needs. But the new society cannot exist in the interstices of the old.

The movement must grasp control not only of those elements which are peripheral to the old society, but also of those which are central to it. Sooner or later, it will have to confront and destroy the state power of the status quo if a new society is to be built. A refusal to face that fact can only strengthen the hand of the establishment.

Publicity for the Memorial Day march was contradictory. The liberals attempted to redefine it as a memorial march for James Rector. Movement propaganda ranged from promises to tear down the fence to hints that peacefulness had the highest priority.

Earlier in the week, there had been an understanding in the movement that the march would be on the park-- that it would be publicized as a march to demand the fence come down; that tearing down the fence would not be disclaimed; that if the march were not permitted to reach the park, people would stay in the streets; that in what was then considered the unlikely event that the march reached the park, the fence would come down.

At the same time, specific agitation for tearing down the fence was rejected on the grounds that a) it sounded like bluster since no one had any expectation we would get near the fence; that b) the police could use it for a pretext to come down extra hard on the movement; and that c) everyone was certain that if we ever did reach the fence, no agitation would be needed to bring it down. It was also understood that the march would be consciously billed as a continuation of the earlier street actions, as opposed to either a "support march" for the Berkeley movement, or a "peace in Berkeley" march.

However, as Memorial Day approached, there was decreasing evidence that any conscious political leadership existed within the movement. One could sense that what had originally been proposed as a massive militant march had become, in the minds of those who were relaying, an ordeal to be somehow gotten through. As has often happened in the past, weak organization led to cautiousness and conservatism. When militant struggles become massive in scale, daring and courage are required of the leadership. If the organization is weak, the decisive decisions are made by a few individuals acting essentially as individuals. And, while a person acting as a part of a collective which he feels is real-- in that it takes itself seriously, is representative of a significant constituency, and is accepted as a legitimate leadership by that constituency-- can give daring and decisive leadership to a mass struggle, an individual functioning as an individual finds it much too heavy to carry such a burden on his own shoulders.

What might have been the result if a leadership with the legitimacy and ability to act had, sensing the changing attitude of the movement, decided to reassert tearing down the fence as the goal of the march? What would have been the result if the leadership had announced that the masses of people would remain at the park or in the streets until the fence came down? What might have been the result of a political line coming out from the movement leadership (who would have had easy access to the media in the week prior to the march), making it clear through a concrete action proposal that the march was a continuation of the struggle which had been going on in the streets, and that to join that march was to join that struggle? We believe that large numbers would have still shown up, though somewhat fewer, and that they would have arrived with a totally different consciousness than was demonstrated on Memorial Day.

On the day before the march, Sheriff Madigan announced that he would use shotguns loaded with buckshot (the kind that killed Rector) if there were trouble. Ron Dellums, a liberal Berkeley councilman, stated that he had proof that the police had machine guns. Police agencies had been unpredictable enough in the past to convince those who came that the worst was at least a

possibility.

Yet still people came, in tens of thousands. People were unsure of what to expect. It is unfortunate that the groundwork had not been laid to prepare them to expect struggle. People were relieved at the picnic atmosphere they found-- but it was that empty relief which leads to even greater frustration.

What was the political line projected to the gathered masses? "It is a struggle to free the land. The earth is on our side. That is why we have earthquakes. Earth wants sun, it wants to break through the concrete and asphalt to see the sun. The plan is to get as close to the fence as possible and build a park in the streets-- and to do so in the spirit of brotherhood. We are going to show the Man that when we take the streets we do not take them violently. A rock is a piece of earth. Today on this march we are using the earth to build-- we are not using the earth as a weapon. Of course, if attacked, we will defend ourselves, but our intention is to be non-violent and creative."

FUN IN THE SUN

As it happened, it made little difference what was said in the speeches. By that time, few were listening. The picnic atmosphere had already been well established. It was almost impossible even to start up a chant like "free the park" or "bring down the fence." Everyone sensed it would be inappropriate. The elements of the ritual were sun, water hoses, music, being with your friends-- the park, the struggle, never penetrated.

Barbed wire had been copiously strung about the Telegraph Avenue area. The National Guard cleared the streets in the vicinity of the park. But the march was allowed to reach the park... and most of the marchers simply walked on by.

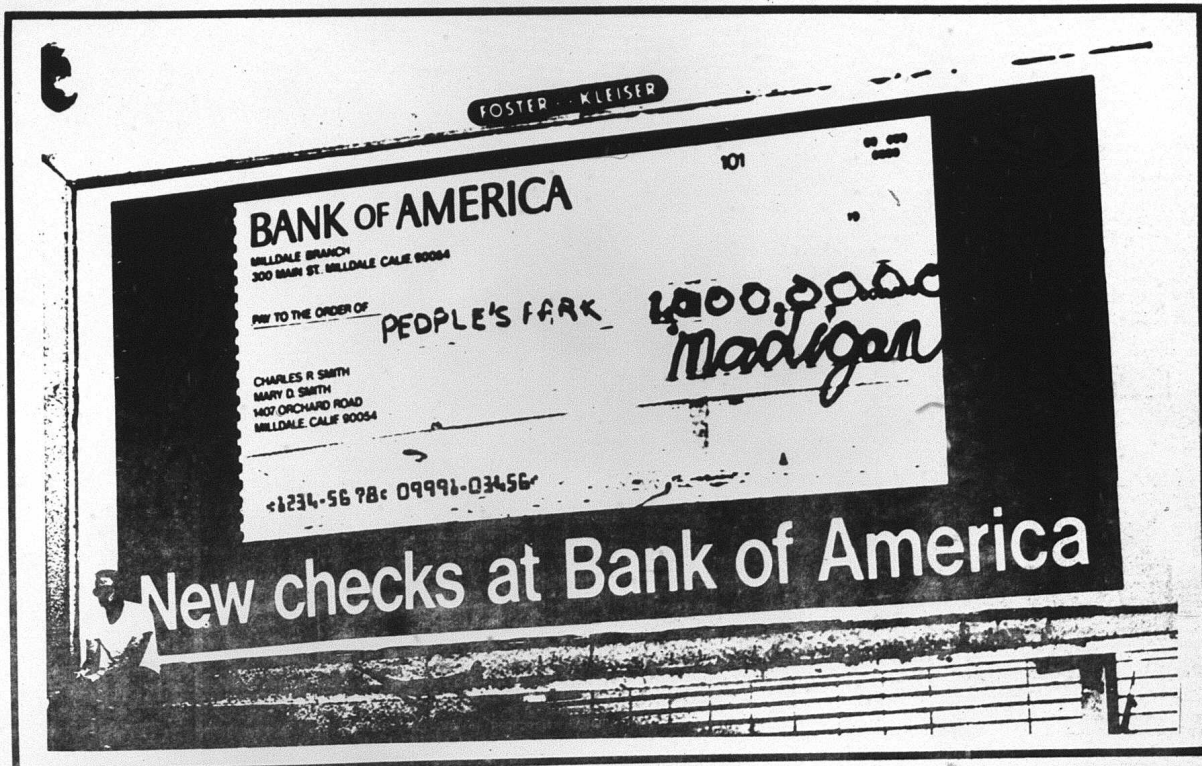
The failure to keep the movement in the streets during the week prior to the march; the failure to create an organizational form which could provide decisive, political, responsive leadership; the failure to politicize the struggle, to broaden the issues while maintaining the focus on the park, to take on the professional liberals and attempt to provide alternative leadership even for their following; the failure of countless aspiring revolutionaries to function as revolutionaries-- tailending the consciousness of the movement rather than seeing their role as raising consciousness even when that requires going against the stream-- all these failures are facets of a single problem.

The People's Park controversy is the fifth mass upheaval in Berkeley in a year. It is the size and advanced consciousness of the broad radical movement in Berkeley which is responsible for the problems it faces. Increasingly, at least in Berkeley, neither revolutionary rhetoric nor good intentions will suffice. Increasingly, it will require revolutionary consciousness to successfully lead in struggle-- it will take experience, training, discipline, and courage.

The future of the People's Park controversy is, at the time of this writing, still in doubt. The fence is still up.

Berkeley is still explosive; there was a near-riot on Telegraph Avenue the other day, just to prevent the police from making a minor bust. But since Memorial Day, even though feeling for the park is still high, it has been impossible to regenerate the movement. The broad community discontent brought to the surface by the park controversy may trigger a new movement in Berkeley, organized around police control, rent control, taxes and other community issues.

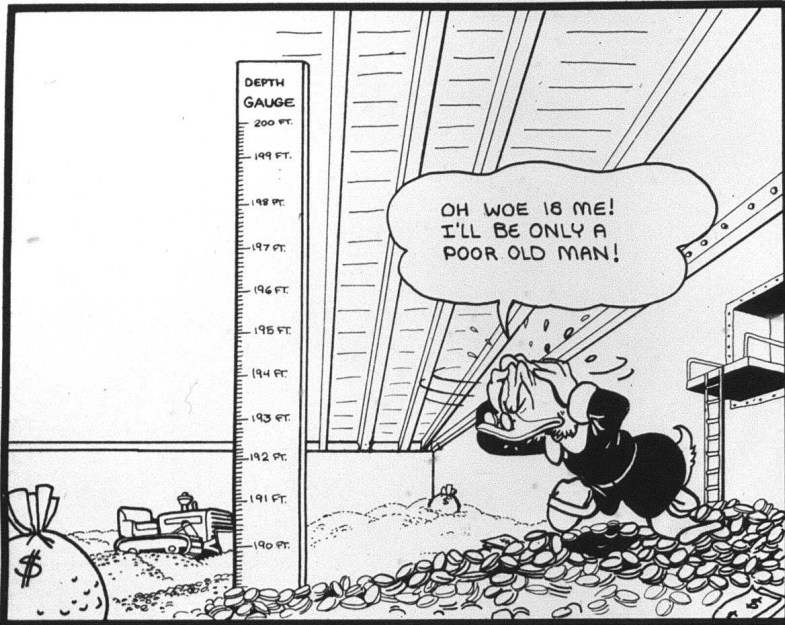
In the meantime, Reagan is calling for an escalation of the reaction. On the 20th of June, the Regents of the University of California will meet and decide about what to do with the Park. If past experience is any guide, a fresh atrocity on their part may well be the spark that touches off the next round.



The World Financial Crisis

Joel Stein

The international money crises which have shaken the Western world repeatedly over the last two years are far from over. Beneath the patchwork of band-aids erected by the Western powers to ward off a break-down of the monetary system, the old wounds fester and grow.



Last November, in the wake of the French mass strike, hundreds of millions of French francs were converted into German marks. The run on the franc threatened not only to weaken the French economy, but also to force devaluation of the Franc, thereby threatening devaluations of the Pound and Dollar.

The top financial officials of Western Europe, North America and Japan met in Switzerland in an attempt to ward off devaluation. In the wake of that meeting, severe "austerity measures" were imposed upon the French workers, wage cuts were promoted in Britain, and steps were taken leading to possible unemployment in West Germany.

The previous month, a run on the dollar led to the creation of two gold markets -- one for the central banks, which agreed to exchange reserve gold at the price of \$35 an ounce, and another "free" market, in which gold has hovered at around \$40 - \$45 an ounce.

The November before that, a run on the British pound had forced the Wilson Government to devalue by 14%.

DEVALUATION

Devaluation is a fall in the value of a nation's currency, relative to those of other nations. The commodities exported by that nation become cheaper in the world market, while commodities imported become more expensive.

This procedure initiates a rise in the profitability of exporting industries, a fall in the profitability of importing industries, and a general wage cut for workers.

The competitive advantages which one nation obtains through devaluation may encourage other nations to devalue themselves -- and thus could lead to a general instability of the world's currencies and therewith a sudden contraction of world trade.

The present international monetary system was organized at the end of the Second World War. All currencies stand at fixed exchange rates in relation to the US dollar, which is itself fixed at the price of \$35 to the ounce of gold.

In terms of this system, the US dollar and the British pound are treated as "reserve currencies"; they are held by central banks in reserve, as gold equivalents. The dollar, and less importantly the British pound, are supposed to be as good as gold in international trade and capital movements.

In theory, at the end of a given period, generally a year, all other nations are supposed to balance their international payments. This means that if more francs, say, have left France in that period

than have entered it, if its total debts are greater than its total receipts, then France is expected to settle its deficits in gold.

Not so the dollar and the pound. When a dollar deficit is obtained, these dollars are supposed to be held in the central banks reserves and used for international trade and investment.

While this system is nominally based upon the automatic gold convertibility of dollars by the US government, it rests in fact upon the unwillingness of Washington to convert dollars into gold and the willingness of the West European nations and other central banks to acquiesce to this arrangement.

Such a set-up offers important advantages to the US. The dollar is, after all, not a precious metal but a very inexpensive piece of paper covered with green ink under the auspices of the US government. A nation which can print paper gold can have seemingly unlimited credit in its dealings.

The present monetary system was imposed after World War II -- at a time when Europe lay in ruins while the US produced approximately 65% of the gross world product and held the vast majority of the total

gold reserves of the West.

The post-war reconstruction of Europe depended upon the extension of loans and trade by the US. The monetary stability of these nations, practically devoid of gold and burdened by huge debts to the US, required having dollars in their reserves.

The social stability of the war-wrecked Europe and the exigencies of the rapidly-developing Cold War forced the US to help subsidize the European reconstruction. For the US, however, the reconstruction of Europe was necessarily contradictory.

The US had failed to emerge from the depression but for the war. With the war over, and a vastly expanded productive apparatus to cope with the problems of ensuring capital expansion presented themselves anew. The thought of subordinating Europe to the US capital expansion was a tempting prospect, but Washington had to be content with a policy of slowly easing the Europeans out of the colonial world and replacing their economic dominance there to the extent possible.

ARMS ECONOMY

At the time of the conversion to the post-war economy, non-war production had actually fallen since the depression. Nonetheless, the aid to European reconstruction, and the fact that the war machine was not actually dismantled, but maintained for the new rivalry with Russia, forestalled a crisis. With the Korean War, the permanent arms economy became a permanent attribute of the US economy.

Government intervention and deficit financing were required to obtain social-economic stability in both Western Europe and the US. In the former, thanks to their good fortune in being devastated by war, and also to the impetus of a certain amount of integration of the Common Market countries (necessitating a larger scale of capital production), this deficit financing could be a means for capital expansion. But in the United States it was taken up in the arms economy, while stagnation predominated.

Thus, since the war, the pre-war expansion ratio between the US and Western Europe was reversed, from the former's to the latter's favor. Before the war, the US expanded twice as rapidly as Europe; since the war, Europe, and Japan even more, have expanded twice as rapidly as the US.

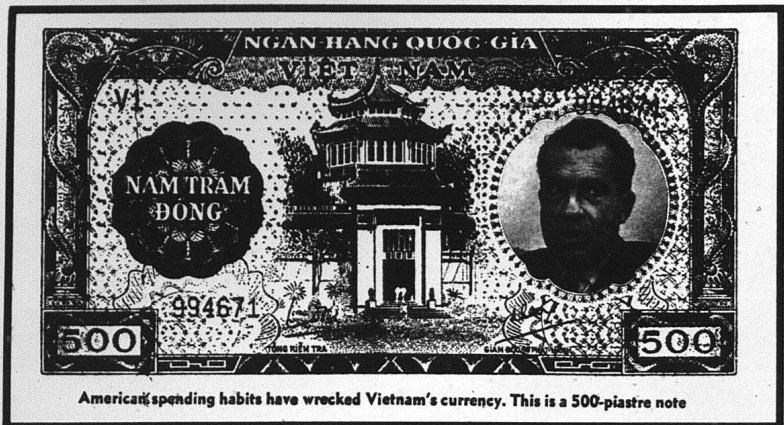
Today, the combined economies of Western Europe and Japan are approximately as large as that of the US, while at the end of the war, the US economy was larger than that of the combined production of the world.

The fixed exchange system between the various currencies, however, is based upon a fixed economic relation between their respective nations. This is not dependent upon any direct correlation between these two ratios, but rather upon the necessary effects of the changing international economic relations, like the "balance of payments" problem.

An expanding economy will generally express its expansion in the world market in its growing share of international trade. It will therefore be a commodity-exporting nation, and perhaps also a capital importing nation -- each of which leads to a balance of payments surplus. This has been the case with West Germany and Japan, until recently the fastest growing private-capitalist nations.

On the other hand, a relatively declining national economy will tend to be a capital-exporting nation and commodity-importing nation -- each of which leads to a balance of payments deficit. Thus, at the end of the Second World War, the US had a trade surplus of about \$10 billion. But in the last quarter of 1968, the US had no trade surplus at all.

In the case of the US, any balance of payments deficit is also tied to its massive overseas military outlays. In the course of the past two decades, the



American spending habits have wrecked Vietnam's currency. This is a 500-piastre note

US has acquired a huge debt to its "allies" of some tens of billions of dollars, while its monetary gold reserves have shrunk to a fraction of their former size (to about \$10 billion). This is a huge loan -- without interest, with no sign of repayment, and with every sign of growing -- which the Europeans have extended to the US for such worthwhile ventures as the Vietnam War, today the largest element in the US balance of payments deficit, and also for the US capital invasion of the European economy.

Thus behind the present international monetary instability is the subordination of the whole system to the requirements of one nation, the United States; that nation's former predominance, while still far from ended, is nonetheless seriously weakened.

By the standards which the US itself imposed at Bretton Woods, following the Second World War -- i.e., a persistent balance of payments deficit -- the US dollar is tremendously "over-valued". But the US dollar, in relation to which all other currencies are fixed, can not be devalued as other currencies can. This can only be done by increasing the price of gold and reshaping the entire monetary system.

From the point of view of the United States, such a situation would mean, at least in part, the passing of the dollar's privileged position. It would mean that the US would have to control its balance of payments deficit, which there is no indication that it can do -- except if all other nations are willing to extend favorable trade advantages to the US which they would deny themselves, something they are hardly likely to do.

For the Europeans, the continued trade, capital and military supremacy of the US, which insists upon maintaining its privileged position, makes it extremely difficult to force an alteration in the situation. In addition, the tremendous dollar reserves already held by the Europeans would make devaluation an extremely uncomfortable proposition. Moreover, there is widespread fear of the possible initiation of international monetary chaos.

That danger is heightened at the present time when the Post-War European expansion, and also the expansion of world trade, has slowed down. This is behind Germany's refusal to cut into its balance of payments surplus through a revaluation of the mark which would hamper its competitive position. At a time when world trade expansion is problematical, it is unwilling to give up any competitive advantages.

It is precisely the slow-down in the expansion of world trade that could make any attempt to readjust the international monetary system set off a progression of devaluations and instability, resulting in a rapid contraction of world trade and possibly economic crisis and mass unemployment.

The profitability of capital dictates the state of the world market and international trade. This profitability, in the absence of capital expansion, can only be augmented through assaults upon the living and working conditions of the workers and poor. Unfortunately, all the financial shifting between nations must take the form of an attack upon their respective working classes, whose wages must be depressed and controlled to augment profitability and therewith the competitive position of the rival-allies.

WAGE CONTROL

It is for this reason, for example, that France in 1958 witnessed two devaluations, each of equal extent. The first failed precisely because it could not be tied to a wage control policy; the second, DeGaulle's, succeeded because of his success in wage control. In the same way, only from the other side, the working class offensive in May-June and threatened to bring France crashing down in the fall.

Today, the universal orientation of the West European nations and the US is toward wage-restraints and measures preventing workers from defending living and working conditions. Whether or not this effort succeeds, there is no reason to believe that wage-control could give rise to capital expansion. With or without expansion, there is no reason to suppose that workers' conditions will do anything but decline in the next period, through direct and indirect state policies.

On the other hand, the French mass strike, and growing rank-and-file labour militancy in the US and Britain, give every reason to suppose that docility on the part of the workers can not be taken for granted.

Whether or not a devaluation of the dollar takes place in the immediate future, the position of the dollar weakens. Its balance of payments deficit can not be controlled. The two-price gold system promises that eventually only one price will prevail, and the less controlled, higher price is the stronger of the two.

Even the extension of credits from the International Monetary Fund, or from the paper gold, SDR (Statutory Drawing Rights) system, will not be adequate to eliminate the US's growing balance of payments deficit and capital stagnation (although ending the Vietnam War would help). And nothing can be done to stabilize the world monetary system so long as nothing can be done to stabilize the dollar.

BANG OR WHIMPER

We need not necessarily expect a sudden and dramatic collapse such as that in 1929; there is no way of saying to what extent the immediate situation can be controlled. But the general situation gets worse. Interest rates sky-rocket, deflationary policies are launched by all governments to discourage expansion, while the inflation-deficit economies demand constant expansion to make good the old debts. The previous success of deficit-spending in stabilizing capital has also increased the difficulties in the way of any further capital expansion. Future expansion may require alterations in the "mixed economy" as dramatic as the mixed economy itself seemed relative to the previous "free market" economy (when the state took up 5% rather than 30% of total production).

One thing is certain: a crisis in the long run is inevitable. Whether it comes rapidly or slowly, only through class struggle can the workers defend themselves from its effects -- and prepare themselves to present a progressive revolutionary alternative to the fumbling attempts of the Establishment to contain it within the boundaries of the capitalist system.

Mad Money

-Michael Kidron-

Four billion dollars thundered across the exchanges into Germany last week. It was the fifth major international currency speculation in 18 months, the biggest since the pound was devalued.

It has already edged Germany into the hot-spot of the Western power struggle where France stood not so long ago. It has cracked the unity of the German Coalition Cabinet. It has pushed the German workers a step nearer the next big confrontation with Old Man Capital. In Britain, it means another turn of Labour's screw.

A lot of money is geared up to go into these raids. Big firms in the US and here, unsure of getting permission to expand abroad, leave their foreign profits there-- as Euro-dollars, deposited outside their own countries on short term.

Continental banks and finance houses want to cash in on the world-wide hunger for capital and on local credit squeezes, so they make funds available to all comers-- as Euro-dollars.

Traders in the West's increasingly volatile and integrated market want more and more to keep their balances in the now uncontrolled international currency available-- Euro-dollars.

\$16 BILLION

By the end of 1967, there was \$16 billion worth of Euro-dollars floating around. By the end of 1968, according to Stopper of the Swiss National Bank, there was \$24 billion worth. Other estimates go as high as \$30 billion-- or 12 times Britain's reserves of gold and foreign currency.

It was some of this huge mass of ready money that flooded into Germany. Comparatively little has trickled back. Speculators still believe that the Deutsche-marks they bought are going to be worth a great deal more in the near future.

There's a lot of backing for that view. As German exports eat their way into British, French and US markets, particularly into the fast-growing European one, Western pressure on Germany to raise her export prices and cheapen her imports by changing the value of the D-mark becomes heavier and more insistent.

THE D-MARK

Inside Germany there are forces pushing in the same direction. The Social Democrats are finding the heavy Mark a key weapon in their current electoral campaign. To their worker-supporters it is made to represent even more jobs and more overtime (even cheaper holidays abroad this pre-election summer) at the cost of slightly higher prices.

To their middle-class voters it is proof of the party's sturdy independence of their Christian-Democrat partners-- at the cost of slightly upsetting the small-business and farm lobbies.

And to their NATO allies it is a promise of greater compliance in adjusting to general Western interests than can be expected from a Kiesinger-Strauss administration.

Yet so far the German government has not budged. It has "recycled" a small part of the speculative funds, lending it back to the countries of origin-- at interest.

It has promised to discourage further speculative raids. But it hasn't actually DONE anything, and, above all, it hasn't revalued the D-mark.

Nor will it unless a fat price goes with revaluation. The Christian-Democrats can't afford to give in easily to foreign and domestic blackmail. As it is, they will have to run hard against the right-wing NPD for its place as the party of small business and national assertion.

More important in the long run, if German capital can win this tangle, it has it made to become the unchallengeable boss of Europe. French capital will need years to recover the wage rises-- and the confidence-- shaken out of it by last year's general strike. British capitalism is run down and not getting healthier. The US is preoccupied.

In its own European backyard and at current prices, German capital can outsell, outbid and outinvest most of its rivals most of the time. It is unlikely to give up that advantage quickly, or easily, or cheaply.

Nobody can force it to do so. If the rest of Europe against Germany by concerting a world devaluation against the D-mark and gold, there's nothing to prevent her from doing the same.

Besides, it is hardly likely. They are all so terrified of any move that might affect the relative strengths of different national currencies, that it has taken them 10 years of strenuous bargaining to agree to-- but not ratify-- the most meagre monetary reform. For them now to click into place in an operation DESIGNED to affect these relative strengths would require a miracle.

Nor can they afford to wrap controls on the Euro-dollar market. They would themselves have to find the \$30 billion or so it now provides for lubricating world trade, world investments-- and world speculation.

There really is little they can do. If German capital keeps its cool through the next couple of months, the burden of adjustment will rest squarely on the others' necks.

Or rather our necks. Since German capital's advantage over its rivals is expressed in a currency "undervalued" by a tenth or more, British (or French, or US) exports will have to be a tenth cheaper than they are now in order to compete. This means, more or less, that British (and French, etc) workers will have to be made to earn a tenth less in real terms than their German counterparts. It's a long way to fall.

And it could be only the beginning. For one of the consequences of competitive national cost-cutting of this sort is that deflation, wage-freezes, legislative strait-jackets and so on are exported from country to country.

And as that happens, world economic growth, international trade and their old ally, capital confidence, drop.

It hasn't happened yet, but even before last week's lurch it was in the cards. The best forecasts for this year-- the OECD's-- envisaged a growth rate in the major countries of Western capitalism one-quarter down on last year's (4 per cent as against 5 1/4).

They thought world trade would slow by a third (from a 12 per cent increase to 8 per cent). They were wrong then. But now they could turn out to be right, and if they are, all the signs will spin round to indicate competitive restraint.

Restraint -- not depression. The system's economy is still functioning. At most there's a slight perforation in its gut; not all the wastes that should get out in the form of huge and stinking armies piles do get out -- military expenditure has been declining slightly, both relative to total expenditure and even more in relation to society's labour resources.

REVOLUTIONARY OPPOSITION

This could be a sign of hemorrhage to come; more likely it is a temporary upset, an adjustment between the massive outpourings of the past on nuclear-delivery systems and the even more massive outpourings of the future on Anti-Ballistic-Missile systems.

But whichever way it goes, the purely economic prospect is beginning to look like an academic kickabout. Years of high employment and stability have loosened the system's hold over the minds and hearts of a whole generation.

The current speculative shocks and precautionary squeezes, mild though they be, are propelling many in our generation from apathy to opposition, and some of us from mere opposition to revolutionary opposition.

Whatever happens to the economy in the future, the separation between them and us has been made. It is irreversible.

Reprinted from Socialist Worker, an English revolutionary socialist weekly, May 22, 1969.



Art and Revolution

Andre Breton,
Diego Rivera and
Leon Trotsky

Detail from "Mexico Tomorrow," a Diego Rivera mural



We can say without exaggeration that never has civilization been menaced so seriously as today. The Vandals, with instruments which were barbarous, and so comparatively ineffective, blotted out the culture of antiquity in one corner of Europe. But today we see world civilization, united in its historic destiny, reeling under the blows of reactionary forces armed with the entire arsenal of modern technology. We are by no means thinking only of the world war that draws near. Even in times of 'peace' the position of art and science has become absolutely intolerable.

Insofar as it originates with an individual, insofar as it brings into play subjective talents to create something which brings about an objective enriching of culture, any philosophical, sociological, scientific or artistic discovery seems to be the fruit of a precious chance, that is to say, the manifestation, more or less spontaneous, of necessity. Such creations cannot be slighted, whether from the standpoint of general knowledge (which interprets the existing world), or of revolutionary knowledge (which, the better to change the world, requires an exact analysis of the laws which govern its movement). Specifically, we cannot remain indifferent to the intellectual conditions under which creative activity takes place, nor should we fail to pay all respect to those particular laws which govern intellectual creation.

In the contemporary world we must recognize the ever more widespread destruction of those conditions under which intellectual creation is possible. From this follows of necessity an increasingly manifest degradation not only of the work of art but also of the specifically 'artistic' personality. The régime of Hitler, now that it has rid Germany of all those artists whose work expressed the slightest sympathy for liberty, however superficial, has reduced those who still consent to take up pen or brush to the status of domestic servants of the régime, whose task it is to glorify it on order, according to the worst possible aesthetic conventions. If reports may be believed it is the same in the Soviet Union, where Thermidorean reaction is now reaching its climax.

It goes without saying that we do not identify ourselves with the currently fashionable catchword: 'Neither fascism nor communism!' a shibboleth which suits the temperament of the Philistine, conservative and frightened, clinging to the tattered remnants of the 'democratic' past. True art, which is not content to play variations on ready-made models but rather insists on expressing the inner needs of man and of mankind in its time—true art is unable *not* to be revolutionary, *not* to aspire to a complete and radical reconstruction of society. This it must do, were it only to deliver intellectual creation from the chains which bind it, and to allow all mankind to raise itself to those heights which only isolated geniuses have achieved in the past. We recognize that only the social revolution can sweep clean the path for a new culture. If, however, we reject all solidarity with the bureaucracy now in control of the Soviet Union, it is precisely because, in our eyes, it represents, not communism, but its most treacherous and dangerous enemy.

The totalitarian régime of the USSR, working through the so-called 'cultural' organization it controls in other countries, has spread over the entire world a deep twilight hostile to every sort of spiritual value. A twilight of filth and blood in which, disguised as intellectuals and artists, those men steep themselves who have made of servility a career, of lying for pay a custom, and of the palliation of crime a source of pleasure. The official art of Stalinism mirrors with a blatant unexampled in history their efforts to put a good face on their mercenary profession.

The repugnance which this shameful negation of

principles of art inspires in the artistic world—a negation which even slave states have never dared to carry so far—should give rise to an active, uncompromising condemnation. The opposition of writers and artists is one of the forces which can usefully contribute to the discrediting and overthrow of régimes which are destroying, along with the right of the proletariat to aspire to a better world, every sentiment of nobility and even of human dignity.

The communist revolution is not afraid of art. It realizes that the role of the artist in a decadent capitalist society is determined by the conflict between the individual and various social forms which are hostile to him. This fact alone, insofar as he is conscious of it, makes the artist the natural ally of revolution. The process of sublimation, which here comes into play and which psychoanalysis has analysed, tries to restore the broken equilibrium between the integral 'ego' and the outside elements it rejects. This restoration works to the advantage of the 'ideal of self', which marshals against the unbearable present reality all those powers of the interior world, of the 'self', which are common to all men and which are constantly flowering and developing. The need for emancipation felt by the individual spirit has only to follow its natural course to be led to mingle its stream with this primeval necessity—the need for the emancipation of man.

The conception of the writer's function which the young Marx worked out is worth recalling. 'The writer,' he declared, 'naturally must make money in order to live and write, but he should not under any circumstances live and write in order to make money. . . . The writer by no means looks on his work as a means. It is an end in itself and so little a means in the eyes of himself and of others that if necessary he sacrifices his existence to the existence of his work. . . . The first condition of the freedom of the press is that it is not a business activity.' It is more than ever fitting to use this statement against those who would regiment intellectual activity in the direction of ends foreign to itself, and prescribe, in the guise of so-called 'reasons of State', the themes of art. The free choice of these themes and the absence of all restrictions on the range of his exploitations—these are possessions which the artist has a right to claim as inalienable. In the realm of artistic creation, the imagination must escape from all constraint and must under no pretext allow itself to be placed under bonds. To those who urge us, whether for today or for tomorrow, to consent that art should submit to a discipline which we hold to be radically incompatible with its nature, we give a flat refusal and we repeat our deliberate intention of standing by the formula *complete freedom for art*.

We recognize, of course, that the revolutionary State has the right to defend itself against the counter-attack of the bourgeoisie, even when this drapes itself in the flag of science or art. But there is an abyss between these enforced and temporary measures of revolutionary self-defence and the pretension to lay commands on intellectual creation. If, for the better development of the forces of material production, the revolution must build a socialist régime with centralized control, to develop intellectual creation an anarchist régime of individual liberty should from the first be established. No authority, no dictation, not the least trace of orders from above! Only on a base of friendly co-operation, without constraint from outside, will it be possible for scholars and artists to carry out their tasks, which will be more far-reaching than ever before in history.

It should be clear by now that in defending freedom of thought we have no intention of justifying political indifference, and that it is far from our wish to revive a so-called 'pure' art which generally serves

the extremely impure ends of reaction. No, our conception of the role of art is too high to refuse it an influence on the fate of society. We believe that the supreme task of art in our epoch is to take part actively and consciously in the preparation of the revolution. But the artist cannot serve the struggle for freedom unless he subjectively assimilates its social content, unless he feels in his very nerves its meaning and drama and freely seeks to give his own inner world incarnation in his art.

In the present period of the death agony of capitalism, democratic as well as fascist, the artist sees himself threatened with the loss of his right to live and continue working. He sees all avenues of communication choked with the débris of capitalist collapse. Only naturally, he turns to the Stalinist organizations which hold out the possibility of escaping from his isolation. But if he is to avoid complete demoralization, he cannot remain there, because of the impossibility of delivering his own message and the degrading servility which these organizations exact from him in exchange for certain material advantages. He must understand that his place is elsewhere, not among those who betray the cause of the revolution and mankind, but among those who with unshaken fidelity bear witness to the revolution, among those who, for this reason, are alone able to bring it to fruition, and along with it, the ultimate free expression of all forms of human genius.

The aim of this appeal is to find a common ground on which may be reunited all revolutionary writers and artists, the better to serve the revolution by their art and to defend the liberty of that art itself against the usurpers of the revolution. We believe that aesthetic, philosophical and political tendencies of the most varied sort can find here a common ground. Marxists can march here hand in hand with anarchists, provided both parties uncompromisingly reject the reactionary police patrol spirit represented by Joseph Stalin and by his henchman Garcia Oliver.

We know very well that thousands on thousands of isolated thinkers and artists are today scattered throughout the world, their voices drowned out by the loud choruses of well-disciplined liars. Hundreds of small local magazines are trying to gather youthful forces about them, seeking new paths and not subsidies. Every progressive tendency in art is destroyed by fascism as 'degenerate'. Every free creation is called 'fascist' by the Stalinists. Independent revolutionary art must now gather its forces for the struggle against reactionary persecution. It must proclaim aloud the right to exist. Such a union of forces is the aim of the *International Federation of Independent Revolutionary Art* which we believe it is now necessary to form.

We by no means insist on every idea put forth in this manifesto, which we ourselves consider only a first step in the new direction. We urge every friend and defender of art, who cannot but realize the necessity for this appeal, to make himself heard at once. We address the same appeal to all those publications of the left wing which are ready to participate in the creation of the *International Federation* and to consider its task and its methods of action.

When a preliminary international contact has been established through the press and by correspondence, we will proceed to the organization of local and national congresses on a modest scale. The final step will be the assembly of a world congress which will officially mark the foundation of the *International Federation*.

Our aims:

The independence of art—for the revolution.

The revolution—for the complete liberation of art!



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Independent Socialist Clubs of America Program in Brief

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

black community, and the anti-war movement.

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

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

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

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

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

Paul Foot The West Indies: Pirates and Politics

In January, 1935, there were what the Governor of the Leeward Islands, Sir R. St. Johnston, called in his report "some troubles" on the island of St. Kitts.

Leaders of the newly-formed Sugar Workers' League, protesting the rate of pay (one shilling a day), marched around the plantations calling a strike.

The Governor found this especially annoying, because he was having a garden party at the time. He summoned up a frigate and a few platoons of infantry were sent out on the streets.

Three strike leaders were shot and 50 strikers injured. "I also intimidated," wrote the Governor, "without unnecessarily alarming people, that the garden party had better be concluded while there was still daylight for people to get to their homes."

SUGAR AND GUNBOATS

Gunboats and infantry platoons have been the stock-in-trade of the sugar planters in the smaller West Indian islands ever since the first robbers and pirates (most of whose descendants are now sitting in the House of Lords) went to the West Indies.

They drove out the indigenous Caribs, introduced African slaves, turned the slaves into wage slaves when slavery became unprofitable, and devoted themselves for nearly 200 years to reaping sugar and profit from the blood of the labourers.

The plantocracy of the smaller "sugar islands" -- notably Barbados, Antigua and St. Kitts -- are one of the most ruthlessly reactionary ruling classes in world history. As sugar has declined in value, as industrial countries have relied increasingly upon beet, and as prices have fallen, so the planters have clung even more tenaciously to their privileges.

The full force of their venom was turned on the rising trade unions and their leaders. They forced the British Governors to pass laws dividing the constituencies into seats which they could rig, and, when the rigging failed, passed a "law" banning trade union leaders from sitting in the island parliaments.

The law was championed by Moody Stuart, managing director of the Antigua Syndicate Estates, which owned most of the island, and who at the same time was a leading member of both Legislative and Executive Councils.

Trade union leaders were bullied, threatened, even murdered. But nothing could stop the unions, and, gradually, they formed themselves into political parties.

Manley in Jamaica, Adams in Barbados, Bird in Antigua, Bradshaw in St. Kitts, Joshua in St. Vincent, Gary in Grenada -- all these men who later became prime ministers started as union leaders in the fight against the planters.

ANGUILLA

This is the background to the situation in Anguilla. For 120 years Anguilla has been ruled as part of a federation -- first of the Leeward Islands and then of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla.

It was the planters who first sowed the seeds of hatred and jealousy between one island and the other -- dividing themselves into small island castes, angry and suspicious at any sign of co-operation with anyone else. The hatred between the planters on St. Kitts for their brothers and cousins in Nevis was

outstanding.

Nowhere in the West Indies were the planters more resistant to change than in St. Kitts. Consequently, perhaps, nowhere were the sugar workers more courageous in their support for their trade union and labour leaders.

BRADSHAW

The leader of the St. Kitts Sugar Workers' Union, Robert Bradshaw, became prime minister of St. Kitts in 1966, winning all seven of the seats in the island.

The planters, who had tolerated him under British rule, decided to fight him when Britain pulled out. To procure a base, they financed and organized an "independence movement" in Anguilla, and organized a military coup in St. Kitts on June 10, 1967.

The coup failed. But the planters have continued by every means they know to attempt to unseat Bradshaw.

All this merely demonstrates the planters' stupidity, for Bradshaw and his party in power were not committed to an overthrow of the class system, nor of the plantoc-

Anguilla and Rhodesia: Wilson hypocrisy exposed

QUESTION: When does the British Labour government send troops to crush "rebels"? ANSWER: When they're black.

The panicky decision to rush soldiers and police to the tiny Caribbean island of Anguilla has spotlighted the hypocrisy of Wilson and his cabinet.

When white supremacist Ian Smith broke away from Britain in Rhodesia, Harold "I won't deal with racials" Wilson declared that the rebel regime would be toppled in "weeks rather than months".

That was in 1964, Smith is still in charge, his jails bursting with Africans and guerrilla leaders left to rot in detention or convicted on trumped-up charges.

Wilson dare not intervene because the racialsists on the Tory benches would howl about threatening "our white kith and kin".

As Wilson's capitulation to racialism in Britain has shown, when Powell and Sandys crack the whip, he toes the line.

But Anguilla, like Aden, is different. Here 6,000 black people want to run their small island free from domination by a confederation set-up by Britain.

There is no doubt that the United States has urged Wilson to act like an old-fashioned gunboat Tory diplomatist. Any struggle for independence in the area is seen by Nixon and company as "another Cuba".

One pretext for intervening in Anguilla is the alleged presence there of a few Mafia gangsters who want to turn the island into a gambler's paradise.

The struggle in Anguilla does not give our own home-grown Mafia the right to intervene there while they appease the white racialist thugs in Rhodesia.

The British labour movement should demand the immediate recall of British troops from the island.

Reprinted from Socialist Worker, an English revolutionary socialist weekly, March 22, 1969.

They sought to pacify the planters, and to entice British and American industry to assist tourist development in Frigate Bay and in Nevis.

Despite the victories of the Sugar Workers' union in the late 1940s, Bradshaw quickly discovered that in his isolated island there was little room even for ordinary trade union reforms. He passed a Minimum Wage Act and an Industrial Injuries Act, but in terms of any real encroachment on the plantocracy or the new, "dynamic" tourist-oriented upper class, he made no gains.

He could rely upon almost endless electoral support -- but the enthusiasm of that support could only be maintained as long as the planters continued playing cops and robbers from Anguilla.

Despite heavy subsidies from the St. Kitts government (amounting to twice the island's revenue) in 1966, the self-styled Anguillan "leaders" declared UDI in May 1967.

Bradshaw insisted on some form of federal structure and a series of conferences were held, mainly in Barbados. As the conferences continued it became clear that the men in charge in Anguilla did not want to agree to anything.

They wanted an island without government or elections or taxes, a gambler's and hotelier's paradise. They wanted another Nassau (Sir Stafford Sands, former Prime Minister of the Bahamas, was paid several million dollars in "consultancy fees" by Meyer Lansky of the Florida Mafia).

MADE IN USA

The British government was perplexed. What to do next? As always, they got their answer from America.

The policy of the Central Intelligence Agency is not, as sometimes imagined, to support arch reactionaries in every case. It is concerned primarily to ensure a "peaceful environment" for profitmaking.

For the CIA, better a helpless majority government than a racialist and reactionary minority one.

The CIA gave their orders -- smash the Anguillan "revolt". Take sides with Bradshaw against the planters. Seek to settle a dangerously explosive situation with gunboats and diplomats.

But the Anguilla operation was ham-fisted. And in spite of appeals by the Antigua Labour prime minister, Bird, to "keep calm", 8,000 Antiguaners marched through the streets to protest the interference of British troops.

The arrival of British troops in Anguilla replaced one set of gangsters with another. Anguillan nationalism is an abstraction, invented by New York and Florida businessmen, but equally the "peaceful environment" sought by the intervention of the British troops is a recipe for another 100 years of exploitation.

HANDS OFF

The demand for the removal of British troops must be unequivocal and unconditional -- not because "Anguilla wants independence" as sugar-owning Tory MPs would have it, but in the hope that the West Indian working people -- one of the most potentially revolutionary forces in the third world -- will themselves shake off the shackles of plantocracies and CIA-inspired "peaceful environments" and run all their islands in their own interests.

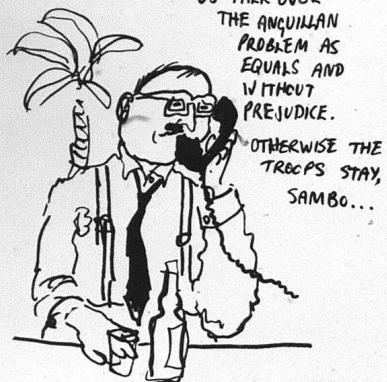
Reprinted from Socialist Worker, an English revolutionary socialist weekly, April 19, 1969.

GOOD AFTERNOON ISLANDERS. WE BRITISH TROOPS HAVE COME TO ANGUILLA TO DEFEND YOU FROM THE MAFIA...



EVANS. SOCIALIST WORKER

MR WEBSTER? LET US TALK OVER THE ANGUILLAN PROBLEM AS EQUALS AND WITHOUT PREJUDICE.



OTHERWISE THE TROOPS STAY, SAMBO...

EVANS SOCIALIST WORKER