# DISCUSSION BULLETIN

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Contents: Page

Editorial Matters . . . . . 1

A Postscript. Louis Lazarus . . . . . 3

Letter, Ralph Muncy . . . . . 4

Letter, Keith Sorel . . . . . 5

Have You Checked Your Labels Lately? per Keith Sorel . . . . . 5

Miners: Learn from Your Wives, per Keith Sorel . . . . . 8

Letter, Bob Rossi . . . . . 9

Letter, Samuel Leight . . . . . 10

The 1967-70 SLP Split (concluded), Ben Perry . . . . . 14

Pinocchio at the Unemployment Office (concluded), Don Fitz . . 19

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## Editorial Matters

Our subscription notice in DB13 did not produce the number of renewals, new subs, and financial contributions we had hoped for. From personal experience we know that procrastination was probably the major culprit. We hope that this time the sight of red ink on your address label will propel you to your checkbook, where you will do what duty requires and mail out the check forthwith.

This issue contains the concluding installment of Comrade Fitz's "Pinocchio at the Unemployment Office." We suggest that readers who wrote to us expressing their enjoyment of the satire write to Comrade Fitz at 5788 Waterman, St. Louis, MO 63112, urging him to have it pub

lished as a pamphlet. The DB's publication of it as filler in widely separated issues as we needed it, certainly didn't so it justice.

Also concluded in this issue is Comrade Perry's three-part article, "The 1967-70 Split in the SLP." If all goes as planned, the concluding installment of "The Socialist Labor Party Revisited" will appear in DB15. It will cover events from 1968 to the present. The only remaining long article we have to serialize is Comrade Otter's "DeLeon and Anarchism Part III: DeLeon's Potential Contribution to Wider Anarchist Theory." The subject, we believe, is ideal for a forum like ours pledged to explore "third force" socialism.

But the stuff that makes a discussion bulletin is the shorter letters and articles. We hope all readers will feel the urge to take part in the debates and even to start a few controversies themselves. Remember: single space, dark ribbon, and fairly narrow side margins. Please try to get material in by the last week in December, when we will be pasting up #15 for the printer.

Frank Girard
for the Discussion Bulletin Com.

(Cont'd from back)

"Oh, no." The cricket still couldn't move. As Pinocchio disappeared from sight, the cricket whispered, "Do you think we did the right thing?"

"What do you mean, 'the right thing'?" the Good Fairy asked.

"Unleashing that puppet on the American working class."

"That's not a puppet," the Good Fairy replied. "That's a real revolutionary."

"That's a what?"

"It's like this, cricket. You worry too much about always saying things just the right way. I guess all revolutionary consciences do. But, if you're gonna let people know what you really feel, sooner or later you're gonna say something that someone thinks is whacko. That's the breaks. Did I ever tell you about the rubber plant I worked at in Ohio? Well, it didn't happen in the rubber plant. It happened outside the rubber plant. Or, in the bowling alley outside of the rubber plant. I got tired of bowling the same way every night; so, one time I went in this get up. A lot of people didn't like it. Some were pretty hacked off. But, others knew where I was at and didn't want anyone to bug me. To make a long story short, everyone put up with me, more or less. I even met a few guys who always wondered what a Good Fairy was like. I guess what I'm saying is this. If those rubber workers could take the Good Fairy, then maybe workers at Pinocchio's office can handle a real revolutionary."

THE END

A Postscript

To clarify matters, I wish to append a note to my letter appearing in DB 13 (September 1985) treating of Samuel Leight's objection to the use of the word government when applied to a Socialist society.

It is true that government implies authority. Referring to Webster's Dictionary, I found that authority not only denotes power but also means "a decision taken as a precedent; an individual cited or appealed to as an expert." I shall, therefore, cite an authority without my causing anyone to be subjugated. I refer to Frederick Engels, who wrote an essay, On Authority which was published in 1874 in an Italian periodical, Almanacco Republicano.

Engels opens his discourse: "A number of Socialists have latterly launched a regular crusade against what they call the principle of authority ...Now, since the two words sound bad and the relationship which they represent is disagreeable to the subordinated party, the question is to ascertain whether there is any way of dispensing with it, whether -- given the conditions of present-day society -- we could not create another social system in which this authority could be given no scope any longer and would consequently have to disappear."

Engels continues along the same course: "Everywhere combinewd action, the complication of processes dependent upon each other, displaces independent action by individuals. But whoever mentions combined action speaks of organization; now is it possible to have organization without authority?

"Supposing a social revolution dethroned the capitalists, who now exercise their authority over production and circulation of wealth. Supposing to adopt entirely the point of view of the anti-authoritarians, that the land and instruments of labor had become collective property of the workers who use them. Will authority have disappeared or will it only have chamnged its form?"

Engels offers an example of a spinning mill. He brings to our attention that cotton passes through six operations before it is converted into thread. To keep the machines going requires mechanics and an engineer. "Particular questions," writes Engels, arise in each room at every moment concerning the mode of production, distribution od materials, etc., which muist be sttled at once on pain of seeing all production immediately stopped; whether they are settled by decision of a delegate placed at the head of each branch of labor,or, if possible, by a majority vote, the will of a single individual will always have to subordinate itself, which means questions aresettled in an authoritarian way."

Frederick Engels expresses his conclusion: "When I submitted arguments like these

to the most rabid anti-authoritarians the only answer they were able to give me was the following: Yes,that's true, but here it is not a case of authority which we confer on our delegates, but a commission entrusted! These gentlemen think that when they have changed the name of things they have changed the things themselves. This is how these profound thinkers mock at the whole world."

There is no need for me to expand upon the last lines, for they are self-explanatory.

Louis Lazarus

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Dear Comrades:

It has been difficult for me to read for many years due to limited eye-sight. The "exercises in futility" which recurred in the Discussion Bulletins over "What Is Socialsm?" and how it can be achieved have turned me off so that I have read but parts of a few Bulletins and no longer have taken part in debates as to whether Socialist Society is square or round, flat or obtuse. The limited life span has induced me to devote all my time to awakening workers to the need to get the exploiting ruling classes of the twentieth century off their backs--both corporate international despots and state despots. The thrust has to be to awaken workers to brush away false allegiances to worn out institutions and habits of thoughts which enslave them.

The question of social order and of organization has come up repeatedly and in a diversionary manner in the Bulletins. Government has been a stumbling block because the word implies governors and those who may be governed by governors. That concept stands in the way of the concept of society governing its affairs which is the essence of the Industrial Republic which will be a democratic government over the affairs of society which will assure equality of rights "without hereditary or arbitrary differences in rank or in privileges."

Fraternally,

Ralph Muncy

REBEL WORKER

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

Sydney, Australia
Vol.4 No.2(20) April-May 1985

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST PAPER 30c

Subs: $3 (6 issues) from PO Box 92, Broadway 2007, Sydney, Australia

Dear folks around the Discussion Buletin,

I've wanted to write to you for some time now and tell you that I think the Buletin is generally a good idea and that I hope it can facilitate an open communication on the issues facing the working class today. I hope there will be an open honest and intellegent confrontation of differences in its pages. The "libertarian millieu" here in North America seems for the most part to be made up of people wishing to take refuge in dated and useless ideologies rather than face up to the harsh realities of modern capitalism and class struggle.

It is in this spirit that I'm sending you these two article. I generally agreed with the criticism of the What is Socialism? leaflet made by the person from the Socialist Party of Great Britian. Also I think that the authors of the leaflet are really missing something to say that T.V.'s and automobiles will still be produced after a successful social revolution. I don't think that authentic socialism or communism or whatever you wish to call it mean this way of life only with labor-time vouchers instead of the wage system and the commodity economy.

In Europe where there is a greater frequency of generalization and violence in class conflicts a lot of people have faced up to the fact that unions are anti-working class ,capitalist organizations. The article, 'Miners! Learn from your wives! gives an excellent perspective on some aspects of the recently defeated miner's strike in Britian. It is from the revolutionary group Wildcat in Manchester, England. Wildcat's address is: Wildcat c/o Raven Press 8-10 Great Ancoats St. Manchester M4 England.

Against the bosses, the unions, and the state,

Keith

Keith Sorel

I should make a correction of our article on communism. The statement about communism and socialism being first proposed in the workers' movement in the early 19th century is totally mistaken. Communism(or anarchy,or whatever) is an age-old dream, and a communist perspective was present in the uprising of Spartacus, the medieval peasant jacqueries, the risings of Razin and Pugachev in Russia, and among Winstanleys "Diggers" in the first English Civil War.

## Have You Checked Your Labels Lately?

Socialism, communism and capitalism are among the most misused words in the world. They all refer to social systems which should historically develop out of one another, at least theoretically. In this period of crisis, with its potential for massive social change, a clarification of terms is necessary for us if we are to obtain clear visions of the future.

Socialism is a word whose root is society. It originally referred to a way of living in which all the means of producing our needs would be controlled by society as a whole. This would entail the free association of the world's people, with every associate a co-owner of the entire world's vast array of resources, natural and human made. The global community would collectively make decisions on matching their needs with available resources. This would mean the end of wage labor, i.e. the selling of one's ability to work in order to gain access to social wealth, an end to separate nations and enterprises, an end to money

and all forms of exchange. Once such social relations were to mature, becoming an unconscious element of daily activity, earth would become a big commune, and its way of living would be known as communism.

Capital is a social relation, a relation between people expressed through things. Goods were exchanged in previous social systems although the scope of exchange was much more limited and its occurrence much less frequent. But in capitalism, labor power becomes a commodity, something to be bought and sold. Workers sell their available time in return for the money needed to reproduce themselves as workers. In return, those few who own or control the means of production and/or investment funds, be they corporate owners or state bureaucrats, obtain control over the workers' time and energy, and thus can require them to produce beyond their needs. The capitalists' control of the products means that by selling them, they can potentially draw a profit from the surplus (beyond expenses) which is thereby produced. Some of this profit is used for their own consumption and vital but unproductive expenses, such as running the government and keeping track of money. But profits are primarily for reinvestment in profit-making activity. This is how investments grow. And growth is capital's reason for living, its ultimate priority, even if growth requires war.

Capital's survival, as well as its potential overthrow, depend on the working class. This social class includes all who own little except their labor power, their capacity to perform work. Many of these are wage slaves. Others, like housewives, conduct tasks necessary to maintain the workforce without being paid. Others are being trained to sell themselves, e.g. students. And others, languishing on the margins of society, cannot be used at all.

The working class not only produces all wealth which exists in usable form, but also enriches and empowers the owners/controllers of capital. The workers' activity exhausts them, while strengthening the impersonal forces which dominate their lives. Their own creative energies are transformed into a seemingly alien entity, capital, which stands ever taller and more imposing, and confronts them as a "given" fact of life, like the weather. Outside work,

activities like commuting and passive entertainment reinforce our roles as workers for capital. Even when survival is not in question, a wage slave's life is a boring treadmill compared with the passionate creative lives we could be living within a different social structure. This is the essence of exploitation, which most people think of as low wages and other obvious injustices.

In their effort to ensure continued growth of their capital, the ruling elite throughout the world are driven by the dynamics of global competition (as well as greed) to get the most out of their labor forces, to substitute machines where possible, and to get people to act like machines when this is unfeasible. This has led to social conflicts since the bloody beginnings of capital, as workers were forced to take drastic action to protect their living standards.

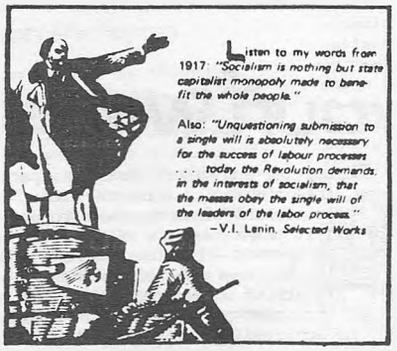
Socialism and communism were first proposed as goals by activists in the working class movement of the early 19th century. They believed class conflicts would escalate, and would present the working class with both an opportunity and a necessity to tear down the social structure and live differently. Marx and most of his contemporaries saw socialism and communism as arising out of the ensuing social conflict. Among others, Marx insisted the workers themselves must make the revolution. He saw his theoretical work as providing the movement with analytical tools to help it reach its goal, "the abolition of the wages system".

By the end of the 19th century, the movement had degenerated, in part because of capitalism's apparent success in solving its periodic crises of overproduction (depression). Most prominent socialists came to redefine socialism as an evolutionary process whose aim was the redistribution of money. In their view, a party made up of intellectuals and experts, i.e. themselves, would take over the government, and gradually have the state acquire control of the means of production in society's name.

The equation of society with the state, an institution whose very purpose is class oppression, was and is a self-serving position of power-hungry bureaucrats known today as social democrats. They still staff parties the world over which are self-labeled socialist (and even communist). Like the openly pro-capitalist parties, these parties' turns at state power have always meant austerity for the working classes, centralization of power, and the upholding of the "national interest" in commercial and military combat with other states. After all, their acquisition of power simply means they become controllers of the national capital. A perfect example of this is the Mitterand government in France. (see p. 7)

With the 1910's, the capitalist crisis came back worse than ever, in the form of the first global depression and a subsequent world war. Many split off from the social democrats who generally supported the various national war efforts. Among these were people like Lenin and Trotsky, who agreed with the concept of socialism as state control, but dismissed the idea of peaceful evolution. They thus

favored an elite and relatively secretive party whose aim was to lead the workers to socialism by seizing state power. They admired mass production, scientific management and the discipline of the factory, and therefore modeled their party on the basis of industrial hierarchy.

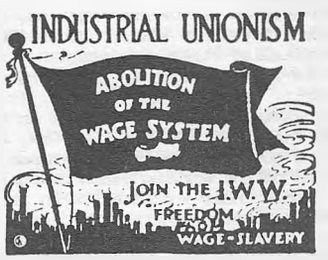



Where the vanguards have seized power, as in the Soviet Union, Cuba, Angola and so-called socialist states, state capitalism reigns. Material survival of sorts is guaranteed in return for draconian controls over every feature of daily life. The state is just as demanding of hard work and low pay as private bosses. And, since state capitalist entities are ultimately managed by the world market (just like IBM and Exxon), they are getting incorporated into the global debt structure and making deals with multi-nationals. Many multi-national executives have been attracted by the prospect of a stable (strike-free) workforce and favorable investment terms in places like Zimbabwe (Citicorp Bank), Bulgaria (Pizza Hut--Pepsi), and China (Volkswagon).

In the U.S., the vanguards are broken up into small, warring sects. They organize support campaigns for all sorts of struggles except the war against wage labor. They use guilt-tripping and peoples' desire for immediate action to recruit troops for their machines. Their achievement of substantial influence, let alone state power, is unlikely, but they can divert and confuse (not to mention give revolution a bad name).

An updated distortion of socialism is the prevalent view within the American left, as exemplified by Berkeley's congressperson Ron Dellums, "socialist" writer Michael Harrington, and the Citizens Party. They see socialism as the ownership of each enterprise by a workers' cooperative, the break-up of large enterprises, and support for small ones, nationalization of some sectors, and coordination of the whole mixture by state planners. In other words, they propose to deal with the problems of "free" market (dog-eat-dog competition) and inefficient state control by combining the worst features of both.

But workers' control and/or ownership of an enterprise does little to relieve the market pressures which all companies face--outcompete rivals or go under. Workers in a co-op situation often resort to speeding themselves up, cutting their own wages, even laying themselves off, so the enterprise has a chance to survive. And forcing companies to become and/or stay small does very little to improve their competitiveness. In the meantime, state regulators will have tremendous difficulties reconciling their need to centralize decision-making with the decentralized co-op ownership pattern. Besides, any effort at planning the economy would quickly find that the U.S. is merely a part of a world mechanism, and beyond its borders, other plans are in effect. Unfortunately, this ball of confusion is what the media presents as "socialism".




No wonder the meanings of words have been distorted. But all is not lost. The true meaning of socialism has been articulated in word and practice throughout the last century. The anarchist movement, an element of the early socialist movement, is currently experiencing a global resurgence. It has consistently contested the legitimacy of state power and authoritarian social structures. Socialists such as Rosa Luxembourg, Anton Pannekoek, Sylvia Pankhurst, Paul Mattick and Guy Debord have kept alive the concept of socialism as the abolition of wage slavery and the establishment of a global community. And in one case after another, movements have arisen which have challenged the very nature of existing social relations. For periods of up to a year, workers established social control of productive resources in places like Spain, Russia, Poland, Italy, Germany, Brazil, China, Canada and even the U.S. (the Seattle General Strike of 1919). In many more instances, people have contested social control. And currently, with a new world depression, we see a new wave of rebellion.

As Rosa Luxemburg showed, capitalism is itself the "transitional stage" between all previous forms of society and the beginning of what Marx called "really human history"--the history of freely associated human individuals, infinitely rich in their diversity but beyond all divisions into classes and nations.

Most of those who call themselves leftists dismiss the possibility of an anti-authoritarian anti-capitalist transformation. This is usually due to a mixture of a lack of understanding of capitalism and socialism, cynicism about human nature and a desire for power. After all, many

"activists" are college grads who have merely shifted their career ambitions to new fields.

A social insurrection will neither be televised nor led by the nose. More likely, the leaders will scramble to catch up to the "ignorant masses". They were left behind when Russian workers set up workers' councils (soviets) in 1905 and factory committees in 1917; when French students and workers conducted a general strike and occupation of campuses and factories in May, 1968; and when young black, white, and Asian proles drove the cops out of their neighborhoods and proceeded to redistribute goods in England during the Summer of 1981. When the various autonomous movements around the world begin to cooperate, begin to clarify their understanding of the past and visions of the future, when they assert their collective desires, that'll be the day capitalism will be terminated and socialism realized.

# MINERS! LEARN FROM YOUR WIVES!

## Introduction.

Throughout the miners' strike revolutionaries have insisted that the only way forward was the generalisation of the struggle. However strong any single section of workers might be, if they remain isolated they can't resist the entire strength of the capitalist state. Proletarian strength can only lie in solidarity and self-organisation. Solidarity does not mean charity. It does not mean simply giving support to workers in struggle. IT MEANS MAKING THE STRUGGLE YOUR OWN. It means striking together for common demands, because all sections of the working class community face a common fate under a capitalism in its death throes - endless sacrifice. The miners firght failed because it failed to achieve the generalisation of solidarity throughout the working class. However in one crucial area the miners did succeed in this. The magnificent integration of the people of mining communities and miners families, particularly the women, into the strike contains vital lessons for the whole working class in their future struggles. First of all it means that the organisation of the fight must be open to ALL those who make common cause with it. ALL meetings, all picketing, all activity, all strike committees and picketing committees etc. must be open to ALL. Secondly, this can only be achieved by going against the unions and smashing union control. The unions will NEVER allow this type of generalisation because it removes their power base. Therefore the vital lesson to understand is that generalisation of solidarity is inseparable from self-organisation. The excellent article from Wildcat which we are reprinting here demonstrates clearly these political lessons.

Thousands of women are playing a vital supporting role in mining areas. Without this involvement, initiated by the women themselves, miners would have been in a far weaker position to fight. As a woman canteen worker at Parkside pit said : "It mustn't be forgotten that this strike wouldn't have lasted more than three months without the self-sacrifice of miners' wives and the participation of thousands of women in support groups".

However, many NUM branches have refused to give money to the kitchens. Women from Fitzwilliam in Yorkshire say that they haven't had a penny from the union. Other branches have tried to impose strict conditions on the way money is used in the kitchens, to make sure the women know who's boss. Women from Upton Miners' Support Group refused NUM money. They said "They wanted to give a donation on condition that they had a say in the menu! But we're answerable to nobody". At Tower Lodge in Hirwaun, Wales, NUM officials insisted that £100 collected by the women had to go to them instead. A miners wife told how "its like working with the Mafia. Terry Thomas (Vice-President of South Wales NUM) came chasing after the money, and I wouldn't have been surprised if Neil Kinnock wasn't far behind".

When women want to go beyond the kitchen sink, and go picketing, they have had an even harder time of it. At Wistow colliery miners themselves orgainsed a picket of a local power station, inviting all their supporters along. A miner described what happened : "The NUM officials came down and told us to leave because the pickets had not been organised by the NUM and not all the pickets were NUM members. They also told the female pickets to get back to the soup kitchens where they belonged! One official went over to the police lines inviting them to deal with us as they wished because we were nothing to do with the NUM". This shows which side the NUM is on!

Militant women want more than to be allowed on the picket line. They want a say in running the strike. But despite their support and involvement, the wives and families of miners are not allowed into meetings to discuss the strike strategy and tactics. It is vital that everyone who is actively supporting the strike is treated as equal in taking decisions about what to do and how to conduct it. Women from a Welsh pit village told why they were banned from strike committee meetings - they had criticised the running of the strike, whereas the men were afraid to criticise 'their own' leaders.

Why are union officials so hostile to women becoming more actively involved in the strike? This demand challenges the very heart of trade unionism. For once you let miners' wives into the branch meetings, and elect them onto strike committees, a precedent is established. Once non-miners are allowed to fully participate in the strike, the way is open for more and more people to be drawn into the struggle - until what you have is no longer a trade union dispute, but a mass

strike. In this situation, union leaders would lose any special claim to authority. They recognise this threat to their power. They are afraid of women activists who bluntly refuse to do what they tell them. No wonder they tell the women to 'get back to the kitchens'.

## Women Pickets

Women who want to go picketing have met other problems. If they are the wives of militant miners who have already been arrested, they are reluctant to risk arrest as well, especially with children to look after. There is no reason why this should be organised by women. Men on strike should take their share of caring for children and let the women go picketing. Not just because everyone should be involved. But also, women make very good pickets. For many, it is their first experience of a picket line, but they know what to do.

A women's picket of Sutton Manor pit in Lancashire where I was present, stood out in contrast to the usual picket line ritual of a few shouts and people generally not knowing what's going on. We discussed beforehand what we wanted to do, and despite being heavily outnumbered by the police, we did give them a run for their money. And they hated it. They just couldn't think of enough sexist insults to fling at us. There was a feeling of solidarity and collectivity that comes from struggling together. Without the union leaders and union traditions to tell them how to behave, which the men have, women are able to simply do what they decide needs to be done.

Wildcat does not support the aims of the Greenham movement, but pickets can learn from their organisation. The women at Greenham Common in 1982 and 1983 had no officials to say what they could do. They organised several hundred people round an eleven-mile perimeter fence at night, keeping one step ahead of the police by using walkie-talkie radios, organising actions through group delegates to a small central planning meeting, making sure that all participants knew what was going on and everyone was playing their part, however small. What people involved in the miners' strike have learnt, that the Greenham women never did, is the need to respond to state violence with our own violence. As one miner's wife put it: "I've always respected the police, but I'll tell you what, I'll watch a bobby being kicked to death in the street in the future and I'll walk across to the other side. They've shown their true colours now".

Far from being the weakest section of the working class, unable to fight back against the bosses' onslaught because they are unorganised, women have shown time and again that it is their very lack of involvement in the organisations that hold men back, that enables them to organise themselves and carry out their own decisions and actions. This puts them at the forefront of the working class's struggle. If miners are to win, they must learn from their wives and mothers, girlfriends and daughters.

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Dear Friends,

Please find enclosed a contribution for the DP. I do like this last issue although I thought the last one was perhaps too disorganized, poorly typed and the viewpoints to diffuse. This is not to criticize the efforts of you all there in Grand Rapids. Some of the folks who write in go off the wall.

So far as I know, Morgantown WSA does not exist. My wife and I were purged informally, which must be the libertarian answer to party hack attacks. So do not send the DP to the P.O. Box here in Morgantown. You might write to Mike to see if he wants to receive it as he is one of two WSA members here in town.

You ask for comments on your leaflet. I think you should provide answers to the questions you raise and I think you should stress a need for dramatic action to solve our problems. I'm not saying to lay down a line--but do try to give some substantial ideas out which people can think over. Criticize the bureaucrats who give those boring speeches and question their right/ability to speak for anyone but themselves. You didn't mention socialism, militance or action once. Maybe you don't have to use those exact words, but you might try getting the concepts across more clearly.

Heck, at least you did something. Let me know what kind of response you got.

I'm interested in finding out more about the neo-DeLeonism some of you espouse. So far as I know, these exact ideas have not been current since prior to WW I and they are not quite compatable with the ideas of councilism which some of you all have some sympathy with. Do you mean to defend the SLP and the WTIU and to use these as models for today? I'm curious, also, to know what modern day DeLeonism would look like and where the push for this comes from: do you think of it as the SIU and the Party organized "from the bottom up", as a project from the left or as something which comes from some amalgam of the left and rank and filers and built from outside of the present day labor movement? I'm curious to know.

Have you seen the publication SOLIDARITY WORKS? I think it is very good. Write to them at: P.O. Box 3092, Youngstown, Oh. 44511.

Last, we would like to contact people who subscribe to the DB in West Virginia, S.W. Pennsylvania, Ohio and in the Appalachians generally to see if we can't start doing something or expanding work already underway. Please put us in touch with these folks.

I hope you're doing well and I hope to be hearing from you soon.

Fraternally,
Bob Rossi

1281 Denver Avenue
Morgantown, W.VA.
26505
304-291-2132

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Dear Comrade Girard:

I am responding to the article Regarding "What Is Socialism?" contained within the Discussion Bulletin, #18. Also I think this letter is pertinent to the one from Louis Lazarus, in the same issue, from a general perspective only.

Although none of us have a monopoly of the term "socialism", for purposes of clarification we should attempt to go beyond the concise definition of words and probe the ideas fundamental to our various positions. When we do this, I find that the "socialism" put forward by the Socialist Labor Party is at complete variance with my concept of the term.

This, then, becomes not a question of semantics but rather a basic, crucial difference between two entirely different concepts of a system of society wherein both sides are choosing to use the term "socialism". It can therefore be assumed, and demonstrated, that as our objectives are not the same, in similar fashion our approaches for the ultimate achievement of our goals will also be in dispute.

For example, in paragraphs 2 and 4 of the article one receives the impression that the working class, because of its present lack of political comprehension, aided by the misrepresentations made by parties and states of the so-called left, will require a more concise picture of socialism -- one presumably that fits

the SLP industrial union presentation. I disagree of course, completely. The socialist case can be understood by anyone with an adequate grasp of the language, notwithstanding past and present confusions. It is unwise in my opinion to justify a given position, or to put one forward, predicated upon the possibility that the recipients may not have the capability to properly comprehend another possibly more accurate version.

Specifically, the "socialism" envisaged by the World Socialist Party of the U.S. and its Companion Parties will be without "governments", states, "industrial unions", money, wages and labor vouchers. It will be a society operating throughout the world in which all human beings will own in common, and democratically control, all the means for producing and distributing wealth. As goods and services will be produced and distributed solely for use, money will be non-existent. As we will all be the common owners of the means of production and distribution we will all automatically own what is produced and therefore will have the social right of free access to satisfy our needs without the restriction of a wages system or labor vouchers.

We do not have to search for a "familiar word" for "a replacement" for the term "government". Our concept of socialism gives rise to a revolutionary change in the very basis of society as compared to that which exists today. The democratic Administrations within socialism are not a substitute for government or the state. They will constitute an entirely new social organization in direct relationship to the basis around which the new society will revolve -- namely, common ownership, production solely for use, and free access in a world-wide community.

Under capitalism "governments" and "trade unions" not only exist but they have an economic base , in addition to their own clear connotation. When one transfers these expressions, which literally constitute part of the capitalist system of society, to a society labelled "socialism" we are in effect substituting institutions that form an integral part of the existing system. In support of this argument consider the following statement, with all of its implications:

> "The Socialist Industrial Union organizes each plant of production into ONE union, that is the unit which would correspond to the present county. All the units in the land that yield the same output are combined into ONE national union which would correspond to the present state. All the national unions are combined into ONE all-embracing union, which corresponds to the present nation...." De Leon (quoted in S. L. P. leaflet "The Industrial Union).

The proverbial leopards do not change their spots and unions (whether they be called trade or industrial and regardless of the "Socialist" appendage) described as per the above quote

have become herewith an apparatus analogous to a political state. To further illustrate the point, in the SLP "Visualized Graph of Socialist Industrial Union", the SLP even describe the National Executive Committee of the Party as the "government of the future." When you add the extra ingredient of labor certificates as a recompense for work performed, this whole potpourri could well be referred to as a form of state capitalism.

I made no assertion, as stated in the article, that the productive capacity of the world is unlimited. Of course there must be limitations that will receive due recognition. However, one should assume that a world population endowed with sufficient social consciousness to have established socialism, equipped with the production know-how previously acquired under capitalism, will generate reasonable, practical demands which can be technologically satisfied with comparative ease. This obviously can only be achieved when the world is operated as a unit -- an international whole. Therefore, to envisage socialism in one country, or even a group of countries, is both inconceivable and impractical.

The article states, " It also seems reasonable to think that in North America, at least, our class will feel comfortable with the national boundaries of the U.S. as the geographical unit within which they organize socialism."

First, "our class" in socialism will be non-existent. Second, although it will not be necessary to convert the last Hottentot to our position, it will be mandatory that socialism be international. Further, it is reasonable to suppose that workers throughout the world, faced with identical conditions, aided by modern communications, will react politically in similar fashions at given periods, facilitating the revolution simultaneously at an appropriate time -- assuming of course that we don't forestall this by our own elimination in a nuclear World War lll.

If a society freely chose to use labor vouchers, or if a society possessed so-called industrial unions, this would not qualify such a society as a socialist one, and we would oppose it. Such measures and establishments would be economic clones for existing capitalist features. Labels can be easily and incorrectly applied, while majorities, to date, have been renowned for their mistakes.

With sincerity, I congratulate the editors of the Discussion Bulletin for creating a social science forum, accessible to those able to participate.

And now that I have said that, to again demonstrate our fundamental differences in the achievement process of our two different objectives, I must criticize your yellow sheet included in the #13 Bulletin, entitled "Some Questions For Labor Day."

Surely when you pose a litany of such questions, for "union leaders" and for the rest of us to think about, the implication is an invitation to reformism -- not revolution. Perhaps this was not the intent but without a concise clarification this is the impression that I feel is created. And of course, looking to the future, a knowledgeable working class will have no use for "leaders" of any kind, either of the union variety or otherwise, or a need to ask them any questions whatsoever. They will already know what they want and how to get it.

And then your questionnaire concludes with a real humdinger:

> " Why can't American working people use the industries we built and the technology we developed along with our country's resources and our labor and produce everything all Americans need for a good life? Why couldn't we end unemployment and poverty by sharing the work and the things we produce?" ( all this capitalized ).

This whole statement smacks of a nationalistic, parochial approach -- the very antithesis to "our socialism." You should be addressing the <u>international working class</u> not the "American Working People." And the term "our country" is a misnomer that you have committed previously, respectfully notwithstanding my past correction. I repeat -- the working class have no country.

The statement concludes with "... by sharing the work and the things we produce?". But this is not socialism. Quoting from Marx, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." The term "sharing" is I think ill-chosen and implies a shortage or restrictions which will necessitate presumably the ever-popular labor vouchers being handed out by others -- the new "leaders" or "governors", perhaps?

Socialism does not mean that all individual desires and appetites must be identical and that all individual contributions to society must be of equal merit. In socialism each of us will do our best, and satisfy our needs as they arise, in an international society whose productive technology has made all this both practical and humanely desirable.

I imagine that most of the readers of the Discussion Bulletin have at least one vital area in common -- a healthy hatred of the prevailing system. Because of this I truly hope that my letter is not found to be unnecessariliy argumentative or nitpicking in quality. That assuredly was not the intent. We are all potential comrades and I appreciate the opportunity of this exchange.

Yours for socialism,

Samuel Leight

With best wishes.

Samuel Leight

# THE 1967-70 SLP SPLIT (concluded)

Ben Perry

[In order to avoid terminal boredom, readers will be pleased to hear that this article is being forcibly concluded with this issue of the DB. This has meant skimming through the last part of this installment and any problems that readers may have been having with the my exposition and scholarship will probably be multiplied. Besides the editorial deadline, I am anxious to get on with the SLP history project mentioned in the last issue. Nonetheless, I am still interested in (someday) revising and completing this essay which should have dealt in some detail with the aftermath of the 1970 national conference. One problem is the mass of documentation available and my difficulty in leaving out details of interest to hardly anyone. Anyway, I would appreciate in hearing from anyone with comments or corrections.]

## The DeLeonist Groups Prepare to Unite

The Northeast Regional Conference, Feb. 1970, was considered a success by everyone except the Daniel DeLeon League. The NERC had called for a similar nation-wide conference to be held for a week in the summer with Ann Arbor the suggested site. SCC/NY was to act temporarily as a national office and committees on trade union activity and national organization had been chosen en. SLIG/Southern California would continue publishing the Bulletin. Numerous position papers had been "adopted for further consideration" because of lack of time to debate them. Their topics varied from "Weakness and Dangers of a Society Organized Solely on the SIU Concept" to "Intersex Relations". It is safe to say that the DDL and Industrial Commonwealth Committee (the Ann Arbor group) objected to almost every stand adopted, either on principle or as being inconsistent with the role of a revolutionary party. The ICC, however, supported the idea of a summer unity conference and only the DDL opposed it. Sam Brandon wrote "that the decision to hold a national coference is premature inasmuch as the tactics and goal are still unresolved." He well may have been right.

Ideological division within the DeLeonist community was not limited to the orthodoxy of the DDL and ICC versus all the rest. The bylaws of the unified SCC were not wholly satisfactory to the Philadelphia branch since they called for "democratic centralism". SCC/Phila. ratified the bylaws to avoid undercutting the summer conference but it made its objections to them clear. The DeLeonist-Trotskyists, who were a minority even within SCC/NY, continued to push for vanguardism and transitional demands and there was a very lively exchange of papers in the discussion bulletin now renamed the SIU Discussion Bulletin. Whether or not Kaufman and Lowy were "true" DeLeonists is subject to debate, but their essays in the SIUDB showed a close knowledge of De Leon's works and were much more scholarly than those of their opponents whose replies were frequently superficial. Philadelphia's ideas on organizational autonomy and workers councils were also unorthodox. They received more support and succeeded in selling quantities of London Solidarity literature but they also were a minority faction. Several individuals, notably Dallas Reynolds, wanted to abandon conventional terminology including the widely misunderstood word "socialism". (Reynolds wrote several brief articles for the SIUDB, some of them previewing concepts that he would later put into his "Mack Reynolds" novels. His enthusiasm and

optimism were notable and his suggestions ranged from ideas for several publications to international organization.) Most of the non-SLP DeLeonists remained basically orthodox but were open to new ideas.

Although Ann Arbor had originally been nominated by the NERC as the national conference (NC) site, some five locations were suggested including a camp site in California, northern Vermont, Philadelphia and Minnesota. Eventually, Ann Arbor was chosen for its central location and the existence of the ICC with its few but efficient members. Two plans for running the NC were submitted. Ben Perry suggested that any avowed DeLeonist group or individual be permitted to attend. Any delegation with authority to install the represented group in a new organization would be given as many votes as they had members. Delegates lacking such authorization would have only votes for themselves. Proxies could be chosen as desired. (The foregoing applied to votes on "substantive" matters. Procedural questions would be settled by one vote per delegate.) Anyone could attend as an observer if they had an invitation from a delegate. The new organization would be completely launched at the conference. The ICC suggested a second plan which gave each delegate one vote per seven branch members, excluded SLP members, and required a referendum after the conference.

Pleas from several groups, particularly the Detroit (Revolutionary Socialist Committee), caused the DDL to reconsider its opposition to the conference. However, in a letter from Brandon to Paul Frank of the RSC, Brandon opposed the Philadelphia suggestion that the delegates make time available for non-DeLeonist groups since "we know the prgrams of these groups and feel that they are not...in the interest of the working class." Others besides the DDL opposed inviting non-DeLeonist speakers because of the limited time. The ICC feared "[l]ecture, lecture, lecture - and your audience will be reduced to a stupor...and acceptance of almost anything is a foregone conclusion."

An outgrowth of the NERC had been a committee chosen to prepare a report on national organization. It included Ben Perry and Avram Osborne of Philadelphia and Malcolm Kaufman of SCC/NY. Kaufman and Perry drew up drafts but, since Osborne supported Perry's and because of geographical considerations, Kaufman was not involved in the final report. The Report on National Organization was an ambitious undertaking nearly twenty pages long (most of it appeared in SIUDB no. 8). Its five parts include "Orthodoxy and Isolation" which the introduction describes as "an argument against the SLP resistance to new ideas, a resistance which is carried over by a number of DeLeonists outside of the SLP." It dealt with the negative reaction of socialist industrial union supporters to the idea of workers councils and with the difficulty of dealing with instances in a general anti-reform stand. E.g., wage raises, civil rights legislation and laws liberalizing requirements for minor parties appearing on the ballot are all questions that have divided "anti-reformist" revolutionaries. Part two, "Vanguardism and Democratic Centralism" condemned "these Leninist concepts". It relied heavily on Danny and Gabriel Cohn-Bendit's "Obsolete Communism". Part three, "Argument for Decentralization", called for the new organization to be organized as a "federation of independent locals" arguing that centralization destroys local creativity. Part four, "Statement of Purpose" was a proposed organization stand and was a Philadelphia rewrite of London Solidarity's "As We

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See It". The last part was "The Proposed Bylaws" which reflected the committee's ideas on organization.

One other viewpoint needs mentioning, Ed Spira's 4-Front Strategy. Spira, like the IUP/DDL members, had spent most of his DeLeonist career outside of the SLP. Unlike the DDL'ers, he had often agitated for his ideals in non-DeLeonist organizations. In the June 1970 SIUDB, in an article titled "4-Front Strategy and Perspective and Commentary", he explained how the traditional DeLeonist "two front" strategy of political action and industrial organization should be amplified. The political front was to include both electoral and single issue political activity. The industrial front would involve both socialist industrial unionism and "society-at-large oriented" or community agitation. These ideas were not actually original: Many DeLeonists now supported what they considered non-reformist immediate demands, and SLIG/SC was questioning the concept of socialist government based solely on SIU's. Spira's paper used unconventional acronyms: RSIU (revolutionary socialist industrial unions), MDL (Marxist DeLeonism) and STPS (strategy of the theoretical peaceful solution). It was written in rather opaque jargon and argued that it reaffirmed the principles of the Communist Manifesto. Spira called for "graduated democratic centralism" (ranging from "full local and individual autonomy" to "near total mobilization of human and other resources"). He "[accepted] most of the assumptions upon which a so-called transitional...perspective is based..." Analogy (albeit "rough and somewhat inexact") was made between the four proposed fronts and military use of artillery, infantry, combat engineers, and combat and reconnaissance patrols. Through compromise, some 4-Front terminology appeared in resolutions adopted by the conference but it does not appear that this faction ever contained more than one person.

**The National Conference**

26 delegates met Aug. 9, 1970 in an Ann Arbor fraternity house. They represented some 83 DeLeonists, a faction 10-15 percent of the size of the Socialist Labor Party. Several who left the SLP during the 1967-70 split were not represented but an equivalent number had never been in the party so that the conference was a fair representation of the size of the split. A poll taken of occupations showed that they ranged from housewives and students to owner of a textile business. Members of the Detroit RSC were too poor to collectively own a typewriter and had planned to commute daily and bring their own food. Other delegates arrived at the conference in a Continental. The teaching profession was well represented; a census breakdown would have described the majority as professionals or white collar workers. The ground rules were close to those suggested by Ben Perry except that full representation was given to all groups whether or not they had previously authorized automatic incorporation into a new organization. Also, groups were suspicious of Perry and New York SCC's willingness to permit extensive participation by outsiders. (Some members of the International Socialists and an SLP member did arrive later as observers.) It is the writer's somewhat hazy recollection that the decision to give full representation to every group was the first controversial issue: It had previously been agreed that non-substantive questions would be settled by one vote per delegate and chairman Ralph Muncy (who favored full representation for all groups although the DDL and ICC had declined to join the new organization without referendum) ruled that the question of representation was not a substantive matter.

The conference elected nine committees to report on such matters as internal organization, statement of principles, agitation, literature and publications, etc. Membership in the committees was divided among various tendencies in a fair manner. Minutes of the conference do not adequately convey the contentiousness of reports of the various committees. The question of an organization name brought out the dissension that existed between those that favored overt use of the term "socialist" and those who felt that it was an unnecessary obstacle in trying to convert those prejudiced by popular misuse of the word. The Organization Name and Emblem Committee suggested Socialist League for Industrial Government, Socialist League for Economic Democracy, Socialist Reconstruction, Social Reconstruction or League for Social Reconstruction. (Names not recommended since they had not done well in informal polling included Cooperative Commonwealth, Futurist, Partisans for Revolutionary Progress, Socialist Unionism Party and others.) A runoff vote took place between Socialist Reconstruction and Social Reconstruction. The former was chosen.

A constitution was adopted unanimously. It substantially reflected the Osborne/Perry Report on National Organization. Local branches were to be "federated within the national organization" and a "member's rights vis-a-vis the national organization...[could not be] contravened by his branch." Perceived excesses of the SLP's National Secretary and National Executive Committee were to be eliminated by a National Secretary and National Administrative Council who would lack any policy-making powers except in exceptional conditions. Referenda, recalls and liberal allowances for proxy votes were designed to be safeguards against abuse of office.

Ralph Muncy was chosen as interim National Secretary with several Michigan members to act as an interim NAC. The local groups were asked to confirm their intentions to be part of Socialist Reconstruction and choose among the various members nominated to be officers. Various actions of the Conference including merging the SCCs' Socialist Forum and the DDL's DeLeonist as well as various proposed resolutions were also submitted for referendum.

## The Aftermath

The SIUDB continued to appear regularly. Contributions to the bulletin showed that the divisions in evidence before and during the conference were not moderated by continuing discussion. Urgent opposition to the use of a name with "Socialist" in it was expressed by several. "A Draft Program for Social Reconstruction" by Kaufman and Lowy was almost universally opposed, even condemned, by opponents unable to find any legitimate use for transitionalism. The call for a non-violent stand, especially by SLIG/SC was labelled "social-pacifism" by Kaufman. Jigs Gardner took a strong stand against college demonstrators and single-issue agitation saying that the basic issue was only exploitation.

When SIUDB no. 10 appeared with the results of the referendum, twelve months after the first issue, all of the local groups had formally entered SR. It was announced that the new National Secretary would be Ralph Forsyth of SLIG/BA but a majority of the NAC and the editorial board, and the Treasurer were to be made up of DDL or ICC members. All conference resolutions were adopted except one on drugs authored by Avram Osborne. The name "Socialist Reconstruction" was officially adopted.

The decline and demise of SR can only be dealt with briefly here. Jigs Gardner dropped out of the editorial board and was replaced by Osborne. A majority of the EB now wanted the new publication, Socialist Reconstruction, to be non-traditional. Controversy froze editorial activity while SR/NY2 (the old SCC/NY group) continued to publish Socialist Forum and SR/Phila. (formerly SCC and soon to become Philadelphia Solidarity) started its own Solidarity Newsletter. They were condemned for this although no constitutional violation could be shown and both branches agreed not to promote their publications as official SR organs. SR finally appeared as a single mimeographed issue but many members found its content and graphic quality mediocre. A projected questions and answers pamphlet aroused so much controversy that work on it was eventually discontinued. SR/NY2 (the "Trotskyist branch") was expelled although National Secretary Forsyth and SR/Phila., while unsympathetic with SR/NY2's politics, felt that this was at best premature. (At worst it seemed like deja vu to an SLP attitude toward organizational opposition.) No national leaflets or pamphlets appear to have ever been issued and after a 1972 national conference, the organization broke up into its constituent parts.

Some years later, another conference was unsuccessful in establishing unity. However, the Industrial Union Party was again reorganized with Sam Brandon as National Secretary. When the Ann Arbor branch left over a jurisdictional controversy, it was left with only two branches. SLIG/Minneapolis continued over the years becoming eventually the New Union Party. It along with the IUP and the ICC (Ann Arbor) are the only really DeLeonist groups left from SR. The NUP has soft-pedalled traditional socialist terminology and is by far the most active ex-SLP group. SLIG/SC became the League for Economic Democracy and then the League for Ecological Democracy and is now apparently no longer a revolutionary socialist organization in the usual sense. Philadelphia Solidarity in 1976 organized the Wooden Shoe book store and gradually faded away as a separate entity. The store is primarily anarchist in lookout. SR/NY2 continued as Socialist Forum issuing a regular newsletter for several years and then suddenly announced its demise. The Bay Area, Detroit and Pontiac, MI branches faded away completely. New local groups in St. Louis (Workers Democracy) and Grand Rapids have appeared. WD is especially non-traditional in outlook.

## Conclusion

Despite promising starts, great enthusiasm and participation by many talented people, the 1967-70 dissenters failed to establish an enduring organization. Research into SLP history shows that there have been innumerable splits and that some had as much promise as the one 15 years ago.

Partly the numbers have been too small and the projected new parties lacked the "critical mass" to survive. An exception was the 1899 split where the dissidents may have actually formed a majority. Another cause seems to be the surprising differentiation into opposing tendencies. The monolithic ideology is partly the result of the isolation of the members from new ideas and the making of that ideology by a very few. The corrollary to that is that a truly open and democratic party may well be unable to cohere under the turbulent and repressive conditions of modern capitalism. The Socialist Party, once many times the size of the SLP, continually splintered and then eventually disappeared. The SLP however remained through the decades while constantly shrinking as every few years a few dissidents rediscovered its

basic problems. Today's SLP, of course, with perhaps 350 members and with mean age probably past 60, hardly constitutes a success story. It may itself be below the necessary critical mass.

To those of us who moved away from Marxist-DeLeonism, the most basic problem was its continual attachment to constantly obsolescing formulas, its rejection of genuine science, and its unwillingness to rely on its members' capacity for thought and decision. Those of us in Philadelphia Solidarity felt that the bottom-up control of society that is the essence of socialism must be the basis of any truly revolutionary organization. Anything else reflects and reproduces class society. This implies considerable autonomy for the local branches. It is hoped that the lack of coordination will be offset by the the circulation of vigorous new ideas and techniques. There are signs that DeLeonists who have previously rejected these concepts may now be willing to give them a chance. It would appear that they have nothing to lose.

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Pinocchio at the Unemployment Office -- by Don Fitz (Concluded)

Chapter 18. "...THE HOUR THAT THE SHIP COMES IN"

"What ship?" the puppet wanted to know.

"It's like your union organizing. When you explain it, you might think that someone who's arguing is totally against the idea. But, you might hear the same person repeating it after several weeks.

'Oh, the time will come up
when the winds will stop
and the breeze will cease to be a breathin'
like the stillness in the wind
before the hurricane begins
the hour that the ship comes in.

You know the poet, I'm sure. Now, how does the rest of the song go?"

"I know you're right, Father. But, these questions keep going through my mind and I wanted to see what you would say." The puppet fanned the small flame and smoke started to rise. "What is that poem?"

"No place like the belley of the Land Shark for developing theory. You agree, Pinocchio?"

"Sure. And I remember the poem. It's..."

"HARUMPH!" The ship they were standing on shook.

"HARUMPH!" As it started to move, they both held tight. "HARRARRARRUMPH!" The shark gave a tremendous cough and the ship went flying out. It was broad daylight and Pinocchio could see Industrial Avenue.

But, before they had gotten clear of the shark, the diabolical beast grabbed a light saber in its teeth and slashed Yoda in two. The old Master fell dead.

"Father! Father!" Pinocchio screamed. "Now's when I need you."

"Now's when you're stuck with thinking on your own." Pinocchio looked up and saw the Good Fairy in the crow's nest, his dress flapping in the wind.

"I thought you were dead."

"A lot of other people did, too. At the time, it was safest for me to let them think that."

Now that the ship was out of the belley of the Land Shark, its own dynamic moved it forward. As it passed by the levee, fishers jumped out of the way, laughing for joy. It rolled gently to its left side and smashed the gates of the electric plant. Several workers climbed aboard. The ship picked up speed despite the extra weight. It rolled upright and then to the other side, smashing the doors of a printing shop and picking up more workers. It kept swaying from side to side as schools crashed open.

An image of Yoda appeared in front of Pinocchio. "Steer carefully, my Son. People from all over are watching this ship."

"Steer carefully? I can hardly hold on!" Pinocchio answered. "And this swaying is making me seasick. It's a real drag."

"I love drag!" the Good Fairy yelled down from the crow's nest.

"How can you enjoy this?" the puppet called up. "I never know when we're gonna crash."

"I love it!" he yelled again. "The best time for Good Fairys to come out is on a ship ride!"

## Chapter 19. P.M. YUM BREAKS OUT

The ship smashed through the front window of the Unemployment Office and came to an abrubt halt.

Mrs. Smith put the cover on the typewriter she had used for 30 years. "I do believe that the ship has arrived," she said quietly as she took each paper off her desk and neatly filed it. When the desk was clean, she stood up, pulled out a red bandana from her purse, and went running through the office shouting, "Whooo-up! Whooo-uuup! Wheee-oooo! The ship's come in." She picked up her supervisor and tossed him out the same window the ship had smashed through.

One worker after another began doing the same thing. P.M. Yum had been asleep upstairs. But, he jerked out of his easy chair and ran down the steps. "Am I dreaming?" he asked, pinching himself on the bottom. He raised his paws and squealed, "We'll meet all your demands!"

But Pinocchio shouted from the bow of the ship, "Your days are num-

bered!" Several workers took Yum upstairs and locked him in his office.

Without anyone telling them what to do, people started electing their own coordinators. Someone asked Pinocchio, "Should we rotate the coordinators every day? Should everyone have a turn?"

Before he could answer, someone else broke in, "That's too inefficient. People have to have a job long enough to know how to do it. What do you think, Pinocchio?"

"I think that problem happens a lot. My Father gave me a book that mentioned it. But I can't say that I read it." The puppet stroked his chin nervously.

The fox jumped in the middle of the room and began giving orders. "Stop! Stop! Listen to me! I'm Professor Slavery and I know what I'm talking about. If you don't turn the workplace back over to the bosses, you'll threaten the election. We're running this wonderful Railroad Conductor, who is sensitive to the plight of working people and..."

The fox was interrupted by an unrecognizable puppet which looked like a cross between a turkey and a swan. The creature walked right over the fox and rudely stood on its snout. "Workers' control is progressive against capitalism but reactionary when the pure vanguard is in power. The Central Committee of the pure vanguard has decreed that you may run this office until we reconstitute the State."

One of the workers objected, "We'll never figure out how to reorganize this place with those fools jabberyapping at us!"

Someone else pointed out, "But they have an occassional good idea along with all their nutty ones. What do you think, Pinocchio? How can we do our work without shutting off people's right to speak? How have others done it?"

"Uhh-h-h. I think that's been a problem," the puppet gulped. I almost got to that chapter, but..."

"Pandy's breaking out!" came a voice from upstairs.

"Who?" Pinocchio ran to see.

"The Director, P.M. Yum. He's a bear, you know, a pandy."

As he looked through the glass siding of the Director's door, Pinocchio gasped in disbelief. Pandy Moanie Yum was breaking out. He was covered with red splotches. The Office Manager was allergic to revolution, and, whenever workers seized control of their offices, he broke out from head to toe. The bear moaned pitifully, "One rash act leads to another."

"I sort of feel sorry for him, Pinocchio whispered in a low voice. "There must be nothing more embarrassing for a bureau-

cratic bear than to be covered with red splotches."

Downstairs, the office was in complete disarray. Everyone was frantic about the river. The revolutionary storms upstream meant that the river would soom be cresting with a tremendous wave. The only way to push back the Wave of Reaction would be for everyone to sandbag together. But nothing was coordinated. None of the workplaces knew what other workplaces were doing. Small groups tried to sandbag here and there, but there were big holes with no protection.

Pinocchio could see it approaching from the window. Silently, he thought to himself, "I wonder. If I had read more of Yoda's stuff, would I have been able to warn them that this thing was coming?"

The rushing current gushed in between the gaps in the sandbag walls and swept the puppet off his feet, knocking him unconscious. In less than a minute, the mindless Wave of Reaction washed away everything hundreds of workers had created. Nothing was left but memories.

## Chapter 20. PINOCCHIO BECOMES A REAL REVOLUTIONARY

The Wave must not have realized what it was carrying across town because it left the puppet unharmed at Yoda's old house. When he came to, he looked up to see the Talking Cricket and Good Fairy standing over him.

"I feel like if I had acted differently, things might not have turned out so badly." Pinocchio tried to arrange his tail so that it wouldn't be noticeable. He didn't want any more questions about Bigness Mountain.

"It's hard to tell how much we can really affect events, Pinocchio." the Good Fairy tried to comfort him. "But don't be so ashamed of your tail or someone will think you're dating a feminist."

At that, the Talking Cricket rolled on the floor, kicking and screaming, "I can't stand it. I can't stand it. Everytime someone tells this story, it's the same thing. A little boy puppet who's about to have some great bodily changes is anxious about being seen with a long nose and two hairy ears." The cricket's tantrum was getting worse. His face turned red as he rolled on his back and waved his legs furiously. "This is too much for me to take. The Freudian symbolism is beneath human decency."

"Well, then, it's a good thing you're none too human," retorted the Good Fairy, who leaned back with his hands behind his head. "Revolutionary consciences are so full of the hangups of bourgeois society that they're too uptight to be creative. Their ability to develop new social relationships is limited, to say the least."

"Huh?"

The Good Fairy ignored the cricket and turned to Pinocchio. "In spite of your weird trips, you've got a good heart, kid. So I've got a little something that I think could help you become a real revolutionary. Is that what you want?"

"More than anything else." The puppet reached out for a copy of The Proceedings of the First Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World. "What's so special about that?"

"Not much, except the people it's gone through. It's an original copy that's been handed down from socialist to socialist since 1905. See if it does anything for you."

As Pinocchio grasped it, he felt a tingling sensation. As he walked around the table to look at the book, he just picked up his feet and put them down as the floor moved by underneath. He could reach out and touch the wall, but it seemed a mile away. Then the pflashes started. The first one kept going around and around his head. The picture of Yoda was looking straight at him. It seemed to be about to speak. Pinocchio looked deep into Yoda's eyes and thought, "Don't tell me to study history any more. I know. I know." Yoda's gaze was different, now. As if he understood.

The next plfash went down his spine. It was a yellow pflash. Although he couldn't see it, Pinocchio knew the pflash was a yellow one because it pflashed yellow. His eyes met those of the cricket. "No, cricket," Pinocchio thought as he looked at it intently, "you don't need to tell me to let workers know about socialism. Don't worry." The cricket knodded as only crickets who have talked can knod.

Now the pflashes were shooting through his arms and legs. His hand floated up and he saw the Good Fairy through his fingers. "Yes, Fairy. We're finding new ways to deal with each other. Yes. Without bosses."

The Good Fairy's thoughts were very clear to Pinocchio. He looked at his hand as the fairy wanted him to. His hand was very different. Pinocchio's haze was lifting. "My hand. My hand, it's not wood. It's...it's...and...my tail is gone." Pinocchio lifted his hand to his head. "Those horrible donkey ears aren't there. And my nose. It's...a real nose."

The Good Fairy held up a mirror in front of him. "Can you dig it, kid?"

"My...I'm real. I'm a real revolutionary."

"The old I.W.W. does it for the best of us."

"Oh, thank you cricket. Thank you, fairy." Pinocchio hugged and kissed each one. "If only my Father could see me, too. But

(over)

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I know just how to be a real revolutionary. I'm gonna tell everyone at work that our jobs are so lousy because capitalism is constantly breaking work down into simpler tasks. More and more, they rob us of creative participation in the production of social needs. The whole process reflects the dehumanizing trend of capitalist production."

Pinocchio wanted to make sure that they could hear him, so he climbed on the kitchen table and continued. "I'm gonna tell everyone that we can't fight it by escaping or getting drunk after work. Cause the alienating nature of capitalism confronts us in every part of our lives. We can't transcen capitalist property relations within capitalist society. So we gotta build a new society without exploiters."

Pinocchio was starting to sweat, so he loosened his collar and rolled up his sleeves before he went on. "And I'll tell 'em that we won't get anywhere by replacing a bad set of bosses with enlightened ones. We have to develop new forms of collective struggle that prefigure a nonexploitative process of production. And we have to remember that class society cannot be negated by counter-institutions, except to the extent that those counter-institutions provide the ontogenesis of the concept of collective consciousness in such a way that the idea becomes a material force by becoming manifest at a historic juncture with the reorganization of the labor process so that that process is itself negated by ending the dichotomy between labor and non-labor."

"That's obvious," agreed the Good Fairy.

Pinocchio jumped off the table and wiped the sweat from his forehead. "I need to get to work and explain it."

The cricket stared at him, dumbfounded and unable to move. "Oh, no," he gasped.

Pinocchio ran back and gulped something down. "If I'm gonna cover this every day, I'll need a bowlful of dialectics for breakfast each morning."

(Cont'd on p. 2)