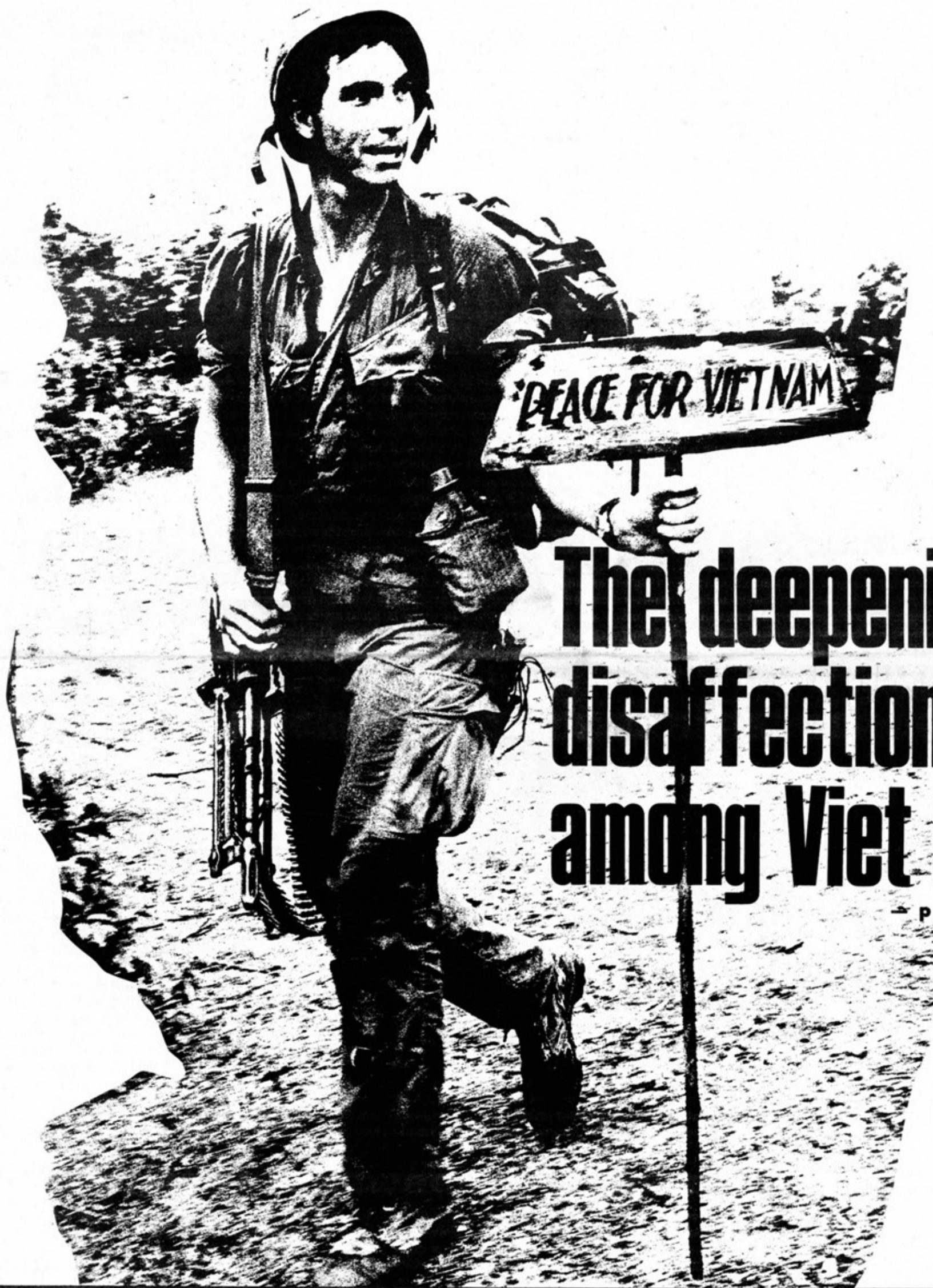


THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE



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Editor: HARRY RING
Managing Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: FLAX HERMES

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ON RELIEF: One of every 10 Washington, D. C., residents is on relief, D. C. welfare officials report. Relief rolls have soared 51 percent in a year and now stand at 70,000 persons. Nationwide, the situation also looks bleak. According to government statistics of last August, 12.6 million persons were on relief nationally, up 21 percent in one year. . . . **PERMANENT DIRT CLOUD:** A permanent dirt cloud has formed over Boston, says a noted biophysicist. The cloud is so big that it will not dissipate into the atmosphere, and it is extending all along the East Coast, says William Curby, chief biophysicist at Charles D. Sias laboratory in Brookline, Mass. "This is a new phenomenon," Curby told *The Militant*. "We've never seen it before." Curby says that winds used to bring in clean air over Boston. But not anymore. The cloud of dirt particles, caused by pollution, does not break up. The particles are dangerous, he says, because they become lodged in the lungs. Curby's findings are based on a six-year study.

IMPERIALIST: A just-completed CBS News poll of U. S. students finds that 41 percent think the Vietnam war is imperialist, up from 16 percent in a similar poll conducted a year ago. . . . **TRAVELING ON:** Alleged police provocateur, Thomas (Tommy the Traveler) Tongyai will not face criminal charges, a special New York grand jury has decided. Tommy was reported to have instructed Hobart College students in guerrilla tactics while he was posing as an SDS organizer.

YSA ADDS LOCALS: New YSA locals have recently been chartered in Murfreesboro, Tenn.; Logan, Utah; Sacramento, Calif.; and Norman, Okla. For information on the Young Socialist Alliance, write YSA, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. . . . **IMPRISONED IN TEXAS:** Black organizer Walter Collins has started his five five-year jail terms—to be served concurrently—for refusing induction. "The last report we had was that he was in good spirits," says Lenore Hogan, eastern representative for the Southern Conference Educational Fund. She encourages Collins' supporters to write him: Walter Collins, PBM 18254, Federal Correctional Institution, Texarkana, Texas 75501. Your full name and address should be put on outside of envelope.

DEFENDANT RELEASED IN SEATTLE: Susan Stern, one of seven defendants in the Seattle Conspiracy case, was released Jan. 11 after she posted \$2,500 bond. The other defendants are expected to be released this week as the result of a U. S. court of appeals ruling that overturned a lower-court decision to refuse bail. . . . **ANTIWAR STRIKE:** The Australian Building Labourers Federation has projected work stoppages early this year in opposition to the Vietnam war. . . . **ARMED FORCES HAVE PROBLEM:** Reenlistment rates are falling off, U. S. News and World Report said Jan. 18. The overall rate has dropped to its lowest point in 15 years—30.5 percent. The most spectacular drop-off appears to be in ROTC, where, according to U. S. News, "military training on college campuses has fallen off so drastically in the past two years that the Pentagon is starting for the first time to worry about its future supply of officers." The number of students in the Reserve Officers Training Corps has fallen by half since 1968 with this year's enrollment of 109,598, the lowest since 1948. To offset the drop-off, the Defense Department is considering doubling the number of ROTC scholarships to 30,000 and increasing subsistence payments to junior and senior students from \$50 to \$100 a month. The U. S. still needs ROTC badly. It's the largest source of Vietnam officers and, says U. S. News, supplies annually 20 times as many officers as the service academies.

THE PHILANTHROPY HOAX: There's a myth running around that the rich give their money to charity. There appears to be some truth in it. But not much. Corporate gifts of up to five percent of net income before taxes are fully deductible, but, reported the Jan. 11 *Wall St. Journal*, few companies come anywhere close to giving that much to charity. The *Journal* says that companies contribute only about 1 percent of their pretax income to charity—"and the bigger the company is, the smaller the percentage of net income it gives away."

DUTSCHKE FACES DEPORTATION: Rudi Dutschke faces expulsion from England. An appeals tribunal upheld an order by Home Secretary Reginald Maudling that the 31-year-old West German student leader should be thrown out of Britain as a national security threat. The news was

reported in the *Washington Post* Jan. 10. "Home Office officials last night asked Dutschke's attorneys to find out how long it would be before he was ready to leave," the *Post* said. Dutschke came to England to recover from a bullet wound suffered in an attempted assassination by a neo-Nazi gunman in April 1968 and wished to stay and study at Cambridge. Dutschke has not been active in British politics, but the Tory government apparently cannot even tolerate someone who thinks radical ideas and discusses them. The *Christian Science Monitor* reported Jan. 11 that Dutschke has been offered refuge in Denmark and the Republic of Ireland.

FARINAS RALLY: Juan Farinas, convicted on three counts of allegedly violating the Selective Service Act, will be sentenced Jan. 29 at the United States courthouse at Foley Sq. in New York. Farinas, a supporter of the Workers League, faces up to five years in prison and \$10,000 fine on each count. The Juan Farinas Defense Committee has announced a demonstration from 9 a. m. to 1 p. m. in front of the courthouse. For more information, contact the committee at 135 West 14th St., Sixth Fl., New York. . . . **PRIEST CONVICTED:** A former Southern Illinois University professor, Robert Humphreys, was sentenced to four months in jail Jan. 8 for tearing up a picture of President Nixon during an antiwar demonstration last May. Presently an Episcopal priest, he plans to appeal the sentence.

MORE FROM J. EDGAR: YSA comes in for more attention in J. Edgar Hoover's FBI report on the operations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970. "The Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) showed great vigor and activity during the fiscal year," says the ever-alert FBI director, "especially through its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). The YSA was extremely active on college campuses, and in December 1969, held a national convention in Minneapolis, Minn., which attracted roughly 1,000 members and observers. The SWP and YSA helped plan, promote and execute antiwar demonstrations, including the major ones in Washington, D. C., on Nov. 15, 1969, and May 9, 1970. The YSA has shown great ability to work with New Leftist groups and individuals, yet at the same time promote its pro-Trotskyist style of Communist revolution. It has also been active in the high schools. . . ."

ALI DRAFT CASE: The U. S. Supreme Court says it will rule on whether Muhammad Ali, heavyweight boxing champion, had the right to a military deferment. Ali is appealing a conviction for refusing induction. He received the maximum sentence—five years and \$10,000 fine. . . . **BLACK CAPITALISM:** A new Merit pamphlet by Dick Roberts pulls the rug from under people who say that a mass Black nationalist movement will be co-opted by Black capitalism. With hard facts and figures, Roberts shows in *The Fraud of Black Capitalism* (Pathfinder, 15 pp., 25 cents) that it won't work—that the economy is controlled by a small, close-knit, white ruling class. The pamphlet is worth reading.

FIRE FOR WEARING ARMBAND: "I told the personnel office that it represented Black dignity and I had no intention of taking it off," says Keith Paterson, 23 years old. In a telephone interview, he described what happened. His employers at the *Detroit News* told Paterson that the armband had to go and Paterson was fired. The Michigan Civil Rights Commission has filed a complaint. . . . **WHITE PANTHERS ON TRIAL:** White Panther chairman John Sinclair and minister of defense Pun Plamondon are expected to face trial Jan. 26 on charges of conspiring to blow up CIA offices in Ann Arbor, Mich. They call it a frame-up and have enlisted attorneys William Kunstler and Leonard Weinglass. The defense committee office is at 8005 Dexter Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48206. . . .

SCANDAL IN THE TOMBS: Last week, the facts began to emerge on a new scandal in New York City's jails, the case of a prisoner in the Manhattan House of Detention (the Tombs) who had hanged himself in November. Two days before Raymond Moore's apparent suicide, a guard charged that Moore was severely beaten by four guards with blackjacks. Hit until he crumpled to the floor, the prisoner crawled out of the cell, his face and head bloody. Blood was said to have been splashed on the floor and walls of the cells. He was found two days later—hung to death. Moore had been held in the Tombs for 10 months on charges of assaulting an officer, but had never been brought to trial.

—RANDY FURST

Angela Davis: 'I am innocent!'

By SANDY PECK

SAN FRANCISCO — Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee were arraigned Jan. 5 in the Marin County Courthouse on charges of murder, kidnapping and conspiracy stemming from the events last August in this same courthouse when two escaping Black San Quentin inmates and a judge were killed by police and sheriff's deputies.

The lawyers for the defense made three main motions: that the case be dismissed on grounds of insufficient evidence; that Davis be freed on bail; and that Davis be allowed to be her own cocounsel. Other motions asked for a change of venue to San Francisco or Los Angeles and challenged the composition of the grand jury that handed down the indictments.

Magee, chained and shackled, was not allowed to speak in his own behalf. However, Davis was allowed to make a statement as to why she should be able to represent herself.

She said in part, "As a preface, I am innocent of all charges made against me. My presence in this courtroom is an indication of the fact that I am the target of a political frame-up and that the State of California is the agent of political repression.

"The evidence against me is my participation in the struggles of Black people, specifically the Soledad Brothers defense. Because this is obviously a political trial, I feel compelled to play an active role in my defense—as a Black and as a Communist.

"The history of Black people has shown that the scales of justice are off balance; therefore it is imperative that I represent myself. The court has

aligned itself with racism and reaction, and it is no longer possible for a Black person to get a fair trial."

The motions presented were taken into consideration by the judge, who gave the defense 30 days to supply more evidence for its contentions. The State will then be given 15 days to reply.

Defense counsel for Davis is the noted Black lawyer Howard Moore of Atlanta. His services were obtained just before the arraignment. Moore has represented Black militants such as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown. Because of other commitments, he will not carry the brunt of the pre-trial litigation. That will be handled by lawyers Margaret Burnham, Allen Brotsky, Michael Tigar, and Dennis Roberts. Brotsky is a law partner of Charles Garry, the Black Panther defense lawyer. Tigar was part of the defense counsel for the Seattle Eight. Burnham is a childhood friend of Davis. Roberts participated in the Chicago Eight defense.

Nixon, in an attempt to prove to the world that this was going to be a fair trial, invited 14 Soviet scientists to the courtroom. The scientists had sent a cablegram to Nixon Dec. 25 appealing to him "to safeguard the life of Angela Davis and give her an opportunity of continuing her scientific work." Davis was a professor of philosophy at UCLA.

But while Nixon has made this demagogic invitation, many of the supporters of Davis and those who want to observe the trial are being barred from the courtroom. It only has 104

seats, 60 of which are reserved for newspaper reporters, leaving a mere 44 seats for the Davis family and the literally thousands of supporters.

During the arraignment, the 200-300 spectators not allowed into the courtroom held a lively picket line on a nearby hill. After the proceedings, one of the lawyers for the defense stated that it will be support from the public that will win the case. And a representative from the Angela Davis Defense Committee announced plans to sign up one million supporters for Angela Davis.

NEW YORK — In the aftermath of the arraignment, the Jan. 10 *New York Times* reported that Ruchell Magee has disclosed an attempt to bribe him to perjure himself to convict his co-defendant Angela Davis.

In a court affidavit submitted on Jan. 9, Magee, 31, charged that his court-appointed lawyer, A. Leonard Bjorklund, "was sent to San Quentin prison on or about Nov. 20, 1970, by judges Joseph B. Wilson and E. Warren McGuire. . . . He offered petitioner Magee a judicial bribe to lie on Angela Davis and say she gave me the guns Aug. 7. . . . Also, the same attorney threatened petitioner's life with the gas chamber . . . if petitioner did not lie on Angela Davis, etc."

The intention of Magee's affidavit was to have Bjorklund dismissed as his defense counsel. The affidavit has not been taken up in open court yet.



Angela Davis

Mounting worldwide campaign to defend Davis

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK — An unprecedented defense campaign in behalf of Angela Davis is well under way.

Mass meetings and demonstrations are taking place across the country. Statements and messages of support are coming in from around the world.

Typical of the kind of support Davis has been receiving was the most recent meeting in New York City, held

at Brooklyn College Jan. 7. Over 2,000 people attended, half of whom were Black. Speakers included Minister Farrakhan of Mosque Number 7 of the Nation of Islam; Rev. William Howard Melish of the Grace Episcopal Church, whose family Davis lived with while attending high school in New York; Les Campbell of the African-American Teachers Association; Norma Nieves, Brooklyn

College Puerto Rican Alliance; and Leroy Davis, Brooklyn College Black League of Afro-American Collegians.

At the recent convention of the California Federation of Teachers, the 200 delegates passed a resolution declaring Davis a "victim of academic repression as a result of her political beliefs, activities and affiliation. . . ."

The international campaign in defense of Angela Davis has also been building rapidly. The most notable statements from the world community in her behalf have been those sent to President Nixon by 14 Soviet scientists and 10 Soviet artists.

The scientists, among whom are Pyotr L. Kapitsa, the dean of Soviet physicists, and Mikhail D. Millionshchikov, another prominent physicist, sent their message on Dec. 25. Five days later, the artists sent theirs, asserting, "Today the human race is convinced that Angela Davis is about to be tried for the stand she takes on political and racial problems." They urged Nixon to "wield all your influence as chief executive and finally as a lawyer to have justice triumph and the shadow of the gas chamber not obscure the U. S. A. today."

Amongst the signers of the statement were the outstanding composers Dmitri Shostakovich and Aram Khachaturian and the famous ballerina Maya Plisetskaya.

The nationalist awakening in the Black community has produced a very widespread response to the frame-up of Davis. Popular recording artist Aretha Franklin offered to pay bail

for Davis, "whether it's \$100,000 or \$250,000."

Many Black newspapers have covered the case very sympathetically. Even the very conservative and anti-communist Los Angeles *Herald-Dispatch* has come out in support of Davis. In its Dec. 24 edition, a front-page editorial proclaims: "The human cry of *Herald-Dispatch* publications in 1971 will be 'Save Angela Davis.' Like her parents, since her apprehension on murder, kidnapping and conspiracy charges Oct. 13, in New York, the attitude of *Herald-Dispatch* and thus the Black community has undergone a sharp change.

"The swiftness of the extradition proceedings, and the information that J. Edgar Hoover, himself, seriously considered being in on her arrest, has turned suspicion into belief that the Establishment U. S. racism is out to 'get her' because she's Black, beautiful, a genius. . . ."

Numerous "Free Angela Davis" committees have sprung up across the country. In a Jan. 6 article in the *Daily World*, voice of the Communist Party U. S. A., Franklin Alexander estimates that there are groups active in 50 areas of the country. Alexander and Davis' sister, Fania Jordan, are the national coordinators of the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis (NUCFAD).

The NUCFAD can be reached at 3450 West 43rd Street, Suite 104, Los Angeles, California 90008. Tel: (213) 296-4402.



A New York demonstration to free Angela Davis

U.S. Army in Vietnam: 'flaky'

By DICK ROBERTS

"An army without discipline, morale and pride is a menace to the country that it is sworn to defend," Army chief of staff Gen. William Westmoreland recently remarked to *Newsweek* magazine.

After an extensive survey of GI attitudes in South Vietnam, the weekly newsmagazine concluded: "The U. S. Army is still far from being such a menace. But for the first time in modern American history, the danger that it could become so is no longer unthinkable."

"The Troubled U. S. Army in Vietnam" (*Newsweek*, Jan. 11) describes the deep-seated hatred for the war, open hostility towards the officers, and—among Black GIs—open defiance of Army racism—that has now become a significant factor in limiting the combat operations of U. S. forces in South Vietnam.

States *Newsweek*: "Flakiness in the ranks has imposed a sense of caution on even the most aggressive commanders. 'The idea of another Hamburger Hill is definitely out,' admits one hard-nosed lieutenant colonel. . . . 'The most important part of our job now is to get as many men as possible back to the U. S. alive.'

"In addition to protecting their lives, commanders must reason with their men. 'You can't just give them an order and expect them to obey immediately,' says one frontline officer. 'They ask why, and you have to tell them.'"

Newsweek correspondents talked to frontline GIs: "You know what this war is like? It sucks. That's just about all you can say. It sucks. There's nothing good about us being here. There it is. All we want to do is get out of here alive. Morale is bad, man."

"That, in fact, seemed to be the unifying theme at Dragonhead [a firebase north of Saigon]," said *Newsweek* reporter Kevin Buckley. "The day after Christmas, I visited a company from the base which was on patrol. . . . They ought to send over some of those people who are for the war," growled Sp/4 Steven Almond, 22.

"Send some of those brave politicians and hard-hats, and let them see if they like it so much. I'll change places with any one of them." Others picked up the chant. 'A lot of our buddies got killed here, but they died for nothing,' muttered one GI. 'Our morale, man, it's so low you can't see it,' said another."

According to *Newsweek*, "There is a widespread determination to thwart the 'Green Machine,' and many troops—particularly in small units—merely go through the motions when they are off on their own.

"Often, the result is a conscious effort to avoid contact with the enemy. 'If I think a mission will be too costly, I weigh the value of it, and my men come first,' says 22-year-old Sgt. Ralph Mitchell. And if the mission does appear too costly? 'You can bet your ass,' says one of Mitchell's men, 'that we just wouldn't do it.'"

Newsweek found a widening gulf between officers and enlisted men. "'At one camp,' reports entertainer Johnny Grant, who spent Christmas in the field, 'we heard the grunts [combat GIs on the



At a forward base

front lines] cheer enthusiastically when they learned that two of their own officers had just been killed in a Viet Cong ambush."

Newsweek discussed GI retaliations against officers: "The grunts' word for it is 'ragging,'—which comes from the fact that the most decisive way to deal with an overly aggressive officer or noncom is to lob a fragmentation grenade at him.

"One night," recalls a captain in the First Cavalry Division, 'I went out to check our perimeter, and I found everybody—I mean everybody—asleep in five bunkers in a row.

"I just decided enough was enough, and at the last bunker, I woke the men up and took their names. I was walking away when I heard one of the guys yell, 'I'm gonna kill you, you motherf---.' I heard him pull the pin, and I went down fast into a ditch. The frag sailed right past me and went off a few feet away.'"

(*Newsweek* did not estimate how significant this factor has actually become. Pentagon figures on total "non-combat" fatalities for the entire length of the war to August 1970 were reported in a UPI dispatch from Washington carried in the Jan. 5 New York *Daily Mirror*:

("Plane crashes, including helicopters, 2,448; vehicle accidents including jeeps, 651; drownings and suffocations, 818; burns, 114; malaria, 97; hepatitis, 17; other illness, 419; heart attacks, 213; strokes, 33; suicides, 234; accidental self-destruction, 406; intentional homicide, 85; accidental homicide, 662; other accidents, 1,955; other causes, 228; unknown or not reported, 93.")

Newsweek found widespread racial division in the Army. ". . . there are still some units (such as support companies) where Black enclaves exist.

In combat units, there often are Black bunkers and white bunkers.

"And off duty, segregation is even more rigid. Saigon has a stretch of slum called 'Soul Alley,' where whites enter the bars and brothels only at grave risk.

"Contributing significantly to racial tension are the private rites and totems that Blacks use to separate themselves from whites. Many Negro troopers wear wrist bands made of braided black cord or tiny plastic amulets in the form of clenched black fists.

"Everywhere, Black GIs perform the 'dap,' a wrist-grasping, palm-slapping ritual that is also known as the 'power exchange' or the 'liberation handshake.' 'In the beginning, you know, we used to dap sort of quietly on the side,' says a Black soldier. 'But then, wow, it looked like it annoyed some of the white guys. So the idea got around to dap a little louder, do it a little more.'"

Newsweek's racist description of the growing Black solidarity in the Army fails to diminish its significance. *Newsweek* attempts to downplay the situation: "Generally . . . racial animosity is expressed only in sullen complaints, subtle discrimination, and voluntary segregation, and there is no evidence that militant Black organizations are making much headway in mobilizing Blacks for trouble." But if Black militants are having little impact, why raise it to being with?

"The central question" about the situation as a whole, says *Newsweek*, "is whether an army that has begun to wilt can manage to wilt just a little. If the enemy should launch another major offensive, the GIs would no doubt fight hard. But should they be called upon to take the offensive themselves, there seems to be serious reason to question whether all of them would respond."

Joe Miles to tour for GI defense cases

NEW YORK—Antiwar soldiers from Ft. Jackson, S. C., and Ft. Bragg, N. C., petitioned the U. S. Supreme Court Dec. 28, seeking that court's review of decisions denying First Amendment rights to soldiers. The lower-court decisions came in 1970 on suits filed by Ft. Jackson and Ft. Bragg's GIs United Against the War in Vietnam. The Supreme Court will judge whether or not they feel the cases merit their review, based on the petitions filed by attorneys Leonard Boudin, David Rosenberg, and Dorian Bowman, in association with the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee.

A national tour by ex-GI Joe Miles, a former leader of GIs United at both Ft. Jackson and Ft. Bragg, is being arranged by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee. Miles will discuss these cases and the growing antiwar movement in the Army.

The suits seeking judicial affirmation of First Amendment rights for soldiers were filed in the spring of 1969 when GIs United organized itself at Ft. Jackson, S. C., and began to petition the

commanding general for the right to hold an open, legal, peaceful meeting on post to discuss the war and social issues. When Joe Miles, one of the founders of the militantly antiwar group of soldiers, was transferred to Ft. Bragg, he organized a second chapter there. That spring's antiwar activity in the Army was highlighted by the victory of the Ft. Jackson Eight, all members of GIs United, over the Army's attempt to harass them into silence. After spending 61 days in illegal pretrial confinement, the last of the Eight were released as a result of pressure brought by the broad-based GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee and expert legal counsel.

Joe Miles, who was given a punitive transfer from Ft. Bragg, N. C., to Alaska because of his antiwar activity, was recently given an honorable discharge from the Army. According to a GICLDC spokeswoman, he will be visiting eight cities around the country on his tour, explaining the importance of continued financial and political support for the Supreme Court appeals.



Joe Miles

NCAWRR conference is unable to agree on program of action

By HARRY RING

CHICAGO — Groupings associated with the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression spent a weekend here Jan. 8-10 in an unsuccessful effort to map out a spring campaign against the war and assorted domestic social ills.

The most positive action of the conference was unanimous adoption of a motion to authorize creation of a negotiating committee to seek a united spring peace action program with the National Peace Action Coalition. NPAC has a spring program under way, with national antiwar demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco April 24 as the central focus.

NCAWRR was a by-product of the now-defunct New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. It was initiated by groupings and individuals within the Mobe who counterposed smaller, more "militant" forms of "direct action" to mass mobilization against the war. They also insisted on attempting to achieve common action on a variety of social issues even though there was no programmatic agreement among them on these issues.

NCAWRR's founding conference, attended by more than 800, was held last June in Milwaukee. That conference announced a fall "action program" which proved a complete fiasco.

At this weekend's conference, there were some 300 in attendance, with even less representation from different organizations and constituencies than previously. While it was generally agreed that the fall program launched by the Milwaukee conference had been a total failure, there was not even the slightest effort to analyze the reasons for this. Instead, an effort was made to bull ahead with a new "action program." But this time the divergences were so great that a formally agreed-on action "consensus" was vague almost beyond comprehension.

The "consensus"

After hours of discussion which served only to emphasize the wide divergence of views among those present, Dave Dellinger, a leading proponent of the "direct action" school, offered a motion that the "consensus" allegedly arrived at in the discussion serve as the spring action program for the group.

The central thrust of the program, according to Dellinger's motion, would be a week of activity May 1-8.

Activities that week would "be non-violent and militant, going beyond rallies and demonstrations, but also including them, into active struggle."

Such "active struggle" would involve a "continuing presence, including strikes and other methods that will add muscle to the movement."

The muscle-builders "will be national and include Washington, but [will] not be limited to Washington."

The function of said actions will be to "stop business as usual, to stop the country from war-making."

May 5, a Wednesday, was suggested in the motion as a "national date" to commemorate the killings at Kent State and Jackson with actions in various areas.

Insofar as it could be determined, there seemed to be three general groupings present at the conference. There were forces around the Communist Party, which indicated they favored a mass demonstration in Washington, D. C., against the war. Another grouping, which seemed to be headed by

such old Mobe figures as Prof. Sidney Peck and Ron Young, favored some form of a national mass action, but with civil disobedience "direct action" as a central feature of it. The third general formation, whose virtually exclusive concern is "direct action," was headed by Dellinger and Rennie Davis.

Davis has for some months been beating the drums for a May 1 Washington, D. C., automobile stall-in or some other form of "direct action" that would assertedly "shut down" the capital. So far, this proposal has not won the support of any major anti-war group.

NPAC

From the outset, NPAC and April 24 loomed large over the gathering.



Dave Dellinger

This was so even though at the outset some of the conference organizers sought to prevent the question from being raised in any meaningful way at the conference.

Three of NPAC's national coordinators—Jerry Gordon, James Lafferty and Don Gurewitz—attended the conference. When they requested the opportunity to present the NPAC program to the conference with a view to probing the prospects for united action, they were told they would be allowed three minutes during the general discussion.

However, as the conference progressed and it became increasingly apparent that NCAWRR was incapable of developing an alternative action program to NPAC's, a growing number of participants began to see the need for relating to NPAC and April 24 action plans.

As the conference discussion went increasingly in the direction of "direct action" and nonsensical declarations of intent to "shut down the country," resistance began to develop.

A tense moment came late in the first day's plenary session, when Gil Green of the Communist Party took the floor. He declared that he was "greatly dissatisfied, personally," with the political direction the conference was taking and warned that unless it projected a program that included a meaningful national mass demonstration against the war, its efforts could end only in failure. Since the Communist Party had played a significant role in initiating NCAWRR and its multi-issue approach, Green's declaration came as a particular jolt.

Earlier at a large workshop, Carl Davidson of the *Guardian* staff argued against attempting to duck the issue of mass action against the war and underlined the need for the con-

ference to address itself to NPAC's April 24 program.

Davidson declared the conference was attempting to function "with its head in the sand." It is trying to pretend, he said, that there is no split in the movement, that there is no NPAC and no April 24.

"April 24 will occur whether you relate to it or not," Davidson declared. Regardless of what the conference did, he continued, "there will be tens of thousands of people in Washington April 24."

"How will you explain to the Vietnamese why you weren't there?" Davidson asked the conferees. "Will you tell them you weren't there because it was only a mass march for immediate withdrawal?"

Pressure to move in the direction of



Rennie Davis

united action became even more acute as it became increasingly apparent that NCAWRR had failed completely in its efforts to broaden the coalition. Rather widely advertised moves to involve such figures as Cesar Chavez of the National Farm Workers Organizing Committee, Ralph Abernathy of SCLC, and George Wiley of the National Welfare Rights Organization simply failed to materialize.

"Peace treaty"

And, as the conference continued, the extremely fragile unity of the assembled coalition became equally apparent. The one thing the conference leaders had apparently assumed would provide a basis for unity was action around a "peace treaty" which the National Student Association reported it had negotiated with Vietnamese student groups, North and South. But in the course of the debate, it became clear that even on this issue there were sharp disagreements.

The situation became particularly sticky as efforts were made to amend the treaty and the conference was advised that it was already signed and was based on "non-negotiable" Vietnamese demands and therefore not subject to amendment.

An amendment by a "Nonwhite Caucus" that materialized at the conference was adopted, however. This provided for an additional clause condemning U. S. racism. Agreement was reached on this on the premise that it could be forwarded to the Vietnamese for their agreement.

However, a further amendment against sexism was voted down.

The antisexism amendment was sharply opposed by the Nonwhite Caucus. A spokeswoman for the caucus, Carolyn Black of the Young Workers Liberation League, the youth

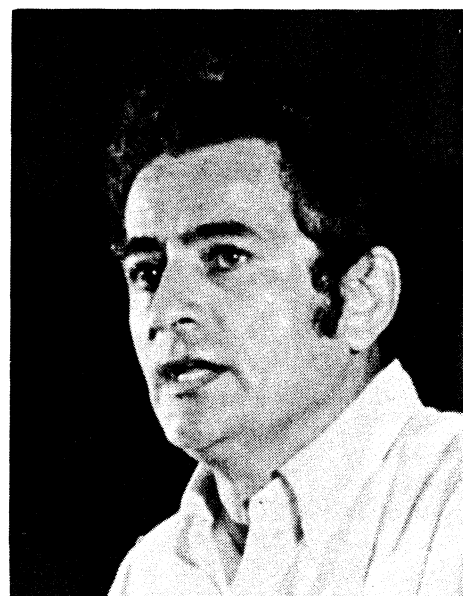
organization associated with the Communist Party, spoke against it.

"Racism is a question that goes much deeper than the oppression of women," she asserted. "You can't put them on the same level."

A women's caucus was convened to press for adoption of the antisexism amendment, but later it reported back that a decision had been made not to press the issue.

Because they have always ducked democratic discussion, attempted to avoid open conferences, and worked energetically to manipulate those conferences they have participated in, the conference "leaders" enjoyed nearly zero respect and confidence from the participants.

When, on the last afternoon, an "agenda committee" came in with a



Sid Peck

slate of 30 names for a proposed continuations committee, a bitter debate erupted on the floor. The slate was essentially the remaining officeholders of the old Mobe.

The slate was reduced to 29 when Prof. Peck, an initiator of the group, withdrew his name from nomination, apparently because of the attacks that had been leveled against the officers from the floor.

The slate was finally approved along with an amendment to add 40 people, to be selected in some unspecified way from four regions of the country, and an amendment that five GIs also be added.

A surprise announcement came during the final point on the conference agenda. Discussion was opened on various proposals to change the name of the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression.

In the midst of the discussion, Peck arose to advise the gathering that it had no authority to change the name of NCAWRR since this was not a meeting of NCAWRR. In response to surprised questions, he said that this was an "ad hoc" conference that had been convened by "14 individuals."

Despite queries afterwards to spokesmen for the group, this reporter is therefore unable to clearly state just what conference he attended.

One thing is clear however. The failure of the conference to develop any kind of a meaningful action program gives added urgency to the need for exploring every possible step toward building a united spring offensive against the war and related social evils. The action projected by the NPAC convention certainly provides a working basis for achieving such unity. And the clear and unambiguous stand taken by NPAC in favor of such unity enhances the prospect for achieving it.

In Our Opinion

GI time bomb

The growing bitterness of GIs in Vietnam is clearly becoming an explosive problem for the U.S. military. Although "official spokesmen" always deny it, an increasing number of news reports indicate that the combination of growing antiwar sentiment and Black nationalist consciousness is producing an army that is less and less suited to the needs of the most powerful imperialist aggressor in the world.

Not only is this expressed in the wearing of peace symbols and the widespread use of the clenched-fist salute, but more recently there have been increasingly frequent reports of GIs refusing to obey orders and "fragging" officers.

Officers, especially the most unpopular ones, suffer a high casualty rate in any war. But the number of "serious incidents" against officers in Vietnam appears to be on the rise.

One of the most widely publicized "incidents" occurred Jan. 8 when one white major was killed and another wounded at Quangtri base camp following an attempt to harass and discipline several Black soldiers. Army officials immediately denied that it was a reflection of any racial antagonism in the Army and added that such incidents were no cause for special concern.

The *New York Times*, however, offered a somewhat different interpretation: "The shooting was another in a growing number of incidents in which enlisted men have attacked their leaders because of hostilities caused by racial problems, attitudes toward the Vietnam war, and what seems to be an increasing antagonism toward unpopular officers and sergeants."

The deepening hatred of the war and the unwillingness to fight or die in Vietnam; the growing nationalist pride of Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican GIs and their unwillingness to accept the pernicious racism which permeates the Army—particularly among the officers and lifers—all this is being angrily expressed in sharper and sharper ways.

Far from being immune to the radicalization affecting American society as a whole, the rank-and-file of the armed forces is potentially one of its most explosive components.

The April 24 mass actions against the war are the biggest opportunity the antiwar movement has yet had to maximize worldwide GI participation in the struggle to bring all the troops home now.

A bad odor

It is a sure sign of a political frame-up when the accused are charged with "conspiring" to do something rather than with actually doing it. Conspiracy charges lend themselves particularly well to frame-ups, since all kinds of evidence is permitted that would not be allowed in cases involving actual commission of a crime. Conspiracy trials provide a field day for police agents and provocateurs.

All the stench of that kind of frame-up is present in the Jan. 12 indictment of Rev. Philip Berrigan and others on charges of "conspiring" to dynamite the heating system in a federal building and to kidnap presidential assistant Henry Kissinger.

From their jail cells, Father Berrigan and his brother Rev. Daniel Berrigan, who was named a co-conspirator, have denied the charges. Both are serving terms for having poured blood on draft records in a symbolic act of opposition to the Vietnam war.

The case against the Berrigans was initiated, not in the courts but in Congress, by a figure of such low repute as J. Edgar Hoover. This in itself underlines the political character of the prosecution.

Hoover has become increasingly distressed by the growing radicalization in this country. And perhaps one of the things that has especially disturbed him has been the development of such radicalism among the traditionally conservative Catholic clergy.

A man like Hoover must literally tremble at the defiant political stands of such respected figures as the Berrigans, or former Maryknoll priests like Blase Bonpane, who took his stand with the Guatemalan guerrillas, and Felix McGowan, who organized Latin American peasants and hailed the Cuban revolution.

In initiating this prosecution, Hoover probably believes it will serve its intended purpose—the stifling of political dissent.

But just as the Chicago "conspiracy" frame-up only sparked wider dissent, and just as the persecution of Angela Davis is evoking an international outcry, so the attempt to further victimize the Berrigans and those associated with them will only serve to broaden the opposition to a government that seeks to bolster its rule by political persecution.

Letters

Vacation pay

I work at a warehouse which includes members of the Teamsters union and a Warehousemen's union affiliated with the Teamsters. Recently a co-worker mentioned that members of some local (I don't know if they are Warehousemen or Teamsters) at Kiddie City get time-and-a-half pay for vacations. While this sounds ludicrous at first, it began to make sense when the reason was mentioned: you need more money when you're on vacation than when you're living at home. I hope this trend spreads to other unions.

A. L.

Philadelphia, Pa.

'Mindless violence'

The recent rash of bombings and violent acts by the pseudorevolutionaries and ultralefts should be abhorred by all socialists who wish to change the system for a better world. There is nothing more damaging to the movement at this time than the destructive acts of a few self-proclaimed revolutionaries who demean the hard work that everyone else has contributed.

We all realize the frustrations that each of us feels from the myriad problems of this capitalist society. However, I think *The Militant* should take a strong editorial position against mindless, individual acts of violence, which not only accomplish very little but also alienate those people we wish to have as comrades.

P. E.

Atlanta, Ga.

Hunting defended

The "In Brief" item on the New Jersey deer hunt (*Militant*, Dec. 11) did not take into account the fact that hunting wildlife must be viewed in its relationship to the species and its environment. Death is an important part of the balance of nature. What is important is that each species maintain itself in balance with the rest of the inhabitants of the region.

Specifically, the present deer population of Georgia is about 150,000, up from 20,000 only 20 years ago. Hunters take an estimated 30,000 deer a year, mostly adult males. This does not significantly affect the birth rate. The increase in deer population is due to the destruction of many natural predators as well as to the game management practices of many states.

Deer need cover and a large area to roam in as well as sufficient food and water, if they are to remain the native, wild creatures they are. Therefore, it is not enough to feed excess deer, because the population will outgrow the area. The deer must either be transferred to another area, which postpones the problem until we run out of suitable areas, or the death and birth rate must be brought into line. Deer, unlike mankind, are unable to radically alter their way of life, and domestication would destroy much of their intrinsic beauty. Hunting is one method of increasing the death rate without affecting the birth rate and should be regulated to produce a stable, ecologically balanced wildlife population.

Scientific game management and the undoing of all the ecological

damage will not be complete until the moribund capitalist system is done away with. After that, hunting by trained sportswomen and men who pass stringent physical and mental examinations will be an important part of a balanced ecology.

Kendall Green
Atlanta, Ga.

Applauds dissent

Dissenters are especially needed in our present society to protest the terrible inequities that are committed. It's very unfortunate that the small segment of our population who do the deepest thinking and wish to make this a better, more just world haven't the social and political backing needed. I'm sure that 90 percent of these so-called radicals are better-than-average citizens. They truly are trying to build a more just world out of this chaos we now live in. This is true regardless of which country they are a citizen of.

I. R.

Minneapolis, Minn.

Afraid of the truth?

I began reading *The Militant* about two months ago, and I have come to regard it as a true revolutionary voice. However, I am appalled at the blatant lies printed in your paper about Israel. I have been studying the Middle East situation and following events there for over three years, and many of the things you say are simply not true. Your use of rhetoric, fact out of context, and open lies are propaganda techniques I would expect from Spiro Agnew, not *The Militant*.

Not only are your facts regarding Israel incorrect, but you neglect to mention Arab atrocities such as the hanging of Jews in Iraq, the imprisonment of Jews in Egypt without trial, the war of liberation that Blacks are forced to fight against the ruling class in Sudan, etc.

Why is *The Militant* afraid of the truth regarding the Middle East?

W. E.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Fun city

This morning, as I boarded the bus, a man keeled over on the floor, his face blue, and gasping for breath. A while later he seemed to be dead. In keeping with modern modes of communication, the bus had a two-way radio, and the driver put in a call for an ambulance. The radio wasn't working. He left to put in a phone call. He returned 10 minutes later, explaining he couldn't find a working booth and had finally persuaded a local shopkeeper to let him use his private phone.

A good 20 minutes after the man collapsed, police arrived. There was still no ambulance in sight.

H. R.

New York, N. Y.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

The Great Society

New subscriber

Please enter my name on the subscribers list. Thank you for a good newspaper.

R. C.
Springfield, Ohio

Free assembly

Joe Long's letter about the banning of free assembly in Selinsgrove, Pa., (*Militant*, Dec. 11) is itself a good starting point to organize opposition. Communication is essential to the broadest possible opposition.

The ban is a threat to unions' right to strike as well as to the functioning of liberal groups such as the League of Women Voters and the American Civil Liberties Union. It should be possible to enlist the support of such groups in opposition to the ban.

Jim Krahn
Minneapolis, Minn.

Enlightened

Speaking for the majority of your readers, I can safely say that we are extremely happy to see that *The Militant* has taken the opportunity to enlighten its readers about the new trend in comic books and magazines. Because your newspaper is aimed at people with comic-book mentality, I can see where an article of such magnitude and worldly importance as the article in the Dec. 11 issue would have a great effect on your readers.

Thank you, kind sirs, for taking a stand in an area where no other would dare to go because of the cost of ink and paper.

S. L.
Northfield, Minn.

Disney comics

In your article on comic books in the Dec. 11 issue of *The Militant*, I feel you did an injustice to the Uncle Scrooge and Donald Duck characters. To be sure, your analysis of the story you mentioned is correct, but it is an exception to the general image of these characters.

Uncle Scrooge is indeed a capitalist par excellence, but his miserable, money-grubbing, antihumanist existence and lack of human compassion is ridiculed by Donald and the rest and made to seem so ridiculous, futile and corrupt that those reading these stories could hardly identify with his values and way of life.

In many Donald Duck stories of substance—usually reprints of stories from the 40s and 50s—Donald is ripped-off by the police for little or no reason. The police treat Donald roughly, usually grabbing him by his long neck and yanking him off the ground. Judges are usually quite arbitrary, corrupt and authoritarian.

Mickey Mouse, however, is a prime example of a conventional, middle-class, law-and-order type of character.

Theo Majka
Goleta, Calif.

Prefers earlier period—A while back we reported the case of the Texan who went to court after traveling some distance to see *Midnight Cowboy* on the assumption it was a western. Now there's the report of Martha Mitchell walking out on *Doctor Zhivago* on realizing it had a Bolshevik background. "I thought it was about the romantic Russia of the czars," she said.

Use them for thermometers—New York State officials warned of a high mercury content in fish from Lake George. They emphasized, however, they were not banning fishing in the lake, only recommending the fish not be eaten. Similar warnings have been issued about fish from seven other lakes in the state.

A good American soldier—Lt. Col. Donald Lafoon, a member of the court-martial panel in the case of one of the GIs being tried for the My Lai massacre, says that "In almost any combat operation there is unnecessary killing" and that soldiers should obey even illegal orders because "a soldier is an unreasoning agent of a superior."

Every sewer has a silver lining—The bottled-water industry enjoyed record sales of \$80-million in 1970 and expects to hit the \$100-million mark this year. Demand is particularly good in areas where the drinking water is recycled sewage.

They try harder?—North Central Airlines took on Braniff, initiating a competing nonstop flight from Omaha to Minneapolis. One passenger showed up for the initial flight, and the airline managed to lose his baggage.

Peace prospects mount—The Vatican announced it would sign the international treaty on curbing the spread of nuclear weapons.

Sensitive—Those of you who like to bad-mouth the wealthy, and others who cater to them, as indifferent to the plight of the less fortunate should consider the response of Neiman-Marcus to current economic difficulties. This past Xmas, the posh Dallas store's gift catalog omitted the usual section on "How to spend \$1-million at Neiman-Marcus." Explained Chairman Edward Marcus: "It would have been gauche."

Rocky all out for vets—Dedicated to the principle that nothing's too good for our boys, New York's Gov. Rockefeller signed a law providing that \$3.25 state fishing licenses shall be provided free to veterans with more than 40 percent disability. Now some wiseacre will suggest that what with the mercury, the good governor might be thinking ahead that even with the loss of license revenue the state would save in the long run on other benefits to vets.



Zschlesche/Greensboro Daily News

"Tuna on white—hold the mercury!"

Thought for the week—"You know Americans—as long as there's a buck to be made, we'll hang on."—A Texas oil man in Libya.

— HARRY RING

Third World Liberation Notes

While Jennifer Josephine Hosten, from the island of Grenada in the Caribbean, is tripping around the world as the first Black woman to win the "Miss World" title, police in St. George's, Grenada, are quelling Black power demonstrations.

Daily demonstrations were conducted throughout November and December over the firing of 10 Black nurses from a government hospital. The firings first prompted mass resignations by other nurses. Local Black power organizations then took the issue to the streets. On Dec. 15, according to the *New York Times*, the demonstrators occupied the ministry-of-health building for an hour. Police evicted them with tear gas.

Grenada is an island of 133 square miles with a Black population of over 100,000. The Caribbean lackey governments have been getting very uptight over the Black power movement, especially since the revolutionary upheaval in Trinidad in the spring of 1970.

Lance Cpl. Ronald Johnson, a 21-year-old Black marine from Brooklyn, was finally acquitted after being court-martialed two years ago on charges of rape, in Okinawa. The acquittal is without precedent in the history of the Marine Corps.

Johnson served two years in prison before being given a retrial earlier this year. The new trial was obtained only after a campaign was waged by his mother, his lawyer, and a *Daily News* reporter. The campaign was prompted by revelations that Johnson had actually been framed up by two white marines, with an Okinawan woman as their accomplice.

The following item is from an article in the Jan. 4 *New York Times* entitled "Nixon is Seeking to Placate Black Aides Ready to Quit." A better title might have been "Trials and Tribulations of a House Negro."

"... a Negro official and his white superior were speaking before separate Black audiences at a Black meeting.

Afterwards, the Black official went to the hotel room of his superior who immediately chastised the Black for not being at the same session to take some of the heat. 'But I was catching hell at the other meeting,' the Black official explained. 'Yes, but that's what we pay you to do,' his boss shot back."

Regeneracion, a Chicano magazine, reports there are nearly a million Chicanos in the Midwest. About half reside in the Chicago area, while close to 10,000 reside in Lansing, Mich., and another 8,000 live in East Chicago, Ind., the home of Inland Steel. The history of Chicanos in East Chicago goes all the way back to 1919 when they were first brought into the area to work on the steel "plantation."

Subscriptions to **Regeneracion** run at \$5 a year. Write: **Regeneracion**, P. O. Box 54624 T. A., Los Angeles, Calif. 90054.

"We must keep our commitments." / Mr. Nixon said; / and I heartily agree, / but in a manner of speaking / shall we start with the Cree, / or the Mohawk, Iroquois or Seneca / Delaware or Cherokee?

We all had commitments, / made many moons ago / or shall we start with the Sioux, / Winnebago, Sauk-Fox or Crow?

Commitments are very important / if kept, they can bring you fame, / but when the treaties are broken / all you get for your trouble is shame

The Indians kept theirs with honor / when do you intend to keep yours / to the Dakota, Cheyenne, Blackfoot, / Haida, Hoopa, Seminole, Hopi / and Navajo?

"Commitments," the above poem by B. Holloway, is from a new Native-American monthly publication, **Rainbow People**. It is a composite of the **Cherokee Examiner** and several other Indian newspapers. A year subscription is only \$3. Write: **Rainbow People**, Box 164, John Day, Ore. 97845.

— DERRICK MORRISON

Jordan in new moves against resistance

By TONY THOMAS

JAN. 12—The last week has seen a new outbreak of fighting in Jordan between the Palestinian resistance forces and the troops of King Hussein.

The same factors that impelled Hussein to attempt to wipe out the Palestinian liberation movement in September still exist. First is the contradiction between the attempts by various Arab governments, backed by both Moscow and Washington, to reach a settlement with Israel, and the refusal of the Palestinian resistance to accept any settlement that maintains Zionist Israel and denies them their right to self-determination. Second is the danger presented to Hussein's regime in Jordan by the fedayeen's mobilization, politicalization, and arming of the Palestinians, a majority of the Jordanian population.

The Jan. 9 *New York Times* reported that the day before Hussein's troops began an attack on commando bases in the north of Amman. Al Fateh, the largest of the Palestinian resistance organizations, reported that the Jordanians had shelled a Palestinian Red

Crescent (Islamic equivalent of the Red Cross) hospital at El Rumman.

Fateh spokesmen reported Jan. 9 that the Jordanian Army was continuing heavy shelling of commando bases in the areas of Jarash and Salt, north of Amman.

The *Times* stated that these "cites for guerrilla centers were chosen with the acquiescence of the Jordanian government and with the supervision of Arab observers under [Egypt's] Brigadier (Ahmed) Hilmi, who had been appointed to carry out the accords ending the civil war [in September]." At the initiation of the fighting, Hilmi and other "inter-Arab" observers left Jordan, charging that "the authorities in Amman had mounted an offensive against [the] commando bases."

On Jan. 10, the al-Baqaa refugee camp, a stronghold of support for the resistance, with a population of over 50,000, was attacked by the Jordan Army. A *Times* dispatch from Beirut dated Jan. 10 stated, "The commando radio broadcast a report that thousands of old men, women, and

children were fleeing their tents at al-Baqaa.

"According to the guerrillas, Jordanian tanks and infantry ringed the camp and tried to search the area. When the refugees refused to allow them to do so and demonstrated in support of the guerrillas, the soldiers opened fire at them, causing a panic, the commandos said."

A *Times* dispatch dated Jan. 11 from Amman reported that conditions in Amman "were similar to those before the September clashes." Fighting had broken out in several parts of the city. "Commando radio blamed authorities for the shooting. . . . [They said] Jordanian security forces had opened fire 'from all directions' and [the Fedayeen] charged that the purpose was to terrorize the city." It was reported that three civilians and one policeman were killed on the 11th.

An unnamed spokesman for Hussein stated the real position of the government by saying that "the government was 'adamant in its resolution' to carry out the truce agreements with the commandos, 'but not at the

cost of law and order." By law and order, he meant preventing the mobilization of the Palestinian and Jordanian masses in the refugee camps, in the urban centers, and in other working-class centers.

"He asked why commando forces should have ammunition and arms dumps at Ruseifa, a phosphate mining village many miles from the nearest river crossing point. . . . The Jordan river valley [is] the proper place for the commando." He bemoaned the fact that "the confrontation [between Hussein and the Palestinian masses] has always been in towns and cities far away from the front [with Israel]."

The difficulty the Hashemite leaders of Jordan face is that despite momentary setbacks for the Palestinian resistance, it will not be stifled until its demands for self-determination are realized. And it is the continued organization and mobilization of the Palestinians and other Arab peoples around these demands that poses the greatest threat to Zionism, world imperialism, and the Arab capitalists.

Cairo United Front widens defense campaign

By DERRICK MORRISON

CAIRO, Ill.—At a one-day Survival Crusade sponsored by the Cairo, Ill., United Front on Dec. 19, Rev. Charles Koen, executive director of the Front, announced a stepped-up campaign in defense of the embattled Black community.

The Survival Crusade was prompted by a recent escalation in the attacks on the Black community by the city and state governments:

- Since Oct. 27, two armored cars have been ordered into Cairo by Illinois governor Richard B. Ogilvie, twenty-four state troopers have been assigned to the city, and a third armored car has been stationed in Carbondale, 60 miles away.

- On Nov. 7, Wylie Anderson, a Black GI on leave, was shot 8 times by white vigilantes. At the time of the shooting, Anderson was on his way into Pyramid Courts, an all-Black housing project. Anderson died on Nov. 28 and was buried in Cairo on Dec. 4.

- In a further effort to bring a halt to the 20-month-old Black economic boycott of white merchants, word was leaked by a Chicago Black minister on Nov. 16 that the governor has a "contract" out on the life of Rev. Koen.

- On Dec. 5, deputized white vigilantes, Cairo police, and state troopers attacked a group of 30 Blacks as they picketed downtown stores. Somehow, a state trooper was shot. Fifteen of the pickets were arrested on charges ranging from attempted murder to failure to obey a policeman.

It was after this last incident that the Front called the Survival Crusade. About 300 people attended. Among them were a bus load of Chicago Black high-schoolers from Central YMCA High and Marshall High. In addition to several Black students from Detroit, 20 Black students came from the campuses of Howard University and Federal City College in Washington, D. C. The D. C. students arrived a week before the one-day affair and helped to organize the Crusade.

There were also 18 white students

from Illinois State University in Bloomington, Ill. They brought several boxes of food and clothing. They had organized a Friends of Cairo group at their school and through a campus meeting sponsored by Rev. Koen, had obtained an honorarium of over \$2,000 for the Front.

At the opening of the Crusade in St. Colomba Church, Leon Page, statewide coordinator for the Front, explained the situation in Cairo. He ran down how the Black community, which constitutes half of the more than 6,000 people in Cairo, had organized to defend itself against white racist violence instigated by the White Hats (now known as the United Citizens for Community Action (UCCA)), the American Nazi Party, the Ku Klux Klan, and armed bodies of men known as the city police and state deputy sheriffs. In response to this white violence, the Blacks initiated an economic boycott, demanding jobs in downtown stores and half of the power and jobs in city government. These demands are coupled with plans for the rejuvenation of Cairo. The white city government has kept many Blacks on welfare by turning away industries willing to locate in the area.

Half of the audience was then taken over to Brother Beanie's Palace, a cooperative women's clothing and tot shop, while the other half visited the SICA (Southern Illinois Cooperative Association) food market and Pyramid Courts. Brother Beanie's Palace, formerly the Palace, was renamed after Wylie "Beanie" Anderson, the Black GI killed by white vigilantes.

Later on, at the First Missionary Baptist Church, a rally was held with Rev. Koen as the featured speaker. A number of Black and white clergymen were present, having come from various parts of the country in solidarity with the Black community. The rally was followed by a march of over 300 people into downtown Cairo. The deputized white vigilantes of the UCCA were not to be seen.

In his address at the rally and at a subsequent press conference, Rev.



Photo by Carl Hampton, United Front

Cop attacks peacefully picketing United Front member in downtown Cairo, Dec. 5.

Koen indicated that the Front would be seeking out support among Black legislators in Illinois as well as in Washington, D. C., asking them to come to Cairo to investigate. This is partially in response to a recent trip to the capital by the mayor of Cairo, who brought along a group of Black and white high-schoolers to plead his case. Front representatives will also try to see the two senators from Illinois, Charles H. Percy, and Adlai E. Stevenson III, about launching an investigation. He said the Front would be sending a peace representative to city hall every morning at 10 a.m. to discuss settling the city's problems.

Rev. Gay Gillmore, representing a group of interdenominational church

executives on race relations, reported on legal aid being offered by his group and on plans to build a Cairo support campaign. Rev. Metz Rollins of the National Committee of Black Churchmen announced the committee was mobilizing to support the Cairo Black community, and Brother Imari Abubakari Obadele I, president of the Republic of New Africa, spoke about the justness of the Front's demands.

Financial contributions can be sent payable to: United Front, P. O. Box 544, Cairo, Ill. 62914. Attention: James Chairs. To obtain Front speakers for campuses and high schools, write to Rev. Manker Harris at the same address, or call (618) 734-0376 during the day or (618) 734-1058 at night.

ROOTS OF MIDEAST CONFLICT

By GUS HOROWITZ
and BARRY SHEPPARD
(Seventh of a series)

The Palestinian resistance movement is a national liberation movement of an oppressed people. Its objective of a democratic state in Palestine expresses the same goal of self-determination as is raised in all other sectors of the colonial revolution. The struggle of the colonial peoples for national liberation is one of the key revolutionary struggles going on in the world today.

Why is this so? Why does struggle for the democratic demands of an oppressed people lead in a revolutionary direction? What are the means by which these democratic goals can be achieved? What forces are necessary to lead this struggle to a successful conclusion?

To answer these questions requires a general examination of the present-day dynamics of the struggles of oppressed nations for self-determination. The features of these struggles are very different in the modern era than they were in earlier times.

Bourgeois-democratic revolution

The concept of national liberation was a key feature of the American revolution of 1776. Like the French revolution and the other great revolutions of that era, the American revolution was a bourgeois-democratic revolution; that is, national liberation and the other democratic goals were accomplished under the leadership of the capitalist class, in a revolution that resulted in the establishment of a capitalist nation-state. For its own development, the young and rising capitalist class in the American colony needed independence from Britain. Other classes—the small farmers, the nascent working class, the artisans, etc.—also benefitted from throwing off the foreign yoke and came into the revolutionary struggle as its best fighters.

But the world of today is vastly different from what it was in 1776. By its own internal dynamics, early "laissez-faire" capitalism grew into modern monopoly capitalism with great concentrations of wealth in the hands of a very few. As the capitalist countries of Europe, North America and Japan advanced economically, they reached out to dominate the rest of the world. Control of foreign markets, sources of raw materials, and investment opportunities became life and death questions for the ruling rich. The fierceness of the competition between these imperialist powers led to two world wars, with a toll in human lives unprecedented in history.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the world was carved up by the great imperialist powers. It was in this period that the Arab world was brought completely under their control. Britain and France were the chief imperialist powers in the area until after World War II, when they were superceded by the United States.

Imperialist domination of the Arab world distorts the course of economic development in these countries. The imperialists introduce modern techniques and capitalist relations, but only in ways that are profitable to them. The result is a lopsided development of the economy. Usually only certain raw material extraction industries are developed (like oil). The key sectors of the economy are either directly controlled or ultimately subordinated to foreign capital. This economic stranglehold results in a constant drain of the natural resources and fruits of human labor from these countries.

The bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the past historical era paved the way for tremendous economic advance in certain sectors of the world. But the very development of modern capitalism that resulted from these past revolutions precludes a repetition of that process in the colonial world today. To overcome the heritage of exploitation and national oppression in the colonial world today, it is necessary to break the grip, not of a King George, but of modern imperialism.

National bourgeoisie

Unlike the situation in 1776, national liberation cannot be achieved on a capitalist basis. The indigenous capitalist class in the colonial world has developed in the shadow of imperialist control of the key sectors of the economy. While certain sectors of this national bourgeoisie chafe under imperialist control, the class as a whole plays the role of a junior partner to imperialism. It is much too weak to attempt independent development in competition with the powerful imperialists. Its basic strategy is to maneuver within the framework of some form of continued imperialist presence.

Moreover, the national bourgeoisie fears, to the marrow of its bones, waging the kind of struggle necessary to win real independence from imperialist domination. Such a determined struggle would necessitate mobilizing the masses, above all the workers and poor peasants. But once the masses are in motion, they raise demands not only against the imperialists but against the native capitalists and landlords as well.

In the mass upsurge of the colonial revolution after

Dynamics of the struggle for national liberation



World War II, the imperialists were forced to grant formal political independence to much of the colonial world, while seeking to maintain economic control. They have found in the national bourgeoisie the medium for this neocolonial form of rule, often in nakedly reactionary forms as in Vietnam. Even when the national bourgeoisie comes into conflict with various aspects of imperialist rule, it always attempts to contain the colonial revolution within the bounds of capitalism. This is the meaning of regimes that have appeared like those of Sukarno in Indonesia, Nkrumah in Ghana, Allende in Chile, and Nasser in the U. A. R.

The national bourgeoisie in the colonial world has not only proved incapable of carrying through the struggle for national liberation, it has also proved itself incapable of fully realizing the other democratic tasks, like land reform, which are burning issues for the colonial peoples. Nowhere in the colonial world has the capitalist solution worked. Nowhere has the national bourgeoisie been a reliable ally of the national liberation struggle—indeed, it is always found on the side of imperialism, in a crunch.

Permanent revolution

Only the masses in the colonial countries, especially the workers and poor farmers, can fully embrace the national liberation struggle as their own and wage a consistent fight for it. In so doing, they naturally raise demands which go beyond the democratic demands of national liberation but which are necessary to achieve it.

The only way to break the grip of the imperialists is through nationalization of the key sectors of the economy and the institution of a planned economy and state monopoly of foreign trade. These anticapitalist measures necessitate a struggle against the national bourgeoisie as well as the imperialists. Only on the basis of a nationalized and planned economy can effective steps be taken towards national economic reconstruction, land reform, crash programs for education, the allocation of resources in the most efficient manner, etc. To carry out measures like these, a socialist revolution is required that culminates in the setting up of a workers state.

That is why it is only in those countries where the colonial revolution has broken out of the bounds of capitalism—China, North Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba—that genuine independence from imperialism has been achieved. All of the colonial or neocolonial countries, including the "revolutionary" Arab countries, which remain capitalist, also remain to one degree or another tied to imperialism and are not able to take effective steps towards economic advancement.

Thus revolutionary socialists in the colonial countries do not artificially divide the struggle for national liberation from the struggle for socialism, but see them as combined. A revolutionary-socialist program in the Middle East raises both the democratic demands of national liberation as well as anticapitalist demands, both of which are necessary to mobilize the workers and peasants into a struggle that can win national liberation. To lead such a struggle requires the creation of revolutionary parties of the Leninist type, both in the Arab countries and in Israel.

The Stalinists, of both the Moscow and Peking variety, oppose such a program. They put forward a theory of revolution by distinct stages. First comes the struggle for national liberation; some vague time later, they say, comes the struggle for socialism. Thus, they counsel the revolutionary forces to subordinate themselves to the national bourgeoisie and refuse to raise anticapitalist demands, which would be unacceptable to this traitorous class.

This Stalinist program has led to defeats and catastrophes all over the colonial world. One of the most terrible examples was in Indonesia, where the Communist Party (under Maoist tutelage) placed total reliance on the "progressive" national bourgeoisie, as represented by Sukarno. As a result, the Indonesian Communist Party was completely unprepared when sectors of that national bourgeoisie, in connivance with the CIA, turned against them and opened up a mass slaughter of worker and peasant leaders in that country. All over the Arab world, the Communist parties follow a policy of subordinating themselves to the national bourgeoisie.

Various left sectarians put forward an opposite strategy, which is just as wrong. They raise anticapitalist demands and call for socialism, but they counterpose these demands to the democratic demands of the national liberation struggle. Such sectarianism is ultimately conservative, for it isolates revolutionists from the living revolution, in which democratic demands are a key to mobilizing the masses.

The national struggles of the oppressed people of the world are not separate and apart from the internationalist goals of the socialist revolution. These struggles are a powerful component of the socialist revolution. That is why the Palestinian resistance movement, in struggling intransigently for national liberation is playing such a revolutionary role.

(To be continued)

Irving Howe: a reformist rankled by Kate Millett



Irving Howe "had a fit when he read 'Sexual Politics,' and decided to chop it to bits and stamp on the pieces, thus putting Kate Millet in her place."



Kate Millet "is right and Howe is wrong. She is crying out against oppression and summoning people to fight it—he is belittling her cry and opposing her call for action."

By GEORGE BREITMAN

To the many playwrights and novelists who are writing or thinking about writing fiction or plays about women's liberation themes:

Here is a suggestion that may be useful for treatment of what will probably be one of your key characters—the man who responds to the new women's movement and its demands as a personal attack on himself and everything he stands for (especially if he is not a crude slob but a character with some credentials for sophistication and enlightenment):

Be sure to get hold of Irving Howe's article, "The Middle-Class Mind of Kate Millett," in the December issue of *Harper's*. It costs a dollar, unless you can pick up a copy at your dentist's, but I think you will find it worth many times that sum as a source of stimulation in developing the male character mentioned above.

Not that I am suggesting that you transplant Irving Howe into your play or novel. No, that would be a mistake, except for a special kind of fiction. There are too many ways in which Howe is unique, if not exceptional; putting him in your work as he is, with only his name changed, would create more problems than it's worth.

Howe is a literary critic, English professor, author and editor (of *Dissent*); politically, he is a social democrat, fancying himself an authority on Marxism. After joining the Socialist Workers Party as a youth, he then joined what Trotsky called "the petty-bourgeois opposition" in the SWP, which split away in 1940 under the leadership of Max Shachtman and James Burnham because it could not endure the anti-Soviet pressure of bourgeois public opinion at the start of World War II, before the Soviet Union and the U. S. became allies.

Around a decade later, Howe split away from Shachtman because he felt Shachtman was too slow in adapting to the "anticommunist" currents that became strong during the Korean war. Later, Shachtman caught up with Howe, and both are now in the right wing of the Socialist Party or its vicinity.

It is this background, plus a knack for coining Marxist-sounding arguments, coupled with avowals of continuing dedication to socialism as (nothing but) an "ideal," that has made Howe popular, at least with liberal bourgeois publishers, as the author of articles against radical youth and intellectuals. If an Irving Howe didn't exist, these publishers would feel constrained to invent one.

This is a character, as I said, too specialized or too unbelievable to fit comfortably into most novels or plays (except those whose theme is political renegacy). But if you can abstract most of this background, then I think you will find Howe useful as a genuine prototype of the "cultivated" male who feels affronted or threatened by the women's liberation movement.

Howe had a fit when he read *Sexual Politics*,

and decided to chop it to bits and stamp on the pieces, thus putting Kate Millett in her place. Near the beginning, he professes to be amused ("one would need a heart of stone not to be amused by the [commercial] success she has won" with "a book declaring itself to be a 'revolutionary' manifesto"), but that's the last light touch. After that it's nothing but slugging, gouging and kneeling—mayhem by any means necessary.

The tone is both savage and indignant. Extremely savage—which would not be worth noting except that Howe *never*, in any of his many polemics, uses such a tone toward capitalist politicians, including types like Nixon and Johnson. Compare how he discusses Millett with the tone he uses toward George Meany—for example when Meany refused to let the AFL-CIO endorse the 1963 March on Washington—and try to explain this savagery. And indignant: righteously indignant of course. I urge you to follow that all the way through this long article, because it's the perfect tone for your male character.

You may get the feeling, as I did, that there was something compulsive about the way Howe wrote this—everything exasperated him, big and little, and nothing was too little to be left out. He takes a swipe at Columbia University, where Millett did her work, not once, but three times. He must have some kind of thing about Columbia and can't withhold its expression. His pride as an academic has been assaulted: no student doing that kind of work in *his* classes would get by with it.

Millett's book, as any experienced reader can detect, was written too rapidly, or not rewritten or edited enough, and it has faults as well as virtues. Howe denies the existence of the latter and makes the most of the former. Some of the faults are serious, such as Millett's attempt to avoid a position on what preceded the patriarchal family while at the same time making concessions to the idea that society has always been patriarchal. But this is not a review of the Millett book, which deserves critical analysis in *The Militant*.

You of course can't wait for, and in any case shouldn't depend on, someone else's review. Read her book if you haven't already done so, and make your own judgment. Then you should decide: *On the essential questions*, is Millett right, or Howe? Without such a decision your male character will hang in the air.

I myself find the answer obvious. Taking into account all of her book's shortcomings as well as the fact that Howe is a more experienced debater, Millett is right and Howe is wrong. She is crying out against oppression and summoning people to fight it—he is belittling her cry and opposing her call for action. The rest is just window dressing on his part.

Her book is a revolutionary manifesto (without Howe's quotation marks) and should be approached first of all at that level—not as history

or sociology or literary criticism. Howe's article is an apology, not for the entire status quo—naturally, as a reformist he is in favor of certain reforms—but for basic elements of the status quo.

Change? Of course Howe is for change, provided only that it's within the context of reform and doesn't aspire to anything beyond reform: "The demands of the women's movements, at least those demands that can be brought into socioeconomic focus, are transparently just. . . . Equal pay for equal work, child-care centers for working mothers—these could become realities within a decade or two, and without bombs, guerrilla warfare, or even the razing of Western Civilization." (Millett is a pacifist, I've heard.) As you can see, your male character has a big heart.

And it swells even bigger as he doles out one concession after another: The lot of women, he informs us, has "frequently" been that of "a subordinate group," the relationship between men and women "often" does have "a strand of ugly commercialism," it is true that "many" women have suffered "a kind of superexploitation." But is that the whole picture? Of course not! Why can't Millett, that fanatical snob, acknowledge that some women are happy, that many are satisfied, that the relations between men and women have worked somehow for a long time, even if not perfectly? Why can't Millett be broad-minded, tolerant and fair? Why can't she be as broad-minded, tolerant and fair as he is?

Howe manages to remain complacent about the conditions of women—or if not complacent, philosophical. Men have power over women? But don't forget, Howe says, that some women have certain kinds of power over men. Some kinds of power are deplorable, but on the other hand some kinds are desirable: "And it is even possible—indeed, if one clings to some sort of tragic view of life, it is likely—that the powers we hold over one another are both of the desirable and the deplorable kinds, the two forever and fatally mixed."

Life is tough all over, remember "the miseries of existence" we all have to endure, don't overlook "all the difficulties that sheer existence imposes on us." Fortunately for your male character in such moments, he can find consolation in existentialist homilies.

But the moment Millett utters the words "family" and "patriarchy," Howe reacts like a man goosed by a red-hot poker. Her most heinous offense is that "with the barest lilt of the eyebrow [she is] envisaging the abolition of the [patriarchal] family." Hell hath no fury like a family man hearing the family scorned or challenged. Howe then not only turns livid with fury but is driven to falsification.

Howe goes to the point of pitting Marx against Millett, and of citing Lenin and Trotsky against her, when the simple truth is that Millett is a thousand times closer to the authentic Marxists on the basic question of the family than Howe with all his sophistry and pretense.

And she is correct also in stating that counterrevolutionaries and totalitarians seek to reinforce what Trotsky called "the most reactionary and benighted nucleus of the class system, i.e., the petty-bourgeois family." Howe plays a crooked game in counterposing to this major truth the minor truth that totalitarians, while glorifying the family, can come to regard family ties as a competitor for the loyalty they demand of every person. (Howe, the defender of the petty-bourgeois family, was rather indiscreet to raise the question of the class character of Millett's mind.)

Perhaps Howe's frenzy can be explained in part by his knowledge that he is playing a finky role, and the guilt resulting from that knowledge. But even if psychological speculations are inadequate to explain this, the political circumstances surrounding this polemic will surely be helpful:

In his defense of the family, Howe is in the same camp as Stalin, Brezhnev and the American Communist Party. This is a camp he is most embarrassed to inhabit (although decreasingly so as the Stalinists continue to move to the right and become more respectable; at election time the Stalinists and

continued on page 22

WEATHER UNDERGROUND:

Wind from the same direction

By HARRY RING

In recent months, there has been a growing realization among radical-minded youth that the politics of individual terror and adventuristic confrontations lead nowhere but a dead end. This awareness has apparently spread to the extent that it has even affected—albeit in a minute and distorted way—the thinking of a group as isolated from political reality as the Weather Underground.

Announcement of a modification of political outlook came in a Weather Underground "communique" dated Dec. 6, 1970, and signed (complete with fingerprint) by the group's principal representative, Bernardine Dohrn.



Bernardine Dohrn announcing split at 1969 SDS convention. Six months later, Weatherbureau went underground and began bombing. Now they think they may have made a "military error."

It was received Dec. 10 by Liberation News Service and has since appeared in various movement publications.

The communique opens rather modestly: "This communication does not accompany a bombing or a specific action. We want to express ourselves to the mass movement not as military leaders but as tribes at council."

The communique advises that members of the underground Weather collectives have been doing some new political thinking as a result of the explosion in the New York townhouse last March where three Weather people died, apparently while manufacturing bombs.

"That explosion," the communique asserts, "forever destroyed our belief that armed struggle is the only real revolutionary struggle."

"It is time for the movement to go out into the air," the statement continues, "to organize, to risk [!] calling rallies and demonstrations, to convince that mass actions against the war and in support of rebellions do make a difference."

In attempting to assess what went wrong, Dohrn seems to be placing responsibility for a false approach on the particular collective involved in the townhouse bomb factory. However, the picture she presents is in complete consonance with the outlook of the Weather group as a whole and not an aberration from it.

"Because their collective began to define armed struggle as the only legitimate form of revolutionary action," Dohrn states, "they did not believe there was any revolutionary motion among white youth. It seemed like Black and Third World people were going up against Amerikan imperialism alone."

Such a view is, of course, but a restatement of the Weather thesis that the revolutionary struggle today is between the Third World and U.S. imperialism and the sole contribution of white "mother country" radicals is that of providing supplementary aid from "behind the lines."

Apparently as a result of the massive student actions in the wake of the Cambodian invasion, Dohrn now agrees there is a revolutionary potential among American youth that must be given a revolutionary direction. But her communique makes clear that the Weather Underground doesn't have the vaguest notion of how to go about accomplishing such a task.

While the document is muddled to the point of almost defying political

comprehension, it does provide a useful portrait of the entirely logical development—or, more precisely, deterioration—of a group devoted to individual terror.

A turning point came for the townhouse collective, Dohrn states, two weeks before the explosion, "when four members of the group . . . firebombed Judge Murtagh's house in New York as an action of support for the Panther 21, whose trial was just beginning."

"To many people," declares Dohrn, "this was a very good action."

While it may have seemed good to Dohrn, it is dubious that the Panther 21, facing a frame-up charge of conspiring to bomb, were particularly elated.

However, continues Dohrn, those who did the bombing were dissatisfied with the results. "Within the group," she reports, "the feeling developed that because this action had not done anything to hurt the pigs materially, it wasn't important. So within two weeks time, this group had moved from firebombing to antipersonnel bombs."

Dohrn describes what transpired: "Many people did not want to be involved in the large-scale, almost random bombing offensive that was planned. But they struggled day and night, and eventually everyone agreed to do their part. At the end," she continues, "they believed and acted as if only those who die are proven revolutionaries."

"Many people had to be argued into doing something they did not believe in. . . . Personal relationships were full of guilt and fear. The group had spent so much time willing themselves to act that they had not dealt with the basic considerations of safety. . . ."

"This tendency to consider only bombings or picking up the gun as revolutionary, with the glorification on the heavier the better," Dohrn explains, "we've called the military error."

When LSD exponent Timothy Leary escaped from a California prison and arrived in Algiers, he announced that the Weather Underground had helped in his escape and that he and they stood in political solidarity. In a recent letter to the U.S. underground press, Leary states his current political creed. It says in part:

"Resist spiritually, stay high . . . praise god . . . love life . . . blow the mechanical mind with Holy Acid. . . . dose them . . . dose them . . . dose them. Resist physically; robot agents who threaten life must be disarmed, disabled, disconnected by force . . . arm yourself and shoot to live. . . ."

What alternative does Dohrn offer? More of the same, but coupled with a somehow-to-be-achieved above-ground organizing effort. Such "mass" organizing, insofar as can be gleaned from the communique, is to include support to prison revolts and rallying masses of youth to a "revolutionary culture."

What does this come down to?

Grotesquely invoking the revolutionary authority of the Cubans in a way that mocks everything they ever did or stood for, Dohrn declaims: "We are beginning to find out what the Cubans meant when they told us about the need for new men and new women."

"People have been experimenting with everything about their lives, fierce against the ways of the white man. They have learned how to survive together in the poisoned cities [with oxygen masks?] and how to live on the road and the land. They've moved to the country and found new ways to bring up free, wild children. People have purified themselves with organic food, fought for sexual liberation, grown long hair."

"People have reached out to each other and learned that grass and organic [?] consciousness-expanding drugs are weapons of the revolution."

How continue illegal underground activity and simultaneously function above ground to organize masses for the coming "cultural revolution"?

Instead of cells of twos and threes, commander Dohrn advises, organize "families" and "collectives."

"It's one thing for pigs to go to a few meetings, even meetings of a secret cell," she gravely assures. "It's much harder for them to live with a family without being detected."

The communique reportedly included the inscription: "NEW MORNING—Changing Weather." Meanwhile, the wind seems to be coming from the same direction.

SDS: once again on the 'worker-student alliance'

By BOB KISSINGER

CHICAGO—The only remaining organized tendency of the old SDS, the Worker-Student Alliance, held its national convention here Dec. 27-30. Pre-convention advertisements claimed thousands of workers and students would attend to build a worker-student alliance, but few workers were in evidence and many fewer students than expected showed. Voting on major proposals indicated between three and five hundred present at the major sessions and attendance dwindled to some 250 on the final day. Convention organizers claimed 900 people had registered.

The main proposal that passed was entitled "The winning way for SDS—build a worker-student alliance." It in-

cluded: "Fighting for U. S. Out of Vietnam, No Deals; build strike support with rank-and-file workers; fight racism by supporting ghetto rebellions and fighting racist ideas on campus; fighting male chauvinism by supporting struggles of welfare mothers, struggles in women's houses of detention, fighting chauvinist ideas on campus, and supporting struggles for day-care centers."

The major opposition at the convention came from Columbia-Barnard SDS, which denounced the national organization's attacks on the NLF of South Vietnam and on the Black Panther Party and the Young Lords. Columbia-Barnard SDS proposed as a central slogan for the antiwar movement: "Victory for the NLF." They al-

so proposed defense of victims of ruling-class attack, including the Panthers and the Lords. These proposals were rejected by the Progressive Labor Party majority after a PLP speaker declared that "the NLF is selling out the Vietnamese workers in Paris" and that the Panthers and Lords "ally with liberals."

Two organized opposition caucuses were present: the Revolutionary Marxist Caucus and the Revolutionary People's Caucus. There was at least one alternate newspaper, *The Midnight Special*, published by New Orleans SDS. Specific discussion had been scheduled on the topics of racism, male chauvinism and imperialism. But because of a reported lack of time, the

discussion on imperialism was postponed until the next meetings of local chapters.

In the course of the proceedings, it was revealed that few delegates had been elected at local SDS meetings, so everyone present at the convention was allowed to vote. Many SDSers left disgusted with the confusion and lack of democracy and organization.

A resolution was passed calling for a demonstration in the spring on the anniversary of the burning of a ROTC building in Puerto Rico. On the final day of the convention about 500 people attended an SDS-sponsored demonstration under the central slogan: "Smash Racist Unemployment."

'We will not be

By CAROLINE LUND

NEW YORK—More than 150 people jammed into the Jan. 8 Militant Labor Forum here to hear a panel of women speak on the topic "We Will Not Be Divided." The speakers discussed recent attempts to divide the women's liberation movement through red-baiting and lesbian-baiting and to exclude socialists and lesbians from the women's movement.

One of the reasons for the forum was the attack made by *Time* magazine on the women's movement in its Dec. 14 issue. *Time* wrote: "Ironically, Kate Millett herself contributed to the growing skepticism about the /women's/ movement by acknowledging at a recent meeting that she is bisexual. The disclosure is bound to discredit her as a spokeswoman for her cause, cast further doubt on her theories, and reinforce the views of those skeptics who routinely dismiss all liberationists as lesbians."

The other point of discussion was recent attacks on socialists within the women's movement, especially on members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The first speaker, Barbara Love, is a member of the Gay Liberation Front women and the National Organization for Women and is presently working with others to form a new group called Gay Feminists.

Barbara Love stated that "Women should not be divided, threatened or their goals altered by attempts to exclude different groups, such as lesbians or socialists. Our strength comes from unity in the common struggle to liberate all women."

She explained that she believed "lesbians are not only a component of the many women who make up the movement; they are crucial to the movement." She continued by noting that feminists have raised the demand of the right of women to control their own bodies, but "some feminists fail to openly state that this demand certainly includes freedom of sexual preference."

"Lesbianism," she said, "is linked with the idea of independence, as is feminism. Through this linkage, most feminists have at some time or another been called lesbians. It is important to remember that it has not been the sexual act that defines the lesbian in this society but the idea of independence. Even

if a woman sleeps with a man every night, if she is self-sufficient, assertive, intelligent, and independent in her life-style, she will still be called a lesbian. Whereas if a woman is weak, 'feminine,' petite, and submissive in her life-style, she will not be labeled a lesbian, even if she is one."

"Lesbian," she noted, "is the strongest, most heavily-charged word that is used to put down women who are not submissive and dependent upon men. It is used to imply that such women are not real women, or are failed women. Until we get a more flexible free-flowing concept of what is a man and what is a woman," she said, "there won't be liberation for anybody—heterosexuals or homosexuals."

Cynthia Canty, a Black woman, spoke representing the Phoenix Organization of Women. She told of how women in Phoenix House, a New York drug-rehabilitation center, decided to get together and form their own organization as women, and joined the Aug. 26 demonstration as a contingent.

Since Aug. 26, the Phoenix Organization of Women has been a central force in rebuilding the Women's Strike Coalition, which was begun around the Aug. 26 demonstration. POW women have been strong supporters of the concept of nonexclusion in the New York women's coalition.

In her talk, Cynthia Canty stressed the need for the women's liberation movement to reach out to poor and Third World women with its ideas. We must reach the women on welfare, she said, women in the ghettos in Brooklyn, women who read only the *Daily News* and therefore have not been able to find out what women's liberation is all about.

For this reason, Canty explained, POW has helped to initiate the Third World Caucus of the Women's Strike Coalition in New York. She told about plans of the Caucus to hold rallies and marches in the Black and Puerto Rican communities to reach out to Third World women.

Cynthia Canty ended by pointing out the hypocrisy of the people who rule this country and who presume to set the so-called "moral" standards and masculine and feminine roles. "How dare they tell us what kind of sexual lives we must have," she said. "Who are they to tell me what a woman should be? I am a woman—I know."

The last speaker was Ruth Cheney, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and of Columbia University Women's Liberation. Cheney said, "What the ruling class essentially wants to do is get the women's movement fighting inside itself, get it to turn inward, away from united action against them, onto each other, to argue over who gets to be included in our movement. Our answer is: all women are included."

"*Time* magazine," said Cheney, "and enemies of women's liberation are attempting to make full use of the personal prejudices people have learned from this society against those who have dared to break the sexual norms imposed on all of us. In other words, attacks on the women's movement are getting more vicious than they were before Aug. 26, appealing to the bottom pits of this society's ingrained barbarism about sex, showing us how much of a threat they realize we women are when we get together."

She also described the use of red-baiting within the women's movement since the Aug. 26 demonstration "in an attempt, which has been partially successful, to divide the broad coalition of women's organizations that made that historic day possible."

"We have all been carefully primed," said Cheney, "on the dangers of the lurking 'red menace'—carefully taught that socialists and revolutionaries are not like other people, that they do not join movements because they agree with the goals of those movements but because they have some devious schemes of 'subversion' up their sleeves, that socialist women do not really feel oppressed as women, and that 'commies' only want to use movements for their own dubious ends."

She reported that YSA and SWP women had been excluded from leading bodies of the New York Women's Center after Aug. 26 with precisely these reasons given.

The red-baiting in New York took place in the context of a discussion over how best to build the women's movement. The YSA, SWP, and the majority of the New York movement favored the establishment of a coalition of women's organizations and individuals that could continue to build united massive actions like the Aug. 26 demonstration. Women from the Women's Center, who op-

A program for Chicana lib

In the Dec. 25 issue of *The Militant* we printed the preamble of the platform under discussion by Chicanos who have come together to constitute a Northern California Raza Unida Party, an independent party of the Chicano people.

The following are excerpts from a section of the platform concerning Chicanas.

We feel that the importance of the (Raza Unida) party will be determined by the measure to which it takes into account the needs of La Raza as a whole and by the measure to which it actively works to meet those needs and to eradicate every form of exploitation which burdens us.

For our women who live under an economic structure which systematically uses and oppresses women to further its own ends—ends to making profits by any means necessary off the backs of whomever it is easily possible to physically identify, isolate and create myths around—there exists a triple exploitation, a triple degradation; they are exploited as women, as people of La Raza, and they suffer from the poverty which straitjackets all of La Raza. Because of the particular nature of their oppression, within our women lies a tremendous potential for commitment to serious struggle. Their participation, if we eliminate all obstacles, will accelerate and strengthen our struggle to a fantastic degree.

We feel that without the recognition by all of La Raza of this special form of oppression which our

women suffer, our movement will greatly suffer.

We want to eliminate the exploitation of man by man in every form: to eliminate the oppression of our women, so that both men and women, in the process of our struggle and when our struggle bears fruit, will be equal human beings with all of the rights and responsibilities of a truly free people and without any kind of oppression in any form.

Bearing this in mind and recognizing that a people as a whole can never be liberated if an entire sector of that people remains in bondage, we of the Raza Unida Party state our position as follows:

A. We shall respect the right of self-determination for our women to state what their specific needs and problems are, and how they feel that these needs can be met and these problems can be eliminated, as a basic principle of our party.

B. The party encourages La Raza women to meet in Raza women's groups wherever the movement is functioning, in order to enable the women to discuss the direction that their participation is taking and the particular needs of Raza women they feel must be acted upon. . . .

C. The party will include Raza women in all decision-making meetings. . . .

D. Raza men and women both will cooperate fully, in this party and at home, in the very difficult task we have before us of freeing our women and encouraging them in every way we can, at all times, to become involved in every level of the

struggle, and in working actively towards the elimination of all attitudes and practices that have relegated our women to the unquestionably bonded positions they are now in.

Child care

A. Child-care centers controlled by Raza must be made available for Raza in schools, workplaces, and neighborhoods, totally free of charge, wherever our people are found.

B. These child-care centers will be open 24 hours a day and must accommodate children from the age of 45 days through the preschool ages.

C. Medical attention will be made available for the children, and facilities will be available for children who may be sick, with the necessary medicine, free of charge.

D. These centers will function as educational centers as well as care centers.

Work

A. An end to inequality in pay because of sex or race. Statistics show that for the same job, women now get paid half the wage earned by men. The poorest suffer from this the most. Raza women as a group are paid even less than their underpaid Raza male counterparts.

B. Fifty percent of Raza women who work, work as domestics. We want job openings in all areas of work for Raza women, specifically in full-time employment with salaries to meet the standard of living no matter what it may be and no matter

divided'

posed this perspective, walked out of the Women's Strike Coalition when the majority went against them, charging that the YSA and SWP had "taken over" and were "dominating" the coalition.

"It was very interesting to me," continued Ruth Cheney, "—who joined the feminist and socialist movements just prior to Aug. 26—to experience the hatred of other women for me because I was a socialist. They had to forget that I was also a woman, which shows you how powerful the prejudice against socialists is."

Cheney went on to describe the use of red-baiting in the Boston women's movement, where a small group of women called Cell-16 has charged the "communist takeover" of the Female Liberation group, a group of about 35 active women which includes five or six members of the YSA.

Again, as with the charges in New York, Cheney noted that "the Cell 16 women actually have a basic political difference with the rest of the group on how to build the women's movement, but instead of discussing that difference, they have tried to cover it over and prejudice people with the specter of a red takeover."

She described the difference as follows: "The majority of Female Liberation wants to reach out to other women's organizations and work with them on common goals as happened on Aug. 26, to broaden their own membership, and to make all decisions on a democratic basis so that nobody controls the group.

"The Cell 16 women want simply to write articles and talk among themselves as a small, closed group—which is their right, of course. But instead of just going ahead and doing that, when the majority of Female Liberation decided on another perspective, they are actually trying to attack the majority of the group for doing what they think is right."

Ruth Cheney ended by saying that "lesbian-baiting and red-baiting essentially come from *outside* the mass movements for social change. They are attempts to divide us. They reflect pressures against mass movements for social change which ultimately come from only one source: those who have everything to lose from such changes."



Los Angeles, Aug. 26

Photo by John Gray

eration

how much it increases. All Raza women who apply for jobs, in no matter what area, must be accepted. If training is needed, it should be given with pay.

C. Maternity and paternity leaves with pay and with a guarantee of a job on return.

Birth Control

A. Clinics and agencies within our communities that distribute any birth-control information and/or abortion counseling and information and clinics and agencies that pass out birth-control devices and perform abortions must be community-controlled, and a woman who is counseled must be thoroughly informed about all the dangers and possible side effects of any devices or operations.

B. No forced abortions or sterilizations of our women.

C. The ultimate decision whether to have a child or not should be left up to the woman.

Education

A. Intensive recruitment of Raza women into the schools, with Raza counselors and tutors to help the women stay in school and to encourage them to enter all areas of study.

B. Guaranteed jobs for all Raza women upon graduation in whatever field the women choose.

C. Part of the education of our women will be dedicated to the study of the history of the oppression of women within the framework of our background, and to the study of the role which Raza women have played in the history of our people.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT HAS IMPACT ON CANADIAN GOV'T

On Dec. 6, 1970, a report was released by the Canadian Royal Commission on the Status of Women which demonstrated the impact of the women's liberation movement on the Canadian government.

Among the recommendations of the Commission are: abortion on demand during the first 12 weeks of pregnancy; a network of government subsidized day-care centers; and special measures to ensure equal opportunities for women on the job.

The following are excerpts from a statement released by the Toronto Women's Caucus in response to the commission recommendations:

"We welcome the report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women as proof of the growing impact and strength of the women's liberation movement. The implementation of its recommendations would do much to free women from many of the most inhuman, degrading and unjust aspects of our oppression. We demand that the government start to implement them immediately! . . .

"We recognize the recommendation of the Commission that abortion on demand be available in the first 12 weeks of pregnancy as a victory for the women's liberation movement.

"But we will not be satisfied with this. We are continuing the campaign for free abortion on demand and for abortion to be removed from the

Criminal Code. At the abortion workshop at the first national women's liberation conference held in Saskatoon, Nov. 21-22, a decision was made to launch this campaign on a cross-country basis culminating in protests across Canada on Feb. 14. This campaign has a new meaning and a new focus in the light of the recommendations of the Royal Commission. . . .

"We recognize the limitations of many of the recommendations. We need a massive system of government-financed day-care centers controlled by those who use them. The report calls for the establishment of day-care facilities for 450,000 children, at the same time as it recognizes that more than five times that number of children would be eligible for these services. The report calls for mandatory maternity leave and for unemployment insurance benefits for women during this period. But this means that women will still be financially penalized for bearing children; they must still accept a considerable cut in income. And so on.

"The report is a direct response to the growing ferment around women's liberation. We will not allow it to be shelved! We demand that the report be widely distributed to women, free of charge. We demand that the government implement it now! We appeal to all women to join together in a massive cross-country campaign to ensure that it does!"

Canadian revolutionary youth meet

By FRANK BOEHM

MONTREAL — The Dec. 31-Jan. 2 convention of the Canadian Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes was held in the city of Montreal in open defiance of and opposition to the recent government attempt to smash the Quebecois nationalist movement. The largest YS/LJS convention ever unanimously decided to intensify the organization's work in building and defending the Quebecois independentist struggle and in particular to build a mass defense movement all across Canada demanding the release of the Quebecois political prisoners.

The determination of the Canadian Trotskyist youth movement to support the separatist movement and defend the political prisoners in Quebec was proven right at the convention itself when the delegates voted amid thunderous applause to suspend the convention proceedings to allow the YS/LJS members and supporters to participate in a mass picket line demanding the release of Quebecois women political prisoners. An enthusiastic contingent of 250 then marched off to the women's prison on the outskirts of Montreal, joining hundreds of militant Quebecois picketers sporting the red, green and white stocking caps and tricolored flags of the independentist movement.

The audacity and self-confidence demonstrated by holding a convention of revolutionary-socialist youth in Montreal two months following the institution of the War Measures Act was an obvious and sharp reply to Prime Minister Trudeau and the Canadian ruling class. It was characteristic of the entire convention.

The YS/LJS, in the last year, has very clearly emerged as the largest and fastest growing radical youth group in Canada. Along with experiencing a 65 percent growth in membership—from 160 at the last convention to 250 at the recent convention—the YS/LJS has added five new locals and has broken into a number of other new areas, recruiting at-large members through extensive regional work. The YS/LJS is a truly pan-Canadian revolutionary youth movement: it was announced that the total number of miles participants had traveled to attend the convention amounted to over 170,000 and that the Vancouver local of the YS/LJS mobilized 26 people to make the 2,500 mile trip to Montreal.

The emergence of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes into the forefront of the new generation of Canadian and Quebecois revolutionary youth was made obvious in the

various reports, the workshops, and the convention discussion. The seriousness, understanding and enthusiasm expressed in the reports and discussion reflected the fact that the delegates came to Montreal as leaders of and participants in the living mass movements, not as spectators.

This was especially evident in the women's liberation report and discussion which centered around the necessity of building a mass feminist movement that could unite all women in a struggle against their oppression. This strategy was seen as one which would ensure the realization of the revolutionary power of the women's liberation movement. The report also dealt with the recent attempts by some ultra-left women to divert the movement away from mass action toward ineffective isolated grouplets composed of "revolutionary" and consciously "anti-imperialist" women exclusively. It was pointed out that this anti-mass-action strategy would not only isolate the feminists and smother the power of sisterhood but would in fact exclude the possibility of masses of women becoming revolutionaries through their participation in the struggle for an end to their oppression.

The actions scheduled on Feb. 14 demanding the repeal of the Canadian abortion laws were seen as crucial,

not only in terms of forcing the elimination of these archaic, sexist laws, but also in clearly counterposing the mass action strategy to the ultra-left rhetorical anti-imperialist conception of the movement. An additional interesting aspect of the discussion centered around the beginning feminist movement among the triply oppressed Quebecois women, and particularly the explosiveness of the combination of nationalist and feminist consciousness in Quebec.

The convention also pledged the continued defense of the Vietnamese revolution through building mass antiwar actions coinciding with the April 24 actions called by the National Peace Action Coalition in the United States.

Another aspect of the Canadian antiwar movement, especially on the campuses, has become the increasing Americanization of the schools. The growing anti-imperialist sentiment on the campuses and opposition to U.S. domination can be effectively tied into the struggle against U.S. aggression in Indochina by demanding an end to campus complicity with the U.S. war effort and "No research or strategic resources for the U.S. war machine!"

The convention discussed the relationship of this movement to the strategy of the Red University and the po-

tential of this anti-Americanization sentiment for drawing in thousands of new militants in the struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggression in Indochina and the complicity of the Canadian government, as well as mass struggles posing the question of control of the universities.

One of the strongest indications of the appeal of the YS/LJS to the radicalizing youth in Canada is the number and activity of its high school cadre. More than 20 high school students were in attendance from 16 schools across Canada. Delegate after delegate related his or her experiences in the high school movement emphasizing the explosiveness and power of the organized high school movement. The example of the radicalization in the inferior prison-like high schools of Quebec and the important role which Quebec high school students have played in the independentist movement was linked to experiences in English Canada indicating a similar radicalization in literally every high school.

Joe Young was elected the new executive secretary of the YS/LJS. Manon Leger was designated the editor of *Jeune Garde* and Quebec national organizer of the LJS. Jackie Henderson was selected as the editor of the English-language *Young Socialist*.



Convention of Canadian young socialists voted to build April 24 antiwar actions.

Austin Gay Liberation fights for campus recognition

JAN. 11—Gay Liberation at the University of Texas at Austin is involved in a struggle with the administration over its right to official recognition as a student organization. Although the fight goes back to last May, it intensified in December.

Gay Liberation overcame two previous recognition refusals in May and October when it finally won an appeal for official recognition Dec. 8. This decision to recognize the organization was handed down by the Committee on Student Organizations (CSO) on the basis of a Dec. 2 hearing on the matter. The CSO disavowed the anti-gay argument that membership in Gay Liberation would give people homosexual ideas that previously had not occurred to them and ruled that membership might benefit those who have chosen the homosexual orientation, by reducing isolation and alienation.

Gay Liberation set up an information booth on campus immediately following the ruling.

Its new status was not to last long, however. The next day, Dec. 9, President Ad Interim Bryce

Jordan reversed the CSO decision to grant recognition. "I cannot allow the university to give tacit approval to an activity which is of probable detriment to the normal development of some of its students and is certain to bring discredit to the institution in the eyes of most of those interested in the university, including the taxpaying public," he stated.

Behind the university's discriminatory policy also lies the assumption that homosexuals are sick persons more in need of psychiatric treatment than literature booths. Assistant Dean of Students Edwin Price stated this explicitly in a written statement explaining his past refusal to register Gay Liberation: "The probability is clear enough that the activities of Gay Lib, recognized as a registered organization, would encourage persons to accept homosexuality rather than to seek professional assistance."

Students Attorney Jim Boyle accused Jordan of reversing the recognition decision without even

requesting a copy of a Gay Liberation brief on the subject and charged that no transcript of the Dec. 2 hearing was ever made. "There was a total lack of concern for faculty, students, and the power delegated to them to decide which campus groups should be registered," he said.

Gay Liberation spokesman Neal Parker charged the university with "denying us channels of expression that are routinely available to others." He called it "a sad commentary" on society that the president of a university should be able to disregard the right to free speech and assembly.

The Daily Texan, the university student paper, has given prominent coverage to the case, which has wide student support. Although the case broke just prior to the semester break, efforts to force the university to stop its harassment of Gay Liberation and to reverse its refusal to recognize the organization are expected to pick up when school reopens in mid-January.

Radical press coverage of YSA convention

By ARTHUR MAGLIN

Radical press commentary on the December convention of the Young Socialist Alliance has begun to appear.

The Dec. 31 *Daily World*, which represents the opinions of the Communist Party, headlines its article, "300 Young Socialists Meet, Map Raids on Other Organizations." (Registration at the convention was 1,220.)

Apparently overwhelmed by the impact of the event, the writers of this highly imaginative piece, Rick Nagin and Sandra Pollock, take refuge in a distorted world of fantasy:

"The Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance held a five-day national convention this week in Manhattan Center.

"A poster of J. Edgar Hoover exaggerating the size of the YSA was on an easel in the lobby.

"The New York press has also been playing up the YSA. A headline in the early edition of Monday's *New York Times* stated that 800 delegates were at the convention. The late city edition increased the number to 1,200.

"The seats set up for delegates numbered no more than 300, in addition to 300 seats for spectators, and at no time was anyone standing."

A bit further on the article states:

"Theoretical analysis was absent, nor was any attempt made to relate current events to the writings of Marx and Lenin or even Trotsky, for that matter.

"Some delegates expressed discomfort at the lack of Marxist analysis and the absence of a programmatic approach to working-class youth.

"There was no analysis of trends in U.S. monopoly capitalism, the roles of the socialist countries, the national liberation movements, or class struggles abroad.

"Emphasis was placed on how the YSA can intervene in the existing organizations."

By way of contrast, the article in the Jan. 9 *Guardian* by Carl Davidson was eminently fair-minded even though critical of some aspects of the convention, mainly around antiwar and labor movement strategy.

The article, entitled "YSA Plans to Lead Youth Movement," opens with the following summary of the convention:

"'While we are not yet a mass socialist youth organization,' said Frank Boehm, the newly elected national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), 'we clearly have the potential of winning hegemony in the leadership of the student movement in the coming period.'

"This was the main theme expressed throughout the political reports and discussions at the tenth annual YSA convention held in New York City Dec. 27-31. Some 1,200 members and supporters from hundreds of campuses

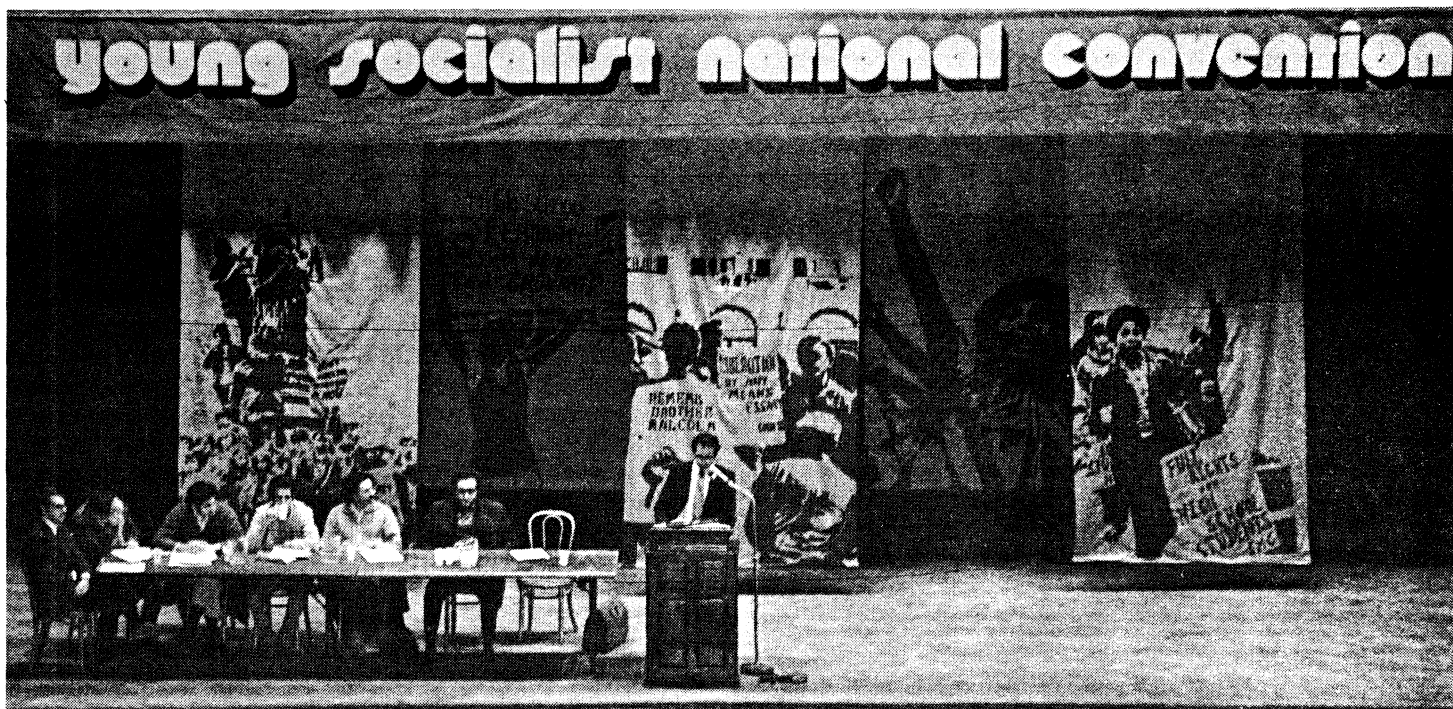


Photo by Howard Petrick

YSA convention panel on Palestinian revolution

around the country participated in the gathering, making it the largest in YSA's history.

"The YSA is a youth group 'in political solidarity with' the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the U.S. affiliate of the Trotskyist Fourth International. The organization is going through a period of growth, starting with only a handful in April 1960, expanding slowly to about 200 in 1965, and now numbering between 1,200 to 1,400 members. Most of the new recruits have joined in the past two years, following the breakup of Students for a Democratic Society as the major U.S. radical student organization.

"In addition to a general political report and featured speeches from SWP leaders Joseph Hansen and Peter Camejo, the convention focused most of its attention in areas of work where the YSA has concentrated its efforts."

Discussing the YSA's concept of the role the student movement can play in helping to stimulate and accelerate workers' struggles, Davidson writes:

"However, none of the delegates answered the key question of how the spontaneous radicalization of workers in response to the 'detonator' of the student movements would lead to revolutionary class consciousness and organization, since relying on spontaneity inevitably leads to reformist trade unionism."

Towards the end of the article, Davidson comments:

"The women's report and the following debate was the most dynamic and spirited of all the discussions. Cindy Jaquith, newly elected national secretary, opened by asserting that attacks on the women's movement for 'lesbianism' and 'man-hating' had to be met

head-on. Gay women had the right to join with all women in fighting their oppression as women, she said.

"The 'man-hating' argument was answered by Sarah Johnston from New York: 'When women begin to break out of their isolation in the family,' she said, 'and discover warmth and solidarity with their sisters in struggle, the rage of women against their oppression comes to the surface. As long as men continue to be the agents of this oppression, the rage will continue. There is nothing wrong with this hatred, the revolution will be made on the hatred of oppression.'

"The overall tone of the convention

was one of seriousness and spirited self-confidence."

The Jan. 11 *Bulletin*, organ of the Workers League, also commented on the convention. In her article, "YSA Convention Makes Sharp Turn Toward the Right," Pat Connolly writes:

"The new motion that is seen developing since the last YSA convention in 1968 (sic) is the Gay Liberation movement which was endorsed in the political report, while both the document and report on the Black struggle made sharp attacks on the Black Panthers, precisely at a time when the Panthers make a turn toward dialectics."

Mexican prisoner greets YSA

The following message was sent to the recent Young Socialist national convention by Carlos Sevilla Gonzalez, one of the hundreds of political prisoners now being held in the jails of Mexico. Like many others, he has been imprisoned for more than two years, since the student upsurge of 1968. On Nov. 12, he was sentenced to 10 years in prison. Due to postal delay, the telegram did not arrive in time to be read to the convention.

Five years ago, I had the opportunity to attend your convention. Since then, I have felt an integral part of your organization and have tried to follow your successful revolutionary course. Now I find myself imprisoned and cannot be with you physically. But when you read these lines, I will also be participating in your work, because I will devote those days to talking to my prison mates about the important task you are accomplishing in the stronghold of imperialism itself, and I will be paying homage to the exemplary revolutionists who founded the Fourth International in 1938 and have breathed life into it since.

Therefore, comrades, I send my warm greetings, and we will try to see that your work constitutes a great success for our organization. Venceremos.

Campus publications battle censorship

NEW YORK (LNS)—Editors fired, evictions and lockouts from offices, freezing of funds, suppression of particular articles about women's oppression, and outright prohibition of publication. College papers are now experiencing these forms of repression.

The United States Student Press Association lists 25 papers which have been overtly censored and two campus radio stations which have been shut down since this fall. Forty percent of the papers replying to a College Press Service questionnaire report that they have been censored or harassed because they express radical politics.

The administrations of Dillard University and Norfolk State College,

both Black schools, have had their presses shut down. Dillard's newspaper staff refused to submit copy to an advisor for censorship; and Norfolk's paper supported student actions against the invasion of Cambodia this past spring.

When a "God is Dead" editorial appeared in the *Reflector* of Mississippi State University, the state government set up censors for all campus papers and yearbooks.

Niagara University's student paper was told that its funds would be cut off if they published anything about abortion referral. Ads for abortion referrals and articles about the myth

of the vaginal orgasm have been banned by school administrations and state governments at Concordia College in Minnesota, Metropolitan State College in Denver, Colorado, the State University of New York at Buffalo, the University of Connecticut, and colleges in Massachusetts, Ohio, South Dakota and Georgia.

When *Argus* magazine of the University of Maryland published a photograph of a burning American flag on its cover, the state regents attempted to take control of student fees. Student agitation thwarted the attempt.

In New York State, the State University at Albany's paper funds were frozen when members of Young Amer-

icans for Freedom sued the school for allowing students to use school money to charter buses for the November 1969 Moratorium march in Washington, D. C.

The staffs of the *Purdue Exponent* in Indiana and the University of Illinois' campus paper in Chicago, *Illini*, have been locked out of their offices because they didn't adhere to the conservative university guidelines for publication set up this past fall. And at the University of Southern Colorado in Pueblo, the managing editor of the *Arrow* was fired when she refused to change an editorial about student parking.

91st Congress finally adjourns

By **DICK ROBERTS**

When the second session of the 91st Congress came to a close, Jan. 3, commentators in the major press were at a loss for what to say, even though the *Congressional Record* of the last two years exceeded 85,000 pages.

New York Times reporter John W. Finney was reminded of King Charles II of England, who said on his deathbed: "Gentlemen, I am sorry to be such an unconscionably long time dying."

But no such apologies will come from these legislators, whose most palpable enactment of the last two years was to anticipate the recession by voting themselves a better than 40 percent pay increase—from \$30,000 to \$42,500.

Senator Edward Kennedy, who had just been elected assistant majority leader, justified the pay increase by comparing congressional salaries to the salaries of 2,537 chief executives in U.S. industry.

Kennedy found that "the median income for executives . . . was \$100,000." In the public sector, Kennedy declared, "some 2,136 state, city, county officials, education officials, judges and public corporate officers are paid at a rate equal to or above that paid to members of Congress."

Thus Kennedy could find 4,673 persons in a country where over 80 million people are working, whose salaries about equaled or excelled those of congressmen. Based on these figures, about one in 16,000 Americans has comparable earnings

and west, the way to do it is to demonstrate that here in the halls of Congress representative government still lives."

But the legislation Congress finally adopted did not bind Nixon in any way. (Reporter Finney should check his facts.) On June 25, by an overwhelming vote of 79 to 5, the Senate added a clause to the Cooper-Church amendment specifying that nothing in the amendment could restrict the power of the president, "including the exercise of that constitutional power which may be necessary to protect the lives of the U.S. armed forces wherever deployed." This was precisely the excuse Nixon used to justify the Cambodian invasion to begin with.

In the summer months, the Senate also: defeated a proposal to cut off funds for the expansion of the Safeguard missile "defense" system (ABM); blocked an attempt to restrict the Pentagon from advancing \$200-million to the "bankrupt" Lockheed Corp. for military aircraft; rejected a bill to stop the Army from using herbicides in Southeast Asia; defeated the so-called "Amendment to End the War" sponsored by George McGovern and Mark Hatfield; and voted overwhelmingly for the full military funding originally requested by the Nixon administration to finance the war and other military programs, present and future.

On Dec. 22 Congress again endorsed Nixon's Southeast Asia policies, by passing the \$1.05-

cession, \$5.4-billion—3.6 percent; all community development and housing, \$3.8-billion—2.5 percent; "manpower training" for unemployed persons, \$2.7-billion—1.8 percent; and natural resources, \$2.5-billion—1.7 percent. The sum total of these programs is less than half the budget of the military.

These figures do not include the over \$50-billion that is now taken in by the government in "social security" taxes, and is supposed to be disbursed to older people at at least the same rate. But it is well-known that Washington annually receives more from employment taxes than it pays out in social security benefits.

A bill, entitled the "Family Assistance Plan," was before the 91st Congress to partially correct this. The bill was not passed. In a moment of candor, Senator Russell Long of Louisiana explained on Dec. 31: "Had this plan become law, it would have increased the number of people on public welfare by more than 130 percent . . . It would have made it virtually impossible for people to obtain domestic help; laundry workers, waiters; restaurant and hotel cooks; taxi drivers. . . ."

Other domestic legislation of the second session of the 91st Congress included the "Omnibus Crime Bill," a series of measures aimed at stiffening "law enforcement." Noteworthy among these was "preventive detention" (allowing imprisonment without trial); "no-knock" (police entry without warrant); and a new category of barbaric long sentences for

"Ah, Dear Friends! I Take Comfort In The Way You Wheeze, 'Forward!'"



to the top legislators.

And that places Congress where it belongs: squarely in the camp of the ruling class and its chief corporate and governmental agents.

Foreign policy

New York Times reporter Finney argued that "in historical terms," the 91st Congress' "principal accomplishment was not in its domestic legislation—of which there was not all that much—but that it was the first Congress in modern times to challenge the warmaking powers of the president as commander in chief. . . . After months of debate, Congress quietly approved an amendment to a foreign aid bill specifying that the president could not use any funds to introduce American ground combat troops or military advisers into Cambodia."

But this is a considerable exaggeration. For Congress only moved to consider amending the military aid bill under the impact of immense outside pressure—the biggest student strike in world history! And Congress' aim was not to satisfy the eminently just demand of students for an immediate end to the war and withdrawal of the GIs.

Its aim was to sidetrack student dissent. Senator Frank Church declared on May 15, 1970, "If we want to take the war protests off the streets, if we want to stop the violence, if we want to still the spirit of revolution on campuses north, south, east,

billion special military aid bill for Cambodia. This bill also carried a rider explicitly giving the president a free hand to act on matters deemed necessary "to promote the safe and orderly withdrawal of American troops."

And on its last day of meeting, Congress refused to stop funds for the development of the supersonic transport (SST) despite repeated warnings of the noise and air pollution it will cause.

Domestic legislation

The notion that Congress played only a minor role in domestic policy is also completely wrong. Every single piece of budgetary law, from the billion-dollar appropriations for each kind of nuclear missile down to the few millions that flow into various programs for health and educational research, is voted on by Congress.

And if these budgets remain year after year overwhelmingly weighted in favor of the Pentagon's arsenal and against the vast majority of Americans—oppressed minorities, older people, women, youth—this is the enactment of congressional legislation.

A glance at the estimated budget for fiscal year 1970 (ending June 30) shows the real priorities of the 91st Congress. Out of a total budget of \$150-billion, by far the largest item, \$74-billion, or 49 percent, is for military expenditures.

Health receives in total, including all medical care programs, only \$15-billion—10 percent; edu-

certain "habitual offenders."

The Congress refused to overturn Nixon's veto of a bill that would have increased the unemployment training program budget from \$2.7- to \$9.5-billion. The House Rules Committee killed a bill that would have increased the powers of the "Equal Employment Opportunity Commission."

The Senate blocked by filibuster a bill to increase federal aid to southern schools and a bill for direct election of the president.

The women's Equal Rights Amendment was stifled in the Senate by a series of contradictory amendments.

Nevertheless, one important law with long-run implications not at all favorable to the present crew on Capitol Hill was extracted from the 91st Congress: the right of 18-year-olds to vote.

The U.S. Senate is ruled by committee chairmen whose average age is 65.4. Of the 14 Senate committee chairmen, one is younger than 50, four are younger than 60, six are between 60 and 69, and six are between 70 and 79.

Next to this elite all-white, all-male club of aging lackeys for the ruling class, stand the tens and hundreds of thousands of young people of both sexes and all races who have marched into the forefront of the battle for social betterment in the last few years.

No one can doubt which group is going to make the key future decisions about the character of this society.

Why socialists run election campaigns

By DOUG JENNESS

When *New York Times* reporter Steven Roberts made a survey of college student opinions just prior to the 1970 elections, he found that many students were singularly uninterested in the elections. In an Oct. 28 article entitled "Students' Interest in Campaign Found Ebbing as Election Nears," Roberts quotes a reporter for *The Harvard Crimson* who said, "What used to be frustration [for students] is now just total desolation. The great majority just don't see anything they can do that can have any effect. They'd rather do nothing."

Another student told him that he sees "general frustration and distrust of the candidates" as a prevalent mood on the campus.

These views are representative of those held by many young people who are learning through their participation in the antiwar, Black, Chicano, and women's liberation movements that no meaningful change comes from Democratic and Republican Party politicians. Active in mass movements, many of them correctly recognize that social gains are won through mass struggle in the streets and not through the ballot box. The electoral arena appears to be totally useless and is rejected with disgust.

Very few who hold this opinion, however, raise the perspective of organizing a mass boycott campaign that would attempt to prevent the elections from being held or make a major impact on them. Rather, their approach is best characterized as abstentionist or passive.

Consequently, they question the value of revolutionary socialists participating in elections, particularly when the chances of socialist candidates winning at this time appear to be very slim.

This is an important question and deserves a serious answer.

Political wisdom

Distrust of the corrupt and bankrupt policies of the capitalist parties in the elections is the beginning of political wisdom and is a sentiment with which revolutionary socialists wholeheartedly concur. Socialists also agree that organizing mass actions independent of the capitalist parties and their policies must be the principal form of struggle against racism, sexism and imperialist war. No major reform, let alone a social revolution, will be won any other way.

However, the question that socialists pose to the abstentionists is: if there is a way that participating in elections can be used as a weapon against the capitalist parties and as a tool for social and national liberation struggles, isn't it worth considering?

Let's take a look at what happens during a normal election period. Individuals who want to hold office attempt to become candidates for either the Democratic or Republican parties. Their goal is to get elected, so they make special efforts to woo

votes from enough sectors of the population to win. This usually means saying what people want to hear rather than telling them the truth. It often means saying one thing to one audience and the opposite to another.

If these candidates go unopposed, we have the normal slick literature, singing commercials, hot air and hoopla which most Americans unfortunately have come to accept as politics. If nobody is there to speak up and expose this hypocrisy and fraud, these capitalist politicians then have the entire election arena to themselves.

It is foolish to let these hucksters and the bankrupt policies they represent go unanswered, unexposed and unchallenged. Socialist candidates confronting these politicians can explain to millions of people what is wrong with capitalist policies and why they are responsible for war, racism, sexism, pollution, and most other social evils in our society. They can offer specific proposals to solve these ills—proposals that are easy to understand, can immediately be put into effect, and correspond with the demands of the mass movements.

Political confrontation

One of the significant aspects of the 1970 Socialist Workers Party campaigns was the number of direct confrontations SWP candidates had with Democratic and Republican Party candidates.

Particularly notable were the four public debates Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate from Massachusetts, had with liberal Democrat Edward Kennedy. In front of thousands of people, Camejo was able to force Kennedy to state his reactionary views on a number of issues, such as his opposition to legalized abortions and to the Equal Rights Amendment for women.

Although a growing number of people are discontented with the two-party shell game, they are often unable to articulate their opposition and pose clear alternatives. Socialist candidates can help do this, thereby making important contributions to the political consciousness of the mass movements.

Another important consideration is that the majority of American people, including those who are the most oppressed, still feel that elections are where the real contest for political power takes place. Consequently, it is the time when most people's political interest is greatest and their receptivity to ideas about who should govern the country is highest.

It is a time when socialists can reach and communicate with broad sectors of the American people and when many people first see us actually participating in the political life of the country on local, state and national levels.

But this is true only if we actively participate in the elections and do not sit passively on the sidelines.

By utilizing the radio and television time and

speaking engagements available to candidates and by participating in public hearings, protests and demonstrations, socialist candidates make a political impact in their areas and win new adherents to revolutionary ideas.

An energetic campaign, active in and helping to build struggles around all issues of social concern, will receive considerable news coverage that otherwise could not be obtained. In addition, the "equal time" provision of the federal communication laws makes it possible for socialist candidates who are on the ballot, as well as those who are legal writers, to receive thousands of dollars worth of free publicity.

During the 1970 campaigns, the SWP candidates used much of their free publicity to promote mass antiwar, women's, Black, and Chicano actions.

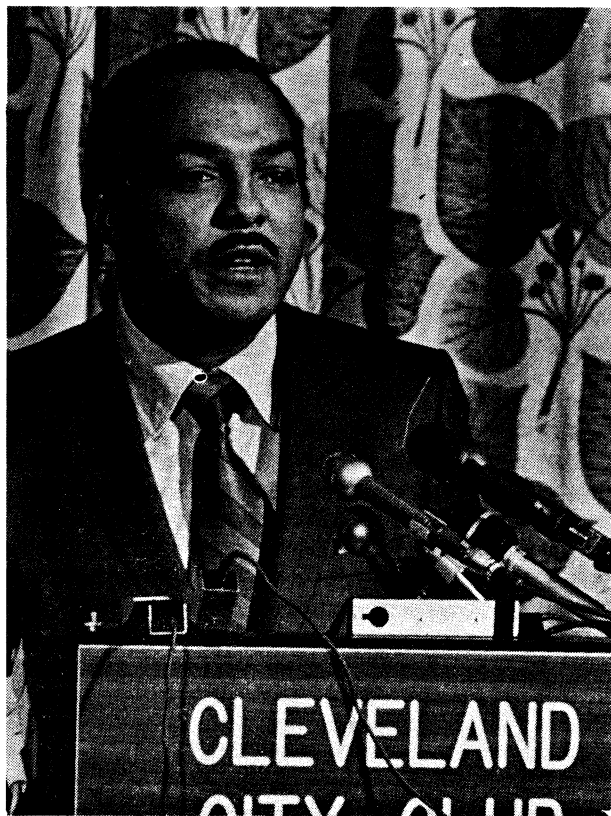
Reactionary laws

Abstentionists often raise the point that reactionary election laws make it impossible to run serious campaigns. Certainly restrictive laws are a problem, but as SWP campaigns in 1969 and 1970 have demonstrated, this difficulty can be converted into an opportunity. For example, when Linda Jenness, the 1969 SWP candidate for mayor of Atlanta, successfully challenged exorbitant qualifying fees, her court victory made it possible for 37 additional candidates—most of them Black—to file for city races. This struggle by a socialist candidate for elementary democratic rights made a significant impact on the political life of Atlanta while at the same time exposing the Democratic and Republican candidates who refused to oppose these undemocratic election laws.

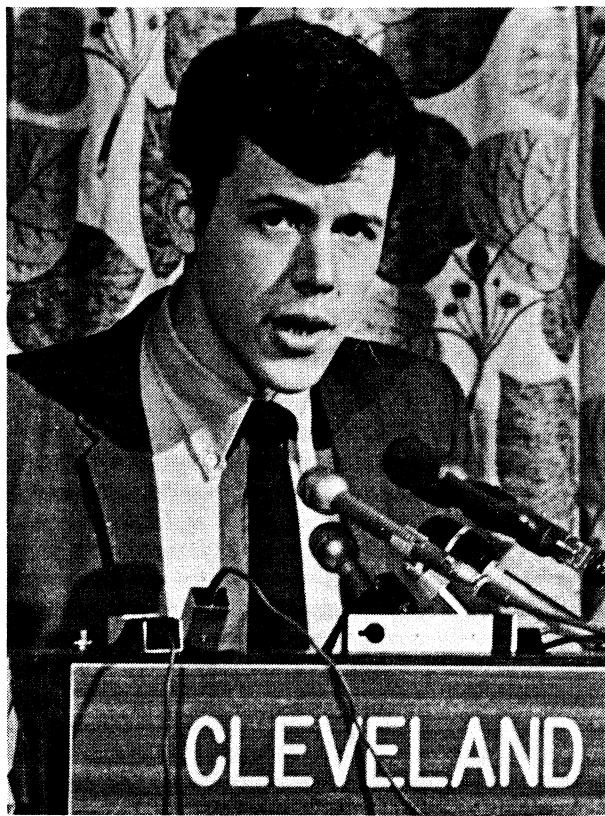
The arguments for socialists participating in elections also apply to Black and Chicano parties. The Raza Unida campaigns in Colorado and Texas in 1970 are good examples.

La Raza Unida Party in Crystal City, Texas, which successfully elected candidates to the city council and a majority to the local school board last spring, is showing in practice what independent Chicano or Black candidates can do when elected. The Raza Unida officials are taking practical steps toward developing community control and supervision of the police and the schools. They are planning to raise extra revenue by taxing the nearby DelMonte spinach plant. Participation in the electoral arena has become a way of concretely showing what the demand for Chicano control of Chicano communities means.

Participation in elections against the ruling-class parties clearly brings benefits to the movements for social change which otherwise would be lost. Hopefully many sincere militants who abstained during the 1970 elections will see election campaigns as a valuable weapon supplementing mass action and will support 1971 SWP municipal campaigns in many cities.



Carl Stokes



Syd Stapleton

An example of how socialist candidates can help expose the views of capitalist candidates was when Syd Stapleton, SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland in 1969, debated his Democratic opponent, liberal incumbent Carl Stokes, before the Cleveland City Club. The debate was broadcast on television and on five radio stations. Stokes claimed his biggest accomplishments were in the area of "law and order," particularly the hiring of additional policemen. He asserted that Black nationalist leader Ahmed Evans, sentenced to die for framed-up murder charges following a revolt in Cleveland's Black community, had a "fair trial."

France today: The indelible imprint of May 1968



May '68

By DAVID THORSTAD

"May '68 represented an important turn in the situation in France. It was the first time that revolutionary forces, to the left of the Communist Party, appeared as a real force."

Richard Lecomte, the representative of the French Communist League to the recent national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in New York, began his conversation with *The Militant* by discussing the indelible marks left by the May events on French political life. Although the interview touched on many other subjects, including the current activities of the revolutionary movement in France and the impact of recent international events on the French left, the reverberations and lessons of May '68 never really faded out of the background to the discussion.

One of the most significant changes in the French political situation since May '68, said Lecomte, has been within the working class. "Before May, the working class was almost completely kept in line by the Communist Party. But now there is more and more criticism of the CP within the working class itself. This is leading workers to think about and discuss the ideas of the revolutionary groups."

In the wake of the May events, all revolutionary groups have grown, he continued. The growth of the Communist League, which is the French section of the Fourth International, has been among the most dramatic. Lecomte briefly summarized the process of reorganization the Trotskyist movement went through when its organizations, the Internationalist Communist Party (PCI) and the Revolutionary Communist Youth (JCR), were banned by DeGaulle for their role in the revolutionary events that nearly toppled French capitalism.

Revolutionary workers and students who had been active in May—some of them members of the banned Trotskyist organizations, some not—regrouped their forces around the newspaper *Rouge*. On Easter weekend 1969 these forces held their first national convention, which gave birth to the Communist League.

Today, Lecomte said, the Communist League has over 2,000 members. In addition, more than 1,000 belong to sympathizing groups called Red Circles.

One of the questions to be discussed at the second national convention of the Communist League, to be held in three months, will be that of possible unification with another Trotskyist group, *Lutte Ouvriere* (Workers Struggle). Preliminary discussions with *Lutte Ouvriere* were carried out over a period of months and have now resulted in agreement on the character of the new unified organization. "What we are now going to do with the comrades of LO," Lecomte explained, "is undertake common action as well as political discussion of all the differences that still exist between our organizations, to see if unification is possible. If it is, we will enter the third stage—that of building the new organization."

The new revolutionary organization to emerge from such a merger would represent a big step forward toward the building of a revolutionary mass party in France, Lecomte said. "If this unification succeeds, we will have an organization that

will really be able to attract hundreds of workers and students, since it will clearly constitute a revolutionary pole stronger than anything that has ever existed to the left of the Communist Party in France."

Student movement

The student movement too has undergone important changes since May '68, said Lecomte. One of the most visible has been the weakened influence and deep internal crisis of the spontaneist groups, none of which have been able to put forward a clear perspective on how to build a revolutionary party based on the working class. It is precisely the lack of such an organization during May that is now widely understood to have been at the root of the failure of that massive upsurge to lead to the overthrow of capitalism.

"The spontaneists, who had a lot of influence in the universities following May, have been very much on the decline in the last period," Lecomte stated. "What we call the anarcho-Maoists, consisting mainly of a group called New Resistance led by Alain Geismar, have begun carrying out terrorist actions. These have been rejected by the majority of students and workers."

The political group which has inspired this activity is *Gauche Proletarienne* (Proletarian Left), also led by Geismar. This ultraleftist tendency refers to itself as the "New Resistance" because it identifies the present situation with the one that prevailed during the second world war. It claims to be organizing the resistance. "They think that now the bosses are just like the Nazis during the war and that the Communist Party is the contemporary equivalent of the collaborators." The logic of their position, such as it is, has led them to call for partisans to gather together and begin waging war. "Unfortunately for them, the working class does not see things that way," Lecomte said.

The ultraleftist adventurism of the spontaneists has presented some problems for the entire French left, Lecomte pointed out. The main one is that they have become so isolated that it has been relatively easy for the government to zero in on them with its repression. At the same time, their sectarian attitude toward other groups who do not share their political point of view has made it very difficult to organize any movement to defend them against government repression.

Working-class militancy

I asked Lecomte to describe the state of combativity in the French working class today, more than two years after the spectacular general strike of 10 million workers brought France to a halt. "In general, we can say that the workers are not demobilized but have become very cautious about taking action," he began. "This creates a curious situation, where you do not have big mass mobilizations but where you still have a deep politicalization and understanding—at least in the vanguard of the working class, which is now analyzing why May failed, why the political and trade-union leaderships are unable to provide any solution to their problems."

This caution, said Lecomte, stems from the experiences of May, during which workers saw both

that the Communist Party was not able to lead the struggle to a successful revolutionary outcome and that the revolutionary left was not yet strong enough to effectively put its theory into practice. This lesson has been reinforced during the past two years, Lecomte stated, because even on the trade-union level the reformist and Stalinist leaderships have been unable to retain for the workers the economic gains they made as a result of May.

Lecomte was careful to point out that this attitude of caution does not mean that the workers have lost their combativity. On the contrary. "We sometimes have explosions when workers think they will be able to win a struggle around very precise demands," he said. He cited as examples recent strikes in the telephone industry, in the department stores ("which is not usually one of the most active sectors of the class struggle"), and in the mines of Lorraine, where the strike was eventually broken by the union leadership, "but only with great difficulty."

The Stalinist trade-union bureaucrats have for some time been attempting to expel Trotskyist militants from the unions, Lecomte said. In some cases, when they fail to achieve the expulsion of a comrade in a meeting, they resort to such undemocratic methods as sending out individual questionnaires on whether so-and-so should be expelled and requesting that these be mailed back to the leadership.

There is, of course, no way to democratically exert any control over such methods. They do not, however, tend to be popular, and they create certain problems for the bureaucrats. "Workers no longer accept this type of activity—even those who disagree with us," explained Lecomte. "For years the Communist Party has been saying that it is *we* who divide the trade-union movement. But we are in a position to prove that as a result of their present factional attitude and practices, it is not *we* but *they* who divide, and that they are simply using their position within the trade-union movement to settle political accounts with us."

Because such practices clearly weaken the unions, the Trotskyists have been able to explain to ever wider audiences the need for workers democracy within the union movement. The Communist League plans to carry out an educational campaign within the unions on this question.

Basque solidarity campaign

Lecomte said he believed that the fact that the working class is not demobilized and is willing to struggle around certain issues was one of the reasons why the government refrained from banning or repressing the recent wave of demonstrations throughout France in solidarity with the Basque nationalists put on trial by the Franco regime.

"This movement of solidarity with the Basque comrades and the Spanish revolution was the biggest movement of political demonstrations since May '68," he went on. Over 5,000 persons participated in the first demonstration in Paris. Other actions were held throughout the country, particularly in the South, where, because of geographical proximity, the problems of Spain are felt even more acutely.

These first demonstrations were initiated by the Secours Rouge (Red Help—an anti-repression defense organization which the Communist League was instrumental in launching and in which it plays an active role). In subsequent ones, other important forces, including the trade unions and the Communist Party, also became involved.

A second demonstration in Paris drew 20,000 participants. A third, organized by the traditional left organizations together with Secours Rouge and other left groups, brought an estimated 70,000 persons into the streets in the capital. Other demonstrations occurred in all other cities in the country.

One of the interesting aspects of the French protests of the Basque trial was the fact that dockers in Marseilles refused to service Spanish ships. I asked Lecomte if this was an isolated example of opposition by organized labor to the trial or if more had been done.

"Much less was done than was possible," he replied. "On the day of the trial, there was a five-minute general strike, but many workers complained that more than that should have been done."

The day the verdict was announced there was a half-hour general strike in France, he said. "This reflected the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy felt obliged to do something about this movement that was so deep throughout the entire working class."

Women's liberation

In recent months, there have been increasing signs of a budding movement for women's liberation in France. One was a national conference on the question Nov. 21-22 in Versailles organized by the women's magazine *Elle*. These signs have not been overlooked by the Stalinist bureaucracy and the French bourgeoisie, said Lecomte. Both "have felt the need to do something about this question, which they have been ignoring for years."

The CP-dominated General Confederation of Labor (CGT), for instance, held a national conference on women not long ago, he pointed out. And bourgeois politicians and ministers have explained on television that "there is no need for a mass women's movement in France, because they are going to make the necessary reforms. It is very clear that the bourgeoisie wants, with this kind of attitude, to prevent the development of such a movement." Yet the very fact that they have raised this question may in the long run prove dangerous for them, Lecomte predicted.

This subject is currently being discussed by the French left, including the Communist League, he added.

Reaction to Polish events

What was the reaction in France to the recent rebellion in Poland? I asked. In particular, what was the significance of the fact that the Communist Party was moved to condemn the leadership of the Polish party as being responsible for the rebellion?

"The events in Poland have placed the CP bureaucracy in a very difficult position," Lecomte answered, "because each time there has been a mass movement in the Eastern European countries, they have given a different explanation for it." In 1956, he recalled, the CP explained away the Hungarian revolution as being "fascist." Although it objected to the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, it accepted the whole subsequent process of rooting out the democratic gains made during the Prague Spring. In the case of Poland, it has felt compelled to go so far as to publicly criticize the policies of the Polish Stalinist leaders. "The Polish government itself admitted that workers were involved," he added. "Thus it was impossible for the CGT leadership to explain that it was nothing but hooligans or fascists."

This is bound to have repercussions within the French Communist Party and will tend to exacerbate the present crisis inside the party and the CGT. "Increasing numbers of workers no longer accept the Soviet model of socialism as true socialism," Lecomte explained. "They are looking for other solutions."

Part of the explanation for the French CP's stern attitude toward the Polish events lies in its efforts to cast itself in an image of respectability. These efforts have intensified because municipal elections are coming up in March and the CP is hoping to involve the crumbling Socialist Party and the Unified Socialist Party (PSU) in an electoral alliance.

As part of its campaign to entice these forces into a coalition, the CP has been holding a much-publicized nationwide series of public meetings at which there are no speeches but where party leaders simply answer questions from the floor. Their main theme is that there is no reason to be afraid of the Communist Party, said Lecomte. In keeping with its desire to look like a respectable opposition, the appellation "comrade" has been dispensed with at these meetings, there is no singing of the "Internationale," and there are no red flags. Lecomte smiled. "The Polish crisis came at a very bad time for the Communist Party."

The single most important lesson of the French May events was the urgent need to build a mass revolutionary party capable of leading the next mass working-class upsurge to a successful conclusion. There is still a long way to go in accomplishing that task. Nevertheless, significant steps have been taken in this direction, and Lecomte was optimistic about prospects for the expansion of the revolutionary-socialist movement.

He pointed to the conference organized around the theme of a Socialist United States of Europe, held in Brussels last November and attended by 3,500 young revolutionists from more than a dozen European countries. This conference was a dramatic sign of the dynamism and relevance of revolutionary socialism today, he said. "It showed that the forces are already being assembled that will be able to build this revolutionary party—not only in France, but throughout Europe."



"In general, we can say that the workers are not demobilized but have become very cautious about taking action. This creates a curious situation, where you do not have big mass mobilizations but where you still have a deep politicalization and understanding." Here Renault workers hoist red flag during factory occupation in May '68 nationwide general strike.

Daily World toes Kremlin line on Poland

By DOUG JENNESS

The American Communist newspaper, the *Daily World*, took its cue from Moscow and the Polish government in reporting the mass working-class revolt in Poland last month. When the Gomulka regime first responded to the workers' demonstrations in Gdansk and other Baltic ports by blaming "hooligans," the Dec. 17 *World* faithfully carried an article entitled "Six killed in riots by young toughs." The article included excerpts from a Polish Press Agency release that placed responsibility on "adventurist, hooligan elements having no connection with the working class." The *World* writes that "Photos made available by the Polish government . . . showed gangs of young men, most wearing leather coats, plundering what was apparently a clothing store."

On the following day, in an article inaccurately but optimistically entitled "Gdansk is normal following riot," the *World* quotes uncritically from the Warsaw daily *Trybuna Ludu* to show the sequence of events in Gdansk. At

this point, they began to admit that workers were involved. Their version is that shipyard workers "met on Monday morning [Dec. 14] to discuss improvements in the organization of work," and during the course of this discussion, "some of the workers decided to leave work and demonstrate in the streets." This was considered "irresponsible" and led to "hoodlums taking advantage" of the situation.

In its first editorial on Poland, the Dec. 19 *World* shamelessly attempts to link the revolting Polish workers with American imperialism. It stated: "Neither the Voice of America, nor Radio Free Europe, nor those who resorted to looting, arson, and arms are striving for a more socialist society, a more perfect socialism for the Polish people."

"In the eyes of the U.S. agencies of counterrevolution, the target is Poland's socialism: its problems are only fuel for their fires. That is the company in which dissident Poles found themselves this week, willy-nilly."

These are the views of a newspaper reflecting the opinions of a political

party that claims to speak for the interests of the working class. With friends like this the working class needs no enemies!

Following the removal of Gomulka, the *Daily World* immediately supported the new party chief, Edward Gierek, once it saw that this was Moscow's position. A Dec. 22 editorial entitled "Poland Corrects Itself" admitted that "The former leadership apparently permitted itself to become isolated from the working class." The *World* was relieved, however, that Gierek was pledged to "friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union." While conceding that the workers had grievances, the *World*, keeping right in step with Gierek, supported his condemnation of the work stoppages as actions "fraught with great danger to the country."

By Dec. 23, the *World* could cheerfully report that "Poland returns to work to fulfill production goals."

The Dec. 26 *People's World*, the CP's West Coast weekly, carried its first story of the Polish events after Gomul-

ka's fall. The article by Bob Kaufman, unlike the *Daily World* coverage, concentrates primarily on the economic conditions under the Gomulka regime that drove the Polish workers to revolt.

In contrast to the *Daily World*, the initial response of the Communist Party newspapers in Italy, France and England was to recognize that the Polish workers were protesting against legitimate grievances. From the outset, none of them bought the bureaucratic notion that "hooligans" were responsible, and, in fact, *l'Unita*, organ of the Italian Communist Party, explicitly condemned this idea.

A Dec. 22 article in the Peking daily *Jenmin Jih Pao* stated that the workers' uprising expressed the deep resentment of the Polish people "against the consequences arising from the restoration of capitalism and the selling of national interests by the Polish regime." The statement quoted in the Dec. 22 *New York Times* criticized both Gomulka and Gierek as representatives of a ruling "counterrevolutionary revisionist clique."

In Review



Dustin Hoffman as Jack Crabb

Film

LITTLE BIG MAN. Starring Dustin Hoffman. Directed by Arthur Penn. Screenplay by Calder Willingham. Based on the novel by Thomas Berger. National General Pictures.

Little Big Man is a cinematic attempt to smash through the image of the Hollywood cavalry-and-Indians western. It is the first major movie to accurately portray General Custer as an opportunist who led his regiment into battle at Little Bighorn because he wanted to be nominated for president. However, the movie is flawed: It is a patchwork of some perfect scenes and others that are horrible mistakes.

The story is in the picaresque tradition. Characters appear and reappear throughout the movie. The central character is Jack Crabb (Dustin Hoffman), a white who was adopted by the Cheyenne after his parents were killed and who moves between the white world and the dying world of his adopted people.

The movie's weakness is at the very center of the story. It is difficult to pull off a comedy, after all, when the major theme is the genocide committed against the Native Americans. Brecht could have done it, but it is clear that under Arthur Penn's direction, *Little Big Man* does not.

The movie is peopled with every stereotyped character that has ever appeared in a western. Generally speaking, they are either hypocrites or cynics. The preacher's wife, who ends up as a whore, is believable as neither. The one successful use of the stock-company characters is a swindler, the enterprising petty frontier trader who sells snake oil and has a million sidelines. As he reappears throughout the film, he has lost one more hand or leg, yet he struggles onward with other schemes, still believing in the capitalist dream.

In one episode, Crabb becomes a gunfighter. While the parody on the gunfighter is hilarious, it is just in the wrong movie. By using these comic devices, the movie breaks through the standard mythology of the West. Yet with the extermination of Native American culture as the plot, the light scenes are never integrated into the film's fabric. Because the clashes between cavalry and Indians form the heart of the film, one finds oneself saying about these comic interludes: "These aren't real."

Little Big Man also contains a variety of bad jokes. The scene of the preacher's wife giving Jack a bath while teaching him about Jesus is done with such a heavy hand that it is embarrassing.

A minor theme—that of the Native American community's acceptance of men who choose to assume a woman's role—could have been interesting. But, for a couple of laughs the film turns the Indian into an offensive, mincing squaw. This is clearly a case of projecting onto the Native American the prejudiced view of whites about homosexuality, rather than depicting the way such a person would act in a more permissive society. Whenever Crabb speaks with the homosexual, he does so with such respect that one wonders why the filmmakers failed to see how flat and inappropriate their joke was. If *Little Big Man* is an indicator, jokes about women and homosexuals are still "in."

Despite these serious defects, which set sections of the movie at odds with each other, there is a certain power to *Little Big Man*. One sees how doomed the Indian society is in face of the onslaught. One sees why Jack Crabb cannot live in either of two worlds and why he quickly comes to regard living itself as absurd.

The high point of the movie is the view of an Indian camp on a reservation given to the Cheyenne "as long as the grass shall grow and the rivers run." One sees the sweeping formation of the cavalry bearing down without warning on the camp while the fife and drum corps plays its charmingly gay music. The ironic contrast is almost more than one can bear. In essence, that lyric massacre in the snow captures a segment of nineteenth-century America.

The final sequence of the film, the Battle at Little Bighorn, is appropriately anticlimactic. The battle did not, after all, stop the genocide. And Custer, for all his madness and hatred for President Grant, was no different from that Indian slaughterer.

And so the 121-year-old Jack Crabb recounts the story of his life to an obnoxious graduate student who is out doing his field work. Although more than 90 years have passed since the Battle at Little Bighorn, that was the last significant event of Crabb's life. He has no illusion that the graduate student understands—in fact, he himself does not understand how it could have happened. But Crabb is the ancient mariner, doomed to play his role and tell the story.

— DIANNE FEELEY

Books

ANARCHISM: FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE. By Daniel Guerin. Introduction by Noam Chomsky. Monthly Review Press. New York, 1970. 186 pp. \$6.

In *Anarchism: From Theory to Practice*, Daniel Guerin, one of the ablest and best-known French left-wing intellectuals, attempts to outline the main ideas of anarchism and how they have operated in the field of political activity.

Guerin's point of view is frankly pro-anarchist, which explains the nature of his general thesis. Guerin sees the history of the socialist movement as a struggle between "libertarian" socialism and "authoritarian" socialism.

There can be no doubt that Guerin makes a sophisticated, highly-knowledgeable defense of anarchism. This sophistication arises from his thorough grounding in both Marxism and classical anarchism and his attempts to interweave the two.

Guerin is forced to admit a key weakness in anarchist theory when he attempts to deal with the problem of how it might be possible to dispense with organized leadership in the revolutionary process, that is, a vanguard party. He states: "Relations between the masses and the conscious minority constitute a problem to which no full solution has been found by the Marxists or even by the anarchists, and one on which it seems that the last word has not yet been said."

One may agree that the last word has not yet been said, but in the meantime it is necessary for revolutionaries to act. Revolutionary Marxists are satisfied that until someone demonstrates a better solution to this problem, a full-enough solution is provided by Lenin's conception of the vanguard party.

James P. Cannon, a founder and leader of American Trotskyism, states in his book, *The First Ten Years of American Communism: Report of a Participant*: "In my young days I was very friendly to the anarchists, and was an anarchist myself by nature. I dearly loved that word 'freedom, which was the biggest word in the anarchist vocabulary. But my impulse to go all the way with them was blocked by recognition that the transformation of society, which alone can make real freedom possible, cannot be achieved without organization, and that organization signifies discipline and the subordination of the individual to the majority. I wanted to have my cake and eat it too—in fact, I still have the same idea—but I have never yet been able to figure out exactly how it could be done."

Guerin's book contains a very interesting discussion of individual terrorism and its early repudiation by the mainstream of the "libertarian-socialist" movement: "Kropotkin deserves credit for being one of the first to confess his errors and to recognize the sterility of 'propaganda by the deed.' In a series of articles which appeared in 1890 he affirmed 'that one must be with the people, who no longer want isolated acts but want men of action inside their ranks.' He warned his readers against 'the illusion that one can defeat the coalition of exploiters with a few pounds of explosives.'"

— MALACHI CONSTANT

Books received

Unbought and Unbossed by Shirley Chisholm. Houghton Mifflin. 177 pp. \$4.95.

Reuther by Frank Cormier and William J. Eaton. Prentice-Hall. 475 pp. \$10.00.

Confessions of a Dirty Ballplayer by Johnny Sample. Dial Press. 343 pp. \$6.95.

Afro-American Anthropology by Norman E. Whittier Jr. and John Szwed. Free Press. 468 pp. No price indicated.

We Talk, You Listen: New Tribes, New Turf by Vine Deloria Jr. Macmillan. 227 pp. \$5.95.

Andrew Carnegie by Joseph Frazier Wall. Oxford University Press. 1137 pp. \$15.

The Chinese Road to Socialism by E.L. Wheelwright and Bruce McFarlane. Monthly Review Press. 256 pp. \$7.50.

The Military Art of Peoples' War by Vo Nguyen Giap. Monthly Review Press. 332 pp. \$8.50.

The Press and the Cold War by James Aronson. Bobbs-Merrill. 308 pp. \$8.

Vietnam: The Endless War by Paul Sweezy, Leo Huberman and Harry Magdoff. Monthly Review Press. 154 pp. \$5.50.

Survey of Chemical and Biological Warfare by John Cookson and Judith Nottingham. Monthly Review Press. 420 pp. \$9.75.

Race Relations by Philip Mason. Oxford University Press. 181 pp. \$4.50.

I Am a Black Woman: Poems by Mari Evans. William Morrow and Co. 95 pp. \$6.

Railroad workers look toward March 1

By FRANK LOVELL

At the start of the new year, railroad workers were asking what is happening in the negotiations between their union representatives and the major carriers, and were preparing to strike if necessary on March 1.

None of the union representatives presently involved in negotiations has reported to his membership on the status of those negotiations, an indication that nothing is happening.

President Charles L. Dennis of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks has mailed a report to his membership explaining why he sent out a back-to-work order last Dec. 10, when an 18-hour strike by 425,000 railroad workers brought all major roads to an abrupt halt. He claims that each and every member of the union was liable to fines and other penalties if the strike continued.

The strike marked the third time in a year that Congress hastily enacted emergency legislation to force railroad workers to stay on the job, demonstrating congressional eagerness and ability to act when the employers in a major industry demand it in order to hold down wages.

All branches of government ganged up on the railroad workers. Nixon rushed an emergency bill to Congress, demanding a 45-day postponement of the strike deadline "to allow for further negotiations." The action of Congress

went further in this respect, extending the strike ban until March 1.

However, Congress voted an immediate 13.5 percent wage increase, bringing the prestrike average of \$3.45 per hour up to \$3.91. It also voted back pay of 5 percent, retroactive to Jan. 1, 1970; and an additional 32 cents per hour, or about 8.5 percent, retroactive to Nov. 1, 1970. This amounts to a lump sum in back pay of approximately \$350 (before tax deductions) to the average wage earner.

The courts moved quickly against the striking unions, to enforce the congressional edict and bring the strike to an end. Federal district judge John H. Pratt was rousted out of bed at 3 a.m. at his Chevy Chase, Md., home by railroad attorneys, who demanded an injunction against the strikers and a contempt citation against the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks. The judge complied. He ordered BRAC to pay fines of \$200,000 a day for every day of the strike after midnight of Dec. 10.

The other three unions—the United Transportation Union, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union, and the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees—hastened to cancel their official strike calls. Charles L. Dennis, BRAC president, called off the strike before the day was out. He said he had conferred with Assistant Secretary of Labor W.J. Us-

sery Jr. throughout the day and had been assured that serious negotiations for additional wage increases would be undertaken immediately and that "there will be no reprisals or recriminations against any member, officer or the union." He added, "This, of course, is essential for any orderly return to work."

Railroad executives who are accustomed to milking the public treasury, took a different position. One of them, quoted by the *Wall Street Journal*, cried, "This is close to confiscatory action by the government without the grace of compulsory arbitration. The unions have beaten our brains in. When will this stop!"

Such feigned indignation came with ill grace because Congress showed far more consideration for the railroads than for the underpaid railroad workers.

While forcing the workers to run the trains at substandard wages, the Congress in related emergency action moved to give \$100-million to the Penn Central railroad.

Railroad workers are now determined to raise their standard of living above the present depression level. In the United Transportation Union, a viable movement for the right of all members to vote on all contracts, the Right to Vote Committee, organized as a standing committee in many UTU locals, maintains that the union

membership, if it can win the opportunity, will solve many of the problems that plague the railroad industry.

Railroad management has allowed the entire system to deteriorate while bilking Congress for additional grants to "modernize" the service. Uninterested in developing and maintaining a network of rail transportation, the present management—financially bound to the coal and steel trusts—is using the existing roads and equipment for the immediate needs of the giant monopolies, primarily the transportation of coal, autos, some package freight, and general cargoes.

The Congress and the Transportation Department are considering a new rail passenger service to be operated by a single government-sponsored corporation. For this purpose Congress has provided \$100-million.

Such action indicates that this government is interested only in bolstering the present rail management until the system deteriorates beyond repair.

The workers have a direct interest in the development of this industry, which is possible only if the present management is thrust aside.

Part of the weakness of the unions, and their inability to force rail management to negotiate seriously, is their apparent lack of any appreciation of management's greedy and destructive aims, or any feasible plan for a rational reorganization of the industry.

The National Picket Line

As the union movement enters 1971, the problems and perspectives have changed dramatically from a year ago, reflecting the steady growth in and changing composition of union membership, the nation's deepening radicalization, and the current economic crisis, which combines unemployment and rising prices.

When the old year 1970 began, the employing class behind the leadership of the General Electric Co. still hoped to crush the 13 electrical unions that had combined their forces to ward off the attack of the giant GE. The GE strike was then past its second month. Still the unions held out, and General Electric failed to subdue them. After 102 days, GE backed down and signed contracts with all the unions. Management can no longer ride herd on the workers in the electrical plants as it did before the strike.

In March of last year, the postal workers across the country, goaded on by inflationary price rises and inspired by the example of the electrical workers, walked out for the first time in the history of the U.S. postal system. Even though forced back to work, they won a pay raise and established a new relationship between themselves and their employer—the federal government—which means better working conditions and a new feeling of strength.

On Sept. 14, 1970, the United Auto Workers closed General Motors in the U.S. and Canada and after two months forced the auto industry to restore the escalator clause in the wage agreement. This clause provides for a cost-of-living allowance pegged to the rise in consumer prices during the life of the contract and protects the workers' real wages against the ravages of runaway prices.

These three strikes, part of the rising tide of militancy, were sharp blows to the hopes of the employers to cut the size of the work force, speed up production, increase profits, and further mechanize their operations regardless of environmental and human consequences.

Also, before the year drew to a close, the railroad workers rejected the proposal of a presidential commission to eliminate long-established union work rules and safety provisions in that industry and to turn the system over completely to an irresponsible and incompetent management that for the past three decades has presided over the deterioration of the rail-transportation system.

In mid-1971, the United Steelworkers will face a showdown with the steel trust over wages, a cost-of-living clause (patterned on that established by the auto

workers last year), shorter hours, and safer working conditions. These issues are becoming increasingly important to the national economy, the social structure, and the environment.

No longer is it possible for such a powerful union as the United Steelworkers to negotiate as if it represents only the workers in the steel mills. What the steel workers can do to raise their own standard of living, improve the safety standards in the mills, and curb the pollution of the air and the water caused by this industry, will redound to the benefit of everyone.

Some younger leaders in the unions are beginning to think and talk about the irresponsible wastefulness of management and the need of the workers to exercise greater control over industry. This broader outlook is prompted by new evidence of what an unbridled, profit-hungry industrial management does when a shortsighted union leadership collaborates with it in the mistaken notion that special gains can be made for the membership of a single union, without regard to any other considerations.

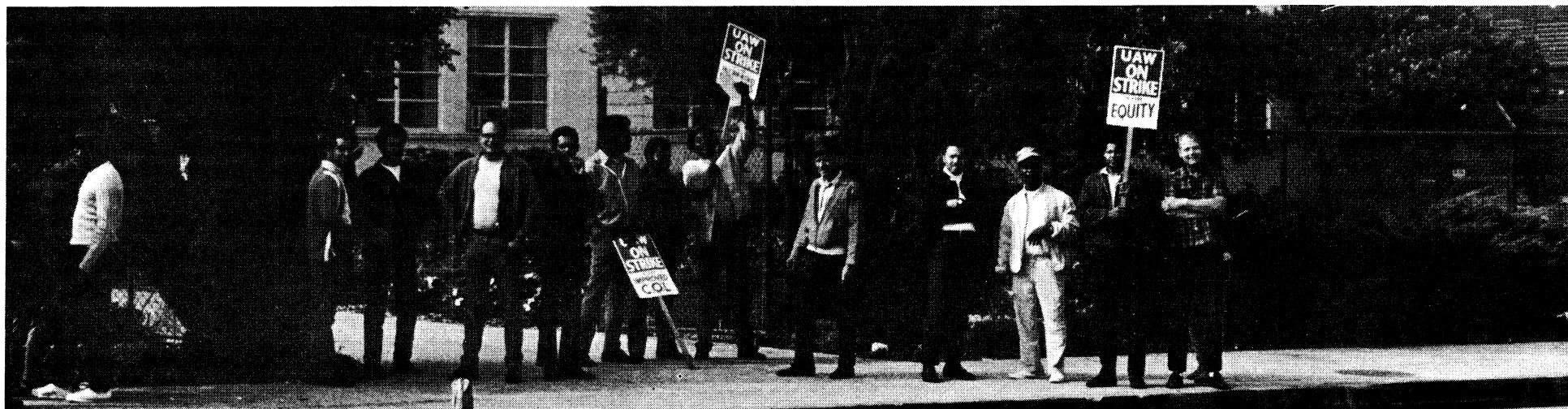
One example of this new determination to take greater control over industry is the attempt of United Auto Workers Local 1069 in Pennsylvania to persuade the Boeing Company management that its idle Vertol Division there, which two years ago built Army helicopters for death missions in Vietnam, should be converted to useful production of prefab houses for the homeless in this country.

This kind of control over industry, with the workers participating in all decisions about what is produced, is urgently needed and long overdue. But its enforcement depends upon independent economic and political organizations of the working class—the class which has the most to gain from it and nothing to lose.

The employers have managed to retain a tight monopoly control of government, which acts always to safeguard what they call "management's prerogatives," that is, the "right" of management to make all decisions about production and industrial development.

Through their control of government, management also seeks constantly to regulate, weaken, and destroy unions. They try. But their success has been limited by the combativeness of newly aroused sectors of the working class and by the new times that are upon us.

— FRANK LOVELL



UAW strikers at Southgate plant near Los Angeles

Jobless rate at a 9-year high

By ED SMITH

The national unemployment rate in December climbed to 6 percent, the highest rate in nine years. The last time the job situation was this bad was in the nine-month '60-'61 recession.

Some areas of the country have been hit much harder: Unemployment in Alaska averages 12 percent; Washington State, 10 percent; Connecticut, 8.1 percent. Unemployment in the territory of Puerto Rico exceeds 11 percent.

The total number of persons unemployed now stands at 4.6 million, which is about like having the whole populations of two of the nation's biggest cities—Chicago and Houston—unemployed at the same time.

An increasing number of those without jobs have been out of work for 15 weeks or longer—over one million—meaning that their unemployment checks are running out and they have been forced to go on welfare.

Officially admitted Black unemployment stood at 9.3 percent, a level that white workers have not had to face at any time in the postwar period.

The situation is actually worse than these figures imply. Between November and December, the unemployment rate climbed from 5.8 to 6 percent, "only" a rise of .2 percent. But the November unemployment rate included the 350,000 GM workers who were on strike and the tens of thousands of other workers in jobs dependent on the auto industry who were temporarily "idled" by the GM strike.

At the time, White House press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler claimed that the unemployment rate in November would have been only 5.3 percent without the GM strike.

Taking Ziegler at his word, this means the real unemployment aside from the GM strike increased from 5.3 percent in November to 6 percent in December, a whopping .7 percent increase in one month.

Government unemployment figures do not take into consideration those who have given up looking for jobs. And this number has been sharply increasing in the recent period.

A front-page article in the Jan. 8 *Wall Street Journal* discussed this situation. "Statistically, whites appear to be bearing the brunt of the current economic slowdown," *Wall Street Journal* staff reporter Elliot Carlson explained.

"The white jobless rate soared 53 percent, to 5.5 percent of the white labor force last November. . . . During the same period, the Black rate rose 40 percent, to 8.8 percent."

But this is misleading. "For one thing," a Washington research economist told Carlson, "1970s layoffs occurred in highly skilled and heavily white-collar industries, such as aerospace and defense, in which Blacks have little toehold. Ironically, the Black rate is being helped by their past exclusion from these industries."

Carlson continues, "What's more, experts say, the administration view overlooks what has been happening to the Black labor force. As of November, it had shrunk despite population growth and the return of more Black veterans from Vietnam."

"In the 16 to 19 age group, for instance, the Black male force slumped 12 percent to 396,000 for the 12 months ended last November; the percentage of eligible Blacks in this group working or seeking work dropped to 40.5 percent from 48.4 percent a year earlier. (Meantime, the white male teen-age work force was swelling, in both size and particular rate.)"

"But while fewer Black teen-age males were working or seeking work, the group's jobless rate was holding at 21 percent to 25 percent of the total work force."

What all these figures mean, if they are accurate, is that less than half—40 percent—of Black males 16 to 19 are working or looking for work and of these a quarter are unemployed. Virtually two-thirds of Black men 16 to 19 are consequently out of work. And many of these are veterans of the Vietnam war. Little wonder that bourgeois statisticians have been asked to look at this particular aspect of the recession in such detail!

...Howe/Millett

continued from page 10

the social democrats, Howe included, both whoop it up for the Democratic Party). Howe is so angry at Millett that he loses self-control, partly because he holds her responsible for making him take essentially the same position on the family as the Stalinists.

I say he loses self-control because of the astonishing end to his article. There he composes a panegyric to the middle-class women he knows—fine people, the salt of the earth, "fulfilled human beings creating the terms of their freedom even as they recognize the bounds of limitations that circumstance, gender, history, and fortune impose on them," etc. Then he tops this off by summoning up his poor old working-class immigrant Jewish mother and expressing the hope that at least sometimes she was a "sexual object"!

Deception of himself and others is a trait we can expect from your male character (Howe knows very well what women mean when they object to being treated as sexual objects)—but bathos too? Well, this male character may be repulsive in some ways, but fascinating. Good luck.

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THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION. Speakers: Ilona Stanton, Socialist Workers Party; Bob Goodman, just visited Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade. Fri., Jan. 22, 8 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 W. Peachtree (at 14th St.). A Militant Bookstore Forum.

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A SELECTION OF BLACK THEATRE. Performed by the Concept East Players. Fri., Jan. 22, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1.50. Aup. Militant Forum. For further information, call 831-6135.

NEW YORK

ART, LITERATURE AND REVOLUTION. Speaker: Paul Seigle, editor of the recently published book, *Leon Trotsky on Literature and Art*, distinguished scholar and Marxist literary critic. Fri., Jan. 22, 8:30 p.m. 706 Broadway (nr. 4th St.), 8th floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT: 1971. Speaker: Derrick Morrison, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., Jan. 22, 8 p.m. 686 N. Broad St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

RIVERSIDE

THE POLITICS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION. Discussion leaders: Ronses Copeland, Olga Diaz, Mickie Haslam and Madelyn Reel. Tues., Jan. 26, 7:30 p.m. International Lounge (University Commons area), U of California at Riverside. Aup. Revolutionary Socialist Forum. For further information, call 683-7863.

SAN FRANCISCO

BLACK NATIONALISM AND THE REVOLUTION IN MUSIC. Speaker: Frank Kofsky, author of book by same name and editor of *Jazz and Pop*. Fri., Jan. 22, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

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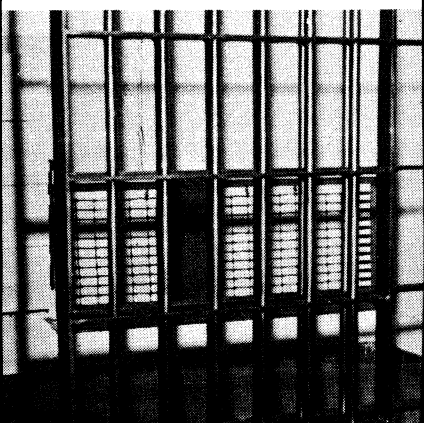
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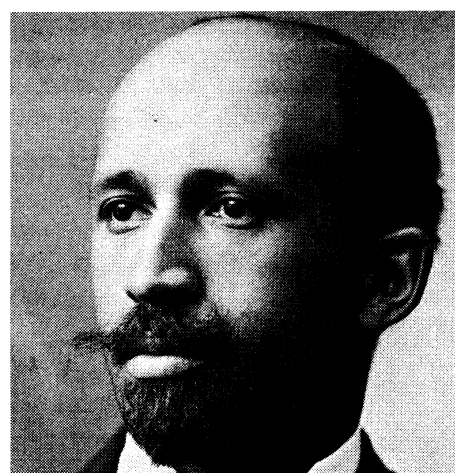
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THE MILITANT

L.A. cops in brutal attack on Chicano protesters

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES—On Jan. 9, around 1,500 young Chicanos, organized by the Chicano Moratorium Committee, demonstrated their anger at continued police occupation, harassment and brutality in East Los Angeles. They marched from the barrio to Parker Center police headquarters, where an order to disperse was followed by a club-swinging attack by police and by 36 arrests.

Frustration then broke out into window smashing along the six-block area of Broadway adjacent to the Civic Center, which caters to Spanish-speaking people.

A sign reading "When laws murder, revolution is order" expressed the militancy and tension of the marchers who gathered at Hollenbeck Park, circled the East Los Angeles Hollenbeck police station, where there was a short rally, and then proceeded over a bridge to Parker Center.

At the police headquarters, referred to as the "glass house," the mass of Chicano marchers joined several hundred mainly Anglo supporters who had answered a call from the Peace Action Council and the Los Angeles Out Now Committee. As they approached the bridge, there were too many young demonstrators to be contained on the sidewalk, and they spilled out onto the street where they marched for several blocks before being blocked by a police barricade.

Anger at the barricade, which was seen as an attempt to disperse the



Photo by Dave Saperstein

march, brought on shouts of "pig," and missiles began to fly. Brown Beret monitors, who were out in a force of about 250, quickly moved in to stop a confrontation.

There were about five arrests at this point, and at least one teen-age Brown Beret was hit on the head by a police club, but the mass of demonstrators continued across the bridge with shouts of "Chicano," and the answer, "Power," from barrio supporters along the line of march.

The Chicano Moratorium Committee called the demonstration, with little more than a week's preparation, to protest the arrest on false charges of 52 members of the Chicano Moratorium Committee within a month.

rium Committee within a month.

The Committee and other community groups, in a leaflet calling for the demonstration, said, "We have been attacked, harassed and beaten day after day since the Aug. 29 Moratorium by flunkies of the LAPD [Los Angeles Police Department], the Metro Squad, and the Hollenbeck division of the LAPD, who have conspired to annihilate the movement in East Los Angeles. We have dared to speak out against the police brutality. It they attack one of us, they attack all of us."

Spokesmen Rosalio Munoz of the Moratorium Committee and David Sanchez of the Brown Berets said there were thousands of cases of police bru-

tality since Aug. 29, when police attacks brought the deaths of three Chicanos, including journalist Ruben Salazar and Brown Beret Lynn Ward.

Continued harassment and arrest by police, coupled with threats by police "to arrest anyone seen coming out of Chicano Moratorium offices," forced the closing of the bungalow office in December. The National Chicano Moratorium can now be reached through P. O. Box 33135, Los Angeles, Calif. 90033, or called at (213) 222-5203.

The Jan. 9 demonstration, massive as it was, was just a buildup, representatives said, for a demonstration on Jan. 31 protesting police brutality against Chicanos.

U of Ill. pushes attack on Circle campus student rights

By JOE CALLAHAN

CHICAGO—The administration at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle campus has launched a series of political attacks against student organizations, including Students for a Democratic Society, the Student Mobilization Committee, the school newspaper, and the Young Socialist Alliance. These attacks come in the national context of J. Edgar Hoover's "Open Letter" attacking the student movement and specifically mentioning SDS, SMC, and YSA.

On a local level, on Aug. 12, the Board of Trustees issued a statement in response to the student strike in May which said that any student participating in "disruptive or coercive action" is subject to being expelled or suspended. During May, the Illinois State Legislature formed a commission

headed by Senator G. William Horsley to investigate "campus unrest" and the possibility of "legal restrictions of the activities of certain student organizations."

The administration began this series of attacks by putting SDS on probation and forbidding that organization from holding public meetings, supposedly for violating Chancellor Norman Parker's policy memo number 27 by putting up signs and posters on the ROTC building. This disciplinary move was made through a student-faculty group, the Committee on Student Affairs.

Next the administration filed charges against the SMC for putting up "Free the Kent 25" leaflets on windows in the lecture center in violation of the chancellor's policy memo. Then the administration kicked the school news-

paper, the *Chicago Illini*, out of their office on campus. Further charges were made against SDS in an attempt to ban the organization completely. Then, at a meeting of the Committee on Student Affairs on Jan. 5 the charges against SDS and SMC were dismissed with the help of pressure from students attending the meeting.

The latest attack is against the Young Socialist Alliance. The basis for the attack comes right out of testimony before the witch-hunting Horsley Commission. Senator Horsely reprimanded the chancellor for allowing the YSA to hold a regional socialist educational weekend on campus at which such topics as "The decay of American Imperialism" and "The prospects for the coming American revolution" were discussed. The chancellor promised not to let this happen again. He said the university has sent charges

to the Committee on Student Affairs citing the YSA with some technical violations of the university regulations.

Also, a teaching assistant has come under attack for teaching an alternate-university course concerning methods of guerrilla warfare and first aid.

So far, the administration has been trying to use the Committee on Student Affairs to purge the campus of any kind of radical politics. Recently though, the CSA stopped cooperating. The chancellor has the final say, however and he may start trying to do his own political hatcheting.

These attacks by the administration are serious attempts to take away the students' rights to free speech and freedom of political association. In light of this, a united defense committee is being formed to maintain the civil liberties of Circle students.

Polish workers organize liaison between factories

By DOUG JENNESS

The massive power of the Polish working class, shown in its toppling of Wladyslaw Gomulka last month, is a lesson that is having a profound impact in Poland.

"Grass-roots activity among Polish workers, which bypasses official channels, is alarming the establishment," writes Paul Wohl in the Jan. 6 *Christian Science Monitor*. "A workers underground is the new force making itself felt in Poland. Factory workers are sending couriers from one factory to another to consult directly with each other over the head of party-controlled factory committees.

"The Baltic shipyard workers are in contact with the workers of the big Ursus tractor factory, with the textile plants in Zyrardow, with the Polish Fiat works, and with the rolling-stock works in Poznan, where the 1956 strikes started. Factories in Warsaw and Praga are also in the circuit."

Edward Gierek, who has replaced Gomulka as Communist Party chief, has pledged himself to close the "communications gap" between the government and the workers. Among the workers' demands is the appeal for more effective workers representation in policy making. Wohl writes that "Everything depends upon Warsaw's

ability to cast off double-talk and to gain the confidence of the workers. Until this has been achieved, the apparently nationwide workers underground casts a shadow over the political scene."

The workers' attempt to maintain some sort of organizational links undoubtedly grew out of the experience of strike committees during the uprising. The extent of that development was indicated by M. Risto Bajalski, a Yugoslav journalist who was in Szczecin during the revolt. His article in the Yugoslav publication *Politika* was quoted in the Jan. 2 French daily *Le Monde*. Szczecin, he wrote, "was

entirely paralyzed by a general strike set into motion on Thursday, Dec. 17.

"A strike committee was formed that took all the central power in the city, all the jurisdiction of the organs of the party and the municipal government: a workers militia was constituted in order to prevent, particularly, the destruction of the machines in the plants."

According to *Le Monde*, Bajalski's article states that the general strike continued after the replacement of Gomulka with Gierek and did not end until the strike committee received the assurance of complete immunity for everybody.