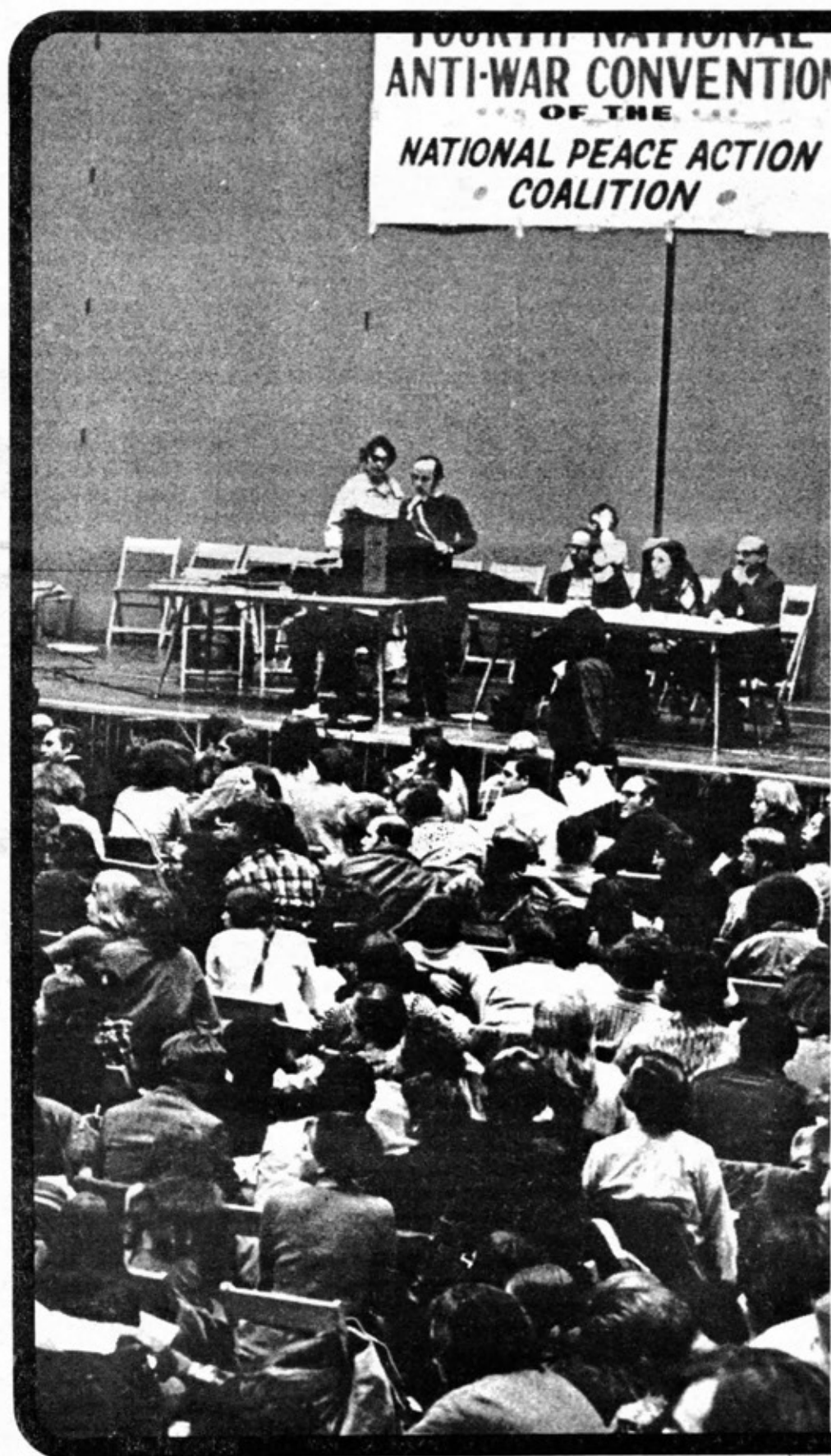


THE MILITANT

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

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KENT CHARGES DROPPED: Admitting a lack of evidence, Ohio Special State Prosecutor John Hayward moved in court Dec. 7 to dismiss the charges against the 20 remaining defendants among the Kent 25. Hayward's motion came after Judge Edwin Jones directed the jury to return a not-guilty verdict for 21-year-old Helen Nicholas. (The first defendant, Jerry Rupe, had been acquitted of three felony charges but convicted of a misdemeanor. The state then dropped charges against one defendant, while two others pleaded guilty to first-degree riot charges.) Hayward said he made his decision to have the case dismissed following discussion with Ohio Attorney General William Brown.

NEW BEGINNING FOR I.F. STONE: In a letter to his subscribers, Isidor Feinstein Stone, who will be 64 this month, announced: "After 19 years of independent reporting and publishing, I will be discontinuing writing and publishing I.F. Stone's Bi-Weekly as of the first of the year." While commenting that the announcement was "in some ways" sad, Stone said "I also feel that it marks an exciting new beginning." He will continue writing "in a larger but congenial publication"—the *New York Review of Books*, which has previously printed several articles by him. The son of a Russian Jewish immigrant, Stone left college in his junior year for a career in journalism that included jobs with *The Nation*, *PM*, the *New York Post*, and the *New York Daily Compass*. In 1952, he began publishing *I.F. Stone's Weekly*. The first issue had a circulation of 5,300. In 1967, the paper went bi-weekly and this year the circulation climbed to more than 70,000. Stone's politics are liberal, but his journalism is honest and rigorous. He told the truth about the Korean war, about the lack of political freedom in the Soviet Union, and about the aggressiveness of Israel, which meant resisting the pressures of milieu and/or public opinion. His muckraking paper has consistently met standards of high quality for 19 years, and its demise is, as Stone himself said, in some ways sad.

NOV. 6 IN SPAIN: An item in the Nov. 20 *Rouge*, French revolutionary-socialist weekly, reports that a demonstration took place against U.S. aggression in Indochina on Nov. 6 in Madrid. Around 500 marched down the Calle Alcalá (Alcalá Street) for about 10 minutes under the protection of armed self-defense pickets. There were no arrests.

VOICES OF DISSENT: The Boston radio program by that name is expanding its broadcast schedule. In addition to being heard at 8 p.m. on Wednesdays on WTBS, 88.1 FM, the program will also be heard Saturdays at 8 p.m., beginning Dec. 18, on WBUR, 90.9 FM. The Dec. 15 and 18 show will be an interview with Tomas Mac Giolla, president of Sinn Féin, political arm of the Official Irish Republican Army.

"A CHANGE IN WHAT ONE THINKS ONE OUGHT TO SAY": The Dec. 8 *New York Times* reported that the latest results of a survey by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago show a growing majority of white Americans "willing to endorse integration." The survey results "may reflect what the white American thinks he ought to say," the researchers noted. But the results at least debunk the liberal notion that the rise of Black militancy in the 1960s created a "backlash" among whites.

COOK COUNTY COPS: The Nov. 25 *Chicago Sun-Times* carried a half-page spread about an incident of police brutality at a MacDonald's hamburger stand in Leyden Township Nov. 22. Four victims of the incident charged with "disorderly conduct and resisting arrest," claim cops beat them. Their story is corroborated by eyewitness Jo Ann T. O'Donnell. Her former husband is a Cook County cop. She was at the drive-in with one of her sons, who works there. The *Sun-Times* printed large excerpts from her letter to Cook County Sheriff Richard J. Elrod, describing the sadistic orgy his men had Nov. 22. After describing how two cops kicked a youth in the back while he was doubled over vomiting blood, how they held young men by the hair and slammed their faces into the edge of the cop car's roof, how one cop put his knee in the small of a 16-year-old youth's back and pulled his shoulders until his back snapped and the youth screamed, O'Donnell said: "This was the most sadistic, vicious display I've ever seen. You should have seen the looks on your officer's faces. They were really enjoying themselves. . . . This was a pleasure trip for all of them." After being told to leave and threatened with "some of the same," O'Donnell challenged the cops on their extreme brutality and was answered: "One of our officers got beaten up and we're paying all these little bastards back."

BRITISH TROOPS IN N. IRELAND: Some of the soldiers leaving Ulster after occupation duty there, were interviewed last month by Alfred Browne of the British wire service, the Press Association. Their comments make them sound like cousins of the Cook County cops. "I enjoy Ireland . . . I enjoy getting the gunmen," one said. Other comments included a commander's observation that Irish women behaved "like animals. No wonder my men sometimes want to treat them like animals. Or like men." Another commander remarked that his unit had taken part in fights that were "like the gun battle at the OK Corral."

KOSYGIN BEGS QUESTION: In a Dec. 5 news conference in Aalborg, Denmark, Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin lied when he said the allegations of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union were "a myth invented in the West." Kosygin attempted to strengthen his claim by pointing out that many Jews who emigrate from the Soviet Union to Israel want to return after they get to Israel. Such an argument rests on the same false premise used by the Zionists—that emigration to Israel is the only alternative to persecution. It is, however, a interesting commentary on the Zionist fortress that there are Jews who go to Israel from the Soviet Union who want to return. An ad placed in the Dec. 6 *Washington Post* by the National Committee of Orthodox Jewish Communities states: "We are shocked beyond words at the revelation that religious Russian Jews who have been released from their erstwhile bondage reach Israel and are horrified by the religious discrimination that makes them eager to return to the Soviet Union."

JUDGE HOFFMAN'S ONE FOR THE ROAD: Soon-to-retire Julius Hoffman, notorious trial judge in the Chicago "Conspiracy" case, is slated to hear and rule on one more case before he leaves the bench, reports Nicholas Von Hoffman in the Dec. 6 *Washington Post*. What he must rule on is a civil suit challenging the enabling act that created the House Committee on Un-American Activities, currently called the House Internal Security Subcommittee. The suit was filed in 1965 on behalf of Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, a heart researcher, and a professional associate of Stamler's, who were called to testify before HUAC six years ago. So far, the suit against the House of Representatives has been to the Supreme Court twice and, according to Nicholas Von Hoffman, "up to the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals so often everybody connected with it has lost count." It has cost about \$300,000 so far and is likely to cost about another \$100,000. In the course of its odyssey through the court system, the suit has involved taking depositions from staff members of the witch-hunting committee who have refused to answer questions 400 times, invoking the same amendments their victims used to rely on.

Stamler's attorneys have come up with the following interesting facts: out of the 174 hearings in its history, HUAC held two on the right wing. Of the more than 150,000 questions HUAC put to the 3,125 witnesses called before it over 25 years, 25 percent referred to events that took place at least five years prior to the hearing—often to incidents 30 and 40 years old.

All of the witch-hunting has resulted in only eight laws and 11 amendments, although the ostensible purpose of the committee is to prepare legislation.

However, among its accomplishments HUAC can include the following: some witnesses, such as John Forchette, a city surveyor in Minneapolis, lost their jobs; others were taken off welfare rolls, deported, suspended from school, etc.

For more information on the suit, those interested can write to the Jeremiah Stamler, M.D., Legal Aid Fund, Box 17, Pick Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 60637.

COLLEGE SDS BAN: The Dec. 8 *New York Times* reported that the Supreme Court agreed Dec. 7 to hear a test case on the right of college students to form political organizations and have them recognized. The case stems from the 1967 denial by Central Connecticut State College of permission to students who wanted to form a chapter of Students for a Democratic Society. The plaintiffs are represented by attorneys from the American Civil Liberties Union.

FOUR OF US: Four draft protesters in Illinois—"The Four of Us"—who poured blood on draft records in an Evanston, Ill., draft board office, were acquitted of three charges and convicted of one in federal court Dec. 1. They were acquitted by a jury of destroying federal property, of interfering with the Selective Service System, and of destroying government records. They were convicted, however, of conspiring to interfere with the Selective Service System.

—LEE SMITH

We made it, 32,580 new subs!

By SHARON CABANISS
DEC. 7—*The Militant* successfully completed the largest subscription drive in its 43-year history, gaining 32,580 new readers in 11 weeks. This makes *The Militant* the largest circulation radical weekly in the U. S. The total not only surpasses the previous sub drive record of 22,437 subscriptions sold in 1945, but it goes well over our initial projection for 30,000.

A tremendous effort was made by *Militant* supporters to fill the quota, especially during the last few weeks. The New York City area, for example, threw all its energies into the drive during the last weeks and achieved a combined total of 3,721. Over 1,200 of their subs came in during the last two weeks, which is more than half the 2,071 total sold in New York last fall.

Some areas that did not quite make 100 percent substantially increased *The Militant* readership in their region. In the last two weeks, for example, Los Angeles sent in 506 subs; San Francisco, 424; Atlanta, 304; and Cleveland, 301.

The four national sub teams set the pace throughout the drive, ending with a combined total of 8,842. The teams calculate they traveled almost 10,000 miles each since they started out Sept. 15. The Southern team estimated they

spoke to more than 40,000 people during that time, which is probably typical of the experience of all the teams.

Two team members set a new national record for individual sales by surpassing the mark of 832 subs sold by Mike Warren in Harlem during the 1945 drive. Debby Woodrooffe of the Mid-Atlantic team sold 1,004 subs, and Dave Salner of the Southern team sold 903. Both will be receiving a complimentary 1971 bound volume of *The Militant*.

Other team members with especially high totals were Mareen Jasin with 807; Terry Hillman, 731; Peter Herreshoff, 675; Fred White, 664; Mike Arnall, 635; Carl Wilke, 551; Eva Chertov, 487; Clair Fraenzel, 447; Pam Hunt, 437; Steve Bloom, 370; and Mark Jacobson, 251.

During this sub drive more individuals sold over 200 subs than ever before. Connie Trippet of Los Angeles, Bill Rayson of Chicago, Chris Hildebrand and Sudie Trippet from Boston, and Ken Allen of Brooklyn each sold 200 or more subscriptions.

As the scoreboard indicates, people from all over the country helped sell subs, bringing *The Militant* into areas it has never before reached. New readers were obtained in every state in the

U. S., including Alaska and Hawaii. The Southern team was able to hit every major city in the South during the drive and found the response on predominately Black campuses especially good. In one week in Virginia, the team sold 275 subs and 600 single copies. It sold over 1,000 subs in Florida, which will be a big boost to the SWP election campaign's effort to achieve ballot status in that state. The Western and Southwest teams were able to cover most of the campuses with large Chicano populations throughout the Southwest.

The bulk of the subs came from young people, and all areas found Black and Chicano youth, young women, and high school students more receptive than in previous drives.

While the drive concentrated on the campuses, many subs were sold in Black and Chicano communities and working-class areas, and there is now a record number of *Militant* readers inside this country's prisons. Campaign tours to army bases, combined with the efforts of sub teams, have also increased the number of GIs reading *The Militant*. One GI at Travis Air Force Base in Calif. sold 37 subs.

During the fall, *Militant* supporters were also able to increase sales of

single copies—particularly the special Attica issue—and carry out successful sales at all 17 antiwar demonstrations Nov. 6 and at the Nov. 20 demonstrations for the repeal of all anti-abortion laws. At the recent national antiwar convention held in Cleveland, nearly 300 single copies were sold.

International Socialist Review
Although the *ISR* drive for 5,000 new readers did not meet its goal by Dec. 1, it made an impressive showing by gaining 3,225 new subscriptions in 11 weeks. This too is a record for the *ISR*, which had its peak sub drive during the fall of 1970, when 2,231 new subscriptions were sold. Near the end of the drive, *ISR* sales came close to the one to 6 ratio to *Militant* subs that was originally projected. However, this was done too late to make up for the slower start. Several areas filled their quotas on time, including Ann Arbor, Mich.; Austin, Texas; Bloomington, Ind.; Claremont, Calif.; Paterson, N. J.; San Antonio, Texas; Seattle, Wash.; State College, Pa.; and Washington, D. C. Peter Herreshoff had the highest *ISR* sales reported so far with 101. Connie Trippet of Los Angeles is next with 75.

Subscription scoreboard

Area	Quota	Subs	%	Milwaukee, Wis.	80	68	85.0
Claremont, Calif.	40	65	162.5	North Andover, Mass.	20	17	85.0
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.	25	39	156.0	Tucson, Ariz.	20	17	85.0
Erie, Pa.	5	7	140.0	Phoenix, Ariz.	40	31	77.5
Pullman, Wash.	10	13	130.0	Jacksonville, Fla.	20	15	75.0
San Antonio, Texas	40	49	122.5	Ann Arbor, Mich.	100	72	72.0
New Brunswick, N. J.	15	18	120.0	DeKalb, Ill.	25	18	72.0
Paterson, N. J.	25	29	116.0	Edinboro, Pa.	25	18	72.0
San Diego, Calif.	200	227	113.5	Marietta, Ohio	10	7	70.0
Boulder, Colo.	100	112	112.0	Logan, Utah	100	67	67.0
Geneseo, N. Y.	20	22	110.0	Durham, N. C.	40	26	65.0
Nashville, Tenn.	45	49	108.9	Albuquerque, N. M.	5	3	60.0
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,000	1,087	108.7	Davenport, Iowa	10	6	60.0
Chicago, Ill.	2,000	2,134	106.7	Tallahassee, Fla.	200	107	53.5
Denver, Colo.	700	745	106.4	Chapel Hill, N. C.	30	16	53.3
Twin Cities, Minn.	1,200	1,268	105.7	State College, Pa.	20	10	50.0
Portland, Ore.	400	416	104.0	Long Island, N. Y.	200	99	49.5
Boston, Mass.	2,000	2,064	103.2	Kingston, R. I.	20	9	45.0
Seattle, Wash.	600	611	101.8	Burlington, Vt.	25	11	44.0
Detroit, Mich.	1,200	1,218	101.5	El Paso, Texas	5	2	40.0
Bloomington, Ind.	150	152	101.3	Knoxville, Tenn.	100	40	40.0
Oakland-Berkeley, Calif.	1,600	1,620	101.3	Scotia, Pa.	5	2	40.0
Houston, Texas	600	605	100.8	Tuscaloosa, Ala.	10	4	40.0
Washington, D. C.	600	605	100.8	Waterloo, Iowa	10	4	40.0
Austin, Texas	375	377	100.5	El Paso, Texas	50	18	36.0
Worcester, Mass.	200	201	100.5	Lubbock, Texas	25	9	36.0
Lower Manhattan, N. Y.	1,250	1,253	100.2	Racine-Kenosha, Wis.	25	8	32.0
Upper West Side, N. Y.	1,250	1,253	100.2	Kansas City, Mo.	200	58	29.0
Baton Rouge, La.	10	10	100.0	Wichita, Kan.	20	5	25.0
Eugene, Ore.	40	40	100.0	San Jose, Calif.	60	14	23.3
Madison, Wis.	300	300	100.0	Aliquippa, Pa.	20	4	20.0
Manchester, N. H.	15	15	100.0	Gary, Ind.	10	2	20.0
Brooklyn, N. Y.	1,250	1,215	97.2	Lawton, Okla.	5	1	20.0
Providence, R. I.	200	189	94.5	Tampa, Fla.	150	26	17.3
Binghamton, N. Y.	100	93	93.0	Modesto, Calif.	30	4	13.3
Connecticut	200	186	93.0	Wichita Falls, Texas	10	1	10.0
Travis AFB, Calif.	40	37	92.5	Oxford, Ohio	75	6	8.0
Amherst, Mass.	100	91	91.0	National Teams	6,000	8,842	147.4
Cleveland, Ohio	850	773	90.9	Southern		(2,454)	
W. Brattleboro, Vt.	20	18	90.0	Mid-Atlantic		(2,347)	
San Francisco, Calif.	1,300	1,154	88.8	Southwest		(2,024)	
Atlanta, Ga.	750	661	88.1	Western		(2,017)	
Sonoma County, Calif.	15	13	86.7	General	325	460	141.2
Gainesville, Fla.	100	86	86.0				
Los Angeles, Calif.	1,550	1,333	86.0				
				TOTAL TO DATE	32,580		108.7
				GOAL	30,000		100.0

Special Holiday Offer

Give your friends a year of *The Militant* and we will send them one of the following books at no extra cost:

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY by Malcolm X. Speeches and interviews from the last year of Malcolm's life.

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THREE PAMPHLETS ON THE CHICANO STRUGGLE: "Chicano Liberation and Revolutionary Youth" by Mirta Vidal; "La Raza! Why a Chicano Party? Why Chicano Studies?" by Roger Alvarado, Antonio Camejo, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, Isabel Hernández, Froben Lozada, and others; and "La Raza Unida Party in Texas" by Mario Compean and José Angel Gutiérrez.

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Campus rights fight wins new support

By BILL BOYD

TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 7 — The administration of Florida State University (FSU) is headed toward a showdown in its attempt to get rid of Jack Lieberman, a Young Socialist Alliance leader on the FSU campus. Lieberman was arbitrarily dismissed from FSU Nov. 6 for allegedly teaching a free university course, "How to Make A Revolution in the U.S.," at the wrong time.

With a hearing on the dismissal due in federal court this week, the issue of free speech is more and more clearly posed. An increasing number of people at FSU have indicated their support for Lieberman's struggle for his democratic rights.

The following events have all taken place within the last week:

The ban of the entire program of the Center for Participant Education (CPE) by the regents has moved the CPE to join the Committee for Free Speech at FSU. The organizers of the CPE announced their support in a statement in the *Florida Flambeau*, the FSU daily paper.

The student government voted unanimously Dec. 1 to endorse the defense committee and join in legal action against the administration.

On Dec. 2, the administration was forced by the growing defense efforts to revoke its ban on John Votava, the secretary of the defense committee, who had previously been barred from campus.

Independent student action has pointed out the dangerous "logic" of FSU President Stanley Marshall's actions in dismissing Lieberman.

Marshall took this action, arbitrarily overturning the rulings of two student honor courts, on the basis that Lieberman had allegedly held a CPE class in September, when CPE classes were "temporarily held up" by Marshall's "executive order."

Lieberman has maintained that, regardless of the status of any particular university program, students have the right to discuss any subject they want at any time.

Some students are now demanding to know if Marshall's action against Lieberman means that action will be taken against them for holding discussion sessions in their dormitories. This proposition is not so "far out" as it seems. Merriwhether Shepherd, for example, says she meets with her friends two or three times a week in the cafeteria to discuss photography over lunch. However, since much of what they discuss is the same as what is discussed in the CPE course on photography, and since the CPE program is now banned from campus for the winter quarter, Shepherd wants to know if she must cease her discussions.

So far the administration has refused to meet with a group of a dozen students who have voiced this complaint, offering instead to answer written inquiries "in due time."

Lieberman's case continues to receive wide publicity, with reporters from virtually all of the major news media in the state, including the national wire services, attending the defense committee news conference today.

Committee organizers say that any size financial contribution to their effort will be appreciated. Checks or money orders should be sent to Committee for Free Speech at FSU, Box 3092, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.

Antiwar convention calls April actions in N.Y., Calif.

By DAVE FRANKEL

CLEVELAND — More than 1,400 people from 41 states, Canada, and New Zealand attended the national antiwar convention sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) held here Dec. 3-5. The convention approved plans for mass demonstrations against the war on April 22 in New York and a city on the West Coast that will be selected in consultation with antiwar groups in the western states.

The Friday-night rally that opened the convention featured John Sweeney, state representative from Ohio; Arnold Pinkney, president of the Cleveland Board of Education; and Richard Niebur, general vice-president of the United Electrical Workers and president of U. E. District 7. Other speakers included Stephanie Coontz of NPAC and Debby Bustin, national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC).

A total of 16 major proposals were presented for the consideration of the convention and discussed in workshops, as well as other proposals involving work with specific constituencies.

As in the past, the overwhelming majority of the participants in the convention were young people, many of them students. Roughly one-third of the participants registered as members of the Student Mobilization Committee. Almost 200 trade unionists, representing 57 unions, attended the convention. This compares to representation from 35 unions at the convention hosted by NPAC last July.

The union representation was the largest ever at a general antiwar conference, and was reflected in the size of the trade-union workshop. The workshop, sponsored by the Peace Committee of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1746, and attended by about 120 trade unionists, approved the resolution submitted by the AFSCME Local 1746 Peace Committee. The resolution favored continuing the work of building labor participation in the antiwar movement through the NPAC labor task forces and encouraged the distribution of material linking inflation and the wage controls to the war in Indochina.

Also attending the convention were a number of ultraleft and sectarian groups, including the International Socialists, Workers League, National Caucus of Labor Committees, Spartacist League, Students for a Democratic Society, and Progressive Labor. Each of these groups urged NPAC to adopt their particular political program, which would mean giving up its character as an antiwar coalition composed of diverse forces united on the single issue of building mass actions for the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. forces. Their proposals received a combined total of fewer than 250 votes.

As opposed to the perspectives of these various groups, the overwhelming majority of the convention, including the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, voted to reaffirm the character of the antiwar movement. A resolution submitted by four NPAC coordinators — Ruth Gage-Colby, Jerry Gordon, Jim Lafferty, and John T. Williams — expressed this sentiment.

Their resolution began by making the point that although the war continues, the illusion that it is drawing to a close is widespread. It stated that "the U. S. antiwar movement must immediately launch an educational campaign of unprecedented scope to expose Nixon's aim and policies in Indochina."

The resolution continued, "The peace

movement has been built through successive mass demonstrations demanding 'Out Now!' Ever greater mass demonstrations in the streets remain the antiwar movement's most effective means of bringing peace to Indochina and preventing new international conflicts.

"It is crucial that demonstrations take place during the 1972 presidential election year and beyond if necessary. While constituent groups within the antiwar movement are, of course, free to follow their own electoral bent with respect to candidates or political parties, the movement as a whole must stay independent. The task remains to unite greater numbers of people — on the basis of non-exclusion — in an ongoing intensive struggle to end the war."

Within the framework of general agreement on this perspective, a tactical disagreement arose over the site of the demonstration on the East Coast. The Gage-Colby, Gordon, Lafferty, Williams proposal suggested Washington, D. C. A proposal signed by NPAC Coordinator Debbie Bustin, SMC leader Geoff Mirelowitz, Fred

nating committee; Debby Bustin, national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee; and Katherine Sojourner, co-coordinator of the Atlanta Peace Action Coalition.

The convention also passed the proposals from the Black and women's workshops, which focused on drawing these constituencies into antiwar activity around the specific ways in which they are affected by the war. Other workshop proposals and resolutions had to be referred to the steering committee for further action, due to lack of time.

Most of the people attending the convention saw the illusion that the war can be ended by electing the right candidate president as the central problem of the antiwar movement in the next year. That this illusion is widespread was demonstrated at the Friday night rally where such speakers as Arnold Pinkney and John Sweeney urged the assembled antiwar activists to get involved in the Democratic Party.

This position was outlined most clearly in a resolution submitted to the convention by Sanford Gottlieb,



Photo by Howard Petrick

New National Peace Action Coalition coordinators Debby Bustin, Stephanie Coontz, and Katherine Sojourner.

Halstead, and Stephanie Coontz suggested New York as the site for the April 22 action.

The proponents of Washington, D. C., argued that the demonstration would gain greater visibility and national press coverage there, and that a demonstration in Washington would help draw labor into the action. Those favoring New York argued that, given the difficulties that face the antiwar movement during an election year, the East Coast action should be held in the strongest center of the peace movement. Their main argument was that a demonstration held in New York would be qualitatively larger than one in Washington.

The final debate in the conference centered on this question. Jim Lafferty, in arguing for Washington, pointed out that the disagreement between the two proposals was tactical in nature. Regardless of how this question was settled, the convention had already decided that NPAC will be independent and in the streets in 1972, demanding immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Indochina.

After deciding upon the New York site, the convention issued a call for international solidarity actions on April 22. In addition to reaffirming the character and purpose of NPAC, the convention voted to continue the existing steering committee and elected as initial national coordinators Stephanie Coontz of the NPAC coordi-

the executive director of SANE, on behalf of his organization. Gottlieb's resolution directly counterposed working "to elect peace-oriented candidates to Congress and the presidency" to the organization of mass demonstrations.

This was answered by supporters of the Gage-Colby, Gordon, Lafferty and Williams resolution, who pointed out that Nixon was lying about winding down the war, and that the lies of previous presidential candidates made it clear that the antiwar movement could not rely on promises but must continue mass demonstrations in order to maintain pressure on whoever is elected in 1972.

One of the most striking aspects of the convention was the serious way it carried out its business. All points of view were heard and everybody was guaranteed the right to speak. The convention was both fully democratic and orderly because it affirmed the right of all to be heard, while making a clear policy that no disruptions would be tolerated.

Following the convention, a meeting of the Student Mobilization Committee's steering committee was held. Attended by 175 representatives from around the country, the meeting voted to endorse the spring actions in New York and on the West Coast, and to call an SMC convention in New York for the end of February.

Causes of the Indo-Pakistan war

By CAROLINE LUND

DEC. 8—On Dec. 3 the conflict between India and Pakistan exploded into a full-scale war, with ground combat and air raids taking place along India's borders with Pakistan in the west and Bangla Desh in the east. Fighting also broke out in the north-west along the Kashmir cease-fire line set by the United Nations in 1948. Indian officials announced Dec. 5 that India would no longer honor the cease-fire line dividing Kashmir, and would keep as much of Pakistani-controlled Kashmir as it could occupy.

On the diplomatic front, India announced Dec. 6 its recognition of the government of Bangla Desh. In reaction to this, Pakistan severed diplomatic relations with India—a step it did not take during either of the two previous Indo-Pakistani wars in 1947 and 1965. While claiming formal neutrality, the United States government has taken the side of Pakistan, charging India with being "the major aggressor."

The roots of the current war between India and Pakistan go much deeper than simply the question of which side fired the first shot or made the first invasion. Hostilities between India and Pakistan underlying the present conflict can only be understood in the context of the long history of imperialist domination of the Indian subcontinent. This domination was based on the superexploitation of Indian labor and resources by Great Britain, and was maintained by the "divide-and-rule" imperialist policy of fostering religious and cultural antagonisms.

After World War II, in the face of massive demonstrations, strikes and a mutiny of the Indian navy, Great Britain decided it could no longer maintain control of the Indian subcontinent through its old colonial methods.

Britain was forced to grant nominal political independence to India, while maintaining ownership and influence over much of its economy. But in granting independence, the British, with the agreement of the reactionary Moslem League, divided colonial India into two countries along religious lines. Thus a Moslem state of Pakistan was created—separated into east and west sections 1,000 miles apart, with little more in common than religion and fear of Hindu domination.

However, despite the religious division, some 50 million Moslems still lived in India and 10 million Hindus in Pakistan. The vast migrations and religious riots that followed the 1947 partition resulted in hundreds of thousands of deaths and millions of refugees.

Fighting was especially fierce in Kashmir, a predominantly Moslem state ruled by a Hindu aristocracy. The ensuing conflicts ended in UN intervention and agreement on a cease-fire and a referendum by the people of Kashmir to determine which country they wished to join.

However, India reversed its position and unilaterally suppressed the right of Kashmir to self-determination by preventing the referendum from taking place.

Thus, in granting formal independence to India, Britain devised a form that would weaken the new nation vis-a-vis imperialism, a form that encouraged the peoples of the Indian subcontinent to fight each other in communal and religious hysteria rather than uniting in struggle against imperialism.

The United States gradually moved into India and began to arm both India and Pakistan as part of the imperialist encirclement of China and the Soviet Union.

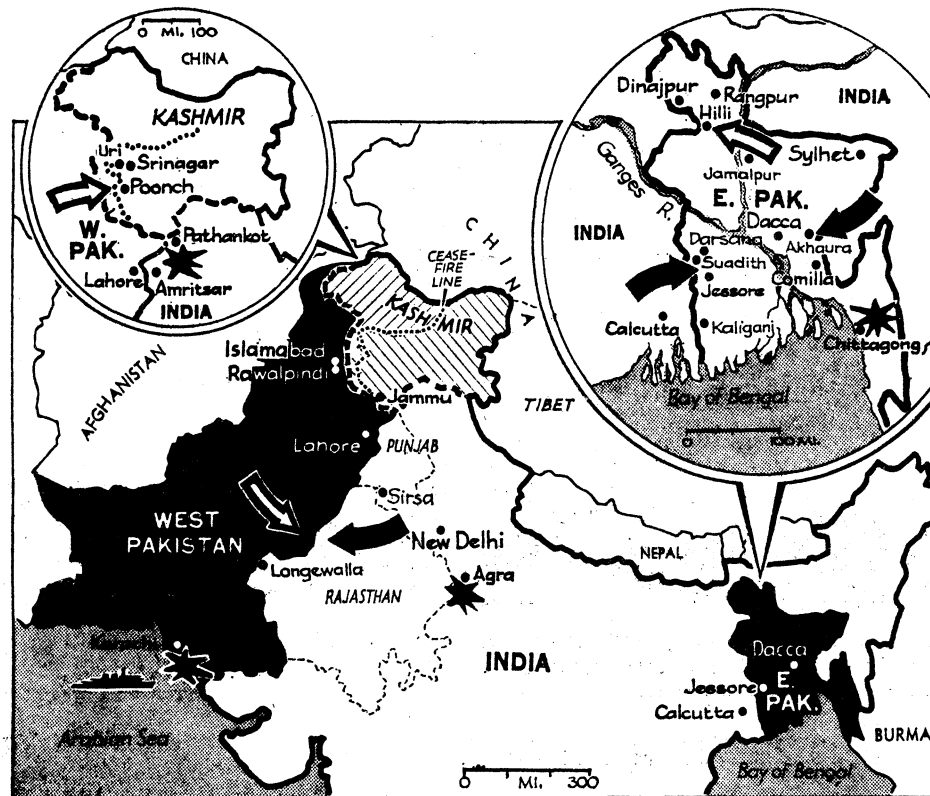
Then, in 1965, the rulers of India

and Pakistan again fanned the flames of communal and religious chauvinism into another conflict over Kashmir. At this time hunger riots were occurring in India, and the war over Kashmir served as a safety valve to divert popular discontent from India's capitalist ruling class.

The exploitation of East Bengal by West Pakistan began immediately after the 1947 partition. East Bengal

more accurately by Washington correspondent Robert Keatley in the Dec. 6 *Wall Street Journal*. He cited the problem of the 10 million refugees living in India, which "not only posed an economic drain on India but also had the potential for long-range political problems, much as Palestinian refugees have given Jordan serious problems."

"In addition," Keatley wrote, "India



Stars indicate air raids, arrows ground assaults.

was politically and economically subjugated as a colony. Its development was stunted so that it would remain a supplier of raw materials—especially jute—and foreign exchange to enrich the Pakistani capitalists.

In December 1970, elections were held to set up a civilian government in both sections of Pakistan for the first time in 23 years of dictatorial rule. The Awami League, a party supporting national autonomy for East Bengal, won an absolute majority of seats—167 out of 313—in the National Assembly, including all but two of the seats from East Bengal.

On March 2, the day before the National Assembly was supposed to meet, Yahya Khan announced that the meeting was postponed. This sparked a general strike and massive street demonstrations in East Bengal. When Yahya came to East Bengal to negotiate with moderate Awami League leader Sheik Mujibur Rahman, he was greeted by mass demonstrations calling for independence of Bangla Desh.

While talks proceeded between Yahya and Sheik Mujibur, West Pakistani troops poured into East Bengal. On March 25, when the talks broke down, civil war erupted. Yahya's troops launched a campaign of terror against all supporters of independence for Bangla Desh.

This bloodbath has continued for the past eight months, and it is estimated that the Pakistani forces have killed one million Bengalis in addition to driving 10 million refugees into India. Sheik Mujibur was arrested, and many leaders of the Awami League were murdered in an attempt to decapitate the independence struggle.

Indian interests

The Indian government has justified its support for the independence movement in Bangla Desh with demagogic claims of support for the right of Bangla Desh to self-determination and opposition to Pakistan's genocidal assault on the Bengali nation.

The real reasons for Indian support to Bangla Desh were enumerated

has its own Bengali problem. The Indian state of West Bengal has a strong, radical, somewhat Maoist Communist Party, which has caused much political violence in and around Calcutta. Prime Minister Gandhi's government feared that a protracted guerrilla war in East Bengal would gradually lead to a switch there from the moderate politics of the Awami League to radical Marxism—perhaps aggravating the existing Communist problem in West Bengal. . . .

Keatley continues: "India thus decided to back the East Bengali guerrillas from the start so New Delhi could also exercise some political control over them even if this meant war. . . . The object is to overthrow the West Pakistani rulers in East Pakistan and to establish a friendly but moderate government there. . . . Indian troops will occupy Eastern cities until a Bangla Desh government is established. The occupation will aim to ensure that the new government is moderate and to guarantee that it calls home refugees on Indian soil."

In addition, India is taking advantage of the problems Pakistan is having in Bangla Desh in order to weaken and dismember Pakistan and if possible extend Indian control in Kashmir. With Pakistan deprived of control of Bangla Desh and possibly Kashmir, India would more clearly become the dominant power on the subcontinent and would be better able to extract concessions and aid from the imperialist nations and the Soviet Union.

As far as Pakistan is concerned, the independence struggle of Bangla Desh is a significant economic and political threat. About half of Pakistan's foreign exchange comes from East Bengal. The area also provides Pakistani capitalists with a captive market, where low-quality goods are sold at prices higher than they would bring on the world market.

Furthermore, a victory for the Bangla Desh liberation fighters could inspire renewed struggles for democracy and independence within Pakistan. The fact that Yahya Khan has had to rule by martial law indicates he already fears rebellion at home.

Revolutionary implications

While claiming formal neutrality, the United States government has clearly taken the side of Pakistan. The U. S. rulers recognize the revolutionary implications the nationalist struggle of Bangla Desh has for all of South and Southeast Asia.

In the UN Security Council, chief U. S. delegate George Bush submitted a resolution that basically coincided with Pakistan's position. It called for an immediate cease-fire, the withdrawal of troops to their own countries, and the presence of a UN "peace-keeping force."

The resolution was vetoed by the Soviet Union, while 11 nations, including China, voted for it. On Dec. 7 the UN General Assembly approved a similar resolution by 104 to 11.

The U. S. announced Dec. 3 the cancellation of all remaining export licenses for military equipment to India—with much more alacrity and decisiveness than it had employed in cutting off military aid to Pakistan. And on Dec. 7, attempting to appear neutral, the Nixon administration halted a loan program to both India and Pakistan. The move, however, deprived India of \$87.6-million, while costing Pakistan only \$4.3-million.

The U. S. has so far cloaked its opposition to independence for Bangla Desh in patronizing phrases of concern for the well-being of Bangla Desh. A State Department official was quoted in the Dec. 6 *Wall Street Journal* as saying, "We would like a united Pakistan because we consider this better than an exposed, undernourished East Pakistan trying to go it alone." Similarly, the *New York Times* stated in an editorial Dec. 5 that "total independence can only open up a Pandora's Box of new troubles for the people of 'Bangla Desh.'" But what these voices for the ruling class are really concerned about is not the resulting troubles for Bangla Desh, but the troubles that would be in store for the imperialists if a Bangla Desh victory served to inspire the worldwide anti-imperialist struggles.

Both China and the Soviet Union have taken stands in relation to the Indo-Pakistani war that are a disgusting mockery of the Marxist position of opposition to war between two capitalist countries. China has taken the side of Pakistan, and the USSR has taken the side of India. Neither has taken an independent position in support of the right of Bangla Desh to self-determination and in support of the struggles of the working class and peasantry in both India and Pakistan.

Rather than uniting to expose the aims of the imperialist powers in the UN and to expose the designs of both India and Pakistan, the Chinese and Soviet delegates have spent most of their energies in the UN denouncing each other.

In the Dec. 7 *New York Times*, Sydney H. Schanberg reported from Calcutta that the Soviet Union has used its military aid to get India to pressure the Bangla Desh government to accept members of the pro-Moscow Communist Party on its leading bodies.

During the Dec. 4 Security Council meeting, China's permanent delegate to the UN, Huang Hua, vehemently opposed allowing representatives of the Bangla Desh government to appear before the Security Council, labeling them "rebellious elements."

China, along with the U. S., is a chief supplier of the arms used by Yahya Khan to slaughter supporters of independence for Bangla Desh. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, demonstrated that it is no closer to Marxist principles when it supplied arms to capitalist India during the 1962

Continued on page 22

In Our Opinion

Congratulations!

The **Militant** subscription drive not only reached its goal of 30,000 new readers in 11 weeks, but surpassed that goal by 2,580. Hundreds of **Militant** readers participated in this historic campaign, and whether we sold one subscription or 1,000 each one of us deserves congratulations.

Tens of thousands of miles were traveled, tens of thousands of people were approached, and tens of thousands of hours went into the huge effort that made this drive a success.

And it was all worth it! The **Militant** now has a larger readership than any time in 25 years. There are readers in more cities and towns than ever before. And it can now be said that The **Militant** is the most widely distributed and influential radical newspaper in the United States.

This significant increase in its circulation has helped lay the basis for further expansion of The **Militant's** staff and size in the coming months.

Those of you who just subscribed have begun reading The **Militant** at a time when it is making rapid strides forward and is able to give better coverage to important and exciting national and international events.

We hope that you like the paper and will want to renew for a full year when your 10-week introductory subscription expires. We urge you to make The **Militant** a regular part of your life.

Callous disregard

The U.S. Labor Department reported Dec. 3 that unemployment rose to 6 percent during November. According to Herbert Stein, chief of Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers, the rise in unemployment since June of this year has been the largest five-month increase since 1955. The number of people who have been out of work for 15 weeks or more did not decrease in November, but remained at about 1.3 million, or nearly one-fourth of the total unemployed.

When Nixon announced his New Economic Policy on Aug. 15, he claimed that he was going to lower unemployment. But what he called a program for reducing the number of workers on the unemployed rolls was really a program to give more money to big business.

Nixon presently has a proposal pending before Congress that would give investment tax credits to capitalists so they will expand their production and supposedly create more jobs. This so-called "trickle-down" theory is nothing but a giveaway to the rich. It shows that Nixon has no real concern about the hardships endured by the growing numbers of unemployed workers and their families. Nixon's callous disregard was further revealed by his announcement of a 5 percent cut in federal jobs.

The whole thrust of Nixon's economic program has been to improve U.S. businesses' position in the international competition for profits—not to eliminate inflation and unemployment. Nixon's policies have meant holding down wages while giving full rein to speedup and automation in order to sweat more out of the hides of American workers. This will help American capitalists compete with foreign capitalists, who have cheaper labor costs. A certain amount of unemployment is useful in the context of Nixon's aims, because it creates greater competition among workers for jobs, thus making it easier to hold down wages.

What is needed to halt the rise of unemployment and alleviate the situation of the jobless is a crash program of public works projects to build low-cost housing, hospitals, parks and schools. The workweek should be cut with no reduction in pay in order to spread the work to everyone who wants a job. And full union wages should be paid to the unemployed, whether or not they have been previously employed.

This is the program of the Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, the only candidates who have a serious and effective plan for ending unemployment.

Letters

Abortion

This is an open letter to Patrick Barbanes [see *Militant* letters column, Nov. 26 issue]:

You have a perfect right not to march for abortions. It is easy for you to moralize—you are not a woman.

Most of us who have had abortions did so because there was no better way of solving the problem. If you can project yourself into our heads, think of what it would mean to practice birth control and get pregnant anyway . . . or to really love a man, get pregnant, and he says, "It's not mine, Baby."

Abortion is a last resort. Some of us may never need it. But it's comforting to know it's there if we do. We are not fascist murderers—we have merely eliminated a clump of cells. This is a lot different than allowing a child to be born, letting him reach manhood, then sending him to his death.

Whether or not abortion is ever legalized, women will still have them. It is better to go to a clinic and have it done properly than to kill yourself with a wire coat hanger trying to do it yourself.

Please, Patrick—you, as a man, have the right to walk away from the hassle of too many kids, too soon. Let us have that right too.

Lynda Sabara
Carteret, N. J.

Modern plantation

The following letter was passed on to The Militant from Pathfinder Press, to whom it was addressed.

This is a distress call to all concerned Black people out in society who are concerned about humanity and the well-being of their loved ones.

For us, the brothers here in confinement, life in a sense is at a standstill. We are catching hell from every angle and they try to tell me that there is a hell below. It cannot be any worse than the hell we Black people have been catching in America, nor can it be any worse than the hell I'm catching right here at this prison.

This place is known as the Holman Unit. It is a maximum security prison, located in Escambia County, Atmore, Ala.—the last county to free the slaves.

This is a modern plantation. We (inmates) work in the fields, picking cotton, beans, etc., maybe eight hours a day, while being watched over by guards on horses armed with shotguns. Only the whips have been removed. Then we must return to the prison grounds to be fed (slop) in the mess hall, (and it is a mess hall). We are fed meals with beans as the main dish, topped off with more kinds of beans or peas.

Many of the brothers here do not eat pork for religious reasons as well as for health. There is pork in just about everything that is fed us—nothing is free of pork, in an attempt to break me and my brothers' (Muslims) spirits.

We work eight hours a day for maybe two cents a day (50 cents every three weeks).

Would you believe that at one time only the Black inmates worked in the fields? They said the sun was too hot for the whites (devils) to work. Then the white inmates were made to work a half day, but it was still too hot for them in the afternoon to go back out to work.

We, the Blacks here, are in desperate need of some outside help. We are in desperate need of Black literature, or any literature such as socialism, Afro-American history, economics, and any history you might have on Islam, so that we can liberate our people here, at least mentally, for they have been brainwashed thoroughly.

J. X. H.
Atmore, Ala.

Shirley Wheeler sentence

In the course of my studies at the University of New Hampshire I have found a reason for Shirley Wheeler's sentence. [Shirley Wheeler is a Florida woman who was recently convicted of manslaughter for having an abortion. She was sentenced to two years' probation under the condition that she either get married or live with her family in North Carolina.]

The judge had the power to convict Ms. Wheeler through the Code of 1650. I get this information from Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*. Tocqueville wrote: "Intercourse between unmarried persons was likewise severely repressed. The judge was empowered to inflict a pecuniary penalty, a whipping, or marriage on the misdemeanants."

To show what kind of modern-day law this is, I'll quote some other parts of it: "Blasphemy, sorcery, adultery, and rape were punished with death; an outrage offered by a son to his parents was to be expiated by the same penalty. . . . We find a sentence, bearing the date of May 1, 1660, inflicting a fine and reprimand on a young woman who was accused of using improper language and of allowing herself to be kissed."

R. R.
Durham, N. H.

Cleveland, Nov. 6

In the Nov. 26 issue of *The Militant* a letter appeared written by National Peace Action Coalition leader Herman Kirsch. That letter criticized the participation of Youth Against War and Fascism and the Ohio Anti-imperialist Coalition in the Nov. 6 demonstration, and contained many falsifications that must be responded to.

The "presence of unions" probably numbered no more than 25 persons, while the anti-imperialist contingent numbered nearly 300, in a march the NPAC leaders themselves claimed to have contained only 1,500. The Ohio Anti-imperialist Coalition was not under the leadership of YAWF, but rather YAWF was part of a *collective* leadership of the Coalition.

The Coalition never demanded that our speaker be first, but we did demand that she be *among* the first few speakers, considering the Coalition made up a significant part of the march. It is true that the Coalition ran toward the speakers' platform, but it *never* made an attempt to take it over. The Coalition was prepared to heckle representatives of "jets-for-Israel" McGovern, and "miner-streakbreaker" Governor Gilligan who were scheduled to speak.

The only instance of pushing and shoving and "picket signs . . . used as weapons" was when members of the Coalition attacked a group of Nazis who were picketing the rally with "White Power" signs. It is true that the NPAC marshals "shoved and pushed" members of the Coalition in an attempt to stop them from attacking the Nazis.

The Great Society

Could it be that the falsifications and distortions were used to cover up the differences between two tendencies in the movement and their approach to bourgeois politicians? Why was there only a criticism of the left wing, and silence toward the right?

Alan Roth

Youth Against War and Fascism
Cleveland, Ohio

20-year subscriber

Enclosed is a check for a renewal of my subscription to *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*. After being a subscriber for 20 years, I'd hate to let it lapse now, when *The Militant* is becoming the leading socialist newspaper in the country.

I marvel at the quality, and quantity, of *The Militant*, as compared to what it was in the 40s and 50s. At that time we all knew that sooner or later *The Militant* would become the leading paper in the country. Now it is growing and growing. It hasn't replaced the *New York Times* yet, but their future is very shaky—while ours gets much brighter with each passing day.

Mike Garza

Minneapolis, Minn.

Practical approach

If you wish to gain widespread support for social reform in America, I feel you should use a more practical approach to attract a following, rather than using political theory that is beyond the grasp of many people.

Attica doesn't evoke a response among blue collar workers to improve the conditions in penal institutions, but it does drive them toward law-and-order candidates such as Wallace and Agnew.

Address the workers on issues they can understand and identify with; for instance: complete health insurance for all workers, at no cost to the worker; shorter workweek—35 hours for every worker, whether a union member or not; four to six weeks' paid vacation for every worker, regardless of time on the job; retirement at 55 years of age; guaranteed employment for every person.

There are many other practical issues that could be exposed and that would attract far wider support than many of the issues now discussed in *The Militant*. You need more writers to write on the above matters.

Pete Bruhn

Pasadena, Calif.

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.

When you gotta freeze, you gotta freeze—Nixon's freeze program was assessed by Allen Stultz, president of the American Bankers Association, as "unfair, inequitable, un-American, but absolutely essential."

Victim of environment?—The secretary to a New York real estate investor was indicted for allegedly liberating some \$350,000 from his checking account over a two-and-a-half-year period. The boss didn't notice it until his accountant commented on his spending. The secretary apparently began developing illusions she was a real estate shark, assertedly purchasing a \$3,600 bed, lots of jewelry, and coming to work in a chauffeured limousine.

Baffled—Philadelphia police found a 10-by-15 foot bin in an apartment filled with dirt and, allegedly, marijuana sprouts. What stumps the law enforcement officers is how the residents got some two-and-one-half tons of dirt into the apartment without the neighbors noticing. We don't know about Philadelphia, but in New York

you just leave the window open a couple of days and then sweep the place.

Down the drain—Those who contend that a significant portion of our tax money winds up in the sewer will perhaps feel their thesis is bolstered by the report that the town of Scotts Valley, Calif., is using the casing from a surplus guided missile as the main well of a sewer unit. The town picked up three of the obsolete million-dollar missiles for \$95 each. They find they also come in handy for culverts and manholes.

Mixed notices—One witness at the federal hearing on TV's effects on children suggested that the cynicism generated by misleading advertising could be projected onto teachers and parents. But it was also suggested that a beneficial effect might be an increased sense of discernment. Some bleeding hearts questioned the propriety of exploiting the desires, anxieties and fears of children. Industry representatives responded that such exploitation was mostly harmless "puffery."

Comparative medicine—Dr. Wesley Hall, president of the AMA, said critics of American medicine are making "ridiculous statements." Actually, he said, medical care here is "fantastic and fabulous." This is particularly true, he added, when you compare it with what people have in places like Haiti and some of the West Indies. The point is particularly impressive when you stop to consider how much wealthier these countries are.

The living end—We haven't had time to browse through our Neiman-Marcus catalog for last-minute shopping tips, but we understand it features a pair of 2,000-year-old empty "his" and "hers" mummy cases. It might be just the thing for the couple that has had everything.

Carcinogenics excepted—A new law bans federal subsidies to farmers who knowingly permit the growing of marijuana or other illegal crops on their land. Subsidies to tobacco growers will, of course, continue.

— HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

SELF-HELP AND WOMEN'S CLINICS—In recent months many women from a section of the women's liberation movement have become involved in setting up free clinics. The purpose of these clinics is to serve the special health needs of women in a less sexist and alienating way than regular doctors and medical facilities now provide. Such clinics have been set up this year in Berkeley, Baltimore, Seattle, Los Angeles, and other cities.

The reason behind the great interest in these clinics is obvious. Almost every woman dreads going to a doctor or a hospital for vaginal examination or treatment—the table, the stirrups, the drape hung over you so you can't even see the doctor, the ignorance about what is being done to you, and the ignorance and fear of your own bodily functions.

Women in Los Angeles have set up a Self-Help Clinic that specializes in teaching women techniques of self-abortion, and self-examination for vaginal infections and pregnancy. These women have a concept of "vaginal politics"—meaning, presumably, that such clinics are part of a political strategy to win liberation for women through enabling them to understand and gain complete control over their own bodies.

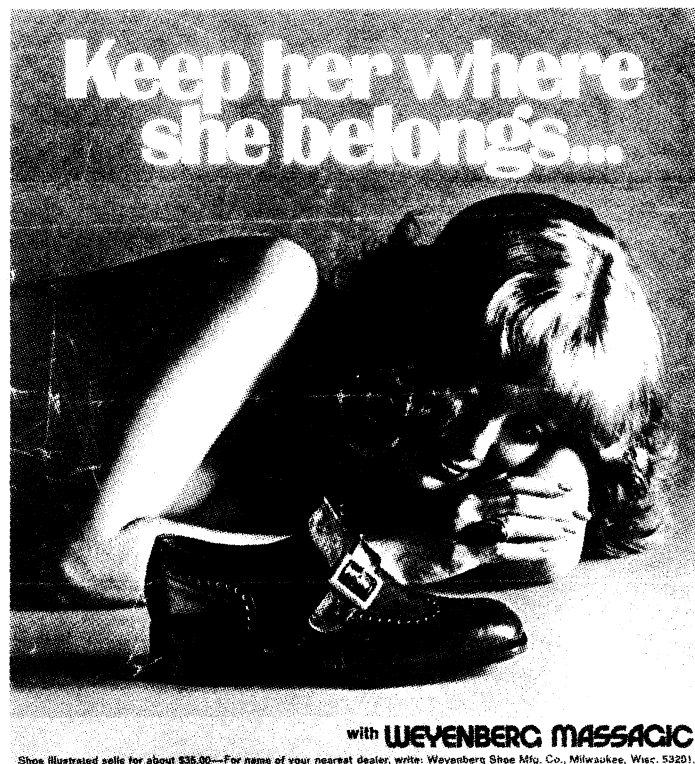
A number of women in the movement have, however, begun to question whether creating free clinics as alternatives to existing medical institutions is a correct strategy for winning adequate medical care and control over their own bodies.

Ellen Frankfort, writing in the Nov. 25 issue of the New York weekly *Village Voice*, made some perceptive comments on this subject. Entitled "Vaginal Politics," her article was a report on a Feminist Health Conference held Nov. 18-21 in New York, sponsored by the Brooklyn and Manhattan National Organization for Women, New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal, and the Feminist Organization for Communication, Action and Service (FOCAS). During the conference, women from the Los Angeles Self-Help Clinic gave demonstrations of their self-examination techniques.

While agreeing with the value of "demystifying" the medical profession and breaking down the fear and ignorance of their bodies that helps to enslave women, Frankfort wrote: "But to believe that self-help clinics can offer an alternative means of delivering health services seems foolish. This country has more hospitals and doctors than most. The problem is that they do not offer the services people need, nor is the distribution of services offered rational. But neither doctors, hospitals, nor drug companies are going to be affected by having small groups of women learning how to examine themselves or extract their periods."

Frankfort concludes: "I would like to see women organize around the institutions where the power lies. . . . If those currently in charge of machines (technology) and hospitals don't respond to people's needs, let's replace them, not the machines."

Unfortunately, this conference took place on the same day as the demonstrations for abortion law repeal in



Sexist ad of the week

Washington and San Francisco Nov. 20. These demonstrations were aimed at the government—state and national—demanding a reform that would bring relief to masses of American women, not just the few who can be served through a women's clinic.

Another discussion of women's clinics appeared in the October 1971 issue of the *Health Policy Advisory Center Bulletin*. This issue is devoted to the subject of free clinics and is based on interviews with staff members and patients of clinics across the country.

An unsigned article on women's clinics states: "Certainly sexism accounts for much of women's greater use of the health system, the added humiliation and objectification women encounter there, and the more general use of biological ignorance and mystification as tools of women's socialization. However, the source of poor health care is mainly in social class and in the profit system, and not mainly in sexism. . . ."

"While free clinics may substitute for the private gynecologist that most women who set up free clinics could be using, they cannot substitute for the major health establishments used by other women. Thus, while free clinics may be designed to extend the base of the women's movement beyond the middle class, they are not designed to meet the working class woman's health needs, nor challenge the institutions that define and serve her needs."

— CAROLINE LUND

L.A. race shows Raza strength

By OLGA RODRIGUEZ
LOS ANGELES—The Nov. 16 runoff election for the California 48th Assembly District turned out to be one of the biggest political upsets in recent California politics. In a district where registered Democrats outnumbered Republicans two to one, Democratic candidate Richard Alatorre lost

In the Nov. 18 *Los Angeles Times* Ruiz was quoted as saying, "Brophy did not get more votes than expected. His vote was not surprising. The surprise is that Alatorre did not get the votes the Democrats expected him to. We are responsible for that. We pulled the traditional Democratic Chicano voters away from him. We stopped their machine [the Democratic Party]. Brophy didn't win this. We did."

The results of the Nov. 16 election in the 139 precincts were: Bill Brophy, Republican, 16,346 (46.7 percent); Richard Alatorre, Democrat, 14,759 (42.17 percent); Raul Ruiz, Raza Unida, 2,778 (7.93 percent); and John Blaine, Peace and Freedom, 1,108 (3.16 percent). It is obvious from the returns that *el Partido de La Raza Unida* was the major cause of the Democratic Party's defeat. Alatorre would have had a clear victory if the

Party is "neo-segregationist" is another example of trying to make the victim look like the criminal. It is especially malicious coming from a racist like Waxman, who refuses to support a fair reapportionment plan that might give Chicanos adequate political representation, and help change the almost lily-white composition of the California state legislature.

The campaign is viewed by Ruiz and his supporters as a very valuable experience for the Raza Unida Party in Southern California. More than any other Raza Unida Party campaign in Texas, Colorado, or Northern California, the Ruiz campaign addressed two of the most important questions the developing Chicano political parties are facing: What will be the Raza Unida Party's relationship to the Democratic and Republican national tickets in the 1972 elections? Will La Raza Unida Party run serious campaigns when that might mean the defeat of liberal Chicano Democrats and a victory for conservative Republicans?

The Ruiz campaign answered both these questions very clearly. At no time in the campaign did the Raza Unida Party compromise its program or in any way throw support to the Democratic Party candidate Alatorre, a Mexican-American. In fact, as the campaign drew to a close, the Raza Unida Party stepped up its political attacks on Alatorre and the Democratic Party.

For the first time, the relationship of the RUP to national Democratic Party figures was posed very concretely. Among the RUP's major political activities during the campaign were confrontations with Senator Edmund Muskie (D-Maine), presently the main contender for the Democratic presidential nomination. Muskie felt it necessary to come into the barrio to campaign for Alatorre because of the threat posed by the Raza Unida Party. Ruiz and his supporters made it clear that their support and allegiance to the RUP precluded support to Muskie or any other Democratic Party politician.

The principled stand taken by the Los Angeles Raza Unida Party in opposition to even a young "liberal" Chicano Democrat should serve as an example for Raza Unida parties throughout Aztlán, especially as the 1972 elections approach.

Santo Domingo and Vietnam

The following speech was made by Claudio Tavaréz at the Nov. 6 anti-war rally in New York. Tavaréz was active in the Comité Vietnam-Santo Domingo, which organized the Dominican contingent and feeder march for the Nov. 6 action.

Only six years ago last April 28, the United States invaded Santo Domingo, unleashing a bloodbath. Since 1961, this same government, that is, the United States, has killed thousands of Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians, and has sent thousands of American soldiers to die in a war that is not in their interest.

Among these soldiers there have been Dominicans who have been forced into the U.S. Army for many reasons—fear of deportation, jail, etc. Our job, we believe, is to demand that all our brothers be brought back home alive, now!

Today, thousands of Americans across the United States are taking to the streets to demand: Out Now! Stop the Bombing Now!

We, as Dominicans living in New York, cannot and will not remain silent; the United States is trying by all means to impose on the Vietnamese people the same type of government that it forced on the Dominican people—that is a government based on repression and assassination of anyone who dares complain. In other words, a regime like the Balaguer regime in Santo Domingo.

We urge you to continue to organize mass actions against the war, because only by mobilizing the American people in the streets can you force the government to end the war. Not only that. It will make the United States think twice before they send 25,000 marines to Santo Domingo again.

As a matter of fact, it will make them think twice before they send their troops anywhere else, be it Latin America, Africa, or Asia. That's power. Santo Domingo and Vietnam together will win.



Young Chicanos in East Los Angeles at Chicano Moratorium, Jan. 31, 1971.

the election to Republican Bill Brophy.

The capitalist media as well as the Nov. 20 *People's World* (West Coast voice of the Communist Party) tried to attribute the Republican victory to the split within the Democratic Party that occurred during the Oct. 19 primary. They also cited the widespread publicity Brophy received after shots were fired into his home the day before the election.

Raul Ruiz, the Raza Unida Party (RUP) candidate in the election, says the main reason Alatorre didn't carry the vote in the overwhelmingly Democratic district was because of the Raza Unida campaign.

votes won by Ruiz had gone to him.

Assemblyman Henry A. Waxman (D-L.A.) seemed to agree with this assessment. Waxman bitterly charged, "The reason we lost was the cynical alliance of neo-segregationists [sic] in the Chicano community with the Republicans."

The charge of an alliance between Ruiz and the Republican Party is a vicious slander. The RUP took a stand against both capitalist parties. What irks Waxman is that Ruiz was successful in exposing the slick, liberal image of the *vendido* Alatorre, thereby causing his defeat.

The charge that the Raza Unida

¡La Raza en Acción!

CHICANOS JOIN FIGHT AGAINST ELECTION LAWS: The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) announced recently at a press conference its plans for "a united effort on the part of political parties, groups and individuals to challenge restrictive and unconstitutional election laws throughout the country before the 1972 elections."

A statement from José Angel Gutiérrez, chairman of the Raza Unida Party (RUP) in Crystal City, Texas, and Tito Lucero of the Oakland, Calif., RUP was read at the news conference. It stated: "As representatives of the Raza Unida Party, we support the plans outlined by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws to challenge restrictive and unconstitutional election laws."

"Chicanos and other peoples of La Raza have traditionally been the victims of the present electoral system. Because we are often poor we cannot afford to run for office. Because we speak primarily Spanish we cannot make full use of our vote. Because we want to form our own party we are faced with restrictive laws hampering our candidates from getting on the ballot."

"We need an end to all filing fees that bar poor Raza people from becoming candidates. We need ballots that are printed in Spanish as well as English in every state of the union. We need to eliminate laws providing one set of easy rules for getting on the ballot if you are a Democrat or Republican candidate, and another set of more difficult requirements for third party candidates."

"The needs of La Raza have not been met in the past by the two parties. We, recognizing this,

have formed La Raza Unida Parties to serve our interests. We are pleased to join with other supporters of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws in this fight to challenge in the courts those laws that have prevented our party from reaching out to La Raza."

Those interested in helping the committee (CoDEL), or wishing more information may write to: Committee for Democratic Election Laws, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

AZTLAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH?: *La Voz del Pueblo*, published in Berkeley, Calif., has run several interesting articles on the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company (PT&T) this year. The articles pointed out that California could have a completely bilingual telephone service if PT&T hired Chicanos in proportion to their numbers in the population. Racist hiring practices, of course, have kept Chicanos out.

The July-August issue of *La Voz del Pueblo* reports that 144 Spanish-speaking customers, together with the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA), filed petitions for a rehearing before the Public Utilities Commission (PUC) demanding bilingual service, which was denied in an earlier hearing.

According to the article, PT&T admits that its inability to provide fire and police emergency operator service necessary to protect the safety of Spanish-speaking customers, in effect means that they overcharge these customers \$3,507,000 annually.

Mario Obledo, executive director of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), who recently challenged the accuracy of the government's 1970 census, is quoted as saying, "It is becoming increasingly clear that the answer to inadequate telephone service that endangers the life and safety of three million Chicanos in California is to secure a Chicano dominated and oriented telephone system independent of PT&T. This system could be totally viable economically," says Obledo. He points out that "there are more than 1.4 million Chicanos in East Los Angeles alone, or more than the population of 16 states and 20 United Nations countries."

PIG LATIN?: A recent issue of the *Denver Post* reports that Denver police have been supplied with three cards containing 26 Spanish phrases. According to the article, there are "only four officers in the police department who speak Spanish effectively. . . ." The hope of the police department is to "communicate better with people in the community."

The *Post* lists some of the phrases appearing on the cards: "Do you have any identification on you?" "You are under arrest," and "Is anyone hurt?"

Considering how the gringo police will probably pronounce the Spanish, they would do better by just staying out of the Chicano community. That would go a long way in "improving communication."

— ANTONIO CAMEJO

Background to Michigan controversy over busing

By ERNIE HARSCH

DETROIT—The recent controversy over busing in Pontiac, Mich., served to catapult the issue into the national limelight. Busing students to effect school desegregation has now become an issue of paramount importance to many communities throughout the country, not just the South.

The sometimes frenzied and hysterical reaction of the whites stems from fear of losing their privileged position, which is based on the injustice heaped upon Blacks by a segregated school system. Such is the case in Pontiac.

Pontiac, over 20 percent Black, is an industrial city of 85,000 just north of Detroit. In an interview in the Sept. 11 *Michigan Chronicle*, a Black weekly newspaper, one Black resident remarked, "Pontiac is worse than Mississippi. Pontiac is a company (GM) town. They brought all those people from Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Kentucky here to work in the plants—and they think they can keep Pontiac just like down home."

In 1967, 13 percent of the public school students—mostly Black—were bused past predominantly white schools to predominantly Black schools—to maintain segregation.

Last summer this situation was brought before Judge Damon Keith in a suit filed by the NAACP. The Black judge ruled that the school system was segregated and ordered busing of 9,000 of the system's 23,000 students in order to desegregate it.

The white community immediately responded by forming the National Action Group, headed by Irene McCabe. Its attempt to have the ruling overturned failed. Just before school opened, 10 buses were bombed by members of the Ku Klux Klan.

Almost every sector of the white community came out in opposition to the busing, including trade unionists and the clergy. But despite the bombings and the loud reaction, busing went ahead as scheduled when school opened. NAG's call for a boycott of the schools fell apart after the first few days.

On Sept. 14, 500 UAW members refused to go to work in response to a NAG picket line, which effectively closed down General Motor's Fisher-Pontiac plant. A similar picket line the next day was unsuccessful.

For a period of about two weeks, the city was rocked by a series of demonstrations, picket lines, and rallies, but these activities gradually subsided.

However, as the furor began to die down, Republican U.S. Senator Robert P. Griffin revived the controversy. He issued a statement on Sept. 24 coming out point-blank against busing—no doubt hoping to gain some political capital for his reelection campaign in 1972.

Following his move, politician after politician released similar statements, hopping on the bandwagon of what now seemed to be the "issue" for the 1972 elections in Michigan.

At the same time the racist politicians were coming into action, the whole issue of busing, segregation, and education took on a new dimension with a shift of focus from Pontiac to the sprawling industrial center of Detroit.

On Sept. 27, Federal Judge Stephen Roth ruled that Detroit public schools were de jure (legally) segregated and raised the possibility of cross-county busing (in this case, between the sub-



Charred remains of bombed Pontiac, Mich., buses

urbs and the city) to achieve desegregation.

This is the first time a ruling recognizing the existence of de jure segregation has been handed down in a major Northern city. Previously, it was held that de jure segregation existed only in the South and that segregation in the North was de facto.

The Roth ruling shattered this pretension by charging the city, state, and federal governments with fostering segregation in Detroit.

Then, on Oct. 15, Governor William G. Milliken and Attorney General Frank Kelly filed suit against three suburban Detroit school districts, stating that financing schools with local property taxes discriminates against poorer school districts.

The Detroit school board spends \$675 per student each year, while the suburbs, which obtain their funds from property taxes, spend up to \$1,200.

Milliken and Kelly, however, offered no solution to the problem of funding the schools in the Black community. They didn't call for pouring state and federal funds into the Black community to build, staff, and equip modern schools. They didn't call for tapping, through taxation, the huge reservoirs of profits stockpiled in GM's world headquarters and its various plants located in the heart of Detroit's Black community.

They resorted instead to the token gesture of slapping the wrists of the white suburban school boards.

Since the Roth ruling, there are now antibusing groups in more than half of Detroit's 85 suburbs.

Moreover, on Oct. 7, Senator Griffin introduced a constitutional amendment in the U.S. Senate that would bar busing. Three weeks later, both the Michigan Senate and House of Representatives approved calling for such an amendment. Busing opponents from 32 states began a three-day lobbying effort in Washington in support of the proposed amendment.

Continuing the attack, the U.S. House of Representatives on Nov. 5 added an amendment to an education bill that would prohibit federal court orders requiring busing from going into effect until all appeals had been exhausted.

This spurred Milliken, who is for "equality" but opposed to busing, to announce he would appeal the Roth ruling.

The intensification of the busing controversy, however, has brought quite a different response from some sectors of the Black community.

At a meeting of the West Bloomfield Democratic Club called to discuss busing, Rev. Bill Waterman, a Black attorney, said, "Some Black

people have reached that conclusion, that integration is passé because of their total disaffection and rejection of the ability of the white people of this country to come to grips with reality. As a result, some of my own people want control of their schools to prepare their children for some final (Black-white) confrontation."

At a similar meeting sponsored by Region 1 Board of Education in Detroit, Denise Gardner, a Black revolutionary socialist, was cheered by the audience of 100 when she said that busing would not solve the problems of poor education for Blacks, that any lasting solution would have to involve Black people taking control of the education system in the Black community.

In a front page article in the *Southend*, the Wayne State University student newspaper, members of the Black Student United Front wrote, "With the current uproar over integration and desegregation of Detroit schools, many questions have to be thought about. . . . Is it necessary for Black students to go to school with white students to get a good education? . . . Do we have to keep pursuing whites all over the city just to be next to them in schools or in our backyards? And we also have to look at the reason that whites have the quality education in the first place. *They have it because white people control the white schools in the white community, and we don't have it because white people also control Black schools in the Black community.* In short, they control their own, but we don't. If people would spend as much time, effort, and money trying to get quality education in the Black community instead of trying to get Black students in white schools, the Black students of Detroit would be much better off." (Emphasis added.)

These responses speak to the real issue, the question of Black people controlling the schools and other institutions in the Black community. The government does not want to deal with this question because its existence is based on denying Black people the right to power, the right to determine their own affairs.

Increasing numbers of Blacks are beginning to understand, however, that a school is not run-down and dilapidated because it is all-Black, and that the presence of white students in the classroom is not necessary for Black students to obtain a first-rate education. The most important consideration is who controls the schools in the Black community. With Black control, Black people would be in a position to decide whether or not to bus, who is to teach, what is to be taught, and how such education will be dispensed.

Panther supporters freed

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Police entrapment practices against political dissidents received a setback here with a surprise government motion to dismiss charges against two movement activists indicted for "conspiring" to provide hand grenades for the Black Panther Party.

The case began nearly two years ago and was the subject of considerable media coverage because of the individuals involved. One of the people indicted was Donald Freed, author of the play *Inquest*, which was based on the witch-hunt execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and won significant praise from the critics. The other frame-up victim was Shirley Sutherland, wife of actor Donald Sutherland and daughter of T. C. Douglas, a leader of Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party.

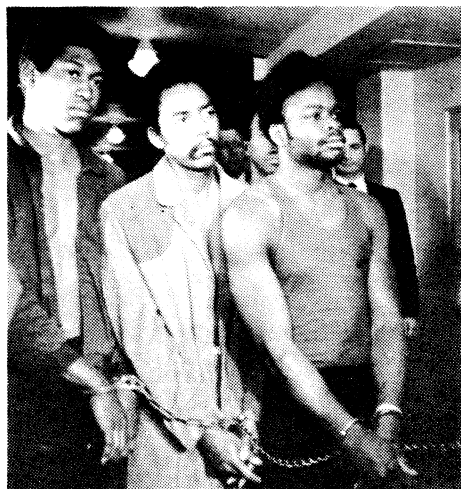
Both Sutherland and Freed were active in a local organization, the Friends of the Black Panthers, which sought to rally opposition to the government's murderous attacks on the Panthers.

They were indicted on the basis of allegations by a police agent that they had asked him to obtain grenades for illegal use by the Panthers. The grenades, which they categorically deny ever requesting, were obtained illegally by the police from a naval station and delivered to Freed's doorstep. He was seized by waiting Los Angeles police before even seeing what was in the package the provocateur had deposited on his doorstep.

Pretrial scrutiny of the "evidence" indicated sufficient illegal police procedure for an appeals court judge to order the indictment quashed. However, the prosecution appealed to the Supreme Court, which reinstated the charge, and a new prosecution was initiated.

At the outset of the new proceedings, defense attorney Luke McKissick advised the judge the defense had obtained additional evidence of illegal acts by various cooperating local and federal police authorities. Then, unexpectedly, on Dec. 1 the prosecution moved to dismiss the charges "in the interests of justice." The judge complied.

Freed, who characterized the frame-up a "part of the drive to exterminate the Panthers," said the prosecution decided to back off because of the extremely damaging character of the new evidence the defense has succeeded in gathering. He said that even though the charges have been dismissed, they intend to make public this information concerning illegal activity of the authorities.



Black Panthers arrested in December 1969 after police raid on Los Angeles headquarters.

Anthropology meeting debates SMC-exposed war complicity

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK—A debate that has raged inside the American Anthropological Association (AAA) for 20 months exploded at the organization's annual meeting here Nov. 18-21. At issue in the controversy was what two of its central figures termed "the symbiosis between anthropology and imperialism"—in particular, complicity in U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia.

The debate first erupted in a major way in late March 1970 when the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC) mailed to the association's committee on ethics copies of documents the SMC had received. The documents, excerpts of which were published in a special issue of the *Student Mobilizer* dated April 2, 1970, showed that 32 social scientists, including many anthropologists, were linked to U.S. counterinsurgency operations in Thailand.

When he received the documents from the SMC, Eric R. Wolf, who was at that time chairman of the ethics committee of the association, wrote requests for explanations to Michael Moerman from the University of California at Los Angeles; Lauriston

ticle when he reviewed it in the Dec. 7, 1970, *Intercontinental Press*.

Myers also noted a weakness in the case presented by the two, although he applauded their fight. He found it "little short of amazing" that the two expressed "regret" at the way they supposed the SMC had obtained the information. Noting that Wolf and Jorgenson neglect to mention in their articles the names of the government's accomplices—even though they had already appeared in the *Student Mobilizer*—Myers commented: "The U.S. government has indeed succeeded in corrupting the social sciences if even scholars like Wolf and Jorgenson believe that the 'right to privacy' of professors engaged in plotting aggression against a people supercedes the right of that people to live in peace."

The entire debate since Wolf made his inquiries has suffered from this same "professional courtesy" of refusing to name names. But in spite of the illogic of trying to divorce the "activities of particular individuals" from the "ever more evident consequences of the symbiosis between anthropology and imperialism," the fight initiated by Wolf and Jorgenson has been very significant.

Hoc Committee's report. David Olmsted, as mentioned earlier, got up to sneer at the SMC.

As a member of Mead's committee, Olmsted had a stake in defaming the source of information that flew in the face of the whitewash report.

The aspersions Olmsted cast on the student antiwar group were answered by Princeton anthropologist Steven A. Barnett, who said: "The documents procured by the *Student Mobilizer* were ethically procured, not unethically procured, and we owe them our thanks" for calling attention to the Thailand activities.

Gerald D. Berreman from the University of California at Berkeley led the floor fight against Mead. He had the troops. The votes on the report, taken section by section, ran from 35 to 75 voting for approval on different sections against 200 to 250 voting for rejection each time.

Mead, who had entered the conference prepared to quarterback her report past the radicals by charging them with "left-wing McCarthyism" and "guilt-by-association" tactics, kept fading back as she saw the opposition lineup. By the end of the conference,



Campus complicity with the war is the target of actions by many SMC chapters, such as this one at the University of Texas in Austin.

Sharp from Cornell University; and other anthropologists revealed by the documents to have played a substantial role in the counterrevolution in Thailand.

Learning of his action, the AAA's executive board responded by attacking not those who had debated their field of science to help forge chains for the people of Thailand, but Eric Wolf! The board accused the ethics committee chairman of acting precipitously and imputing guilt to the criminals without sufficient evidence.

"After all," David Olmsted said with affected sarcasm at the Nov. 18-21 convention, "it must have been true—it was printed in the *Student Mobilizer*!"

Reacting to the board's attack on him, Wolf resigned from the ethics committee. He was joined by another ethics committee member, Joseph G. Jorgenson. The two University of Michigan anthropologists wrote an article after they resigned. Aptly entitled "Anthropology on the Warpath in Thailand," the article appeared in the Nov. 19, 1970, *New York Review of Books*.

Allen Myers, who compiled the original summary of the documents for the *Student Mobilizer*, credited Wolf and Jorgenson with extracting the most damning portions of the documents in their *New York Review* ar-

At the recent convention, the fight was taken up by the overwhelming majority of the 750 anthropologists present. An Ad Hoc Committee to Evaluate the Controversy Concerning Anthropological Activities in Thailand was rebuffed for trying to turn the guilty into the victims. This committee, chaired by Margaret Mead, had issued a report exonerating the war researchers and condemning those who had "denounced their colleagues."

The whitewash report acted as a breaker against which the cresting wave of the membership's indignation came crashing at the four-day New York meeting.

In response to the conclusion of Mead's report that the Thailand counterinsurgency research fell "well within the traditional canons of acceptable behavior for the applied anthropologist," delegates read out portions of the documents. For example, the minutes of one of the Pentagon-sponsored seminars in 1967 involving government officials and social scientists record a natural scientist wondering if social science can answer the question: "Can we find out what effect increasing police density or ear cutting, or other negatives have on village attitudes?"

Besides Mead herself, only one person took the floor to defend the Ad

she was claiming that the executive board forced her into seeking the meeting's stamp of approval for the report.

"You make it clear in your paper," she somewhat disingenuously told a reporter for the *Washington Post*, "that this wasn't intended to be a resolution . . . I just wanted it presented at the meeting, not voted on."

The outcome—the complete rejection of Mead's report, and the condemnation of the Thailand activities—is significant in several respects. It is a measure of the continued deepening of antiwar sentiment in the academic community. Moreover, it capped a discussion set in motion by the SMC, adding to the prestige of the nation's largest student antiwar organization.

Finally—and this is of key importance—it established an example which, if followed by other disciplines in the social sciences, can seriously impair the imperialists' ability to enlist the aid of experts in these fields. As long as the capitalists retain power they will still be able to buy social scientists, but from now on, at least in anthropology, those who are bribed into directly aiding the U.S. government's war policies will risk their professional standing. This puts a crimp in the market open to the Pentagon and further undermines Washington's authority in the eyes of the intellectual community.

People's Party nominates candidates

By ERIC SELL

DALLAS—Two hundred delegates at a Nov. 24-28 convention here voted to form the People's Party and to run a "stand-in" presidential slate of Benjamin Spock, well-known baby doctor, and liberal Washington, D.C., civil rights advocate Julius Hobson. Publicized as the "National Coalition" convention, the gathering attempted to unify the Peace and Freedom Party, the New Party, and other similar formations in one national procapitalist reform party. The biggest delegations came from the California Peace and Freedom Party, the Florida New Party, and from Texas.

The various state and local organizations represented have run liberal or "radical" alternative candidates to those of the Republican and Democratic parties in the 1968 and subsequent elections. As affiliates of the People's Party, they will retain autonomy in state and local affairs but will support the party's national candidates.

Many delegates were confused as to whether they had actually adopted a party platform. Programmatic documents on sexism, racism, labor, foreign policy, and other areas were submitted by workshops to the convention, but not all were actually voted on. A rewriting committee, to meet sometime after the convention, is to work out the party's final platform, using the proposed policies as "general guidelines."

The major political debate at the convention was on the character of the party's presidential slate. A large majority of the delegates favored running "stand-in" candidates who would step down and support more well-known Democratic Party liberals when it becomes clear who will run the Democratic Party nomination.

Many participants expected leading Democrats such as Eugene McCarthy or Shirley Chisholm to leave the Democratic Party and seek the presidency on a fourth-party ticket. Although many such political figures had been approached about accepting the nomination of the new party before the convention, all had refused (including Senator Mike Gravel (D-Alaska), who addressed the convention).

The attempts of the People's Party to throw its support to liberal Democrats raises the question of whether it views its role as simply pressuring Democrats to take a more liberal posture. No relationship was defined, for example, between the People's Party and the Raza Unida parties in the Southwest, and no representatives of these parties were present.

Long discussions of procedural motions and the lack of concrete decisions emerging from the convention discouraged some participants, especially those receiving their first exposure to Peace and Freedom and New Party politics. The final plenary, which was entrusted with making decisions that had earlier been postponed, was attended by only 31 people. They voted to further defer these questions to the party's national steering committee.

Many convention participants were attracted to the literature table set up by Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley. Several endorsed the Socialist Workers Party campaign, seeing it as the only real alternative to capitalist politics on a national scale.

Raza Unida conference in Colorado projects national gathering in spring

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

PUEBLO, Colo.—A regional Raza Unida Party conference held here Nov. 26-28 voted to prepare for a national gathering of Raza Unida Party activists next spring.

The conference was originally projected at the Third Chicano Youth Liberation Conference (held in Denver in June 1971) as a national Raza Unida Party conference. It was later changed, however, into a working conference that would make suggestions to be considered at a future gathering.

Although publicized only a week in advance, several hundred people attended the meeting. Most came from Pueblo, Denver and other Colorado cities, with a scattering of activists from Nebraska, New York, California, New Mexico, and Texas.

Workshops discussed "Politics of the Chicano," "Interpretation of *el Plan Espiritual de Aztlán*," "El congreso de Aztlán," how to attain economic power, and the need for organization and unity. The largest workshop, with 50 to 100 participants at each gathering during the three-day conference, was the one dealing with Chicanos and politics. It was chaired by José Gonzales, a teacher at Tlatelolco School in Denver, and Roberto Hernández of the Union City, Calif., Raza Unida Party. A series of resolutions were approved by the workshop and the conference as recommendations for the national gathering proposed for next spring. Among the most important was a resolution that clearly outlined what relationship the independent Chicano parties should have to the Democratic and Republican parties: "La Raza Unida Party will not support any Republican or Democratic candidate or make any deals or form any coalitions with the two major parties." Another resolution added, "We are not just an independent political party, but an independent party that is fighting the oppressive two-party system." (Emphasis in original.)

Roberto Hernández introduced a section of the Oakland area Raza Unida Party program opposing the war. "La Raza Unida Party supports the right of self-determination of all nations. We are opposed to the interventions of the United States into the internal affairs of any nation. We demand an end to United States support to every oppressive regime from

Mexico to Vietnam:

"A. We demand the release of all political prisoners in Latin America, especially our brothers in Mexico.

"B. Free Puerto Rico.

"C. Immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia."

In addition, the workshop proposals urged the establishment of Raza Unida Party newsletters on the local level with the eventual aim of having a national newsletter or newspaper. The Colorado Raza Unida Party distributed a regional newsletter, *Pochteca*, which is now being published bi-monthly.

A highlight of the gathering was the keynote speech by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, chairman of the Crusade for Justice in Denver. Gonzales stressed the importance of educating the Chicano people through Raza Unida campaigns. Referring to the two-party system, he stated, "You can't ask those who gave us the disease to cure us." He cited the recent Raul Ruiz campaign in the 48th Assembly District in Los Angeles, explaining that it was the votes received by the Raza Unida Party that defeated the *vendido* Democrat Alatorre. While pointing out that in certain areas such as Texas, or even southern Colorado, the Raza Unida Party could elect people to office, Gonzales stated that "winning is not necessarily winning a seat. It's educating our people. . . ."

Gonzales told the audience that in 1960 he had been the chairman of the Viva Kennedy Committee in Colorado. He then added that you "can't point to one thing that the Kennedys did for us." Gonzales attacked the war in Vietnam as a "war of the exploiters." He also criticized the role of the Church, stating that the Mexican revolutionaries were anticlerical. "Along came the priest," he said, and before you know it, "the revolution goes down the drain, and the people are on their knees."

Gonzales continued, "There is a revolution going on in this world. If we don't become a part of the revolutionary struggle in this world, of the struggle in the Latin American nations, then we will be part of the most-hated people in this world." He ended his presentation with a call for a national Raza Unida planning conference to discuss a possible national ticket and platform.

Another featured speaker at the con-

ference was Mario Compean, state chairman of the Texas Raza Unida Party. Compean assessed the possibilities of forming a national Raza Unida Party. He pointed to some of the difficulties involved in organizing statewide in Texas, and then said, "I don't know if a national party is a good thing right now, but it is good to discuss it." Compean explained that building a statewide party required careful organization and the work of many people. "I don't think that a few individuals with names will bring the party about." He then stressed the importance of better communication in order to achieve a working unity, using as an example the fact that the Texas Raza Unida Party did not hear about the Pueblo gathering until a few days before it began.

A negative aspect of the conference was the censoring of literature by conference organizer Martin Serna, who also headed the Brown Beret security force. A Chicano Muslim distributing copies of *Muhammad Speaks* was stopped by the Brown Berets and his papers were thrown away. A literature table set up by Raza members of the Young Socialist Alliance, which displayed pamphlets on the Raza Unida Party and the Chicano movement

along with socialist literature, was likewise closed down. In addition, copies of *The Militant*, featuring an interview with Texas Raza Unida Party leader Mario Compean, were banned from the gathering by Serna and the Berets. Many participants, however, requested and received copies of *The Militant* from the Young Socialists present, and several subscriptions were sold.

Patricia Gómez, 1970 Colorado Raza Unida Party candidate for the state legislature and a community leader in Pueblo, reacted by angrily telling the head of the Brown Beret security force, "No one is going to tell me what I can or can't read. I'm going to read whatever I want." Tito Lucero of the Oakland Raza Unida Party also condemned the censorship, calling it "fascistic."

While the conference did not take any specific action on the question, many participants expressed concern, viewing censorship as dangerous to a free and democratic discussion of differing views within the movement. But Serna, who was wearing a button of the martyred revolutionary Marxist Che Guevara, stated flatly, "We don't want any socialist literature here."

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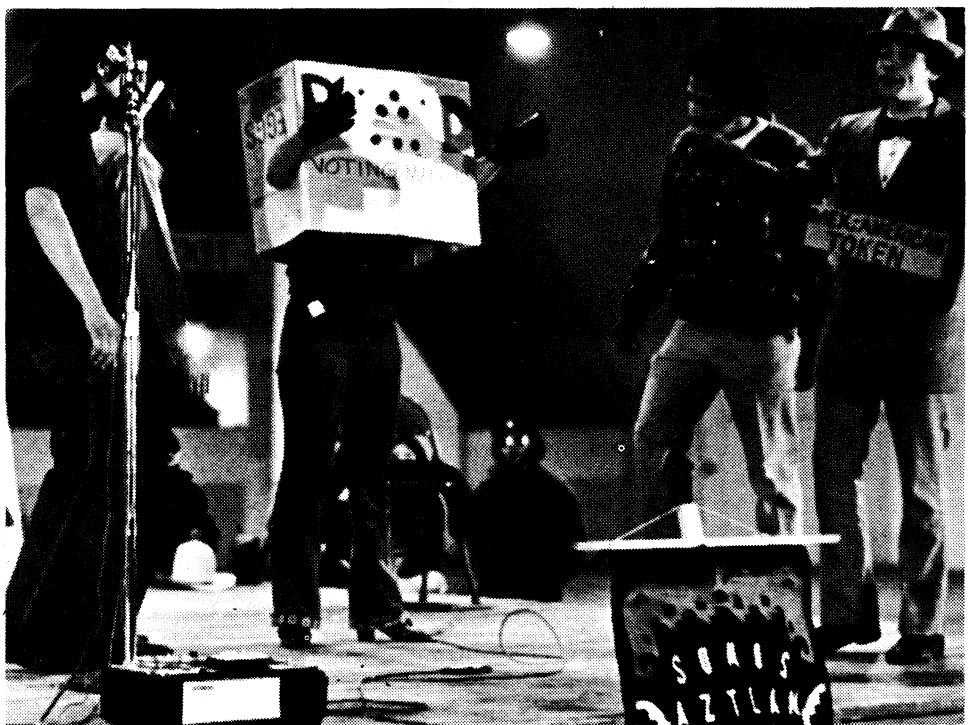


Photo by Suzanne Camejo

El Teatro Popular de la Vida O Muerte performs skit on independent Chicano political action at Denver Chicano Conference, March 25-29, 1970.

National Youth Caucus eyes new voters

By TOM VERNIER

CHICAGO, Dec. 5—Three thousand young people from all over the country came here to Loyola University this weekend to attend the Emergency Conference of New Voters. The conference formed the National Youth Caucus, which hopes to represent and organize American youth in the 1972 elections.

According to a statement of purpose adopted by the conference participants, "Our preferences may differ on candidates, on parties, on the particulars of national issues, but we are of one mind on the overriding purpose of this conference—to claim a share of the power in the American political system—power not for ourselves but for what we believe in."

The statement listed the following goals: an immediate end to the war in Southeast Asia; a massive reordering of national priorities to attack hunger, poverty and environmental decay; an adequate income and job for every American; and an end to the administration of Richard Nixon.

Although the organizers of the con-

ference claimed they "belong to no candidate and no party," they refused to allow Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, to speak to the delegates. The speaker's list, which was never submitted to a vote, included Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.); Congressman Pete McCloskey (R-Calif.); Congressman Donald Riegle (R-Mich.); Senator Alan Cranston (D-Calif.); Julian Bond, Democratic legislator from Georgia; Allard Lowenstein, former Democratic congressman from New York; Daniel Ellsberg; and Jesse Jackson.

Representatives from the Socialist Workers Party, the newly formed People's Party, the Raza Unida parties, and the Communist Party were neither invited nor permitted to speak.

One point repeatedly stressed throughout the conference was that the proceedings were an encouraging expression of unity among Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, women, and other American youth. This optimistic claim was refuted, however, by the

fact that the Black caucus and the Chicano and Puerto Rican caucus, formed at the beginning of the conference, walked out on Saturday. The caucuses demanded that the National Youth Caucus be united around more than the general concept of "Dump Nixon." As one representative of the Black Caucus pointed out, "Our oppression did not begin four years ago."

The negative reaction of the delegates and the conference organizers to their demands forced the Black caucus and the Chicano and Puerto Rican caucus to withdraw their support for the National Youth Caucus. Although the conference ultimately adopted most of their demands, these caucuses never formally returned to the conference. They voted instead to call a Third World Youth Conference in February.

The results of the conference were varied. The leading capitalist candidates probably recruited hundreds of people to work for their campaigns. The lack of democracy in the proceedings (at one point Duane Draper,

president of the Association of Student Governments and one of the conference organizers, commented, "Obviously we have too many people here to make a decision in a real democratic way") gave many people their first lesson in capitalist party politics and a glimpse at how effective their efforts to reform the Democratic Party will be.

Finally, many of the delegates heard for the first time about the campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley for president and vice-president, the socialist alternative in the 1972 elections.

The reaction to the SWP campaign was favorable, although many people said they were going to give the system one more chance by working for a Democratic candidate. Literally hundreds of delegates who stopped at the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley table expressed agreement with the platform of the SWP campaign. And a number of them indicated a willingness to work on the campaign.

The following is the text of a flyer issued by the Young Socialist Alliance as part of its campaign to build the eleventh national YSA convention, to be held in Houston, Texas, Dec. 28-Jan. 1. Eighty-thousand copies have been printed and are being distributed. It can be ordered in large quantities by filling out the coupon on the next page.

The past decade has seen an ever broadening radicalization that has left no aspect of American society untouched. Millions of students and other young people today are disgusted and outraged by the wars, racism, sexism, poverty, oppression, and exploitation of American society and are beginning to take action against them.

Increasing numbers realize that the U.S. government does not represent us but in fact—as the Pentagon Papers proved—consciously, deliberately lies to us on a regular basis while carrying out policies the American people oppose but have no control over. The Attica massacre brought home the absolute contempt this government, a government based first and foremost on the preservation of private property, has for human life. Nixon's wage freeze and Phase II controls, which have cost working people billions of dollars while the big corporations reap ever-greater profits, showed again the government's dedication to serving and defending big business.

Not only are today's youth opposed to the inhuman and oppressive conditions of this society—we are actively building massive social movements to bring about changes.

We do not believe that war is "just part of human nature" and therefore unavoidable. We do not believe that destruction of the environment is an inevitable result of technological progress. We do not believe that millions of people must live in poverty so that a tiny handful can enjoy unimaginable wealth. In short, we do not accept the status quo as unchangeable, and we believe society could and should be reorganized to put human needs, not profits, first.

The 1972 election campaigns, which have already begun, take place in the context of this deep-going radicalization. The Democratic and Republican party politicians are particularly worried about the impact of 25 million new young voters, 42 percent of whom are registering as "independent" rather than as Democratic or Republican. They realize that the passage of the 26th Amendment enfranchised millions of the men and women who have been most active in the independent mass movements, and they will be feverishly trying to corral the youth vote into "safe," "constructive" electoral activity—ringing doorbells for the tweedledee and tweedledum candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties.

The Young Socialist Alliance—the largest radical youth organization in the U.S.—has played an active and leading role in the antiwar movement, the women's liberation movement and the current campaign for repeal of all anti-abortion laws, and the struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities for self-determination. And we plan to play a major role in determining how radical youth will participate in the 1972 elections.

The upcoming Eleventh Young Socialist National Convention—to be held in Houston, Texas, December 28 through January 1—will map out the YSA's strategy for the coming year in the different mass movements and in the 1972 elections.

What is the YSA?

The Young Socialist Alliance is a revolutionary socialist organization of Black, Brown, Asian-American, Native American, and white youth. Our purpose is the building of a revolutionary movement that can lead the transformation of society and the construction of socialism. We want to create an alternative to the decay and misery we see around us, and we know such an alternative is possible.

It is the irrationality of capitalism that produces poverty, exploitation, wars of aggression, the poisoning

of our environment, the oppression of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans, the subjugation and degradation of women, and the distortion of all human relationships. The YSA's basic program of opposition to this capitalist system can be defined by a few fundamental points.

The YSA's perspective is above all international and based upon the interests of the world socialist revolution. We work in solidarity with revolutionary socialist organizations all over the world.

The YSA supports the Cuban, Indochinese, Arab, and Irish revolutions, the main inspirations for the world socialist revolution. The Vietnamese revolution is an example to people struggling around the world that a small colonial nation can resist the military might of U.S. imperialism. The struggle for Palestinian self-determination is in the vanguard of the Arab revolution in its fight against imperialism and Zionism.

The YSA supports the struggle for full socialist democracy in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and China. These workers states have succeeded in abolishing capitalism and must be supported against world imperialism. But, before socialism can become a reality, a political revolution will be necessary to overthrow the totalitarian regimes, run by privileged bureaucrats, that are in power in these countries.

In order for socialism to actually exist in the fullest sense of the word, capitalism will have to be destroyed on a world scale. Genuine socialism means a thoroughly democratic society with abundance for all and the elimination of privileges for a few.

The YSA holds the perspective of a working-class revolution in the United States and the other advanced capitalist countries. The mass upsurge of 11,000,000 French workers in May-June 1968 demonstrated that this goal is realistic. The American working class is the most powerful in history, but for the last 25 years it has not been involved in major confrontations with the government, largely because of the U.S. capitalists' ability to grant a steadily rising standard of living.

However, Nixon's wage freeze marked the opening of a concerted drive on the part of the U.S. capitalists to lower the real wages of the working class. We are confident that the sharpening struggle in defense of their real wages, combined with the effect of the existing social movements, will lead to the politicization and radicalization of the working class. Young working people—women, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, whites—will lead the American socialist revolution.

The YSA supports and is deeply involved in today's social movements, which presently draw most of their activists and leaders from high school and college students—the most radicalized sector of the population at this time. These movements—from the antiwar movement to the gay liberation movement to the struggle in the prisons—have a profoundly anticapitalist thrust. The YSA fully supports the demands raised by these movements, and we will continue to build them up to, during, and even after the socialist revolution.

Young Socialist national convention

The culmination of all the YSA's work this fall will be the Eleventh Young Socialist National Convention, to be held in Houston at the end of the year.

The annual convention of the YSA is its highest decision-making body. At the convention questions about the character, policies, political line, and strategy of the YSA will be discussed and decided by delegates elected by local YSA chapters across the country. The delegates will also elect a new national leadership for the YSA.

The convention is preceded by three months of written discussion. The outgoing national leadership has drafted six resolutions on various areas of the YSA's activity, to be presented to the convention for discussion and vote. Every member of the YSA is free to contribute articles, criticisms, suggestions, or counter-resolutions to the written discussion bulletins. After thorough oral discussion in the locals, delegates are elected on the basis of their positions on the resolutions.

In addition to the plenary sessions of the convention there will be workshops, panels, and rallies, all dealing with various aspects of the current radicalization.

A central aspect of the convention will be the 1972 elections, which will be the center of American politics for the coming year. Among those attending the Houston convention will be the Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. One full evening of the convention has been set aside for a socialist campaign rally, with both candidates as featured speakers. It promises to be the largest socialist campaign rally the South has ever seen and will be one of the most exciting highlights of the convention.

At the convention Young Socialist supporters of the Jenness-Pulley campaign will map out their activities and decide on how best to take the ideas of the campaign to millions of people in 1972.

Another exciting aspect of the convention will be the international participation. Invitations have been sent to revolutionary organizations around the world to

You socialist stra for '7



Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley law repeal demonstrations in Washington (above), as well as Nov. 6 antiwar protest in New York City. Country will be attending young socialist



Photo by Jeanne Percepe

Young Socialist Strategy 72



helped build Nov. 20 abortion
ton, D.C., and San Francisco
tests. YSJPers from across the
list convention in Houston

Photo by Ron Payne



Photo by Ron Payne

SMC banner in Chicano Moratorium demonstration
in Oakland July 26, 1970. The YSA actively par-
ticipates in SMC.

send representatives to observe the convention and re-
port on the movements and struggles in their own
countries. Confirmation has already been received that
revolutionaries from India, Australia, Japan, New Zea-
land, Canada, England, and several other European
countries will attend.

This will be the first Young Socialist National Con-
vention ever held in the South, and all indications are
that it will be the largest gathering of revolutionary
youth in the U. S. in the last 25 years.

Holding a convention in Houston has a special sig-
nificance for the YSA. For years a number of small,
secretive right-wing groups that maintain good relations
with the police were able to carry out terrorist activities
ranging from making threatening phone calls and slash-
ing tires to bombing cars, burning and shooting into
homes and offices, etc. Any person or organization in
Houston that stood up to protest any aspect of the
status quo immediately became a prime target for these
terrorists.

On March 12 of this year the Houston headquarters
of the YSA and Socialist Workers Party was severely
damaged by a pipe bomb. We immediately contacted
a wide variety of other groups that would defend our
right to exist. A campaign was initiated to pressure
the city administration to take action against the terror-
ists. Alarmed by this beginning of public opposition to
their activities, the terrorists responded by machine-
gunning our headquarters on May 14.

Nevertheless, the defense campaign continued, with
press conferences, protest meetings, and public testi-
mony before the City Council. The campaign has been
successful in forcing a grand jury investigation of the
terrorism, which resulted in the indictment of several
members of the Ku Klux Klan for the bombing of the
SWP headquarters and for other attacks.

The KKK—probably the most widely known sym-
bol throughout the world of racist reaction in the U. S.—
no longer has a free reign to terrorize people in the
South, and holding a convention of 2,000 Young So-
cialists in Houston will deal further blows to the Klan
and decisively prove that history stands on the side of
revolutionaries.

To be discussed at the convention

• 1972 ELECTIONS

The YSA supports the election campaign of the So-
cialist Workers Party, and is actively building the Young
Socialists for Jenness and Pulley campaign groups.
Unlike the Young Democrats and Young Republicans,
Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley are campaign-
ing to build the independent mass movements. The
campaign is a means of explaining revolutionary ideas
to millions of people who still have illusions about the
possibilities of bringing about fundamental change
through capitalist elections.

In addition, the SWP campaign provides an example
in action for the labor and Black movements of how to
carry out *independent* electoral activity, not subordinat-
ing the mass movements to the Democratic or Republi-
can parties.

• WOMEN'S LIBERATION

The YSA actively supports the women's liberation
movement. The oldest form of oppression in class so-
ciety is the oppression of women. The rise of the wom-
en's liberation movement today fundamentally chal-
lenges all of the institutions of capitalist society, in-
cluding the nuclear family. Women are struggling to
gain control over their lives by fighting for the repeal
of all anti-abortion laws, equal pay for equal work,
24-hour childcare centers, women's history courses, pas-
sage of the Equal Rights Amendment, and in general

for the recognition of women as full human beings.

Through mass demonstrations like August 26, 1970,
and the November 20 March on Washington, women
are demanding that the government listen to them.
More and more women are seeing through the hypoc-
risy of a government that speaks of the sanctity of hu-
man life in the unborn fetus, yet eagerly slaughters the
people of Southeast Asia and the prisoners at Attica.

• THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

The YSA has been involved in the antiwar movement
from its inception and has worked actively to build
demonstrations for the immediate withdrawal of U. S.
troops from Southeast Asia. We support and build the
Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), the national
antiwar organization of high school and college stu-
dents. The SMC has consistently worked to uphold
the principles of mass action, immediate withdrawal,
non-exclusion, and democratic decision-making in the
antiwar movement and to mobilize the greatest num-
bers of students in antiwar actions. The YSA has played
an important role in mobilizing youth of oppressed na-
tionalities in the struggle against the war by building
the Chicano Moratorium and Black Moratorium Com-
mittees.

The YSA also works to build antiwar coalitions, such
as the National Peace Action Coalition, on a principled
revolutionary basis, uniting with others on the agree-
ment to organize mass actions against the war.

• NATIONALIST STRUGGLES

The YSA supports the struggles for self-determination
of the African-American, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and
Native American peoples. These oppressed nationalities
make up the most exploited sections of the U. S. popu-
lation, suffering a dual class and national oppression.
Fighting that oppression, they will be in the vanguard
of the American socialist revolution. We believe that
the formation of independent political parties, like La
Raza Unida Party, is key in the development of these
struggles for national self-determination. We support
La Raza Unida Party and we call for the formation of
an independent Black political party. Such a party, un-
like the Democratic and Republican parties, will be
responsible to the Black community and will work in
its interests.

• YSA STRATEGY IN THE SCHOOLS

The explosion on the campuses in May 1970, fol-
lowing the invasion of Cambodia and the murder of
students at Kent State and Jackson State, was a living
example of the political strategy put forward by the
Young Socialist Alliance on the campuses and in the
high schools.

During the May events, students gained a new sense
of their power and constructed new forms of struggle.
Millions were mobilized in the largest student strike in
history. Schools were transformed into antiwar uni-
versities and used to reach out to involve other sectors
of the population in united mass action against the war.
The May upsurge showed how students can maximize
their power by using the campus as a base to join
with broader layers of the American people in mass
struggles.

The YSA's main area of activity is on the campuses
and in the high schools, where the opportunities to
participate in and lead mass actions are the greatest.
In the last few years high school students have come
to the fore in all the mass movements. In doing so they
have had to fight against the special restrictions they
face as high school students. At this convention, for the
first time in the history of the YSA, there will be a high
school resolution and a major report to the convention
on the high school movement.

Come to the young socialist nat'l convention

- () I would like more information about the YSA and the convention.
- () I'm coming -- send me material to help build the convention.
- () Enclosed is \$1.50 for a set of the six convention resolutions.
- () Enclosed is \$ for copies of the brochure on the YSA. (two cents each up to 2,000; one cent each for more than 2,000)

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
TELEPHONE _____

Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Sta-
tion, N. Y., N. Y., 10003/Young Socialist Con-
vention Center, 6409 Lyons Ave., Houston, Texas
77020. Tel. (713) 674-0612.

'72 Socialist Campaign

The Denver Post, in a Nov. 9 editorial, concedes that "the marchers (in Denver's Nov. 6 antiwar protest) represented a wide spectrum of Colorado citizenry," but expresses concern about speakers at the rally who "didn't seem to know where the action really is in the matter of ending American participation in the war: in Congress."

"For instance," the editorial continues, "Joan Fulks, a Socialist Workers Party leader and one of the march organizers, told the crowd that, 'Real power is in mass action in the streets. We intend to keep in the streets until the war has ended.'"

The Post feels that Congress would have been "more impressed if they had received 5,000 or more letters from the people who marched. . . . That is a most potent and sophisticated way to make a political point."

The Nov. 17 issue carried a lengthy reply by Fulks, who is the SWP 1972 candidate for U. S. Senate from Colorado:

"Although letter writing may be a more 'sophisticated' form of protest it is not the way to end the war in Indochina. . . . People in the antiwar majority know this and turned out in Denver on Nov. 6 in the largest antiwar demonstration ever in Denver, to demand an immediate end to the war."

"Women didn't get the vote by writing letters—they marched. Blacks didn't win victories in the civil rights movement by writing letters. And that is not how the war will be ended. It is through massive, united and visible opposition to the war that we will force Nixon to end that war."

"Letters are weighed pro and con on scales and dumped into a wastebasket. The antiwar movement is growing and drawing in new layers of the population. . . . You said that our demonstration was loud. Next time it will be louder, demanding OUT NOW until every last person is back from Vietnam."

The Daily Californian, student newspaper at the University of California in Berkeley, endorsed Brenda Brdar, one of thirteen young socialist candidates who ran for office in the Nov. 17-19 Berkeley ASUC (Associated Students of the University of California) Senate elections.

A Nov. 18 editorial described Brdar as having "an outstanding record of activity in women's liberation."



Brenda Brdar

The Nov. 19-25 Berkeley Barb quotes Andrew Pulley on the relationship between the feminist and Black nationalist struggles:

"The demands raised by women's liberation do not attack anyone but the oppressor. There are more Black women who die of illegal abortions than any other (women); to end this is the aim of every woman in the country, Black and white. Nothing can be racist that is in the interest of the oppressed people."

"The aim of Black and women's liberation is in the end the same, the elimination of the right of the oppressor to rule this country. The only people who feel antagonistic to that are people with some kind of 'ism,' either white racism, or plain old sexism."

"Anyone who is serious about achieving their own liberation never complains about allies in the struggle to defeat the oppressor."

According to the Dec. 8 Advocate (a Los Angeles-based gay newspaper), Democratic hopeful Senator Edmund Muskie, when recently asked by a member of New York Gay Activists Alliance, "What do you think of equal rights for homosexuals?" replied, "I haven't thought about them."

The following are excerpts from a letter an inmate at Graterford State Correctional Institution in Pennsylvania recently wrote to Linda Jenness:

"I was reading through The Militant paper that a friend in society sent to me, and I saw the rally of Nov. 6 where you expressed your feeling very well. . . . I hope like hell after reading what you (said) that you make it all the way to the top. Because you really know how to run it the way it is. . . ."

"Can you let me know if there is any way I can get The Militant weekly. Because we need that kind of newspaper here at Graterford because the paper is very much on time. . . ."

An interview with SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley appeared in the Oct. 16 Houston Post. Reporter Phil Hevener writes:

"He is only 20 but he is a long way from Greenwood, Miss., where he spent the first 12 years of his life."

"Andrew Pulley was born in Greenwood as the oldest of nine children. It was an area of traditional Southern attitudes between blacks and whites."

"And there wasn't much in his early years to point toward the road he would later take. His mother did day work. His father was a school teacher. Now Pulley is a candidate for vice-president of the United States on the Socialist Workers Party ticket and was in Houston Friday to spread the word. . . ."

"All in all, his party's platform is as big and wide as Pulley's own broad shoulders. And he is carrying it throughout the country in speeches before all sorts of groups in all sorts of cities," the article concludes.

— STEVE BEREN

SWP announces three state and local election campaigns

Texas

By PAUL McKNIGHT

HOUSTON—At a statewide Socialist Educational Conference held here Nov. 26-27 Debby Leonard, recent Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston, announced she will run for governor of Texas on the SWP ticket. Mike Alewitz, a 20-year-old antiwar leader at the University of Texas in Austin, also launched his campaign as SWP candidate for lieutenant governor. This will be the first time in many years that a socialist campaign has fought for ballot status in the state of Texas.

The SWP's recent mayoral campaign set a precedent for democratic election laws in Houston. A suit filed by SWP candidates resulted in a federal court decision that removed from the election code the property requirements, filing fees, and a five-year residency requirement for candidates. A court injunction against the enforcement of Texas' loyalty oath for candidates was also granted.

Leonard and Alewitz expressed sol-

member Warren Widener was elected mayor of Berkeley last spring. It has remained vacant for the past seven months while the City Council's "radical" April Coalition members and more conservative members dispute whom to appoint.

Twelve openly declared candidates have been lobbying for the City Council's endorsement, but Winch is the first candidate to call for a city election to fill the vacancy. Scoring the behind-the-scenes maneuvering of the City Council, she pointed out that "this crucial seat should not be decided by back room deals in the council, but in a democratic way by voters."

Illinois

By BOB LEWIS

CHICAGO—The Illinois Socialist Workers Party launched its statewide campaign at a rally during the Nov. 26-27 Midwest Socialist Educational Conference. Fred Halstead, the 1968 SWP candidate for president and vet-



Photo by Scott Apton

Fred Halstead addressing Nov. 6 antiwar rally in Chicago.

idarity with the Texas Raza Unida Party, which has also announced plans to run a statewide campaign in 1972 and intends to fight for ballot status.

Berkeley

By FRED FELDMAN

BERKELEY—University of California (Berkeley) student senate member Marilyn Winch announced on Nov. 23 her intention to run as SWP candidate for the vacant ninth seat on the Berkeley City Council. Winch, UC Berkeley coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, was elected to the Associated Students of the University of California Senate in April 1971 on a Young Socialist ticket.

The ninth seat on the Berkeley City Council became vacant when council

eran antiwar leader, announced his candidacy for U. S. Senate. The SWP slate also includes Pat Grogan, former staff member of the National Peace Action Coalition, for governor; Antonio DeLeon, coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee Latin Task Force, for lieutenant governor; Ed Jurenas, former activist in the GI antiwar movement, for secretary of state; and Suzanne Haig, staff coordinator of the Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition, for attorney general.

Three candidates were also announced for University of Illinois Board of Trustees—Bill Rayson, Patty Reedy, and Jackie Shaffer. Rayson is chairman of the U of I Student Mobilization Committee and a member of the U of I Student Assembly. Reedy has been active in the U of I campus women's liberation movement. Shaffer is a well-known high school activist and chairman of the Marshall High School Black Student Union.

Pulley Colo. tour nets wide coverage

By SKIP BALL

DENVER, Dec. 5—Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate, began his campaign tour of Colorado with a news conference at Denver's Stapleton Airport Nov. 29. The *Denver Post* and *The Rocky Mountain News* sent reporters to cover Pulley's arrival and carried articles about his tour. Both papers printed large photos of Pulley, one with a caption that read, "War Still Main Issue." Two TV stations also covered the news conference and several radio stations played statements by Pulley.

On Dec. 1, Pulley addressed 150 University of Colorado students in Boulder. Several Black students endorsed the Jenness-Pulley campaign and took a stack of endorser cards with them to sign up other members of the Black Student Alliance. The same day, Pulley was well received at Boulder High School, where he addressed several classes.

At Denver's East High School, Pulley spoke to five different classes, totaling more than 500 predominantly Black and Chicano students. He told the students, "There is as much difference between the Democratic and Republican parties as there is between San Quentin and Soledad."

He was also able to talk to GIs at Fort Carson in Colorado Springs, where he was escorted around the base by a special detachment of Military Police. Apparently a sympathetic guard at the gate led his lieutenant to believe that the vice-president, rather than the socialist vice-presidential candidate, was at the gate.

Pulley completed his Colorado tour at a Dec. 3 banquet held in his honor, speaking to 80 people on "The Next Step for Black America." The banquet was part of the three-day Rocky Mountain States Socialist Educational Conference, which also featured SWP national campaign speakers Evelyn Reed and George Novack.

Wrap-up articles on Pulley's campaigning in Colorado appeared in the *Denver Post* and the *Colorado Daily*, the University of Colorado paper. The

Daily had also carried an editorial urging students to attend his campus meeting.

Jenness touring New England

By KAREN CRAWFORD

BOSTON, Dec. 3—Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, spoke to 200 students at the University of New Hampshire in Durham Dec. 1. Her tour of the New England region follows closely on the heels of tours by Senators McGovern and Muskie.

A few weeks before Jenness spoke at UNH, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley supporters distributed a leaflet giving Senator McGovern's actual record on issues. This provoked four leaders of the Students for McGovern to start a debate with the YSJP supporters in the campus paper, *The New Hampshire*. The exchange of views lasted several days and provided wide publicity for the Jenness-Pulley campaign.

During the meeting at UNH, Jenness told the audience, "You ought to know who you can trust me more than any politician. McGovern and the others will come to you now that you can vote for the first time and say, 'Vote for me, I'll solve all your problems for you.' We say, build your own movement to fight to solve your own problems. We'll do everything we can to support you."

The students were very receptive to Jenness' criticism of the liberal presidential hopefuls' misrepresentations of their past records and future intentions. "Those two parties support the status quo. You'll betray everything you stand for if you vote for them," she said. "To vote for them is to sell out not only your own movement, but everybody else's movement as well."

WENH-TV filmed Jenness' meeting for a half-hour color feature to appear later in the winter.

On Dec. 2 at Stonehill College, a small Catholic campus near Boston, 90 students heard Jenness give the kick-off speech for the college homecoming week activities.

Another highlight of Jenness' first

week of campaigning in the Boston area was a special women's meeting at Boston University. About 60 women met with Jenness to discuss the role of feminists in the 1972 elections. At a party following this meeting, local feminist singer Joy Andrews entertained the enthusiastic crowd.

Perhaps the most spirited meeting of the tour was at Weeks Junior High School, where Jenness addressed 150 students. An article in the school newspaper, *Iskra*, on the Jenness-Pulley campaign was well received.

Jenness also campaigned at Tufts University, Boston College, and addressed an assembly of the student body at Cohasset High School. Media coverage included articles by Associated Press and UPI, an appearance on "New England Today," Channel 7's in-depth noontime news program, and coverage on local radio and TV stations. Jenness was also interviewed by the *Boston Globe*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and a representative of *Universidad*, newspaper of the University of Costa Rica.

A campus news conference resulted in articles in the major campus press in Boston, including the *Harvard Crimson*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology's *Thursday*, and Boston University's *Daily Free Press* and *The News*.

Jenness' tour in New England continues with meetings planned at numerous college campuses and at Norfolk State Prison, where the SWP campaign has already been endorsed by 27 inmates.

Endorser drive pushes ahead

By LAURA MILLER

Twelve hundred people in 39 states have joined the Socialist Workers Party 1972 campaign by signing up as endorsers of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley for president and vice-president. Most endorsed the SWP ticket after hearing one of the candidates speak on national tours this fall. The campaign endorsements are being obtained by campaign supporters around the country as part of a nationwide drive to obtain 5,000 endorsers by the time of the Young Socialist Alliance national convention in Houston, Texas, Dec. 28-Jan. 1.

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley lead the five categories of endorsers, with 485 signed up so far. The remainder of the 1,200 endorsers are comprised of Women for Jenness and Pulley, African-Americans for Jenness and Pulley, Chicanos for Jenness and Pulley and a general category of campaign endorsers. All endorsed the SWP 1972 campaign as a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

Twenty-nine of the new supporters of the socialist campaign are prisoners.

The three top state campaign committees in the drive are California, Ohio and Pennsylvania, which have collected 177, 130 and 127 endorsers respectively. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley on campuses and in high schools across the country are working toward the goal of 5,000 by organizing student activists in the antiwar, women's liberation, abortion law repeal, Black, Chicano and gay movements to endorse the campaign.

The number of campaign endorsers

is already more than double the amount collected in the first five months of the SWP 1968 campaign, an indication of both the widespread discontent with the two-party system and the big scope of this year's socialist campaign. Press coverage received for the campaign is fast approaching the total amount gained during the entire 1968 campaign, with almost a year still to go.

All campaign supporters are encouraged by the national campaign committee to participate in obtaining endorsers for the drive. For a free packet of endorser-drive materials, or for more information about the Jenness-Pulley campaign, write to: Socialist Workers 1972 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003 Phone (212) 260-4150.

YSJP organizes tour in Midwest

Tom Vernier, recently named national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, has been organizing YSJP groups on campuses and high schools in the Midwest. Vernier's first stops included meetings at the University of Wisconsin at Madison and with Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters in Milwaukee.

On Nov. 30, Vernier addressed more than 100 students at Niles East High School in Skokie, Ill. Many who heard him signed up to support the campaign. He also gathered support for the SWP ticket at Northwestern University in Evanston, the Univer-

Florida readers!

In December, the Florida Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley will be collecting signatures to put the candidates on the Florida ballot. Want to help? Clip and mail this coupon to YSJP, P. O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604.

() Send me petition blanks and instructions.

() I can house petitioner(s) for a few days.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

Organization _____

Phone _____

sity of Illinois Circle Campus and the University of Chicago.

Vernier was one of the featured speakers at the Nov. 26-28 Socialist Educational Conference sponsored by the Chicago Young Socialist Alliance, and appeared on a local radio talk show with Ed Jurenas, SWP candidate for secretary of state from Illinois.

Vernier is now in Florida helping with the drive to collect the 27,000 valid signatures needed to put the Jenness-Pulley ticket on the ballot. While in Florida, he will also speak on campuses and high schools, getting additional support for the SWP campaign.

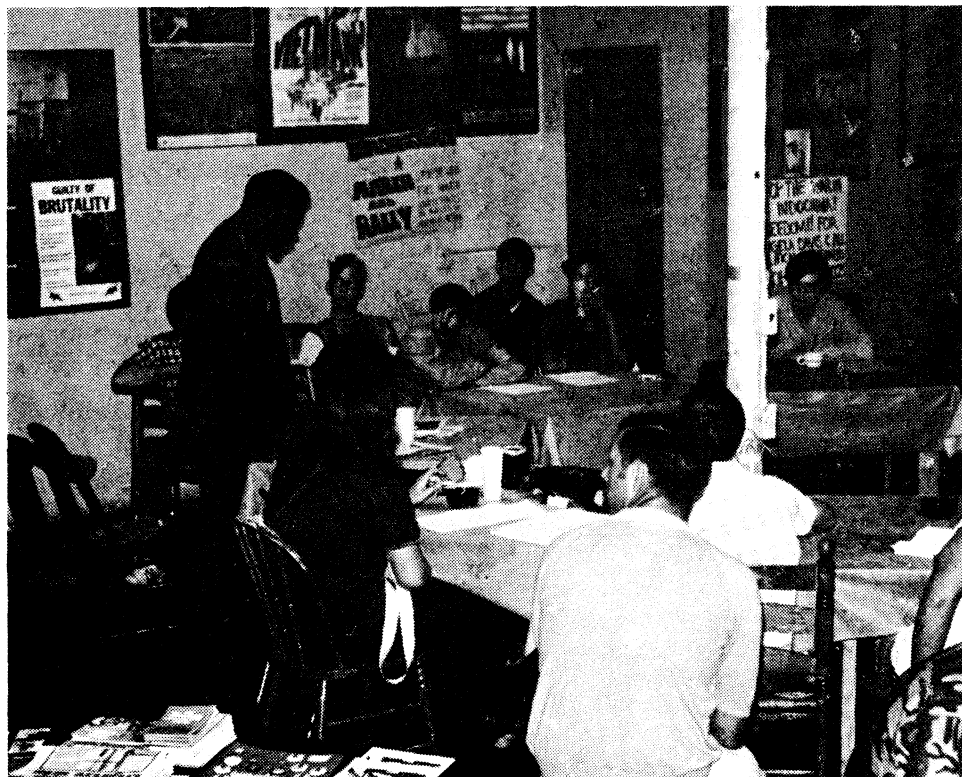


Photo by Greg Cole

Andrew Pulley addressing meeting of Ft. Hood United Front at Oleo Strut coffeeshouse Oct. 17.

The following article is based on excerpts from a talk entitled "The Economic Crisis and the Wage Freeze," given by Milton Alvin, a National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, at the Militant Labor Forum in Los Angeles, Oct. 15.

By MILTON ALVIN

In order to understand the nature of the present economic crisis we must go back to World War II and, especially, to the results of that war.

When the war ended, the United States emerged as the only solvent nation in the capitalist world, vastly enriched and powerful. All the others, both America's allies and its defeated enemies, were virtually bankrupt. They were hardly able, on their own, to avoid complete chaos.

The fear of revolution, throughout Europe especially, compelled the United States government to embark upon a huge foreign aid program designed to bolster the economies of the West European countries, Japan, and some others. Billions of dollars were poured into these countries to stabilize their economies and strengthen the political parties that defended the capitalist system.

The efforts of America's rulers were supplemented by those of various Communist parties whose leaders, such as Thorez in France and Togliatti in Italy, entered capitalist governments. By channeling the militant working-class upsurges into support for capitalist reconstruction the Soviet Union hoped to extend indefinitely the wartime alliance with the Allied Powers.

The combined efforts of the Communist parties and the American imperialist victors succeeded.

After rebuilding their economies and satisfying their internal markets, the industrialists of Western Europe and Japan naturally turned to exporting all over the world, thus becoming strong competitors of U. S. capitalism. And this is the source of the present problem facing the U. S. The capitalist nations the U. S. rulers saved from revolution 25 years ago, especially Germany and Japan, have flooded the world market, even the U. S. market, with everything from automobiles and hi-fi equipment to ping-pong balls and tooth picks, which they offer at lower prices than their erstwhile American benefactors.

The urgency of the problem for American capitalism is revealed in the huge balance of trade deficit this year—the first since 1893.

In order to correct this imbalance, the Nixon administration has launched a two-front attack, one on its foreign competitors and the other on the American workers.

Foreign concerns exporting goods to the United States now have to pay a 10 percent import tax in addition to any other duties, and have been forced to revalue their currencies making their goods less competitive. Nixon has also introduced certain relief measures for American big business, such as easier depreciation write-offs and income tax breaks—based on the "theory" that bigger profits mean more jobs.

War spending

But the major cause of the U. S. economic crisis is not mentioned by Nixon. That is the unrestrained war spending, totaling tens of billions every year, which has risen spectacularly since the large-scale intervention in Vietnam began nearly seven years ago. This spending is the principal cause of inflation because it is largely financed by government deficits. These deficits must be made up by borrowing, which further increases the government debt.

This borrowing is inflationary because the government, through the operations of the Federal Reserve System, in effect creates money to pay its debts and the interest on them. As resources are diverted to war produc-

Post-WWII U.S. economic policies sowed seeds for current crisis



Strikes by powerful industrial unions during the past couple of years have demonstrated workers' militancy in face of deepening inflation. Above, Lynn, Mass., strikers battle cops and scabs in 1969 GE strike.

tion and the money supply increases without any corresponding increase in available commodities, prices on those commodities that are available start to rise. As prices increase, everything else must try to keep up, starting an endless chain of constantly increasing prices.

The Nixon administration and most capitalist apologists will tell you that increased prices are caused by higher wages, but that is untrue. In the last five or six years, prices have been climbing, but real wages (that is, their purchasing power) have declined. Workers' demands for higher wages are brought about by previous price rises. They are an effort just to keep up with inflation, not the cause of inflation. Nixon's plan is to reduce real wages, thereby making the workers pay the price of improving the competitive position of U. S. corporations in the international battle for markets.

We can sum up the present crisis, the seeds of which were planted at the end of WW II, by noting that the United States was confronted with a dilemma 25 years ago. If the rest of the capitalist world had been left to shift for itself, revolution would have taken more countries than it did out of the orbit of imperialism. But furnishing large-scale aid only created economic competitors to U. S. business.

Research by scholars in recent years has revealed that one of the principal aims of the U. S. rulers in WW II was to ensure that other capitalist nations, such as England and Germany, would emerge from the war in "not too strong and not too weak a condition." This is the conclusion, for example, of Professor Gabriel Kolko in his book *Politics of War*, which is a rich source of information on the U. S. war aims.

But as things actually worked out, Germany and Japan have become serious competitors of the United States, and the present crisis can in large part be attributed to the fact that it proved impossible to keep all America's rivals in a "not too strong and not too weak condition." The play and interplay of capitalist forces in the economy are really impossible to predict concretely, to control and to plan for except in very limited ways.

Under capitalism, two options were open to American imperialism, and as it turned out, neither is acceptable.

Government role

A very important and revealing aspect of the current crisis is the scope of the government's intervention in the economy. Nixon's New Economic Policy represents the most extensive intervention since the extraordinary measures taken by the government during WW II. This in itself testifies to the depth of the crisis.

Not even the great corporations and conglomerates, with their enormous wealth, can cope with the present crisis, but must look to the government for help. We do not hear much on the "less-government-the-better" theme, a favorite slogan of the capitalists when they felt strong enough to deal with their economic problems more directly. Now the "executive committee of the ruling class," as Marx and Engels correctly called it, must step in. The power of the state apparatus must be brought to bear against the workers.

But something else, even more important, is revealed by the decision of the rulers to use the state apparatus as a battering ram against the working class. It is an admission that the workers, especially the organized workers, are so strong that the individual corporations and even groups of corporations cannot hope to beat them in a contest such as the one shaping up now.

Reduction in real wages

Nixon's original plan was to drive down the workers' standard of living by allowing inflation to eat away at real wages. But the powerful industrial unions—electrical, auto, steel and others—fought back. They succeeded in winning major pay increases, as well as guaranteed cost-of-living increases to compensate, however inadequately, for inflation.

In this situation, a new "game plan" for the rulers was needed. The willingness and even anxiousness of the capitalists to have the government pull their chestnuts out of the fire is, in its own way, a tribute to the power of the workers, a power that, unfortunately, has not been used to full

advantage in recent years.

The main aim of the government and the capitalists is to put an end to the pattern of annual wage increases that has developed since the end of WW II. This pattern has given most workers some increase in wages and some improvement in fringe benefits every year, a little at a time. For the past 25 years this has been incorporated into contracts between unions and companies to such an extent that it has come to be expected by both sides in bargaining sessions. Usually the issue in dispute has been only the amount, the increase being taken for granted.

It is this pattern that the Nixon administration wants to end. Nixon proposes to get rid of the annual improvement factor, which, we have seen, results only in catching up to previous inflation at best. He wants to replace it with a new pattern that will produce an annual *decline* in the standard of living and buying power of the American workers.

While wages are virtually frozen, it will prove impossible to freeze prices—as anyone around at the time saw during WW II and the Korean War. During WW II prices rose 30 percent while wages were frozen!

The way workers withstood this booming inflation was to work long hours of overtime and in some cases to add an additional wage earner from the family who had not worked before. But today such a solution will be more difficult. Under the heavy pressure of international competition, the tendency will be to speed up modernization plans designed to increase labor productivity—and decrease the number of workers necessary for any particular job. That means unemployment.

It does not mean, however, that workers should fight against new discoveries and inventions as the workers did in England in the early days of capitalism, when they smashed machines that were displacing them from jobs. There is a better way—that is to operate the plants with the most efficient machinery but to do so in the interests of the workers, not the capitalists.

That raises an important social and political question: which system shall prevail? The capitalist system with its periodic crises, its unemployment, wars, depressions, racism and many other abominations? Or the socialist system, with all means of production owned not by individuals but by society as a whole and with production planned in the interests of the majority, not designed to make profits for the few?

More people will begin to consider these alternatives as this crisis deepens, and as its effects are felt.

The period we face is fundamentally different from the past. We have come to the end of a long era of economic expansion and relative peace in the class struggle, based on war production that began a little more than 30 years ago.

The tasks of the new period will require new thinking, new programs, new leaderships and much else that is new if the attempt to put the costs of the crisis on the backs of the workers is to be defeated.

Political tasks

I have saved one point to the last, but it is by no means the least important. That is the kind of political activity required to meet the situation. This will be the single most important part of the struggle.

Support by labor for any section of, or candidate of, the Democratic or Republican parties, or any other capitalist party, will lead nowhere. They are all in favor of Nixon's program and differ only on unimportant details. They are all openly antilabor and should be recognized as such and dealt with accordingly.

The tasks ahead require that workers form their own party based on the existing unions.

Continued on page 22

How capitalist campaigns are financed

By DICK ROBERTS

On Nov. 10, Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma withdrew from the race for the Democratic Party nomination for president. Unlike many other capitalist politicians in similar situations, however, Harris did not attempt to give some phony political justification for the withdrawal.

Harris stated: "Financial support just didn't develop as rapidly as it should have. . . . I am broke."

According to *New York Times* correspondent Paul Delaney, Harris spent "from \$250,000 to \$300,000 and would need \$50,000 a month to continue."

The episode illustrates a fact of life about capitalist politics that many apologists for the system refuse to recognize. The campaigns of the Democrats and Republicans cost hundreds of thousands, and in many cases, millions of dollars. It is primarily through their financing of the two major parties that the capitalist rulers of this country maintain their tight grip on the government.

New York Times associate editor Tom Wicker pondered the Harris withdrawal in a column Nov. 14. "Actually, some other campaigns appear to be more costly than Mr. Harris' was, and he had at least one substantial backer, Herbert Allen Jr., the New York banker. . . . As things are now done in campaign finance, Mr. Harris seems justified in saying that it is 'difficult but not impossible' for a poor man to run for the presidency."

Wicker summarized a study of the financing of the 1968 presidential campaigns: ". . . the Democrats got 61 percent of their presidential campaign funds from contributors of more than \$500. The Republicans, who have developed good small-contributor programs, still got 47 percent of their total from contributions of more than \$500.

"Only about 15,000 Americans were responsible for this high percentage of presidential campaign costs. Moreover, a mere 89 persons—according to the Citizens Research Foundation—each contributed \$30,000 or more for a staggering total of more than \$6.8-million. Only 424 big contributors—of more than \$10,000 each—kicked in with over \$12-million for the 1968 campaign. And next year, the costs will almost surely be higher."

Wicker does not give the names of the ruling-class families whose individual members provided gifts of \$30,000 or more to the Nixon and Humphrey campaigns. But a more detailed account of campaign financing can be found in the excellent best-seller, *America, Inc.*, by Morton Mintz and Jerry S. Cohen.

Mintz and Cohen write, "As of the eve of the November 1968 election, the various Nixon-Agnew committees . . . had listed contributions from W. Clement Stone, of Chicago, president of the Com-

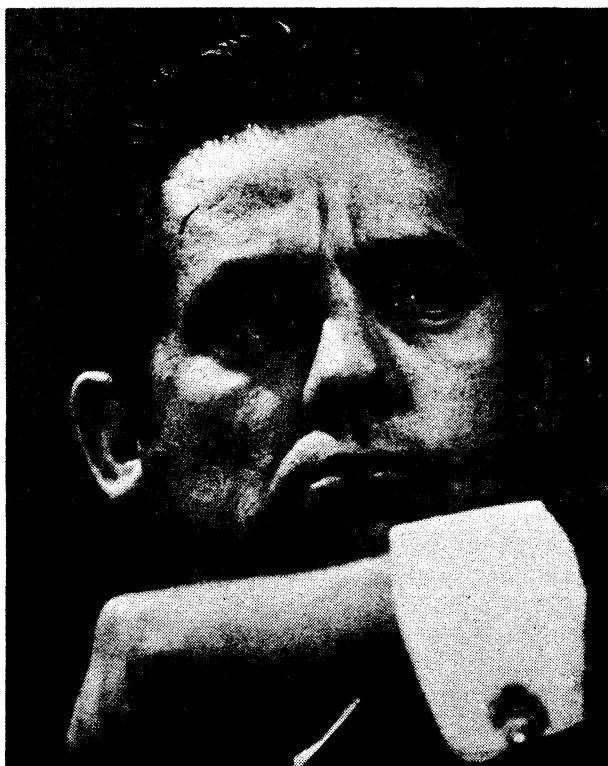
bined Insurance Company of America, of \$22,000. . . . By his own estimate . . . [Stone] actually gave more than \$500,000. . . .

"In a period of approximately three months preceding the 1968 Republican National Convention in Miami, the generosity of Clement Stone was surpassed by Mrs. John D. Rockefeller Jr. . . . She gave \$1,482,625 to the Rockefeller for President (New York) Committee. . . .

"Jack J. Dreyfus Jr., then chairman of the Dreyfus Fund, made recorded gifts of \$76,000 to Republicans and \$63,000 to Democrats. . . . The late Richard King Mellon, then honorary chairman of Mellon National Bank and Trust Company and a director of General Motors; Richard Mellon Scaife, a director of the same bank; and two other members of the Mellon family . . . gave a recorded \$198,462 to the GOP."

Some information on 1972 Republican and Democratic party financing was revealed by the *Washington Post* on Nov. 14:

"Last Tuesday [Nov. 9], the Republican Party raised an estimated \$5-million campaign war chest for 1972 by selling \$500 dinner tickets to major contributors throughout the nation. Some companies and industries bought entire tables, and one industry—oil—bought most of the 400 tickets for a regional dinner in Houston. Because of defects in federal and state laws, virtually none of the contributions to the \$5-million war chest will be disclosed. . . .



Fred Harris

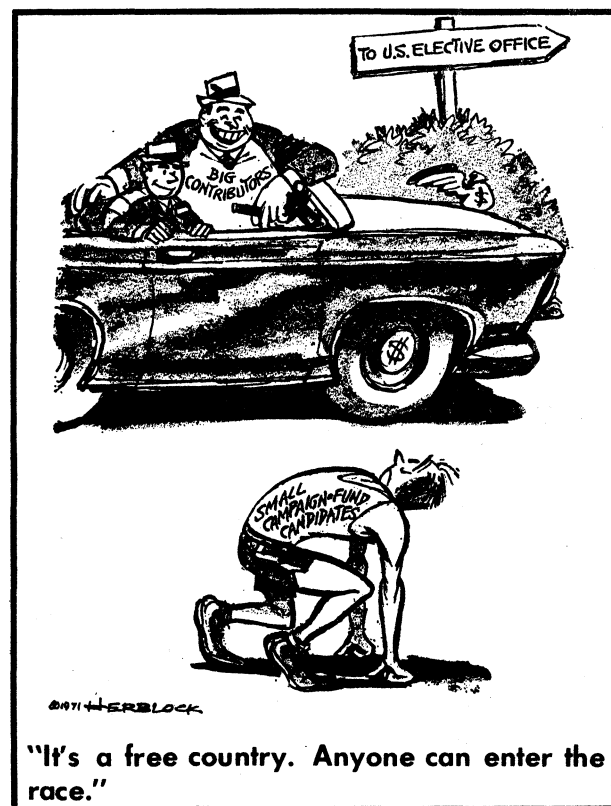
"Maine Senator Edmund S. Muskie's Democratic presidential drive has raised campaign funds of nearly \$1-million this year, a substantial portion through loans from wealthy businessmen. Promissory notes for at least \$250,000 are currently outstanding. The identity of those who have given and loaned this money is a secret. . . .

"Senator George McGovern of South Dakota, another Democratic presidential hopeful, is publicizing his efforts to raise campaign funds from 'little people.' But he, too, has wealthy backers. One of them reportedly offered to put up \$100,000 as a salary for a McGovern campaign chairman. It was to be paid in the form of a legal retainer for a lawyer who declined the offer and the job."

New York Times reporter David Shipler gave an account of New York Mayor John Lindsay's appearance before Democratic Party financiers in Washington, D. C., Nov. 11. According to Shipler, "Some of those in the audience nodded their approval as the Mayor spoke. Some whispered, 'He's good.'"

"One man, with the politician's fine eye for the distinction between ideology and marketability, looked Mr. Lindsay over and said, 'I don't buy everything he says, but he comes across well.'"

". . . Mrs. Sandy Bregman, who organized the session . . . gazed around the room and remarked, 'Though the crowd may look small to you, it represents millions of dollars.'"



The National Picket Line

THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE doesn't feel that the unemployed in Seattle, Wash., are hungry enough yet to justify instituting a free-food program.

Seattle, formerly one of the largest aerospace centers in the country, now has the nation's highest unemployment rate—13 percent overall—with the proportion of unemployed Blacks and Chicanos much higher. The food-stamp program for those on relief has grown from 93,000 participants in 1969 to 263,000. But most of the unemployed, especially those still receiving unemployment compensation, are not allowed to buy the stamps.

These facts were revealed in a report recently made public by the U. S. Senate's Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs. The report is entitled "Seattle: Unemployment, the New Poor and Hunger."

The report states that while it is unfair to label Seattle as a disaster area, the situation is rapidly approaching that status. It urges the institution of a free-food program for those ineligible for food stamps or direct relief.

Richard E. Lyng, spokesman for the Department of Agriculture, disagreed with the findings of the report, claiming there is "no hard evidence of widespread malnutrition in Seattle." He reported that while the Agriculture Department has the authority to set up free-food programs, none have been initiated since the enabling legislation was passed in 1970.

Meanwhile, an organization called Neighbors in Need has set up an emergency program, dis-

tributing food to an average of 12,000 families a week from 34 food banks.

Part of the report deals with the "new poor"—men and women who have been employed for most of their lives and thus have been able to "accumulate the assets of a lifetime's work. . . . The irony of the assets (is) that they have only bargain sale value on the open market and therefore could only be sold at staggering losses," the report pointed out. Yet possession of these "assets" makes their owners ineligible for either public relief or food stamps.

Meanwhile, farm products, whose prices are shored up by Agricultural Department subsidies, are rotting in storage bins at a cost of approximately \$1-million a day in rent.

THE CONTRACT signed by the Rail Signalmen's Brotherhood (see Dec. 3 *Militant*) with the rail lines has now been ratified by the union membership.

The new agreement increases wages by 46 percent over 42 months, retroactive to Jan. 1, 1970. Charles J. Chamberlin, president of the union, said Nov. 26 he had notified the Pay Board but did not anticipate rejection of the increase because the new contract is "practically in agreement with the contracts that four shopcraft unions got in October."

NEW YORK CITY TRANSIT WORKERS, whose contract runs out Dec. 31, are now in negotiations. The union is asking for a 30 percent wage in-

crease, a four-day week, and increased fringe benefits (particularly a lowering of the age at which members may retire with full pension rights) for its 37,000 subway and bus workers.

Matthew Guinan, the union's international president, told the Transit Workers local and the Amalgamated Transit Union, which represents bus drivers in Queens and Staten Island, that they should be prepared for a knock-down, drag-out fight with the Transit Authority. In addition to overcoming "invariable management resistance," he warned, they would also have to fight the "Nixon freeze and all the uncertainties that attend it and Phase Two generally."

By way of openers in response to the union demands, Chairman William Ronan of the Metropolitan Transit Authority has sought to arouse general prejudices against the transit workers by claiming a 90-cent subway fare would be required to meet their demands.

THE STRIKE OF LAY TEACHERS against the parochial schools of the New York Archdiocese is still going strong (see Dec. 10 *Militant*). Since the strike began Nov. 23, there have been several completely futile "negotiation" meetings, with a state labor mediator running between the two parties. Geographically, the union and the archdiocese are separated by only about 40 feet. On the union's demands, however, they are several light years apart. The last offer the Catholic School Board made to the union was a miserable \$200 a year.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

The new phase of the Palestinian resistance

The following interview with Abu Omar, an official representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), was obtained by Militant and Intercontinental Press reporters in New York, Oct. 22. The interview is a sign of the political differentiation taking place within the Palestinian resistance movement in the wake of the July 1971 expulsion from Jordan. Abu Omar has not corrected the text, which has been shortened for reasons of space. A longer version of this interview appeared in the Nov. 22 issue of Intercontinental Press.

Militant: What do you feel is the current stage of the resistance movement after the defeats in July?

Omar: There is no doubt that the Palestinian resistance movement has undergone a number of defeats. The phase of having a seeming preponderance of power in Jordan is over. The phase of the honeymoon with the Arab regimes is over. When we began we were fully aware that the line of the resistance was contradictory to the line of the neighboring regimes. But somehow we didn't act as if this contradiction were real, and we minimized the power of the Jordanian regime. Because of the enthusiasm of the masses vis-a-vis the revolution and the resistance movement, our evaluation of our own power was overblown.

I think we are now in a phase where the evaluation of the situation is more realistic, where the enemies are much clearer, where the forces of imperialism and reaction in the area are much clearer than they have been, where we are called upon to find different ways of operating and dealing with the neighboring Arab regimes.

One could say that there is maybe increasing clandestinity, more emphasis on secret cover rather than public activities. But this is easier said than done. It is not easy to shift from one type of operation to another overnight.

There is greater maturity, (the movement) having suffered a defeat and taken a great number of steps backward. I think we have the opportunity to learn from this experience of the last couple of years. Whether we have learned enough or not, it is still too early to say.

The coming phase involves better organization than we've had in the past, more clarity of thinking. Attempting to create a revolutionary organization is the main task at this stage.

Militant: The Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine have stressed that the liberation of Palestine entails first the elimination of the reactionary regime in Jordan, and that there was no way the struggle against Zionism could be carried through to the end as long as there existed a regime like Hussein's in Jordan. Do you think that's true?

Omar: I think there is really no disagreement in the resistance movement about the nature of the Jordanian regime. There is disagreement about how things are put forth—the kind of slogans. Let's take Fateh (the leading organization in the PLO) the way it views Jordan.

Fateh said our main direction is to fight the imperialist Zionist base in Israel. We will not interfere in the affairs of neighboring regimes, with a big condition: as long as they do

not interfere with progress of the revolution. This is obviously a tactical kind of slogan. Obviously when it comes to actual interference, Fateh interfered more in the Jordanian regime than it should have, in my opinion. It acted beyond its power.

When we say we will not interfere as long as others do not interfere in the path of the revolution, we know very well that others cannot but interfere in the revolution. This uncovers the various enemies that are against you, and you can deal with them one at a time.

Obviously, the Jordanian regime is now the primary obstacle in the path of liberation, and Fateh and all the others agree that this regime has to go. The question is not whether one wants it or not, but what slogans to use; what public pronouncements do you make—the PLO and Fateh, for example, have tended to emphasize moderate slogans, rather than "big" slogans.

We want freedom of action. We know very well we cannot have freedom of action, except if we get a democratic national government.

The problem is the level of activity that we need to bring down the regime and to create a political organization among the Jordanian masses and establish some sort of Jordanian-Palestinian framework for a national front.

So when you judge the various groups of the Palestinian resistance from this perspective, not by their verbiage, their rhetoric, but by the relationship of their rhetoric to their activity, you will find that we are all in the same boat—fairly deficient in our actions, and we have a lot to learn about what to do as far as building a mass organization and fighting the Jordanian regime as well as Zionism.

Militant: What role do you think the development of divisions in Israeli society can play in the struggle for a democratic Palestine?

Omar: The internal contradictions in Israeli society will increase and become more acute as the Palestinian resistance gathers force. At the present time there are some signs of this, but we should not exaggerate these contradictions.

The conflict between the poor Arab Jews and the Western European Jews who were the leaders of the colonial enterprise, the ones who started the whole game and created the problem for the Arab Jews, is potentially a very fruitful contradiction, even though at this stage the Arab Jews are not necessarily more sympathetic to the Arabs.

In spite of this fact, there will be possibilities of integration and joint fate with the Arab Jews.

This is not to say that there are not possibilities with the other groups. It is well known that many defect from their class to join movements of change. It all depends on the options that the people in Israel see ahead of them.

These options cannot be changed or be seen purely as intellectual options, because the problem is not an intellectual one.

As long as the people in Israel, who mostly came under the aegis of Zionist world organizations, find that they're going about their way and building their society, and disregarding the people that they dispossessed and things are working out, there is no pressing need to think of alternatives.

As this Zionist idea is challenged,

not by talks and discussions, but challenged by armed struggle, people start thinking, "Well, is it worth it all? Is the path we are on the correct path; are there possibly other paths?" This is when the articulation of other options could be very relevant for Israeli society. To the extent that the revolutionary force is greater, the more likelihood of change within Israeli society.

Militant: Do you think that the struggle for national liberation implies a different stage from the struggle for socialism?

Omar: Again I think we must make a distinction between analysis and tactics and slogans. As far as analysis, I do not think that there is a great deal of difference. The main contradiction in our part of the world as we see it is between imperialism, and Zionism as an aspect of it, and the peoples of the Third World. This imperialism is not a phenomenon unrelated to capitalism; it is the highest stage of capitalism. If one is to resolve this contradiction between imperialism and the people of the Third World, this can hardly result in a capitalist system. It cannot but result in the antithesis of capitalism.

What slogans one would use at a given stage of the struggle, on this there is disagreement. For example, the NLF (National Liberation Front) in Vietnam does not call for socialism in its program at the present stage. It has very moderate slogans, but works hard as hell to make these slogans meaningful.

We should have a dynamic view of forces, not a static one. A dynamic view means you cannot judge friends and enemies statically. These relationships change with the passage of time and the progress of the revolution. It would be wrong to treat the enemies of tomorrow as the enemies of today.

You might cooperate with them today, without being deluded about the fact that they will be enemies tomorrow. It means knowing how to make alliances at any given stage, how to set priorities as far as your enemies are concerned, where to choose your battles. The final goal is essential, but how to go step by step to that goal is much more important.

Therefore, at this stage, the National Charter of the PLO, which is accepted by all the organizations (within the PLO), even those that talk quite differently, has defined this stage of our struggle as a national liberation struggle. It does not have the socialist context of conflict between classes, even though analytically, it can't but have this aspect. When we say we are fighting imperialism and the agents of imperialism, these agents in the area are not indiscriminately there regardless of class. They are agents of foreign capital, the bourgeoisie, the landlords, etc. Therefore there are class ramifications, but this is not the primary problem at this stage. The primary problem is to gather as many forces as possible, each giving what he can to meet the main contradiction. As the revolution progresses, inevitably the participation of the different classes will be quite different and the conflict will become more acute.

You cannot feel that somehow first you do the national liberation, and when this is finished you start with the other. I think it would be very wrong to view the two stages as separate, to view the difference as a mechanical one, do one then the other.

The two are interrelated, but it is important at this stage to emphasize the national liberation aspect.

German Trotskyist youth hold convention

From Intercontinental Press

The second national convention of the Revolutionär-Kommunistische Jugend [RKJ—Revolutionary Communist Youth], held in Cologne October 30-November 1, reflected the rapid growth of the West German Trotskyist movement. Twenty branches of the organization, from all the states of West Germany, were represented by a total of eighty delegates, according to the November issue of the RKJ magazine *Was Tun*.

In addition, the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten [GIM—International Marxist Group, the German section of the Fourth International] was represented by a fraternal delegation.

Livio Maitan brought greetings on behalf of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. Representatives of the Trotskyist movement in Belgium, Ceylon, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States also spoke to the convention.

The discussion focused on how best to build the German section of the Fourth International during the present period of radicalization.

The delegates voted to propose to the GIM that it merge with the RKJ. The resolution suggested that the unification of the two organizations be carried out within the next six months to one year, following joint discussion of the political, programmatic, and organizational aspects of the move.

Noting that the fusion could prove successful only on the basis of continued political work among the masses, the convention voted to intensify the RKJ's activities in the unions and factories, in the movement against the Indochina war, and in the layers of youth faced with conscription.



Photo by Joe Miles

SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley addressing University of Heidelberg meeting sponsored by the Revolutionary Communist Youth, September 1971.

Uruguay popular front defeated in election

From *Intercontinental Press*
By JOE HANSEN

As of November 30, the outcome of the November 28 elections in Uruguay was still in doubt. The Colorado party held the lead with 575,690 votes as against 565,556 for the National party (Blancos) and 252,534 for the Broad Front (Frente Amplio).

Of the seven presidential candidates of the Colorados, Juan Maria Bordaberry, the successor handpicked by President Jorge Pacheco Areco, was in the lead. Wilson Ferreira Aldunate held the front position among the three candidates running on Blanco slates. With 10 percent of the vote still to be counted, it may take several weeks to determine which of the twins in Uruguay's two-party system won the presidency and control of the 129-seat parliament.

Although he quickly conceded defeat after seeing the early returns, General Liber Seregni Mosquera was perhaps the one most surprised by the defeat of the Broad Front. On November 26, the presidential candidate of the popular-front formation went on television and radio to give a victory speech, so certain was he that he would be swept into office.

Seregni's confidence evidently stemmed from his estimate of the meaning of the giant demonstration in Montevideo November 24 behind the banners of the Broad Front.

By all accounts it was the biggest turnout yet seen in Uruguay. The Montevideo press reported that half a million persons had joined in the march.¹ The Paris daily *Le Monde* reported 200,000 while the *New York Times* cut the figure to 100,000.

It was also an extremely spirited demonstration, reminding observers of the fervor at rallies in Havana in the early days of the Cuban revolution.

Slogans chanted by the more radical participants were readily picked up by tens of thousands of voices, swelling into a roar as they passed for miles along the line of march. Here are some of them:

"El pueblo armado jamás engañado!" (People in arms are never cheated.) "Por la tierra con Sendic!" (For land with Sendic [the leader of the Tupamaros].) "Al gobierno fascista el pueblo te responde con la revolución!" (The people reply to the fascist government with revolution.) "Ni yanquis ni fascista, América socialista!" (Neither Yankees nor fascist, for a socialist America.) "Lucha! Lucha! Lucha! No dejes de luchar por un gobierno obrero, obrero y popular!" (Fight! Fight! Fight! Don't stop fighting for a workers' government, workers' and people's.)

The size of the demonstration and its militant tone appeared to be in direct answer to the flood of lies and red-baiting that partisans of the Pacheco regime had engaged in to intimidate supporters of the Broad Front and to influence the vote.

However, the enthusiasm of the Montevideo demonstrators, who were quite youthful in the majority, was not registered at the polls. This was to be expected. The electorate, even when it includes the bulk of the working class, generally lags behind events, tending to register past moods and past relationships in the class struggle rather than the current reality. The voters in Montevideo who waited for hours in long lines to cast their ballots on Sunday were noticeably older than the contingents that marched in the streets on Wednesday.

Another reason for the high hopes of the organizers of the Broad Front was the victory last year of a similar formation in Chile, the Unidad Popular (People's Unity) headed by Salvador Allende Gossens. In October 1970, a month after Allende's tri-

umph, the first trial balloons were floated in Montevideo on making a similar try; and the response, particularly among intellectuals and circles influenced by the Communist party, showed that the effort would gain considerable support.

Front includes capitalist parties

The main components of the Broad Front consisted of the Communist party, two factions that broke away from the Colorado and Blanco parties, the Christian Democrats, the Socialist party, a number of prominent intellectuals, and a gamut of groupings, ranging from unions to cultural associations.

Among the participating vanguard organizations were the Movimiento de Independientes "26 de Marzo" ("March 26" Movement of Independents, a formation representing the viewpoint of the Tupamaros),² the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers party headed by Juan Posadas, which is sometimes mistaken as Trotskyist because of its claims), and the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers party, a Trotskyist grouping that has proclaimed its adherence to the Fourth International but that has not yet been accepted as a section).

The main architect of the Broad Front was the Communist party. Its objective was to divert the current upsurge into safe electoral channels. As proof positive that it hoped to play the role of saviour of the capitalist system rather than its destroyer, the Arismendi leadership of the CP made sure that the three leading candidates of the Broad Front would be acceptable to ruling circles in Uruguay. The ex-General Liber Seregni and Dr. Juan José Crottogini were nominated for the presidency and vice-presidency, and Dr. Hugo Villar for mayor of Montevideo.

As the Buenos Aires Trotskyist weekly *La Verdad* correctly noted in its issue of September 29, these nominations, to which "bourgeois circles reacted favorably," represented "another step" in structuring the Broad Front "as a variant of reformism, acceptable to the bourgeois system."³

In its political purpose and main structure (its subordination to a bourgeois leadership), the Broad Front constituted a Latin American variant of the popular front long utilized by the Stalinists and Social Democrats in wheeling and dealing with bourgeois parties in the electoral arena.

It is true that the Broad Front was not a mere replica of the popular fronts seen in Europe in the thirties. Like every political formation in Latin America that seeks popular support today, it stressed anti-imperialism.

Its thirty-point platform included the following planks: An "agrarian reform," the "nationalization of private banks," the "nationalization of the main firms engaged in foreign trade," and "energetic industrial action by the state, including nationalization of the meat-packing industry."

But fitting its platform to the radical mood of the Uruguayan masses did not change the essence of the Broad Front. Like the popular fronts seen elsewhere in the world, it was designed to divert the masses from the road of revolutionary struggle.

Tupamaros support Front

The role played by the Tupamaros was of special interest. During the latter part of the electoral campaign, they desisted from guerrilla warfare so as not to embarrass the Broad Front.

La Verdad said of this: "The immediate strategy of the Tupamaros would itself seem to help open up and smooth the road to an electoral

triumph for the popular front."

Quite a few of the groupings participating in the Broad Front ran their own slates of candidates (save for the presidency and vice-presidency), which was possible under Uruguay's democratic electoral system. But the Tupamaros, although under heavy pressure to follow the others in this, refused to run a slate of their own.

Through the Movimiento de Independientes "26 de Marzo" they stated publicly on several occasions that they were leaving it up to their followers to vote for whatever slates they wanted to.

For instance, in the November 26 issue of the Montevideo weekly *Marcha*, they explained why they were not running their own candidates. "We are independents. And we are organizing in that way. We do not aspire to electoral burdens. We merely support the common candidates of the Front."

They called attention to a previous declaration in which they had explained that they consider it "more important to organize and train the ranks of the people for the coming decisive struggles than to divert forces in selecting figures to be proposed for consideration in the electoral contest."

The Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT) followed a different course. The PRT began only two years ago as a very small grouping of Trotskyists. The intensity of their activities would do credit to a group many times their size, and they have made encouraging progress, including establishing a press of their own. During the latter part of the

election campaign, besides huge quantities of leaflets, they published their paper *Tendencia Revolucionaria* (Revolutionary Tendency) as a six-to eight-page weekly.

When the Broad Front was first projected in October 1970, the PRT decided to take an active attitude toward it. In the first phase, in the numerous meetings that were held all over to discuss the issues on which the proposed front should take a stand, the PRT militants did two things:

(1) They argued that the platform should be decided through a democratic discussion among the ranks. (2) They presented the program of Trotskyism, stressing democratic and transitional demands in particular.

They gained a favorable hearing, but were not strong enough to block the Communist party from imposing on the Broad Front the kind of platform it wanted.

Similarly on the question of the candidates of the Broad Front, the PRT advocated nominating workers. They stressed the need for labor to run its

own candidates and strongly criticized the Communist party for not appealing to the Convención Nacional de Trabajadores (National Workers Convention, the big trade union) to join the Broad Front and run a slate of its candidates on an independent basis.

Again, the PRT was not strong enough to carry its position, although it received a favorable hearing at the meetings where its speakers took the floor.

When the architects of the Broad Front had settled on Seregni and Crottogini, the PRT decided to run a slate of its own. Under the Uruguayan electoral system this was possible only as a sub-slate (sub-lema) of the Broad Front.

Here the PRT ran into a snag. The top committee of the Broad Front ruled that while any grouping could run what candidates it wished for local offices or as senators or deputies, all groupings were barred from running any candidates for president and vice president of the country and mayor of Montevideo except Seregni, Crottogini, and Villar.

This meant that in contrast to the Colorado party with its seven presidential candidates and the National party with its three, the Broad Front would appear on the ballot with only one presidential candidate—Seregni.

The ruling was highly undemocratic. Its purpose was purely factional, since all votes cast for rival candidates of the Broad Front would have counted against the Colorado and National parties. The ruling was intended to block vanguard groupings like the



Photo by Ed Shaw

Half a million march in Montevideo Nov. 24 on eve of election. Banners are those carried by the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT).

PRT from exercising their right to gain a line on the ballot that would indicate their proletarian opposition to Seregni, thereby complicating things for the publicity experts engaged in converting the nondescript figure of Seregni into the "choice of the people."

The PRT decided to bow to this decision since to defy it would have meant exclusion from the ballot. On the ballots listing their slate of workers' candidates, they included the names of Seregni, Crottogini, and Villar under the slogan, "La liberación

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1. The impressiveness of this figure can be judged from the fact that Montevideo's estimated population in 1968 was 1,348,000. The estimated population of the entire country in 1970 was only 2,900,000.

2. This was listed erroneously in an article that appeared in translation in the October 25, 1971, issue of *Intercontinental Press* (p. 916) as "July 26 Movement."

3. See the October 25, 1971, issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

In Review

Books

The Rock Encyclopedia

The Rock Encyclopedia by Lillian Roxon. Grosset and Dunlap. New York, 1971. 611 pp. \$3.95 paper.

Since the birth of rock 'n' roll in the early 1950s, the literature on the subject has increased only in quantity. Lillian Roxon's *Rock Encyclopedia* is a depressingly good example. It arrogantly describes itself as "the most ambitious book ever written on rock and its roots," and while it may indeed be the most ambitious, it is nevertheless a total failure.

The cover advises us that this encyclopedia deals with the "heroes" of the generation, and indeed it does. Female singers, for instance, are scandalously underrepresented, and female writers are totally ignored. Blacks and Latinos receive the same treatment.

The bulk of the nearly 400 entries are artists or groups who appeared since the rise of the Beatles. Yet most of the artists who developed rock 'n' roll made their contributions before that time. They are the Black rhythm-and-blues and soul artists who deserve most of the credit for where we are at today. But they are consistently underemphasized or simply omitted from this encyclopedia.

Again and again, Roxon gives an extensive description of a group that may have had one big hit but made no significant impact. In some cases, she describes groups that didn't even do that well (ever hear of the Grapefruit?). Yet some of the most important Black groups in the history of rock are totally omitted. If you were to list the 10 most important Black artists or groups of the past two decades, you would be likely to include Ben E. King, the Shirelles, the Coasters, and the Platters. The Platters, in fact, sold more records than any group to come out since the Beatles. But none of these four are even mentioned in the encyclopedia.

You usually think of encyclopedias as sources of information. So when you see a rock encyclopedia, you figure now's your chance to find out a little more about the many women who have been forgotten and ignored by rock history. You know that Malvina Reynolds wrote hits—really outstanding songs—for at least three different groups, and so you look under "R" to see what else she's done. But she's not there. Don't bother looking for such high quality composer-singers as Barbara George, or Gale Garnet, or Norma Tanega—each of whom had at least one big hit (which is more than can be said for the Grapefruit). As a matter of fact, you won't even find mention of Big Mama Thornton, who was the first to make *Hound Dog* a hit, a song Elvis Presley just watered down. This book claims to be about "rock and its roots," and Thornton is one of the main roots.

An encyclopedia that is useless as a source of information is a failure. In the history of rock music, as in every other aspect of Western culture, the role of women and Third World peoples has not merely been ignored but actually covered up by the kinds of omissions typical of Roxon's book. A big effort is still required to uncover that history. Roxon has only made the task harder.

—BOB GEB

Mingus on Mingus

Beneath the Underdog: His World as Composed by Mingus. Edited by Nel King. Alfred A. Knopf. New York, 1971. 366 pp. \$6.95.

Beneath the Underdog is a brilliant autobiographical voyage by perhaps one of the most significant living representatives of the evolution of Black music from Dixie through Swing to the sweeping, raucous Black music of Coltrane, Shepp, and Ayler. It is such a many-sided work (remarkably similar to Mingus' music in its complexity and breadth) that it's hard to choose a starting point.

This is the story of a boy hounded by whites and beaten by a light-skinned Black father who tries to instill in him a contempt for his "inferior" Black brothers and sisters with darker skin than his; a budding musical genius taught improperly, initially unable to read music and discouraged at every turn by hostile teachers; a man held back and hemmed in, driven to the despair of pimping, misdirecting his justifiable rage away from his oppressors, toward women; trapped by a commercial system to use his and others' sexuality for profit and oppression; in and out of musical "gigs"; delivering mail; starving. It is not too different from the story Malcolm X tells in his autobiography.

But Mingus is different from Malcolm: he is an artist, and he invariably returns to his art, to make yet another creative thrust at those who oppress him.

Beneath the Underdog is a living indictment of the "jazz business." "... they own us, Mingus. If they don't own us, they push us off the scene. Jazz is big business to the white man, and you can't move without him. We just work ants. He owns the magazines, agencies, record companies and all the joints that sell jazz to the public. If you won't sell out and you try to fight they won't hire you and they give a bad picture of you with that false publicity." The words are those of "Fats" Navarro, a brilliant trumpet player, spoken three years before he died in 1950, a broken junkie, at the age of 26.

In the late fifties, Mingus says to a white British journalist: "My friend Max Roach has been voted best drummer in many polls but he's offered less than half of what Buddy Rich gets to play the same places—what kind of schitt is that? The commercial people are so busy selling what's hot commercially they're choking to death the goose that's laid all them golden eggs. They killed Lester and Bird and Fats Navarro and they'll kill more, probably me. I'll never make money and I'll always suffer because I shoot off my mouth about agents and crooks and that's all I feel like saying..." Later he would have added Billie Holiday, Bud Powell, Erick Dolphy, John Coltrane, Albert Ayler—the list goes on and on.

Mingus' story is one of suffering and oppression, a story of sorrow, momentary joy, hatred, prostitution, violence, and art. Mingus emerges as a troubled, yet undaunted man. It's as if through his music he is saying to his oppressors: "You have beaten us, you have killed and enslaved us. But I am going to create music in spite of you! The day will come when you'll answer to us for your vicious, hateful deeds. So look out, 'cause Mingus won't go down without a fight!"

—RICHARD LESNIK

Pamphlets

Writing women back into history

Generations of Denial: 75 Short Biographies of Women in History by Kathryn Taylor. Times Change Press. 64 pp. \$1.25.

For centuries, the historical role of women has been virtually absent from the writings of historians and journalists. Male supremacist views have permeated educational texts and literary accomplishments while sexist role-training has practically denied us the opportunity to write about ourselves and the world as we see it. As Virginia Woolf eloquently stated in her essay *A Room of One's Own*, few women have had the material resources to study writing much less the leisure and societal support to produce great works.

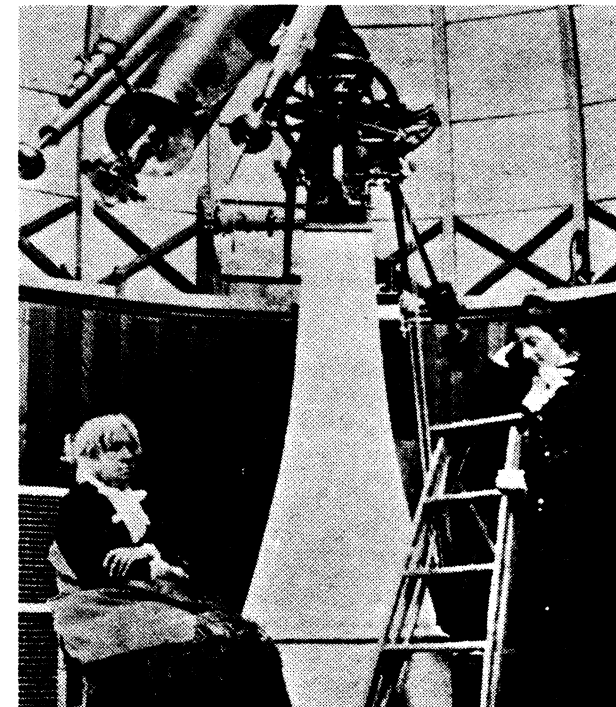
Generations of Denial represents one of the first attempts during the second wave of feminism to illustrate the important, often primary, role of women in history-making. A compilation of 75 short biographies, the pamphlet contains examples of the heroic endeavors of women—from the suffragists to artists, scientists and others. Included are sketches of such notables as Godiva, who rode naked through the streets of England on condition that the rulers would lower taxes; Polish revolutionary Marxist Rosa Luxemburg; Sojourner Truth, Black abolitionist and feminist; and Mary Wollstonecraft, author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* in 1792. Other lesser-known women listed include: Louise Labé, French Renaissance poet and lesbian; Jane Grey Swisshelm, feminist and editor of an antislavery newspaper; Dr. Mary Walker, a Union Army surgeon during the Civil War; astronomer Maria Mitchell; and Belva Lockwood, the first woman lawyer "to plead before the U. S. Supreme Court and a candidate for president in 1884 and 1888 on the ticket of the Equal Rights Party."

Written in an elementary, capsulized style, the pamphlet is an easy-to-use guide for the novice in women's history, but is no substitute for a much-needed scholarly reference source. The division of biographies into 10 categories (Witches, Artists, Writers, Reformers and Revolutionaries, etc.) fails to clarify the criteria by which the sketches were selected and edited. One wonders why Harriet Tubman, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Käthe Kollwitz, the Brontë sisters, Emily Dickinson, and many more have been omitted.

While *Generations of Denial* reflects the dearth of comprehensive, well-documented material about women's role in history-making, it signals the beginning of many publications by women about our heritage.

Copies can be ordered from Times Change Press, 1023 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10018.

—LOUISE ARMSTRONG



Astronomer Maria Mitchell (left) and assistant in 1888.

Evers bid scarred by fraud, violence

By DERRICK MORRISON

In the face of overwhelming evidence of coercion, fraud and racist violence, the U. S. Justice Department concluded that the recent Mississippi elections in which 284 Black candidates ran for office were "substantially fair." Most other observers disagreed.

Election laws and codes were brazenly violated by white officials on Nov. 2. "When a white voter came to vote, the election manager would put the stamp marked 'Voted' in the column for a previous election. The space for the present election was then still empty, and the white could come back and vote again. Once the poll-watchers were alerted to his game, a new refinement developed. When a white came to vote, the stamp would be put opposite the name of a Black voter, so the white could vote again and the Black would be told he had already voted," reported Bartle Bull in the Nov. 11 *Village Voice*, a New York weekly.

Jack White of the *Race Relations Reporter*, a newsletter published twice a month in Nashville, Tenn., said in the Nov. 15 issue, "Polling places in many districts were unmarked and unadvertised and were located in private businesses. Some of the polling places were located in places where white racists traditionally meet."

In one polling place, Bull reports, a gang of whites gathered around, throwing nooses over tree branches and talking loudly of "the old days." The gang, along with the sheriff, then moved down the street, driving off Blacks who might be thinking of going to vote.

Local Blacks were not the only witnesses to these incidents. Over 130 out-of-state lawyers and hundreds of Black and white students had assembled the previous day to help get the vote out.

The 284 Black candidates—including

Charles Evers, who was running for governor—were listed as "independents," but were all part of the Loyalist Democratic Party. The LDP defines itself as a faction of the Democratic Party in opposition to the regular officials, who control the state. (See "Lessons of Evers' Mississippi Defeat" in the Nov. 19 *Militant*.)

After the polls close, Mississippi election law requires the ballots to be counted "immediately" and "publicly." This rule was not only flagrantly disregarded by election officials throughout the state, but even in Fayette, where Evers is the mayor.

The Fayette officials, one of whom Bull says is reputed to be a member of the Ku Klux Klan, ordered everybody out at closing time and then locked the booth up and drove off. The FBI agent standing by didn't lift a finger, despite protests by lawyers watching the polls for Evers.

Later, when the officials returned to tally the votes, they effectively prevented the Evers' people from checking it.

In other areas of the state, despite the presence of federal officials, poll-watchers for Evers were forced to disperse by physical intimidation or beatings.

When the smoke cleared from the fraud state officials called an election, only 44 Black candidates were elected, according to *Race Relations Reporter* correspondent White. One Black was reelected to the state legislature.

Evers, who during the campaign projected the notion he was actually going to win, spent \$125,000 in his bid for governor, White reported. Most of this money was raised by national Democratic officials. The local campaigns, however, were left to fend for themselves.

White writes, "Some, like lawyer John Brittain, feel that Blacks might form a real political party to replace the present loose coalition of local organizations, many of which stem from the old civil rights days. Others, like defeated state representative candidate Cleve McDowell, of Drew, feel that Blacks must build their local strength in order to get some kind of deal from the state Democratic Party. And Evers, who seems to be in a state of semi-shock at the failure of the Black vote to materialize, is . . . considering a race against U. S. Rep. Charles H. Griffin next year."

Evers can run again because he'll get the financial backing of the national Democratic Party hierarchy.



Charles Evers

But a base to organize for Black control of every institution in Mississippi's Black community cannot be found in the Democratic Party. To satisfy their desire to end oppression, Black people will find it necessary to organize their own party, a party in which they lay down the program and utilize every means available—from the ballot to the bullet—to implement it.

Madison hosts nat'l gay gathering

By ART GURSCH and BILL STANLEY

MADISON, Wis.—A national gay conference was held here the weekend of Nov. 26-28. The conference, hosted by the Madison Gay Liberation Front, was attended by about 200 participants, including people from New York's Gay Activists Alliance and groups in Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., Boston, Lincoln, Neb., Minneapolis, Champaign, Ill., Omaha, Seattle, Austin, and others. About 40 were gay women.

With the exception of the final session dealing with the 1972 elections, no concrete proposals came out of the conference, which was not planned as a decision-making conference.

On Friday and most of Saturday, the sessions consisted of workshops on topics like Problems of Gay Women, New Life Styles, Transsexuals and Transvestites, Gays in Universities, Third World Gays, White Chauvinism and Racism, Gay Newspapers, Gays and the Military, Gays in Small Towns, Sex, Gay Youth, Counseling Gay People, Cuba, Gay Political Activism, Gay Liberation and Radical Politics, Gay Poetry and Culture, Gay People and the Law, Gays and Religion, and Bisexuality.

A general meeting of the conference was held after the workshops on Saturday afternoon. At this time, the 40 women in attendance marched to the front of the room and announced that they were withdrawing. A spokeswoman read a statement denouncing the conference as a sexist convention, accused the organizers of notifying them at the last minute and of barring them from participating in the planning of the conference.

A man from Madison GLF replied that the conference had been conceived of more as a celebration than a political conference anyway.

The Third World people then called their own caucus, which decided to support the action of the women.

In the meantime, some of the men who remained proceeded into an abstract discussion of how they could "deal with their sexism."

The 1972 elections workshop, attended by about 30 people, met after the general conference meeting. New York's GAA explained its own policy of not endorsing any candidates but confronting them about their stance on issues relating to homosexuals. After that, however, other groups brought up a wide range of ideas for getting gay precinct captains and other officials elected to posts in the Democratic Party machine. The suggestion was made for an independent gay presidential candidate, but most participants felt that the gay movement was not "together" enough to try this.

It was decided to organize a national conference for February or March in Chicago for the specific purpose of determining gay election strategy. The general perspective was to form a national gay coalition, but one oriented toward electoral activity.

The American way of life

By JOHN SORUM

In a society that puts a premium on youth, it can be pretty scary and miserable to grow old. Especially if your society is capitalist America and your city New York.

Even if you're rich you live in constant fear of mugging. Your children grow up hating you and everybody else mistrusts or ignores you. Streets filled with carbon monoxide and parks littered with refuse and dog droppings discourage outdoor use of well-deserved leisure. You learn to be lonely.

If you're poor, you also learn to live with illness, until you die from it, because a right to free medical care would be un-American. You don't even have a right to eat because if you're hungry in America, it's because you didn't spend your life saving up for old age. The only reward you may look forward to is to die in dignity.

You may not even be allowed to do that, however. June Nector, according to recent reports in the *New York Times*, was not.

For 25 years she lived in a rooming house on West 85th Street. She received no mail, had no friends, and only once, so far as anyone knows, did she have a visitor, a maid she worked with when she was a cook for a wealthy family. She was at least 80 when she died.

A few weeks ago, she collapsed in the hallway of the rooming house. A tenant called the police, who came and brought her to the hospital. Nothing was found to be wrong with her except old age. "She sat up in a wheel chair all night, calm and

quiet, saying that she wanted to go home," a nurse said.

The next day, an attendant brought her back to the vestibule of the rooming house and left her. She did not have a key to her room. A few



minutes later, she collapsed. Again the police were called. They carried her to her room.

"In this city," one said, "we treat sick animals better than sick people."

For 10 days she survived only because a small

nonprofit group called Project Pilot heard about her. They sent someone to give her food and put her back into bed when she fell out. She did not appear to want their help, though, and finally refused their soup altogether and asked them to go away.

Though she did not want to go to the hospital, Project Pilot called for an ambulance. But the ambulance attendant didn't want to have anything to do with her, so a cop had to carry her down to the street. She died in the hospital two days later, with needles attached to tubes stuck into both arms, surrounded by large red and purple bruises. "It hurts when you stick needles in someone," said a doctor, "and there comes a time when death is better than the pain of staying alive."

The address book they found in June Nector's room was absolutely blank. There were four impersonal postcards, apparently from people she had once worked for. The last one had been mailed in 1961. And there was a letter she had written to herself telling about the travels of a little girl around Europe. They also found a photograph, dated 1899, of a little girl with her parents.

"The horrifying thing is that we don't know how many people this is happening to," said the man from Project Pilot.

It says a lot about the capitalist system when the people who do the work are discarded with less concern than used cars. Even junk cars are a marketable commodity, after all. And in a society where profits come before people, crimes like the last years of June Nector's life require no further justification.

Calendar

BOSTON

VOICES OF DISSENT. Interview with Tomas Mac Giolla, president of Sinn Fein, the political arm of the Irish Republican Army. Wed., Dec. 15, 8 p.m. on **WTBS**, 88.1 FM. Sat., Dec. 18, 8 p.m. on **WBUR**, 90.9 FM.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE FOUNDING OF THE PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST PARTY (PSP). Speaker from MPI. Fri., Dec. 17, 8 p.m., at 2744 Broadway (105th St.) Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Forum.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 11:30 a.m. every Monday, **KPFK-FM**, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

NIXON'S SECRET WAR IN LAOS. Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., Dec. 17, 8 p.m., at 1 University Ave N.E. (at E. Hennepin), Second Floor, Minneapolis. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

... crisis

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The employers depend upon the capitalist state to defend their interests. That is what Nixon is doing openly, unabashedly, and with little or no circumlocution. He takes an open stand against labor. Why should labor cooperate with him?

The capitalist class has made the present crisis a political one by arranging for government intervention. The workers must meet the threat on that level. They must organize independently of and against all capitalist political formations. And that means to form a labor party in this country.

... Raza

Continued from page 11

This view was later reiterated by Al Gurulé, who was the Raza Unida Party candidate for governor of Colorado in 1970 and is presently a doctoral candidate at Brandeis University in Massachusetts. One of the main speakers at the Sunday session, Gurulé painted a pessimistic picture of the period ahead. He stated that he didn't "see much hope for building power in this country," and expressed doubts about whether the Raza Unida Party would stem what he

viewed as a period of "repression."

Gurulé, referring to the censorship, said "red-baiting is healthy." Falsely insinuating that the Socialist Workers Party and *The Militant* do not support the Raza Unida Party, he stated, "liberal, socialist racism is not going to be able to stop that growth [of the Raza Unida Party]." Lumping references to the two capitalist parties with innuendos about socialists, he said that "we have to make it uncomfortable for these people."

The final address, given by a Mexican student, Humberto Pérez Hernández, was in sharp contrast to the speech by Gurulé. Pérez gave a moving description of the student, worker and peasant struggles going on in Mexico and recounted the events leading to the Mexican government's bloody massacre of students at La Plaza de las Tres Culturas (Plaza of the Three Cultures) in Mexico City on Oct. 2, 1968. Referring to the revolutionary struggle in Mexico, he stated that "Marxism-Leninism is a necessary tool in our struggle."

A central theme that emerged from the conference was the need—especially in light of the 1972 elections—to reach out to the Chicano community with the truth about how the two-party system maintains the oppression of La Raza.

Roberto Hernández pointed to the impact the Raza Unida parties have had already and stated that "the Raza Unida Party is setting an example for Blacks and even labor," showing how to fight the system. Tito Lucero summed up the feelings of the majority of the participants in the political workshop. He stated, referring to Raul Ruiz causing the defeat of a "liberal" Mexican-American Democrat, "Let's face it, we are out to destroy the Democratic Party. That's the name of the game."

... Front

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de los trabajadores es obra de los trabajadores mismos" (The freeing of the workers is the task of the workers themselves).

A vote for bourgeois leadership

In my opinion, this was an error. More than a tactical question was in-

volved, since objectively to issue a ballot with Seregni's name on it was to ask voters to vote for him, that is, vote for the bourgeois leadership of the Broad Front. It would have been better to try to make a scandal over the undemocratic ruling and to avoid issuing a ballot that included the name of a figure whose program was in complete opposition to that of the PRT.

It is true that from abroad it is difficult to determine what weight Seregni's name actually represented in Uruguay. Among the groupings that ran slates of their own candidates in addition to Seregni, Crottogini, and Villar, one notices the stress they place in their political advertisements on the candidates identifying their grouping as such and the completely subordinate position they give to Seregni. In many instances his name is not even included.

It seems, too, that the ballot designations are discounted to a certain extent by the voters. The Broad Front itself appeared on the ballot only by courtesy of the Christian Democratic party, which made its standing place on the ballot available to the Broad Front. Thus every ballot of all the Broad Front slates starts out with the line: "Partido Demócrata Cristiano."

But the Christian Democrats were so far from thinking that this meant an automatic vote for their party, that they ran their own slate, designating it in big type as Partido Demócrata Cristiano, Lista 808; and they campaigned for votes on that basis.

In addition, it must be noted that in its election literature, the PRT did not campaign at all for Seregni. A good example of what they said can be found in the article from *Tendencia Revolucionaria* published on the eve of the election, which is included elsewhere in this issue.

Nevertheless, the objective meaning of including the names of Seregni, Crottogini, and Villar on the slate of Candidatos Obreros (Lista 1968) remains.

In Wall Street, the defeat of the Broad Front was received with a sigh of relief. The *New York Times* in an editorial December 3 saw the outcome as giving "one of the traditional parties a new five-year opportunity to transform the country." As an afterthought the editors added: "It may be the last chance for the Uruguayan democracy."

It is doubtful that Uruguayan capitalism will win a five-year breathing space. The deep economic crisis that has racked the country for the past fifteen years continues unabated.

The Uruguayan workers will hardly wait for a half a decade to go through another experience with a broad front. It is much more likely that they will pour into the streets by the hundreds of thousands as they did on November 24—but this time to change the entire system. And they will do it in perhaps less than the ten days that it took the Russian workers in 1917.

... war

Continued from page 5

border conflict between India and China.

The prospects for the people of Bangla Desh to control their own destiny do not look good. On one hand, they face the brutal attempts of the Pakistani army to terrorize them into submission. On the other hand, they face India, which wants influence over Bangla Desh and will support their struggle only on condition that it remains politically subservient to India. The U. S. and other imperialist powers are taking the side of Pakistan, while the leaderships of the Soviet Union and China have once again demonstrated that they place their own, narrow, national diplomatic interests above the interests of the world class struggle.

What is needed is international support for the right of Bangla Desh to self-determination. The people of Bangla Desh alone have the right to decide the destiny of their country. No other country has any right to intervene against the Bangla Desh independence struggle, or to place conditions on its right to self-determination, as both India and the Soviet Union have done.

The people of Bangla Desh have not sacrificed one million lives simply to replace Pakistani domination of their country with Indian domination. Sydney H. Schanberg, writing in the Dec. 6 *New York Times*, cited an indication of this sentiment expressed by an 18-year-old Bangla Desh guerrilla fighter. The Indian troops "have come to help us," he said, and then added, "But I will not be happy if we do not take part in it and if we are not the ones to liberate Bangla Desh."

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, c/o Richard Ratherns, P.O. Box 5377, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35406.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o John Beadle, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 968-2913.

Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.

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THE MILITANT

U.S.-backed Cambodian army routed by guerrilla fighters

By DICK ROBERTS

"Thousands of Cambodian government troops were reported in disorderly retreat today as a major military campaign north of the capital collapsed in the face of heavy North Vietnamese attacks," United Press International reported from Pnompenh Dec. 2.

"Half of a 20,000-man task force that has been trying to reopen Route 6 to the northern provinces was said to have been virtually destroyed as a fighting unit," the UPI dispatch stated.

According to a Reuters dispatch from Skoun, Cambodia, the same day, the Pnompenh army retreat "marked the crumbling of the Cambodian government's biggest military campaign of the year. . . . All the gains of this year's campaign are reportedly being given up in the rush to reach the safety of the paddy fields to the south."

This defeat is a severe setback to President Nixon's war policies. It exposes the impossibility of Washington's winning the war in Southeast Asia and "winding down" U.S. military intervention at the same time.

Further details of the setback appeared in an Associated Press dispatch from Pnompenh Dec. 5: "A 30-mile stretch of Route 6 was reoccupied by the North Vietnamese after the collapse of the Cambodian army's main monsoon offensive. . . . The retreat was made on direct orders from Marshal Lon Nol, Cambodia's premier. . . . Several senior officers are coming under increasing criticism for the speed with which they left their men to fend for themselves when the

North Vietnamese Ninth Division attacked."

According to the Dec. 2 UPI report from Pnompenh, "Government sources reported that United States warplanes were called in to destroy tanks and other war material abandoned by the Cambodians so that the equipment would not fall into enemy hands."

In its main editorial on Sunday, Dec. 5, the *New York Times* underlined two aspects of the defeat: "Massive United States air power, which is the obvious keystone of President Nixon's hopes for pursuing the war in Indochina without the use of American ground forces, has failed conspicuously to stem the Communist assault along Route 6. But in Cambodia, as in Vietnam and Laos, the United States planes are devastating the countryside and helping to generate masses of displaced persons and untold numbers of innocent casualties."

The grim effects of saturation U.S. bombardment in Cambodia are beginning to be reported. *Times* correspondent Iver Peterson wrote from Pnompenh, Nov. 28, "As the war in Cambodia drags on, an increasing number of Cambodian families are discovering the harsh life of the refugee on the road and in temporary camps. . . .

"There is growing evidence that the peasants fleeing the countryside not far from here do so because of allied bombing and artillery fire—much of it American and South Vietnamese—and not because Communist troops are present or because pitched battles are being fought by the Cambodians and the North Vietnamese invaders."

Peterson quotes a Cambodian farm-

er: "When the Communists came all the houses were still standing. But after they spent the night inside the village, the airplanes came and started bombing, so we left."

Peterson continues, "Tuol Leap is flattened now. . . . Meas Yat [the farmer] and his family and a number of friends have been wandering up and down Highway 4 since then, camping in fields and in the enclosed yards of pagodas. . . .

"American officials take the position that those who flee the fighting in the countryside are not refugees because most can return home once it has passed by." These officials have a peculiar conception of home—since the refugees have fled in the first place because their homes were bombed to rubble.

In Washington, Dec. 4, the U.S. Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Refugees released a report that more than two million Cambodians have become refugees since Nixon ordered the U.S. invasion in May 1970. Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), chairman of the subcommittee, charged that Washington was ignoring the refugees and supplying no funds for medical supplies and relief.

A public affairs officer of the State Department confirmed that Kennedy's charge was accurate and explained that it was the administration's position that "Since only a limited amount of money is available, we can most effectively focus it on military and economic assistance." Another government official, quoted in a *New York Times* article Dec. 5, stated: "The policy of the United States is not to become involved with the problems of civilian war victims in Cambodia."

Student struggle wins birth control clinic

By CALVIN GODDARD

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Women students at American University have won their longstanding demand for a gynecology and birth-control clinic on campus following a week of student demonstrations that began with a sit-in Nov. 30.

University President George Williams pledged that a clinic would be in operation by mid-January. The nature and extent of services to be offered will be determined by future negotiations.

The administration also agreed to revoke the suspension of five women students who were among 35 taking part in the sit-in in Williams' office.

Following nine months of negotiations with AU Women's Liberation, Williams had refused to provide university space for a gynecology clinic, although Planned Parenthood offered to furnish doctors, equipment and supplies.

The need for such a clinic had been established by polling women students last spring. They favored it by a vote of 592 to eight. The student government also backed the clinic, and nursing students and faculty, at an emergency meeting, voted overwhelmingly for the clinic and for amnesty for the suspended women.

Hundreds of students attended support rallies and strategy meetings during the week following the initial sit-in. On Dec. 1, about 200 students staged a five-hour sit-in at the registrar's office, closing it for the afternoon.

On Dec. 3, a group of about 200 women and men supporters, waiting in subfreezing weather outside Williams' office where negotiations went on for more than three hours, cheered the announcement of the administration's concessions.

The controversy received wide coverage in Washington TV, radio and newspapers.

Student activists at AU believe this victory will add impetus to the struggle for their other demands, such as full financing of the recently curtailed student government fund, which includes money for abortion loans, a day-care center, and a bail fund. Other demands are expansion of health facilities to 24 hours a day, seven days a week; a ceiling on the costs of tuition and residence halls; and increased power to the student government.

The women at American University hope that their struggle will "extend to other women, especially our sisters in universities across the country who do not have gynecological services."

Abortion foes launch offensive against liberal New York law

By RUTH ROBINETT

NEW YORK—On Dec. 3 a Fordham University professor initiated the first major constitutional challenge to the liberal New York State abortion law. The New York law, which has been in effect for 18 months, permits abortion on demand if performed by a doctor before the 24th week of pregnancy.

New York State Supreme Court Justice Lester Holtzman appointed Professor Robert M. Byrn the legal guardian of all fetuses between the fourth and 24th weeks of gestation scheduled to be aborted in New York municipal hospitals. Holtzman also ordered the New York City Health and Hospital Corporation to show

cause why they should not refrain from performing abortions in municipal hospitals until the constitutional questions have been settled.

Professor Byrn maintains, according to the Dec. 4 *New York Times*, that the New York law permitting abortions violates the 14th Amendment by depriving "unborn persons" of "life, liberty and property." The hearing for the order was set for Dec. 7.

This move on the part of Professor Byrn was seen by women's groups here as a direct attack on the right of women to control their own bodies. In addition, it discriminates against poor women, since it attempts to restrict abortions only in municipal hos-

pitals, whose clients cannot afford private clinics or doctors.

The New York Women's Abortion Action Coalition, responding immediately to the challenge, joined the Women's Health and Abortion Project, an abortion referral collective, in calling for a picket line at the Dec. 7 hearing.

Organized on short notice, the 30 supporters of abortion at the hearing were met by a large turnout of "right-to-life" forces picketing in front of the courthouse.

Defense lawyers opened the hearing with a request for two weeks' postponement. They cited the short notice given to prepare a defense and the fact that an entire class affected by the suit was not represented—the women who want to have abortions.

However, Judge Frank Smith granted only a two-day postponement after hearing Professor Byrn's attorney argue that his "clients are doomed if postponement is granted."

In response to this attempt to take back the limited right to abortion won by women in New York State, the Women's Abortion Action Coalition and Women's Health and Abortion Project have begun an intensive campaign to build a demonstration at the courthouse for the rescheduled hearing Dec. 9. In addition, a broadly sponsored meeting is planned for the same evening to discuss how the women's movement is going to respond to this attack.



Photos by Lora Eckert

Pro- and anti-abortion groups confront each other Dec. 7 at New York courthouse.