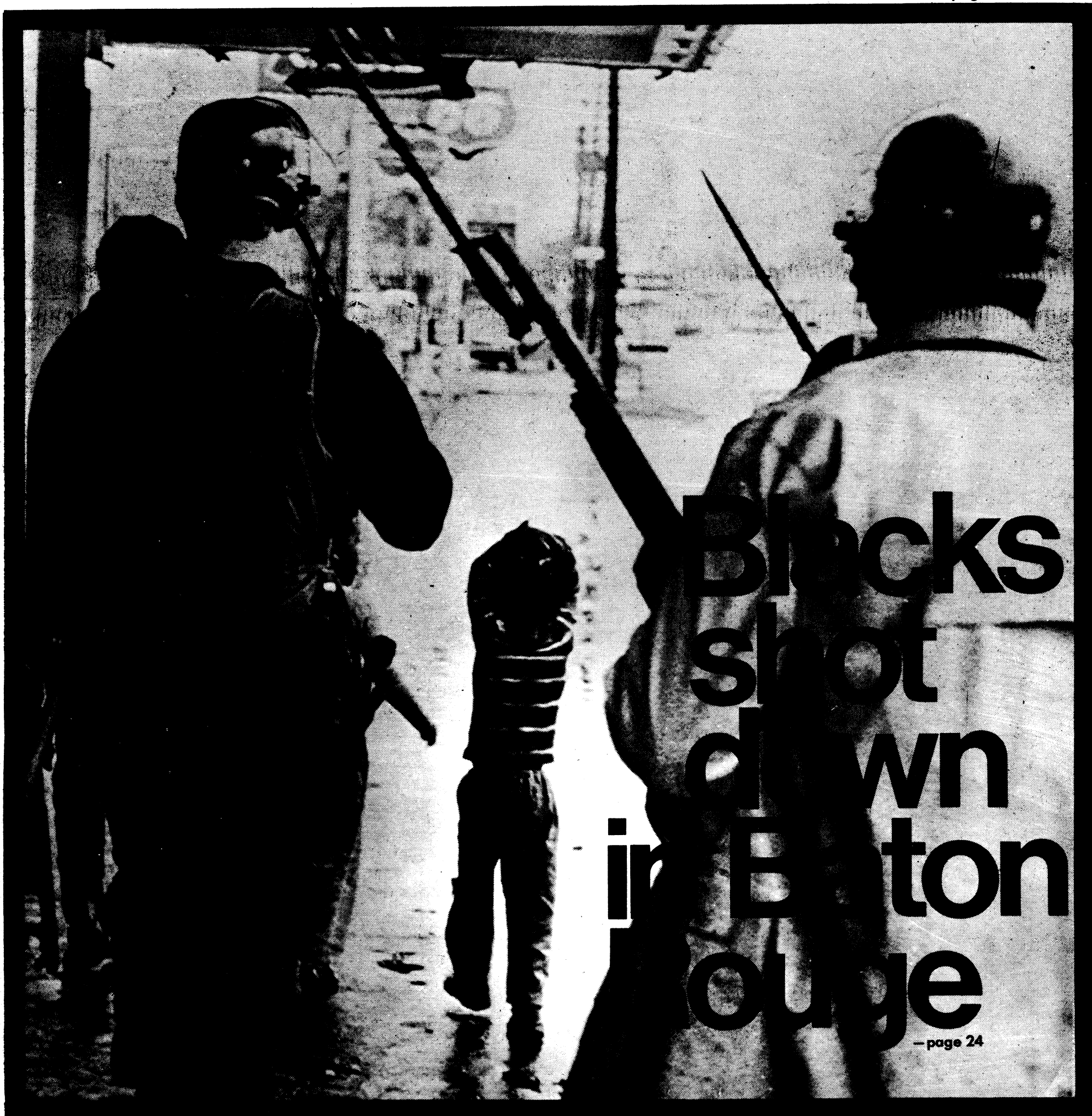


THE MILITANT

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

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TARIQ ALI ON TOUR IN CANADA: Tariq Ali, well-known Pakistani revolutionist and a leader of the International Marxist Group (British section of the Fourth International), is currently speaking in Canada on 'The Struggle for Bangladesh and the Indo-Pakistan War.' He will be addressing campus meetings and city-wide public forums in a number of Canadian and Quebec cities through Jan. 20. The tour has been arranged by the Tariq Ali-Solidarity with Bangladesh Tour Committee, which has invited individuals and organizations that support the Bangladesh independence struggle to assist its work. Ali is an editor of the newspaper *Red Mole* and author of *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power?* published in 1970 following his extended trip to Pakistan and Bangladesh.

For more information on this tour, contact Phil Courneyeur, Tariq Ali Tour Coordinator, 334 Queen Street West, Toronto 2B, Canada. Phone: (416) 364-5908.

Tariq Ali has been prevented from speaking in the United States by undemocratic rulings of the State Department.

ASSASSINATION PLOT AIMED AT CESAR CHAVEZ: United Farm Workers Organizing Committee spokesmen have confirmed reports in the press, including one in the Jan. 2 *New York Times*, that a plot exists to assassinate the union leader. The plot was revealed by Larry Shears, a 32-year-old police informer who says \$5,000 was offered to him in behalf of growers in the San Joaquin Valley of California to secure his participation. He also claims to have witnessed the payment of \$30,000 by the son of a grower to carry out the killing. Two men whom Shears said were involved have been arrested on unrelated charges. Federal officials who first warned the union of an assassination plot last summer now consider the case closed.

According to the *Times*, Jerry Cohen, chief counsel of the union, "will seek a Congressional investigation." Officials of the union, the *Times* also reports, "agreed with Mr. Shears in believing that all that may have been accomplished was to delay an assassination attempt."



On Jan. 12 Federal District Court Judge David K. Middlebrooks upheld the dismissal of Florida Young Socialist Alliance leader "Radical Jack" Lieberman from Florida State University. Lieberman, dismissed Nov. 7 by university officials for teaching a class on "How to make a revolution in the U.S.," has been waging a major defense effort with the help of the Committee for Free Speech at FSU. He plans to ask for an injunction against the dismissal, pending appeal to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. For more information about the case, write to the defense committee at: Box 1206, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306, or call (904) 224-7499.

IRVING BEININ LEAVES GUARDIAN: "The previous general manager of the *Guardian*, Irving Beinin, is leaving the staff and will continue his political activities in other areas." So says a "Report to readers" in the Jan. 12 issue of the *Guardian*, a New York radical weekly. No explanation is given for the departure of Beinin, who for many years played a central role in the *Guardian*.

At the annual election meeting of the *Guardian* staff on Dec. 31, Irwin Silber, a staff writer and cultural editor, was elected "to the newly created position of executive editor for a term of two years. This position incorporates the duties formerly held by the general manager, with wider responsibilities in terms of the general editorial direction of the *Guardian*. Silber is expected to take an active role in publicly projecting the *Guardian* and will also continue writing for the paper."

Jack Smith remains managing editor and a coordinating committee was also elected.

THE MILITANT GETS AROUND: *El Sol de Texas* is a Spanish-language weekly with a circulation of 25,000 in the San Antonio, Dallas and Fort Worth areas. Its publisher, Jesus Gutiérrez Cárdenas, attended the Texas

state convention of La Raza Unida Party in October and pledged to promote the party in his paper. "Raza Unida Obtains Important Political Triumph" is the banner headline of the lead article in the Dec. 31 issue. The article, reporting on LRUP developments in San Juan, Texas, is based on articles from the Dec. 10 issue of *The Militant*.

El Sol gives the following credit for the source of their article. "Towards the middle of November, a reporter of a militant newspaper from New York visited San Juan, together with Manuel 'Tank' Barrera, a spokesman of the Texas Socialist Workers Party." Anyone interested in subscribing to *El Sol de Texas* can write them at 801 Core St., Dallas, Texas 75207. One-year subscriptions are \$7, six months \$4.

UNDERGROUND PRESS HASSLED I: The *Great Speckled Bird* in Atlanta reports stepped-up harassment of people who hawk their paper. The local police are now systematically writing tickets for "violating pedestrian duties" and other trumped-up charges. One judge, according to the Jan. 10 *Bird*, is said to have explained, "That's why they're (the police) down there—to keep you people off the street." Apparently *Bird* exposes of slumlords—including in-laws of liberal Mayor Sam Massell and the mayor himself—have incurred the wrath of the local powers that be.

UNDERGROUND PRESS HASSLED II: In Dallas, Texas, an "All-American City," police are now enforcing a state law that prohibits "soliciting in the streets," according to the Dec. 10-17 *Iconoclast*. The paper reports that street sales are essential because the city has forbidden them the use of news boxes. "So far the street dealers have been told that they have the constitutional right to stand on the sidewalk and display papers to passing motorists. But if someone stops and wants to buy a paper, to step into the street to hand it to them, or to collect the quarter, is a violation of the newly enforced law." Tickets issued have cost \$52.50 or a certain number of days in jail.

ANTIWAR OFFICER WINS REPRIEVE: According to a news release from the Northern California Peace Action Coalition, Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas ordered a temporary stay on Jan. 3 preventing the Navy from transferring a young Annapolis Academy graduate to a tour of duty outside his present naval district.

The officer, Lieutenant Robert Sholars, 25, is currently awaiting the result of an appeal to the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals for a conscientious objector discharge from the Navy. Sholars says the C.O. request was denied because the Navy "doubted my sincerity." Although he has never participated in antiwar activities, Sholars is opposed to the war in Southeast Asia. "I just don't think an officer should express his opinions publicly," he explains. "At the time of my enlistment and even my graduation (ninth in his class of 840), I never thought of the possibility of a CO discharge. At that time I felt a strong sense of duty to my country and a commitment to support my country through the military. . . . After a prolonged period of time sorting out my feelings, obligations and beliefs, I came to the conclusion that my religious principles occupy a higher position than my previous obligation to serve in the military."

SOLE SURVIVOR OF CUSTER'S LAST STAND?: A recent issue of *Akwesasne Notes* had an article worth quoting from: "Lawrence, Kan.—Until recently, Comanche, the horse from the 7th U.S. Army Cavalry that survived the Battle of the Little Big Horn, was stuffed and displayed in the Museum of Natural History of the University of Kansas, with a sign identifying him as 'the sole survivor.'"

"As a result of Indian protests and the draping of his air-conditioned case in black by 12 Indian students early in November, however, some changes have been made. 'Lots of Indians survived the Little Big Horn,' said Mrs. Kathryn Red-Corn Dumont, an Osage. 'But American history teaches that nobody survived. Nobody white, is what that means.'"

A Potawatomi, Mrs. Ona Mzhickteno Keltcher, said the protesters wanted an Indian Studies Program at KU where no courses on Indian civilization are now taught. After first feeling that the horse should be removed as "offensive to the memory of the Indians who had suffered at the hands of Custer," the protesters decided to use it to explain their views. "Now the sign reads: 'Comanche stands as a symbol of the conflict between the United States Army and the Indian tribes of the Great Plains that resulted from the government's policy of confinement of Indians on reservations and extermination of those Indians who refused to be confined. . . . The sign goes on to tell of 'the conquest of Indian lands' and the massacre at Wounded Knee, S.D., in 1890."

—JOEL BRITTON

YSA puts energy into The Militant's sub renewal drive

By DAVE FRANKEL

The Young Socialist Alliance has voted to mobilize its ranks behind *The Militant's* subscription renewal campaign. This action to help increase the regular circulation of *The Militant* was taken at the YSA's annual national convention held in Houston Dec. 28-Jan. 1.

The goal of the renewal campaign is to gain as many of *The Militant's* 32,580 new readers as possible as regular, one-year subscribers.

The renewal campaign was the main point in the organization report to the convention presented by Terry Hardy, a member of the YSA's national executive committee. Hardy said that the YSA, working closely with the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley and the Socialist Workers Party, would be undertaking "an experiment designed to increase the renewal rate, to see how much we can exceed the 10 percent renewal rate that followed the fall 1970 subscription drive." The 10 percent rate of renewal, an impressive figure, was achieved without an organized renewal campaign.

Hardy projected a highly organized effort, "with consistent direction and leadership," to individually visit the new readers as their introductory subscriptions expire in January, February and March. In politically motivating the renewal drive, she told the delegates:

"*The Militant* is the paper of a growing revolutionary-socialist party and youth organization that gives analysis arrived at through the experience and knowledge of the many socialists active in day-to-day struggles, together with a rich history of revolutionary theory and practice.

"The expansion of *The Militant* over the past decade indicates that the ideas of revolutionary socialism have had a real impact on the current radical-

pressed in their struggle for liberation. From the time of Marx, who was an editor of and contributor to many left-wing newspapers, and who was expelled from Paris, Brussels, and Cologne because of his journalistic activity, the press has been a key weapon revolutionaries have used in reaching new people and popularizing their ideas.

During a time of unprecedented radicalization and mounting political struggles it is important that we set our sights on a consistent expansion of the circulation of *The Militant* commensurate with the increase of radical activity.

Before any of the 32,580 *Militant* readers who bought introductory subscriptions last fall received their first renewal notice from the *Militant* business office, 71 of them had already renewed their subscriptions.

Many *Militant* supporters, including members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, are activists in the movements for social change. *The Militant* serves not only to relay information about the activities of these movements in various areas of the country, but also as a political organizer and practical guide for the movements arising out of the radicalization. Its coverage of the debates and discussions within these movements and their experiences in different areas is an important factor in the growth and political development of these movements. Hardy pointed out in her report that Lenin, in his 1901 article "Where to Begin," said that "A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer."

At the same time that it supports the struggles of workers, builds the antiwar movement, the campus struggles and the movements for Black, Chicano and women's liberation, *The Militant* also builds the revolutionary-socialist movement. The role of *The Militant* in this area is exemplified by its support to and coverage of the 1972 Socialist Workers Party presidential and local campaigns. These campaigns, which coincide with the expansion of *The Militant*, will see tens of thousands of people reached directly by socialist propagandists, and millions of people reached through the mass media and distribution of socialist literature.

Hardy explained to the convention delegates that the establishment in 1912 of *Pravda*, a four-page daily and the first legal paper of the Bolshevik Party in Russia, coincided with the Bolshevik campaign for election to the Duma, which was the closest thing there was to a parliament under Czarism. Lenin viewed the building of the campaign and the paper as an interlinked process and the most important task before the party at that time.

Together with the 1972 socialist election campaign, the expansion of its press is the most important task of the revolutionary-socialist movement today as well. A successful renewal campaign this spring will help lay the basis for a truly massive subscription drive next fall as part of the windup of the 1972 socialist election campaign.



Terry Hardy

Photo by Dave Warren

ization. *The Militant* has gone from a four-page paper in 1960, with an average circulation per issue that year of 3,700; to 12 pages in 1968, with a circulation of just under 10,000; to a 24-page paper today. We reached a high point of 43,000 readers at the end of this fall's sub drive. The average circulation per issue in 1971 was very close to 20,000.

"Our objective is to turn *The Militant* into a mass circulation socialist weekly."

The Militant is a newspaper that has no interests, either economic or political, other than those of the op-

¡HORALE RAZA!



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- () 4. GIs SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE WAR by Fred Halstead.
- () 5. INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY by Ernest Mandel.
- () 6. THREE PAMPHLETS ON THE CHICANO STRUGGLE: Chicano Liberation and Revolutionary Youth, La Raza Unida Party in Texas, and La Raza! Why a Chicano Party? Why Chicano Studies?
- () 7. THEIR MORALS AND OURS by Leon Trotsky, John Dewey, and George Novack.
- () Enclosed is \$6 for a one-year subscription.

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By CAROLINE LUND

Constance Fox Weissman, an activist in the Socialist Workers Party for nearly 30 years of her life, died of a stroke on Jan. 8 at the age of 63. She had had a developing condition of arteriosclerosis for the last several years.

Constance Weissman was a devoted and untiring supporter of the SWP, active on a full-time basis until her health began to fail. She was an example of the convinced, dedicated revolutionist who will be a necessary ingredient in the American socialist revolution.

Connie came to the Socialist Workers Party from quite an unusual background. She was born in 1908 into a Catholic family situated in the upper rungs of New York society. Her father was an eminent lawyer, and her grandfather an important judge.

Fortunately Connie was sent to a liberal, experimental-type school, the Todhunter School, rather than the standard finishing school. Todhunter was a very small school founded by Eleanor Roosevelt, who also taught there and served as vice-principal. Connie graduated in a class of only six young women to whom Franklin Delano Roosevelt, then governor of New York, gave the commencement address. Perhaps it was at this school that Connie began to develop her sense of rebellion against injustice and inequality.

When she was only 20 and a member of the Junior League (the "social service" organization for debutantes), she lobbied for the elimination of laws prohibiting the teaching of birth-control methods. She supported the right of women to control their own bodies even though she was still a Catholic.

Connie never went to college, although she took courses at Columbia University and also learned such practical skills as typing and shorthand. Throughout her life, and even last year, she continued to take courses in cultural and sociological subjects.

She married young and made what was considered in her circles a "brilliant match." Her husband was a stockbroker and later became chairman of a wall street firm. They had three children, and Connie led the life of a society matron. Her husband was a flying enthusiast, and Connie took flying instruction, passed the test for an aviator's license, and did much flying in the U. S. and South America. She was also a fine athlete.

But this life was not satisfying to Connie, and she was searching for something to do that would be more worthwhile. She began to work in the field of health, organizing volunteer workers for the health service of Monmouth County, N. J. This was during the depression years, before the discovery of drugs that could cure tuberculosis, and Connie spent much of her time working with TB patients.

This work made her even more conscious of the injustice of capitalist society. TB hit poor and Black people the hardest. The instructions given to patients with incipient TB was rest and a diet including plenty of milk, eggs and fresh fruit. But how could working people afford that kind of food, much less take a "rest" from their jobs and leave their families with no support?

Connie was deeply affected by the many tragedies she saw—for example, workers who would do almost anything to hide the fact they had TB in order to avoid having to go to a sanatorium, and would end up infecting others in their family.

In addition to doing administrative work, Connie worked as a nurse's aide, doing all those necessary jobs that class society considers menial.

One incident at this time was especially shocking to her and helped to radicalize her. When the war began, the government made funds available to hospitals for training nurses. Because of the Fair Employment Practices Order, which the 1941 March on Washington movement had forced out of the Roosevelt administration, the government stipulated that Blacks must be accepted for nurses' training by any hospital desiring this federal money.

Connie was on the board of directors of a local hospital. Other board members did not want to accept Blacks for training but wanted the federal money. They proposed that Blacks be accepted for the training program but then flunked on their final exams so they couldn't graduate and work at the hospital. Connie and one other woman on the board were outraged at this proposal, and raised such a fight that the others gave in, fearing a scandal.

She also worked on co-op projects to give work to the local unemployed. Jobless workers would

Constance Weissman 1908-1972



Photo by Ed Shaw



Above, Constance Weissman (right) at April 15, 1967, antiwar march in New York. Below, Constance and George Weissman with Natalia Sedova.

make handicraft items that Connie would help pressure department stores in New York to order.

Her first real contact with workers struggles occurred when she attempted to intercede on behalf of some factory workers on strike in Red Bank, N. J. When she naively asked the employer to treat his workers fairly, he exploded, saying that society ladies should mind their own business, and that he would never deal with the union.

In the early 1940s Connie and her husband separated and later they were divorced. She met George L. Weissman, a member of the Socialist Workers Party who had been drafted into the Army and was at that time stationed in New Jersey.

George Weissman acquainted her with the ideas of socialism. In September of 1943 they were married. Soon afterward he was shipped overseas, and Connie became active in the Civil Rights Defense Committee. This committee was organized to defend the civil rights of 18 leaders of the SWP who were convicted under the Smith Act in 1941—the first use of this thought-control legislation. She worked long hours in the office of the CRDC as a volunteer. She also began to take classes in Marxism, and soon made the decision to join the SWP.

Activist

From that time until her illness in the past few years, Connie Weissman was always active in various aspects of the work of the SWP. She became business manager of the *Fourth International*, the forerunner of the *International Socialist Review*. At the end of the war she was a leading organizer of the American Committee for European Workers Relief. She managed the office-warehouse of the committee, organizing the sorting,

cleaning and shipping of food, clothes and medicine to needy European workers, especially those who had been in concentration camps or otherwise victimized for their antifascist activities.

This committee carried on its work of international solidarity for five or six years, until the need in Europe had abated, even though it was put on the so-called "subversive list" by the U. S. Attorney General in 1948.

The next task Connie accepted was that of technical assistant for *The Militant* which involved copy editing, retyping, carrying the copy and galleys back and forth from the *Militant* office to the print shop, and faithfully, every week, overseeing the final stages of production.

Later she was the assistant secretary, and eventually secretary, of the national office of the SWP.

After the war the SWP often rented summer camps for weekend gatherings at which party members and sympathizers could hear lectures and also enjoy some recreation. In 1948 Connie bought a camp in New Jersey and made it available to the SWP. It was advertised as an interracial camp, which was unusual in those days when many Black people in the New York area had difficulty finding a non-Jim Crow resort for vacations.

During the summer the camp was used by SWP members and also rented to unions and other organizations. In the winter it became the "Trotsky School," where young SWP activists would come for six-month sessions of intensive education in Marxism.

Connie not only gave the camp over to party use, but she helped run it—doing the bookkeeping, office work and many other chores—for a decade.

In 1950 Connie and George went to Mexico in relation to a publishing project and renewed a friendship formed several years before with Natalia Sedova, the widow of Leon Trotsky, and with Sieva Volkov, Trotsky's grandson. Connie and Natalia became firm friends. Later, when Natalia was in the U. S. for a month before being virtually deported because she refused to appear before a Congressional witch-hunting committee, she stayed incognito at Connie and George's home.

Natalia Sedova was not the only one to enjoy the hospitality of Connie's home. It has been a refuge over the years for possibly hundreds of people—SWP members, revolutionists and anti-imperialists from six continents, Freedom Riders, and SNCC militants. The house was also made available for fund-raising affairs for civil rights, civil liberties, and other causes.

A memorial meeting for Constance F. Weissman, who died Jan. 8, will be held Tuesday, Jan. 18, at 8 p. m., at the Friends Meeting Hall, East 15th Street and Rutherford Place (between 2nd and 3rd avenues—Rutherford Place faces the west side of Stuyvesant Park). The meeting is sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party. All friends of Connie are welcome. Please omit flowers.

Connie not only accepted assignments in the national departments of the SWP, but was also an activist in the New York branch. For example, she placed 17th nationally in the 1945 *Militant* subscription drive, selling 73 subscriptions. She organized rummage sales, went petitioning in upstate New York to help put the SWP on the ballot, and engaged in all the various activities involved in building the party.

She was also active in mass organizations. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, before the rise of Black nationalism, she participated in the NAACP, attempting to encourage every militant development within it. Around the time of the 1954 school desegregation decision, she made a tour of a number of Southern cities to speak with NAACP leaders and report back to her NAACP branch in New York.

In 1960 she and two other women SWP members went to Cuba to see the revolution for themselves. On her return Connie wrote articles for *The Militant* on Cuba, and was active in building the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The FPCC tried to get the truth about the Cuban revolution out to the American people and demanded an end to U. S. intervention in the affairs of Cuba.

Women's rights

Long before she was a socialist, Connie was a strong supporter of women's rights. She hadn't as yet attained a theoretical understanding of the role of the family in oppressing women, but she was stirred by the idea of women stepping out

Continued on page 22

Anti-U.S. offensive launched in Indochina

By DICK ROBERTS

JAN. 12—The revolutionary offensive on major fronts throughout Indochina once again testifies to the indomitable strength of the liberation struggle in Southeast Asia despite eight years of Washington's murderous counterrevolutionary warfare.

There is still no piece of land on the war-ravaged subcontinent that the imperialist-backed forces hold with certainty. Not only do the revolutionaries control most of Laos and Cambodia but Washington is worried that they may be planning a significant offensive in South Vietnam itself.

On Jan. 11, the Saigon regime reported the withdrawal of more than 10,000 troops from Krek in eastern Cambodia in order to bolster the defenses of Saigon. A special dispatch to the *New York Times* from Saigon stated: "It is widely believed that the redeployment of South Vietnamese forces . . . is a sign of fears the Saigon government has often expressed that the Communists may try to launch a major offensive next month before President Nixon visits Peking, to embarrass him there and in the United States in an election year."

Nixon's five-day bombing attack on North Vietnam in late December was also supposed to deter a new revolutionary offensive. Apparently the strategists at the Pentagon are unconvinced of the success of the more than 1,000 around-the-clock bombing missions.

The North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao offensive in Laos is being described as their biggest drive since the beginning of the war. The U.S.-supported regime of Laotian Prince Souvanna Phouma is confronted with "the most critical military situation it has faced in years," *Times* reporter Tillman Durdin wrote from Vientiane Jan. 8.

On Jan. 10 United Press International reported that the Laotian government forces had retreated from Ban Nhik, their last foothold on the Boloven Plateau in southern Laos. While the Ban Nhik outpost was still being held on Jan. 9, Laotian Defense Minister Sisouk na Champassak told Tillman Durdin that only extensive U.S. and Laotian bombing allowed the Vientiane troops to hold their positions: "Our planes have been strafing and bombing from dawn to dark,

operating from nearby Pakse, and this has caused most of the Vietnamese casualties," Sisouk stated.

A second revolutionary front is on the Plaine des Jarres in northern Laos. Durdin stated Jan. 8: "Long Tieng, the headquarters for special forces trained and financed by the United States Central Intelligence Agency, held out against last year's dry-season assault by North Vietnamese invaders. Now it is being shelled by long-range artillery rockets and mortars and has been evacuated by its defenders. . . .

"In emergency airlifts, American transport planes have brought strong Laotian reinforcements into the Long Tieng sector and are building up supplies to replace those lost in the hasty retreat from the Plaine des Jarres. Concurrently American bombers are blasting the North Vietnamese supply routes down the Ho Chi Minh Trail and across the Plaine des Jarres."

Washington strategists also placed significance on the shooting of anti-aircraft missiles at U.S. bombers near Tchepone, Laos. This is the region directly adjacent to the DMZ that was the target of the big U.S.-Saigon attack on Laos in February 1971. Tchepone was briefly held by the South Vietnamese forces before their headlong retreat.

An unusual glimpse of the results of U.S. bombardment in Laos was provided by Southeast Asia expert T.D. Allman in the *British Manchester Guardian Weekly*, Jan. 1. Allman had been permitted to fly over the Plaine des Jarres just before the new revolutionary offensive.

"Until recently the area provided a living for a population of more than 20,000," Allman wrote. "Now it is empty and ravaged, a striking example of what less than three years of intensive U.S. bombing can do to a rural area."

"In large areas the original bright green has been destroyed and replaced by an abstract pattern of black and bright metallic colors. Much of the remaining foliage is stunted and dull from the use of defoliants. Black is now the main color of the northern and eastern reaches of the plain. Napalm is dropped regularly to burn off vegetation, and fires burn constantly, creating giant rectangles of black. . . .

"The main routes into the plain are mercilessly bombed, apparently on a non-stop basis. There, and along the rim of the plain, the dominant color is yellow. All vegetation has been destroyed and the craters, literally, are countless. . . .

"Along the main Communist access routes leading into the plain, the innumerable pockmarks of 500 lb. bombs give way to the giant crater patterns created by the B-52s. The saturation bombings are used in an attempt to extinguish all human life in the target area, and to create landslides to block roads."

"The B-52 bombing is still a sensitive topic, and the U.S. mission refuses to reveal its frequency, which at times is daily. . . .

"The most voluminous debris . . . consisted of hundreds of thousands of propaganda leaflets printed by the U.S. Information Service in Manila and dropped everywhere. Written in Laotian, Thai and Vietnamese, they exhorted the recipient to fight on, surrender, seek amnesty, or advance—

according to whom they were aimed at. They bore pictures of the King and Queen of Laos and Prince Souvanna Phouma. Many of them had been used—apparently by both sides—as toilet paper. . . .

"Now, even if the war ended tomorrow, it might take years for the ecological balance to restore itself, and just as long to rebuild towns and villages, and recover fields. Even then the plain would for decades, if not longer, present the peril of hundreds of thousands of unexploded bombs, mines, and booby traps."

What has to be added to this grim description is the fact that Washington is far from "ending the war tomorrow." President Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy is to continue the war until a pro-Washington regime is stabilized in Saigon, as Nixon himself underlined in the Jan. 2 TV interview with CBS correspondent Dan Rather. The battlefield victories of the revolutionaries in the last two weeks show that Nixon is nowhere nearer to achieving this goal today than when he took office three years ago.



Nixon's five-day massive bombing of North Vietnam was aimed at countering recent gains by Indochina liberation forces.

NPAC meeting plans spring antiwar actions

By DAVE FRANKEL

DETROIT—Seventy people from 12 cities attended the national steering committee meeting of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) held here Jan. 8 at the headquarters of Local 518 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Reports were presented on the response of the antiwar movement to the recent bombing of North Vietnam. Preparations were begun for a winter of intensive educational work on the war and for the April 22 demonstrations called by the national antiwar convention held in Cleveland last December.

Nine of the 12 cities represented at the steering committee meeting, New York, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, New Haven, Conn., and Youngstown, Ohio, reported various types of demonstrations and press conferences in response to the bombing of North Vietnam over the holidays. The general evaluation of the actions was that they received excellent publicity and were important in establishing the continued activity of the antiwar movement in the public mind, despite small turnouts because schools were closed and people were away for vacations.

The antiwar convention last month

elected a group of initial NPAC coordinators, including Katherine Sojourner, Debbie Bustin and Stephanie Coontz. At the steering committee meeting four former NPAC coordinators, Ruth Gage-Colby, Jim Lafferty, Jerry Gordon, and John T. Williams, were elected as additional coordinators of NPAC and a coordinating committee was elected.

The meeting focused on the implementation of the action program passed at the Cleveland conference. In their remarks on NPAC's spring campaign, both Stephanie Coontz and Katherine Sojourner stressed that the antiwar movement is faced with Nixon's continuation of the war, the possibility of major new escalations by the U.S. government, and the necessity for the antiwar movement to maximize its activity in response to Nixon's lies about "winding down" the war.

Coontz also reported on her trip to Europe, where she met with representatives of the British and French antiwar movements, who indicated they would organize actions on April 22 in solidarity with the American antiwar movement. She also met with representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The steering committee voted to launch a massive endorser drive for the April 22 demonstrations, to reconstitute the NPAC task forces aimed at relating the issue of the war to different sectors of society, and to initiate an ambitious educational campaign to counter the government's propaganda and build the April 22 actions. A proposal for implementing this campaign was submitted by Jim Lafferty and approved by the meeting. In addition to its pamphlet *Is the War Winding Down?* NPAC hopes to prepare material on the war and the economy, GIs and the antiwar movement, and to work with Project Air War in getting out information on the U.S. bombing of Indochina. NPAC also plans to establish a speaker's bureau and will be building a series of teach-ins together with the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC).

Minneapolis antiwar activists have already set up a "war crimes trial," which will run from Feb. 5-13. It has been endorsed by Rudy Perpich, the lieutenant governor of Minnesota; a number of local labor leaders; and the presidents of five student governments in the Twin Cities area.

Fred Lovgren of the SMC reported on the convention of the student anti-

war movement that will be held at Washington Irving High School in New York Feb. 25-27. The SMC is carrying out a campaign to put articles in the high school and campus press on the conference, along with a drive to get student leaders to endorse it. Leaflets on the conference, a sample news article, and a sample ad have already been prepared and are available from the SMC national office, 150 Fifth Ave. New York, N. Y. 10011.

The meeting also discussed a number of resolutions referred to it by the Cleveland antiwar convention. A resolution calling for the release of Mairin De Burca, joint general secretary of the Sinn Fein, who is being held in prison in Dublin, Ireland solely for participating in a demonstration against the war in Vietnam, was also passed.

A report was given on the scheduled fund-raising dinner in honor of Ruth Gage-Colby, a peace activist for more than 50 years and an NPAC coordinator. The dinner will take place at the Hotel Biltmore on Thursday, Jan. 20. Speakers will include Daniel Ellsberg, and John Kerry of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

The next NPAC steering committee meeting was set for Feb. 6 in Washington, D. C.

In Our Opinion

Madison Ave. hoopla

The formal announcements of candidacies for the presidency have been coming fast and furious. Democrats in various stages of announcing their campaigns include Senators Muskie of Maine, McGovern of South Dakota, Hartke of Indiana, Humphrey of Minnesota, and Jackson of Washington, as well as former Senator Eugene McCarthy from Minnesota, Representative Chisholm of New York, Governor Wallace of Alabama, and Mayors Lindsay of New York and Yorty of Los Angeles.

And of course there is Senator Kennedy, who has promised to sign an affidavit stating he does not intend to run while at the same time leaving himself open to be drafted.

On the Republican side we find President Nixon as well as Representatives McCloskey of California and John Ashbrook of Ohio.

These announcements—together with the announcements of the announcements and hints of announcements—have provided the American people with another example of the hot air and hypocrisy that characterize the campaigns of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The technique used by most of the candidates—hinting they are going to announce, then announcing they are going to announce, then announcing—has succeeded in its objective of filling the newspapers every day with vacuous advertisements for the Democratic and Republican party candidates. This Madison Avenue job has become so disgusting that even a few journalists for the big capitalist newspapers are poking fun at the candidates. R.W. Apple Jr. of the *New York Times* calls it a "charade." And columnist Russell Baker writes of the "coming-out fatigue" resulting from this bombardment of the American people.

The frequency of the "announcements" of these candidates by no means indicates that they have a lot to say about the crucial issues facing the American people. Rather, their speeches abound in vague, meaningless or demagogic slogans they think will sell themselves as candidates. Just as Coke is supposed to be "the real thing," Muskie is advertised by his supporters with the slogan "Muskie's the man." Muskie himself asserts that he represents "a new beginning." McGovern, on the other hand, says he will "make America happen again," and Lindsay claims that he represents "the America that Washington has ignored."

All these high-sounding phrases are attempts to conceal the reactionary nature of the politics of the Democratic and Republican parties and indicate that there are no fundamental differences between them. They merely have tactical disagreements within the framework of defending the capitalist "free enterprise" system. Lindsay, for instance, is a candidate who switched over from the Republican to the Democratic Party without announcing that he has changed his mind on any major issues whatsoever.

What does the Democratic Party stand for? You can take your pick from the spectrum of positions—all the way from those of Shirley Chisholm to those of George Wallace. In the Republican Party the range of choices goes from Paul McCloskey to Nixon.

The charade and hypocrisy of Democratic and Republican party politics will continue throughout the campaign period and reach a climax at the two parties' national conventions. There the delegates will assemble in cheering sections with their campaign hats, placards and streamers while the real decisions are being made—or have already been made—in backroom deals by the rich and powerful.

We agree with the *Cleveland Press'* Aug. 24 editorial comment on the Socialist Workers Party convention last summer, which nominated presidential and vice-presidential candidates Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley: "All in all the Socialists' convention was a model of brevity and conciseness. Democrats and Republicans could learn something from this when they hold their annual political circuses next year."

The campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley stands in sharp contrast to the campaigns of the capitalist Democratic and Republican party politicians. The SWP campaign is not interested in Madison Avenue hoopla that treats the American people like idiots. It is interested in reaching Americans with its clear, forthright positions—for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Southeast Asia, an end to wage controls, for self-determination for Black people and Chicanos, for women's right to abortion and child-care centers, and for a democratic-socialist system based on human needs rather than profits.

Letters

New light

Recently I sent for a subscription to *The Militant* and I received it promptly. But after the first issue, it was delivered to a wrong address and was circulated among my neighbors and the local police.

I found your paper very informative. It gives a new light on the world situation. I will be honored to take a year's subscription to your newspaper.

A. W.
Wareham, Mass.

Needed viewpoint

As a new subscriber to *The Militant*, I am fairly well pleased. *The Militant* fulfills a worthwhile objective in giving the public both sides of the political and social issues. We have always had the establishment papers to give us their biased view and now we can receive a biased viewpoint from the other extreme in *The Militant*.

I don't mean to put you down; we need this viewpoint to counteract that of the other newspapers, but we also need an unbiased paper, strictly reporting the news without adding its opinion. But thank you for adding the needed viewpoint.

Also, in the Dec. 10 issue you took a few cuts at Christians. In "In Brief" you knock the virgin birth of Jesus Christ and in the article on subscriptions you cut Oral Roberts University. As a Christian, I would suggest you keep your reporting on political and social issues and leave Jesus and Christians alone.

Tim Wilson
Albion College,
Albion, Mich.

"Worst" feminist book

I have just read the first twelve pages of *Love and Liberation: Up Front with the Feminists* by Lisa Hobbs (McGraw-Hill). Nearly every sentence is a fallacy. It reads contrary to every historical, anthropological, and social-psychological fact (also contrary to the facts in the article in the December *International Socialist Review*, "Is Biology Woman's Destiny?" by Evelyn Reed).

Lisa Hobbs believes and reinforces the idea that women are biologically inferior, and that their birth-giving function is the reason for their oppression in society (she hasn't once yet spoken of capitalist and patriarchal society!).

It is science, she says, that has started the women's revolution: Science in the form of over-population statistics and birth-control pills. Doesn't she know that feminism began in England and America long before science concerned itself with planned parenthood?

Love and Liberation is the worst book on the women's movement in print to my knowledge and must be exposed as such. I hope that you will review it.

Judith A. Donato
Alhambra, Calif.

Turkish political prisoners

The conviction and the death penalties passed on 18 Turkish patriots, members of the Turkish Peoples' Liberation Army, in October 1971 are examples of the fascist and repressive nature of the Turkish regime.

These patriots were indicted for their patriotic activities among the

peasants and workers of Turkey and their struggle against oppression.

Among the convicted is Denis Gha'smish, internationally known for his struggle as a unionist and student leader. We urge all concerned people to protest these fascist practices of the Turkish regime to the UN, Amnesty International, and other international organizations as well as to the Turkish government itself, so as to save the lives of these patriots.

Arab students in solidarity with the Turkish people

Cleveland Nov. 6

I am writing in reference to a letter in the Dec. 17 issue of *The Militant* by Alan Roth. As a participant in the antiwar demonstration in Cleveland Nov. 6 and witness to actions of the Ohio Anti-imperialist Coalition, Nazis, and the organizers of the demonstration, I feel there have been acts of distortion of the truth by both Alan Roth and Herman Kirsch.

First, it is true that the Coalition never tried to take over the platform. But the action of pulling the cords that supplied power to the speaker's platform is just as deplorable as the attempt of taking over the platform.

I feel the organizers of the demonstration had a perfect right to decide when the Coalition's speaker should speak. But the Coalition tried to use its force of numbers at the demonstration to demand that its speaker be one of the first.

Roth claims that various of the organizers of the demonstration shoved a few of the Coalition members when the Nazis began to picket the demonstration. However, this is a distortion of the facts. Marshals, assigned to keep the demonstration peaceful, tried to keep the appearance of the Nazis from disrupting the demonstration and inadvertently pushed some people including some members of the Coalition.

Roth's denial of the charge by Kirsch that some members of the Coalition used picket signs as weapons is just a blatant denial of the truth. I personally saw one of the Coalition members try to shove a pole through one of the women trying to guard the power cords from further tampering.

Allen E. Bingham
Columbus, Ohio

Long articles

Many times it is necessary to write long articles in order to get ideas across to readers of *The Militant*. Lenin had a way of saying in one sentence what others take paragraphs to say. He would be a good example to follow.

There is talk about *The Militant* becoming bigger and so I would hate to see the articles get longer. *The Militant* is a very good paper, and it is looking better all the time, but I think this one thing would improve it further.

Esther Perry
Los Angeles, Calif.

Eyes opened

When I first read your newspaper I did not think too highly of it; in fact, I felt you were a bunch of loudmouths.

But let me explain a little about

The Great Society

myself. I have had over 20 years in one institution or another, and imagine, after all those years I still believed their lies. Talk about a fool!

I went to court the other day and got six-to-eight years for something I did not do, and I started to look around me, to read, to ask questions, and, man, my eyes have been opened!

I read in *The Militant*, "Legion goon gets two-to-eight," where you were referring to the so-called Legion of Justice. Are they the same legion who called themselves "The Black Legion," one of whose victims was Malcolm X's father?

The attitude of the majority of the guards is completely negative towards change and toward the inmates. They are scared because they know that brothers are waking up and seeing what has been done to them all these years. Just keep telling it like it is!

Neal Deschamps
Norfolk Prison
Norfolk, Mass.

Irish Republicans

At present there are over 500 Irish political prisoners held without charge or trial in Long Kesh Concentration Camp, Co. Antrim, Northern Ireland. Their number grows daily. Wholesale torture and beatings have been documented—only the lack of ovens distinguishes it from Dachau. There are hundreds of others held on political charges in Northern Irish jails. Fifteen young men are serving a total of 70 years in English prisons for political "crimes."

As the only official representatives of the Irish Republican Army in North America, the Irish Republican Clubs appeal to friends of Ireland for support on behalf of these prisoners. We cannot afford another gallant failure. We must free ourselves from the yoke of British imperialism now. Funds are urgently needed to continue—and win—the struggle for a Free and Independent Ireland.

Sean O Cionnaith (Sean Kenny)
Irish Republican Clubs,
37-76 64th St.
Woodside, N.Y. 11377
(212) 651-5844

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.

For instance, like Germany, Korea, Vietnam—We're a bit late in reporting it, but it's as true now as when they said it: "Washington, Dec. 13 (AP)—Official attitudes towards the India-Pakistan war are not determined by any direct or vital interest, say administration sources, but by a reluctantly arrived-at policy that opposes the dismemberment of any sovereign nation."

Semantics dep't—The Los Angeles Times reported it had misquoted Mayor Sam Yorty as saying that Democratic national chairman Lawrence O'Brien was "a big dope." Actually Yorty said O'Brien was "a big dove."

State planning—The state of New York is investing \$27,400 installing thicker windows and doors in the capitol building so Governor Rockefeller's staff can work without interruption. "We've had a lot of demonstrations here in the past," said a representative of the billionaire antiwelfare governor. "And there will probably be many more this year."

Fish story—If you're headed for Miami for a bit of that famous Florida

seafood, you might do better going by way of Canada. Some 70 percent of Florida's fish is now imported from up north. Something to do with pollution.

Holds greasy spoon's protein poor—Dr. Raymond Dutra, a California dietary expert, says we're fast becoming "a nation of nutritional cripples" and that the restaurant industry is speeding the process. About a third of American meals are eaten outside the home, he said, and restaurants "are not living up to their responsibility toward the health of the customers." He didn't explain how roaches seem to thrive on restaurant fare.

Room at the top—The U.S. is investing several million in refurbishing an old Rothschild mansion in Paris to provide our ambassador with adequate quarters. It has 27 major rooms and 30 smaller ones. The 22-foot-high ground floor is a bit formal but the second floor is semiformal, featuring a family dining room that will serve a hundred. The third floor has lots of bedrooms, sitting rooms and recreation rooms for the ambas-

sador's family. The attic has 10 rooms for servants.

Their cup bubbles over—A Columbia TV subsidiary that owns the popular "Partridge Family" says, "We'll quietly make a fortune on a new line of Partridge Family dresses." A smaller, perhaps noisier, item is the \$100,000 pocketed thus far in Partridge Family bubble gum royalties.

Clearing the air—California environmentalists were told by Robert Bratton of the state Air Resources Board that they didn't really comprehend their own objectives. What is needed, he explained, is "an optimum level of pollution" that will permit a life style that suits the public. But the public, he further explained, "doesn't know what it wants." The real environmental objective, he stated, "is the amount of pollution that maximizes human satisfaction."

Or alchemy either—Senator John Tower (R—Texas) says, "Most people just don't understand the science of money."

— HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

CAMPUS ANTI-ABORTION COALITION FORMED—

In reaction to the growing support on campuses for legalized abortion, a national student coalition has been formed with the goal of convincing young people that abortion is murder. According to the Jan. 2 *New York Times*, 200 students from 20 states met in Lagrange, Ill., over Thanksgiving at a conference called by SOUL (Save Our Unwanted Lives).

SOUL is a student group organized in 1970 at the University of Minnesota. The newly formed coalition hopes to organize more campus affiliates to carry out anti-abortion propaganda among students. They are bound to run into some heavy opposition from campus activists involved in the national campaign to repeal reactionary abortion laws.

In its statement of purpose, SOUL says, "We view abortion as a negative, violent and primitive response to a very complex social action problem that demands more rational and responsible thinking." SOUL organizers think that anyone who is against the war in Vietnam should be against abortion. They apparently hope to distort mass campus sentiment against the war's brutality into opposition to the right of women to obtain abortions.

SOUL uses the same twisted arguments as other so-called "pro-life" organizations—they blame women for wanting to control their own bodies. What could be more "rational and responsible" than allowing every woman the right to a safe abortion? If anything is "violent and primitive" about abortions it is the maiming and killing of thousands of women every year because reactionary laws prevent them from getting abortions legally.

TEXAN FIGHTS FOR HER RIGHTS—Soni Romans of Channelview, Texas, is a 16-year-old high school student with an "A" average, but she cannot participate in the school choir, the drama club, the chess club, or be considered for the National Honor Society. Why? Romans is divorced, and therefore, according to a rule in her school district, must be excluded from these activities.

Romans brought the case to federal court on the grounds that the rule is discriminatory and unconstitutional, but United States District Judge Allen B. Hanney decided that she must go through school administration channels before his court will take any action. Hanney did recommend, however, that Channelview school authorities reconsider the rule.

According to the Dec. 4 *New York Times*, the school is worried that divorced women will "discuss sex matters with unmarried students." The school's lawyer, James Kelley, defended the regulation with the sexist statement that "one must differentiate between students who experience sex in marital bonds . . . and . . . single students who clandestinely commit acts of fornication."

IOWA HIGH SCHOOL WOMEN WIN VICTORY—

The Iowa Girls High School Athletic Union has repealed a reactionary rule forbidding women students who are married or have children from participating in its sports events. The decision was prompted by a suit filed against the Union by Jane Rubel, a former all-state basketball player. Rubel, 17, has an 11-month-old daughter.

WOMEN IN CUBA—An article in the Dec. 9 *Los Angeles Times* by Marlise Simons reveals the changing status of Cuban women. Simons reports that women in Cuba hold jobs in virtually every field of industry, agriculture and government—500,000 out of the female population of a little more than 4 million now work.

Low-cost state-run laundries and free child-care centers facilitate women getting jobs. More than half of Cuba's older children live in boarding schools and visit their parents only on weekends. There is still a long way to go, of course. Most working women also continue to bear responsibility for traditional household chores, such as the cooking and shopping.

The changing economic status of women has had an effect on their attitudes. "Now at least I feel I am doing something useful," one working woman told Simons. "I used to feel like an extension of my husband," said another woman, an architect. An increase both in the number of marriages and divorces has occurred, and Simons quotes a British male in Cuba as saying, "Now that she is more independent economically . . . (the Cuban woman) is less willing to put up with a bad marriage."

The men are beginning to change their thinking too. "Cuban males are no longer shocked—or amused—to see a woman driving a truck," says Simons.

WOMEN IN CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRIES—On Dec. 2, 1971, the U.S. Labor Department ordered federal contractors to correct the "underutilization of women" in the construction industries. The ruling, Revised Order No. 4, will take effect sometime in April. It allows the federal government to terminate contracts or refuse to issue new contracts to companies that do not hire female workers in proportion to the number of women skilled for the particular job, the degree of female unemployment in a given area, and the number of women in the area's work force.

FUND-RAISING DINNER—The Women's Abortion Coalition, which organized the Nov. 20 abortion law repeal demonstration in San Francisco, will sponsor a potluck dinner on Saturday, Jan. 22, from 6 to 10 p.m., at the First Unitarian Church, Martin Luther King Room, Franklin and Geary. The charge is \$2 for adults and \$1 for children. All proceeds will go to the coalition.

— CINDY JAQUITH

Mexican political prisoners released

From Intercontinental Press
By RICARDO OCHOA

MEXICO CITY—On December 20 the last twenty prisoners of the hundreds jailed in the repression of the 1968 student and popular movement were released. Most of them were members of the PCM [Partido Comunista Mexicano—Mexican Communist Party].

The day after their release, they held a press conference where they denounced the pressures that the political prisoners still in Lecumberri are being subjected to in the aftermath of the murder of one of their comrades.

Pablo Alvarado Barrera was shot down by guards on December 4, apparently in reprisal for the kidnapping of Dr. Jaime Castrejón Díaz November 26 by a commando group affiliated with the guerrillas of Genaro Vázquez Rojas in the state of Guerrero. The guerrillas had hoped to force the government to release fifteen political prisoners.

The participants in the news conference noted that there are still about a hundred political prisoners in Lecumberri who were jailed in repressions before and after 1968. These include the journalists Víctor Rico Galán and Adolfo Gilly; doctors Gilberto Balán, Isaías Rojas, and Rolf Meiners; as well as the student leader Adán Niete Castillo and others. Among those jailed after 1968 are all the so-called guerrillas arrested by the present administration of Luis Echeverría, most prominently members of the Movimiento de Acción Revolucionaria [Revolutionary Action Movement].

The former political prisoners answered reporters' questions about their position on kidnappings carried out by the commando groups. The questions were pressed quite sharply in view of the fact that two kidnappings took place in Acapulco on the day of their release. Guerrillas under the command of Genaro Vázquez Rojas were alleged to be responsible. All of the former prisoners voiced opposition to kidnapping as a tactic.

One of the participants in the news conference, Francisco Colmenares, a student member of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario [Revolutionary Workers party], read a statement that he had signed the day before, along with Adolfo Gilly, Víctor Rico Galán, Roberto Iriarte, and six other prisoners. Among other things, the authors of the statement said:

"As Marxists and socialists, we completely oppose individual terrorism as a method of struggle, just as Marx and Engels opposed it and Lenin combated it. We realize that there are some desperate elements who see no way forward, who have no confidence in the masses and their methods, and who lean to terrorism. They are completely wrong. But we also realize that the CIA and the political police promote, encourage, and directly organize terrorist acts in order to try to break up and repress the mass movement. Terrorism has never been an effective way to organize the masses, that is, to organize a revolution. We already have historic experience of this in Mexico which goes back to the Mexican revolution, a revolution accomplished by the organized violence of the masses and not by isolated, individual actions. And thus terrorist methods have gotten no response or support in this country.

"The government claims that it was

Genaro Vázquez's movement that kidnapped Castrejón Díaz. If that is so, we consider that these comrades made a wrong move and that they must reflect on its results. But we declare as of now that we consider any further kidnappings to force the release of political prisoners as harming the struggle of the workers' movement and the masses to win democratic rights and organize themselves independently. Such actions endanger the lives of political prisoners, who are hostages in the hands of the bourgeoisie. We wish, moreover, to expose the interest of the CIA, the trade-union bureaucrats, and the big bourgeoisie in promoting and organizing new kidnappings for their own benefit, attributing them to revolutionary groups as a pretext for repression."

Besides Francisco César Colmenares, the following prisoners were released: Ramón Danzós Palomino, Rodolfo Echeverría Martínez, Pedro Estrada Vega, Rafael Jacobo García, Fernando Granados Cortés, Mario Hernández Hernández, José Manuel Irené Téllez, Arturo Martínez Nateras, Carlos Medina Sevilla, Roberto Miñón Corro, Eduardo Montes, Agustín Montiel, Ernesto Olvera, Alejandro Ortiz Camacho, Arturo Ortiz Marbán, Ignacio Plata Díaz, Meltis Rincón Gallardo, Américo Saldívar, and Gerardo Unzueta.

Lee Otis Johnson seeks new trial

By DEBBY LEONARD

HOUSTON, Jan. 7—Lee Otis Johnson, a former leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) at Texas Southern University, is now serving a 30-year sentence on a frame-up charge of giving one marijuana cigarette to an undercover agent. This week he faced a Federal District Court here in a bid for freedom on a writ of habeas corpus.

Since his conviction and sentencing by an all-white Houston jury in August 1968, Johnson's case has received nationwide publicity as an example of how the marijuana laws are used to imprison political activists. It has also served as a demonstration of racist "justice" in Texas. Among Blacks, Chicanos, and students the demand "Free Lee Otis Johnson" has been raised consistently at meetings, demonstrations, and political gatherings across the state for the past three and one-half years.

Governor Preston Smith was greeted by students demanding "Free Lee Otis" when he appeared before the student body at the University of Houston last spring. He made headlines when he refused to give his prepared speech because of the "disruption." Moreover, he added insult to injury by later claiming that he thought the students were saying "frijoles"—the Spanish word for beans.

In a two-month period, 13,000 signatures were collected on petitions asking Governor Smith to pardon Johnson.

In their habeas corpus petition, which has been rejected by the state court, Johnson's lawyers argued that Johnson had been denied a fair trial because of the extent of community prejudice against him. Before a courtroom packed with Johnson's supporters, the defense submitted 92 affidavits and a number of witnesses to prove that a fair trial is not possible here for an outspoken Black militant whose attacks on Houston's white racist city administration and whose demands for change have received wide

publicity.

During the course of the hearing, Houston Police Chief Herman Short, a notorious racist, testified that he regarded Johnson as a "militant" who "was dangerous to the rest of society and to the government."

Based on this reasoning, Lt. Singleton, head of the Criminal Intelligence Division, had assigned a Black undercover agent, Officer B.M. Williams, to infiltrate SNCC. Williams spent some three to four months in the constant company of Johnson.

Singleton related that the alleged offense of giving a marijuana cigarette to a plainclothes narcotics officer occurred on March 8, 1968, at which time an arrest warrant was drawn up. However, this warrant was locked in a vault in Singleton's office and was not served on Johnson until April 5. Singleton maintains that this measure was taken solely to protect the identity of the undercover agent while he was still of use to them.

Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that the arrest occurred the day after Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated, and in the midst of ghetto eruptions across the country.

Harris County District Attorney Carol Vance testified that he had discussed Lee Otis Johnson with "certain members of the police department" prior to Johnson's trial. He also admitted that this was the only marijuana case he had personally tried in his six years as county DA. All other similar offenses had been handled by his assistants.

With all the testimony completed, the case of Lee Otis Johnson is now in the hands of Federal District Judge Carl O. Bue Jr. Judge Bue has set Jan. 14 as the deadline for submission of any additional legal arguments, including an anticipated amicus curiae brief from the American Civil Liberties Union.

If Judge Bue calls for a new trial, Johnson will be set free. People all over the state are looking to this decision with the hope that it will deal a decisive blow to legalized repression in Texas.

Judge disrupts S. Quentin defense

By RUSSELL BLOCK

BERKELEY, Calif.—Despite more than two and one-half months of legal wrangles, the case of the San Quentin Six is hopelessly bogged down. Defense lawyers estimate that actual trial proceedings may not get underway until June or later.

The six—Hugo Pinell, David Johnson, Willie Tate, John Spain, Fleeta Drumgo, and Luis Talamantez—all inmates at San Quentin, are charged with murder and conspiracy in connection with the deaths of three guards and two prisoners at San Quentin last Aug. 21. Attorney Stephen Bingham, who is missing at this time, also faces these charges. The deaths occurred during an alleged escape attempt in which George Jackson was gunned down by guards.

An aura of unreality hangs over the legal proceedings. As reported earlier (*Militant*, Nov. 26, 1971), the first attempt of the prisoners to get together with lawyers of their choice was frustrated by San Quentin officials. Judge G. Warren McGuire of the Marin County Superior Court then proceeded to appoint six lawyers for the defendants without the consent of the defendants or of the lawyers themselves.

The court-appointed lawyers—Richard Tarrant (Pinell), Buford Toney and Frank Cox (Johnson), Howard Morehouse (Tate), Stephen Koolpe (Spain), Richard Breiner (Drumgo), and Louis Hawkins (Talamantez)—finding that the defendants had no confidence in them and in fact considered them to be agents of the court conspiring with the judge and the district attorney, all filed motions to be relieved in favor of lawyers chosen by the defendants.

Marin County District Attorney Bruce Bales argued that the defendants had a right to counsel, but not necessarily to counsel who shared their "radical philosophy." He continually questioned the ethics of Charles Garry and the other attorneys who were willing to defend the six.

The court-appointed lawyers reacted angrily to Bales' interference in the proceedings. They objected that the district attorney, whose primary objective was to secure a conviction, had no right to influence the choice of defense counsel.

As it stands now, the motions of Johnson, Tate, Spain, and Drumgo for counsels of their choice have been turned down. Talamantez's request for Richard Vaughn, a court-appointed attorney who is representing him in another action, is pending. Hugo Pinell's request to be represented by Ralph Bencangey, a young radical lawyer from Beverly Hills, has been granted.

Judge McGuire's treatment of Bencangey is very revealing. Take, for example, the exchange between McGuire and Bencangey over his request to meet with his client. McGuire stated he was willing to issue an order retaining Pinell at San Quentin so they could meet that evening. Pinell vociferously objected on the grounds that he has been beaten by the guards every time he has been retained in the visiting center at San Quentin.

Bencangey tacitly noted this objection and stated that it would not be necessary to retain Pinell, that a meeting for a few minutes during the two-hour noon recess would be sufficient. The judge refused, saying, "The court cannot arrange special visitation privileges for you, Mr. Bencangey." When the lawyer pressed the point, McGuire angrily retorted, "Mr. Bencangey, let's get this straight from the beginning. If you persist in this kind of behavior, you'll find yourself upstairs [in the county jail]." McGuire's outburst left little doubt of the role he has chosen for Bencangey—that of radical foil for the court's maneuvers.

Imposing defense counsel on the defendants has another aspect. Several of the defendants are experienced "jailhouse lawyers" and have filed numerous legal papers on their own behalf. Now that they are "represented by counsel," the court can refuse to allow them to file papers or speak for themselves by demanding that all legal proceedings go through the appointed counsel. Furthermore, if the defendants object to not being able to raise points in their own defense, or if they disagree with actions taken by the imposed counsel, they can be silenced or removed from the courtroom for disrupting the proceedings. This is apparently McGuire's intent.

The most recent hearing in the San Quentin Six case took place less than two weeks after the state of California was forced to drop charges against Black Panther leader Huey P. Newton on Dec. 15. The authorities are becoming alarmed over the increasing difficulty of obtaining convictions in implicitly political cases when the defendants are permitted to mount an effective defense. Courtroom successes in such cases can only lend encouragement to the revolt against inhuman conditions in the prisons. In the San Quentin case, California authorities are attempting to take advantage of the restrictions of the penal system to disrupt the defense.

Right wing steps up campaign in Chile

By DAVID THORSTAD

JAN. 10—The past few weeks have been marked by skirmishes in what has become a running battle between the Popular Unity government of Chilean President Salvador Allende and the opposition Christian Democratic and National parties.

The polarization, which is continuing, was set off by the so-called "March of the Empty Pots" by Christian Democratic and right-wing women in Santiago at the beginning of December. Following the demonstration, the rightist opposition continued the momentum it had generated by holding an antigovernment rally Dec. 16, said by *New York Times* reporter Juan de Onis to number 60,000. Four days later, the Popular Unity forces held their own rally, which de Onis said numbered 20,000. Pierre Kalfon of the Paris daily *Le Monde* put the number at 60,000, but the paper gave no figure for the Christian Democrat rally. In any event, the Popular Unity rally fell considerably short of the 300,000 that Allende had earlier predicted the government would turn out if the opposition mobilized 50,000.

The competitive mobilization of mass rallies is in part a by-product of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro's recent criticism of the Popular Unity for showing "weaknesses" in mobilizing the masses.

The outcome of these two rallies appears to have reinforced the determination of the Christian Democrats, with the support of the right-wing National Party, to bring about the impeachment of Allende's minister of the interior, José Gonzáles Tohá. Tohá was accused of not doing anything to dissolve "armed groups of the far left that are placing the security of the nation in danger." Among the armed groups the opposition holds to be in this category, according to Kalfon in the 26-27 *Le Monde*, are not only the peasant groups that have been seizing land in the South, but even "the one responsible for the per-

sonal security of the president."

Allende reacted to this threat by quickly placing before parliament a proposed law to institutionalize a "department of presidential security," Kalfon reported.

On Jan. 6, the Chamber of Deputies voted 80-59 to censure Tohá, suspending him from the cabinet pending a trial by the Senate, which, like the Chamber of Deputies, is controlled by the opposition. Although Allende could have defied this vote by reassigning the interior ministry portfolio to the impeached minister (precedents for such action exist in Chile), he chose instead to do so by swearing in Tohá as the new defense minister.

Charges were also brought in December against Economics Minister Pedro Vuskovic for "distorting the cost-of-living indicators." These charges were brought by the National Party, but the Christian Democrats declined to lend support to them, so they did not get as far as the move against Tohá.

In another parliamentary move against the Popular Unity, the Christian Democrats succeeded Dec. 22 in getting a constitutional amendment adopted that would make nationalization of corporations more difficult. The amendment stipulates that before the government can take over any monopoly it must get parliament to pass a law approving it. This is aimed directly at the constitutional provision that until now has allowed the government to nationalize companies whose position in the national economy it deems "strategic." In addition, any company take-overs since Oct. 14, 1971, the date the amendment was first submitted, are to be held null and void.

The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies have two months to meet in joint session to ratify this amendment. It will then be sent to Allende. If he vetoes it, and if the congress overturns his veto, he could then call a plebiscite over the issue.

The difficulties facing the Allende

regime are not limited to provocative moves in parliament by an aroused opposition. The struggle that has been going on at the University of Chile in Santiago since last October was resolved Jan. 4 in what Juan de Onis said was "hailed as a victory by the anti-Marxist academic forces." Pro-government students, who dominated the university's governing council, had been demanding the resignation of the rector, Dr. Edgardo Boeninger (who was elected last year with the support of the opposition) and the decentralization of the university's departments. According to de Onis, the "compromise" solution provides for a "plebiscite on university organization and an election of university authorities" on April 27, the replacement of the leftist-controlled governing council by a temporary governing board, and the resignation of Dr. Boeninger, who will now again become a candidate for the rectorship. "We have secured the main thing we have been fighting for..." said Dr. Boeninger.

A problem of yet another kind faced

Allende as 1971 drew to a close. This was a threatened strike by the 3,896 copper workers at Chuquibambilla, the world's largest open-pit copper mine, which was expropriated last July. The workers had rejected the government's offer of a 20 percent wage increase, and stuck to their demand for a 50 percent boost. They did this despite exhortations from both Allende and Castro to be "reasonable" and to "consider the interests of the entire country." The 20 percent offer would not even have kept up with the government's own projected increase of 21.8 percent in the cost of living for 1972. A strike, which would have meant an estimated daily loss of \$1-million to Chile, was averted just prior to the New Year's deadline when the workers accepted a new government offer of a 30 percent wage increase, thus giving them an estimated 8.2 percent increase in real wages. The settlement, according to a report from Santiago in the Jan. 3 *Wall Street Journal*, "was interpreted here as a victory for the Allende regime."



Street battle sparked by rightist goons during Dec. 2 march by Santiago women.

¡La Raza en Acción!



MID-WEST COUNCIL OF LA RAZA SPONSORS CONFERENCE: "Spanish-speaking leaders (Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and other Spanish-speaking groups) from more than 10 Midwest states will gather in Muskegon, Mich., for 'Mi Raza Primero [My People First] Conference,' a conference focusing on political education," according to a news release from Ricardo Parra, executive director of the Mid-West Council of La Raza. Among the speakers scheduled to address the Jan. 22-23 conference are Bert Corona, one of the founders of the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA); José Angel Gutiérrez, president of the Crystal City school board and founder of La Raza Unida Party in Texas; Salvador Ramirez, director of Mexican-American Studies at the University of Colorado; and Manny Fierro, a candidate for governor of Kansas and director of the Human Needs Corporation. In addition, Gil Cárdenas, a coauthor of the book *Los Mojados: The Wetback Story*, will chair a Raza student caucus.

Parra stated in the Jan. 5 release that there are over 1.5 million Spanish-speaking people living in the Midwest. An additional 200,000 annually migrate there for seasonal employment. "The hundreds of barrios, hamlets and aggregates of Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans are for the most part uncharted and ignored. It is common knowledge that they are characterized by a high degree of poverty, hunger, abominable living conditions, lack of education and exclusion from the basic rights and privileges. The purpose of the conference, therefore, will be to enhance and promote the furtherance of self-determination for La Raza by providing education and awareness."

Three key workshops are planned for the conference: (1) The Midwest and the National Spanish-speaking Coalition, (2) The Midwest and Political

Strategies, and (3) The Midwest and Communication. The conference will be held at Muskegon Community College in Muskegon, Mich. For further information, write to Ricardo Parra, Mid-West Council of La Raza, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind. 46556, or call (219) 283-3424 or (219) 287-5929.

ROMANA ACOSTA BANUELOS SWORN IN AS NEW TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES: Romana was all smiles when Secretary of the Treasury John Connally kissed her on the forehead Dec. 17, making her the sixth woman and the 34th person to hold the post of U.S. Treasurer. Her name will now appear on all new currency issued. Nixon's motivation for nominating a Mexican-American (Bañuelos doesn't like being called a Chicana) for the treasury were twofold. One, he is courting the Chicano vote for 1972. And two, he probably felt it was more fitting (from his racist point of view) that a Spanish surname should appear on the recently devalued dollar.

REPUBLICANS POLISH UP THEIR 'CHICANO' IMAGE TO GET THE VOTE: The Dec. 31, 1971, issue of *El Sol De Texas* reports on the "concerted effort" being made by the Republican Party to make inroads into the normally Democratic Chicano vote.

Brownie Treviño, leader of the GOP in Dallas, expects that Nixon may win as much as 30 percent of the Chicano vote in 1972, according to the article. Peter O'Donnell, a member of the Republican Party's national committee, is quoted as saying that Chicanos seem to respond better to the Republicans because of disillusionment with the Democratic Party.

In order to take advantage of this disillusion-

ment, the Republicans have been working overtime on exterior decorating. Examples are Hilario Sandoval, head of the Small Business Administration (although he has resigned); Samuel R. Martinez, regional director of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) for Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arkansas and Louisiana; Edward M. Yturri, regional director of ACTION, a federal agency similar to the Peace Corps; Manuel Sánchez, Dallas-area director of the Department of Housing and Urban Development; and Larry Ramirez, Southwest director of Community Relations of the Justice Department.

Nixon has also been doing some window dressing on the national level. He has added Mexican-Americans to the Department of Health Education and Welfare, the Interior Department, and the Peace Corps, and has made Phillip Sánchez national director of OEO. In addition, José Villarreal of Laredo, Texas, became the first Mexican-American to serve in the Department of Agriculture. And last but not least is the appointment of Romana Bañuelos, which has the added advantage that millions of Chicanos will have a continuous reminder of the fact in their wallets.

The studies released in 1971 showing that the Chicano vote could determine the outcome of the 1972 elections have concerned both capitalist parties. In order to get that vote, they will try anything—short of actually solving the problems of housing, unemployment, discrimination, racist education, and underrepresentation in legislative bodies that La Raza faces. One of the tasks of the Raza Unida parties throughout Aztlán will be to expose these maneuvers by the gringo ruling class in 1972.

—ANTONIO CAMEJO

'72 Socialist Campaign

Liberal Senator Vance Hartke, announcing his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination, remarked that he had been "skeptical" of his chances until his campaign supporters collected 3,197 signatures on petitions in New Hampshire in one week — more than three times the number necessary to secure a place on the March 7 Democratic primary ballot.

This total is modest when compared to the record of Florida supporters of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley who last month collected more than 51,600 signatures in fifteen petitioning days. Only 27,000 are required in Florida.

Senator George McGovern explained in a recent radio interview why he felt Senator Edmund Muskie and other Democratic hopefuls should accept his challenge to debate: "I do think voters are entitled to see the candidates on the same stage, to see them in action person to person, to see how the candidates handle each other in open debate."

Nevertheless, McGovern still refuses to debate Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness.

The Socialist Workers Party national campaign office recently received the following letter from a student at C. W. Post in Greenvale, N. Y.:



Marilyn Winch

"Hi! Please send a free copy of your first monthly Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley Newsletter. I am interested in learning about your campaign.

Thank you,
Abby Hoffman (not the real one)"

A red, black, and green sticker with the slogan "Black control of the Black community — vote Socialist Workers in '72" is now available from the na-

tional campaign office. The price is \$1 per 100 stickers. Order from Socialist Workers Party Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

The Berkeley City Council was thrown into a factional squabble over the Dec. 14 appointment of liberal Democrat Susan Hone to fill the council's vacant ninth seat. Hone was chosen by a five-to-three vote of the council.

The council's decision to fill the vacancy by appointment rather than by a special election added to the disillusionment many people in Berkeley have with the April Coalition. The coalition, a group of liberals and radicals with an orientation to the Democratic Party, emerged victorious in last year's City Council elections.

Marilyn Winch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the council seat, called for a special election to fill the vacancy. She made the following statement Dec. 15:

"Following months of deadlock, the method of backroom deals and lobbying has resulted in an appointment that is hostile to the interests of the people of Berkeley.

"The people of Berkeley want a City Council that will lead the community in taking action against the war, for affirmative action in hiring, and against police misconduct.

"A special election would have made these sentiments perfectly clear. This is what Mayor Warren Widener and the City Council have tried to avoid."

Martin Waldron, a reporter for the New York Times, interviewed Linda Jenness while she was in Houston for the Young Socialist Alliance national convention. He writes in the Jan. 2 issue of the Times that Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley "were in Houston this week to attend the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance and to create enthusiasm for their forthcoming campaign. The Young Socialist Alliance convention was held in the South for the first time in an effort to revive the populist sentiment that prevailed in this area 70 years ago. Socialists will be running for public office in the South this year, in many places for the first time. . . .

"The Socialist Workers Party candidates expect to be on the ballot in 35 states, many of which require petitions signed by thousands of registered voters.

"We're busy challenging some of this," Mrs. Jenness said. "In those states that have restrictive election laws, we are going to court and make it easier for people to run. . . ."

Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley begin their 1972 campaign tours on Jan. 24. If you would like one of the candidates to visit your school or neighborhood, please get in touch with the national campaign office.

Address all inquiries about the campaign, requests for campaign materials, etc., to: Socialist Workers Party Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone: (212) 982-6051.

Young socialists plan tours, fund raising, endorser drive

HOUSTON—More than 250 Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley organizers from high school and college campuses in approximately 34 states attended a special meeting here Dec. 31 to discuss spring plans for building support for the Socialist Workers Party 1972 election campaign. The meeting was one of a series of Jenness-Pulley campaign activities, including a Dec. 30 campaign rally of nearly 1,000, held during the annual convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. The convention as a whole voted to endorse and build the SWP ticket.

The campaign activists' meeting began with a report by Laura Miller, a national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, on the many projects the YSJP is initiating this spring to organize YSJP campaign supporters in hundreds of schools throughout the country. First on the list of projects, Miller reported, is the drive to obtain thousands of endorsers for the Jenness-Pulley ticket. She explained how, in a brief period before the YSA convention, YSJPer collected over 2,000 endorsers by setting up regular campaign tables on campuses, canvassing dormitories, and talking to activists in the movements for social change.

Miller also outlined how YSJPer will help the campaign raise the \$500,000 projected in its budget. "Unlike the Democrats and Republicans, who depend for their money on the handful of wealthy individuals who run this country," Miller stated, "the socialist alternative banks on the very people who benefit from changing this society—women, Blacks, students, Chicanos, working people, gays, etc.—to sustain it financially. This means that the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley will have to seriously and thoroughly organize the collection of dimes, quarters, dollars, fives, tens and bigger contributions from Jenness-Pulley supporters so that we can finance the biggest socialist campaign since Debs. . . ."

In addition, according to Miller, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley will be initiating campus and high school electoral activities across the country in conjunction with the local and national SWP campaigns. These include YSJP election campaigns for student government office as well as getting student government leaders and student organizations to help sponsor referendums on the presidential candidates and the issues in 1972. These referendums, scheduled for mid-April, are to be modeled after the Choice '68 sponsored by Time magazine during the 1968 election campaign.

Tom Vernier, also a national coordinator of the YSJP, gave an additional report to the meeting outlining the spring tours planned for the candidates and the YSJP coordinators. After explaining how the tours provide opportunities for publicity, fund raising, obtaining endorsements, and reaching new people with the socialist alternative, Vernier detailed how the YSJP is organizing the tours on

the campuses and in the high schools. The key to the success of the tours, he pointed out, is the participation of strong, active YSJP chapters all over the country.

When the two initial reports were completed, discussion from the floor revealed the breadth and pace of YSJP activity as campaign supporters reviewed fall experiences in organizing the YSJP and suggested ways to build the campaign in the spring. Several high school activists spoke. One explained the success his Cleveland YSJP chapter had in attracting high school students to the campaign. "Of course, he explained, "it's because our campaign is the only one that represents the interests of high school students. While all other candidates ignore high school students because most of us can't vote, the Jenness-Pulley campaign fights for high school rights."

Another high school activist, from Ann Arbor, Mich., explained how YSJPer at her high school organized a busy and successful one-day tour for Linda Jenness in Ann Arbor in the fall, which included several high

Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, and liberal Republican presidential hopeful Paul McCloskey will debate Jan. 15 at Colby Junior College in New London, New Hampshire.

school and college speaking engagements, a radio interview, a news conference and a dinner meeting with campaign supporters.

Jim Burfeind from Austin, Texas, related his group's success in collecting almost 200 endorsers in just a few weeks. He noted that a large number of GIs from Ft. Hood endorsed Jenness and Pulley after talking with YSJPer at a GI coffeehouse near the base.

Activists from Denver and Providence, R. I., discussed the experiences their YSJP groups had while participating in voter registration rallies. They pointed out that well-organized campaign tables, distribution of literature, and collection of endorsers at these rallies convince many young people to support the SWP campaign after they have registered.

A YSJPer from Minneapolis gave some pointers on how to most effectively intervene in the capitalist candidates' public meetings. His group had a big impact on Minnesota meetings for Eugene McCarthy and George McGovern by simply setting up campaign tables, distributing campaign brochures and questioning the candidates about their records during the question and answer periods.

Most of the speakers voiced the opinion that spring campaign activities would far surpass anything the campaign had yet achieved. For more information on Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley activities, contact: YSJP, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone: (212) 260-4150.

Suit to challenge aerospace ruling

By FRANK LOVELL

Following a top-level meeting of union officials in St. Louis on Jan. 8, the presidents of the United Auto Workers and the International Association of Machinists announced their decision to bring suit in federal court against the government Pay Board. The suit will challenge the Pay Board's nine-to-five vote on Jan. 5 to deny a negotiated wage increase in the aerospace industry.

The announcement of the legal suit was made jointly by UAW president Leonard Woodcock and IAM president Floyd E. Smith, both Nixon-appointed members of the Pay Board. They firmly stated their intention to remain on the Pay Board despite the legal action they are bringing against it.

The aerospace industry contracts vetoed by the Pay Board covered approximately 200,000 workers. They were negotiated between the UAW and the IAM, representing the workers, and five aerospace companies, all subsidized by the federal government. The companies are North American Rockwell, McDonnell Douglas, Boeing Aircraft, Lockheed Aircraft, and LTV Aerospace Corporation.

The contracts were negotiated jointly by the unions and these corporations and are uniform for the industry. Woodcock and Smith participated in the negotiations. They claim that before the agreement was reached with industry representatives an informal understanding existed in the 15-member Pay Board that the agreement would be approved.

The settlement had provided for a 34-cent-an-hour increase in the present \$4.10 hourly pay rate to catch up with cost-of-living increases during the life of the old contract, which had been signed in 1968. This catch-up money is owed under the cost-of-living escalator clause, similar to the clause in the 1967 contract in the auto industry. The catch-up money for aerospace workers does not mean an increase in real wages because the additional 34 cents does not even allow them to buy what their \$4.10 would purchase at the time it was agreed upon.

The new three-year contract calls for a wage increase of 17 cents the first year on top of the 34-cent catch-up money; an additional 14 cents in the second and third years; and an escalator clause geared to the U.S. Consumer Price Index, intended to keep wage levels abreast of rising prices. Thus the present \$4.10 average wage would go to \$4.89 after three years, possibly higher in accordance with rises of the Consumer Price Index.

Following the Pay Board decision, there was talk of strike action by union members at the local level, but this was dampened by officials in both the Machinists and the UAW. They argued that the industry cannot afford a strike because it is in poor financial condition. However, both Woodcock and Smith, as members of the Pay Board, are complaining that the board has been inconsistent in its treatment of the aerospace settlement because higher increases have been approved for coal miners and railroad signalmen. Also, higher increases will probably be approved for railroad switchmen, represented by the

United Transportation Union, and the longshoremen. The most important consideration from the standpoint of the employers was their belief that a strike in the aerospace industry, if it occurred, would have significantly less impact on the economy than a rail or dock strike. For this reason they also calculated that it would be unlikely that the aerospace unions would call their members off the job.

The Pay Board has demonstrated that it protects and promotes the interests of the employers by reviewing union-management contracts, approving some, and rejecting others when they feel they can get away with it.

The extent to which management's hand has been strengthened is clearly illustrated by the arrogant attitude of the Douglas Aircraft Company of Canada, a subsidiary of McDonnell Douglas, which signed a contract with UAW local 1967 in Toronto after a nine-week strike last fall. Terms of the contract were substantially the same as those negotiated in this country and were accepted by the Canadian strikers only after threats from the top UAW officials in both Detroit and Toronto.

On Jan. 3 Douglas of Canada abrogated the new contract by firing the UAW plant chairman, Archie Wilson, and four union committeemen. The company blatantly states that it will no longer allow the union chairman to meet with his committeemen in his office in the plant, which is specifically provided for that purpose under terms of the UAW agreement.

There is little likelihood that Douglas Aircraft will be discouraged from such antiunion actions as long as it can look to the government Pay Board in the U.S. to reject industry-wide contracts.

Court to rule on Mandel case

By GEORGE NOVACK

The U.S. Supreme Court agreed Jan. 10 to rule on the constitutionality of the section of the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act under which Ernest Mandel, the internationally known Belgian Marxist, was denied a visa to lecture in the United States in 1969.

Last March, a three-judge Federal District Court in Brooklyn declared the law unconstitutional, saying that American citizens have a First Amendment right to hear his views and debate these with him.

The government argued that it had unrestricted sovereign authority to exclude anyone on any ground from the country in order to preserve the existing system from Communist subversion. However, the lower court held that the government could not bar Marxist speakers and that the statute was not evenly applied because it banned only individuals of the radical political left.

A distinguished group of eight professors from leading Eastern universities, including Wassily Leontiev of Harvard, Noam Chomsky of MIT, and Richard Falk of Princeton, were co-plaintiffs with Mandel. The suit was initiated by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and is being handled by its general counsel, Leonard Boudin and David Rosenberg of Harvard Law School.

The plaintiffs contended that Mandel's exclusion violated the right to free and open debate of political questions and that they and others are entitled to learn about his views not only in print and by air but face to

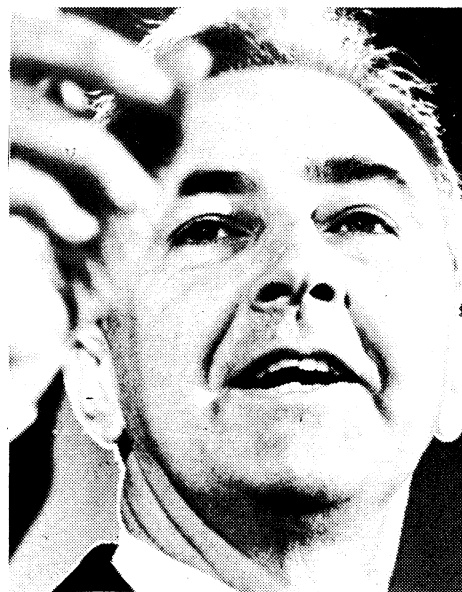
face. The majority opinion in their favor had great significance for civil liberties since it certified the right to hear as an integral part of the First Amendment guarantee of free speech.

Mandel, editor of the Belgian weekly *La Gauche* and author of the celebrated *Marxist Economic Theory* and other writings, visited this country in 1962 and 1968 but was twice denied entry when he applied for another visa in 1969. This arbitrary action precipitated an open breach between the State and Justice departments. Bending under public protest, Secretary of State Rogers recommended that he be allowed to come, while Attorney General Mitchell persisted in keeping him out.

This fall Mandel was again denied permission to fill speaking engagements at Eastern universities, pending the government's appeal to the Supreme Court. He thereupon made a successful two-week cross-Canada tour this December, speaking to large audiences from Vancouver to Montréal. He was also able to reach some American listeners through an interview over Toronto CBC television.

Mandel's case was one of the first to be granted a review by the full nine-member court now filled with Nixon's appointees. In the past the conservative new justices have shown flagrant disregard for the freedoms in the Bill of Rights.

McCarthy backs ballot group



Eugene McCarthy

By JUDY UHL

NEW YORK — The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), a national group formed to coordinate legal challenges to restrictive election laws, has obtained the endorsement of Eugene McCarthy, Democratic Party presidential hopeful.

The former senator recently refused to sign the Illinois loyalty oath when he filed the papers there to put his name on the state Democratic primary ballot. He indicated that he felt the loyalty oath was clearly unconstitutional. (The Illinois State Election Board ruled that McCarthy's name would appear on the ballot as the loyalty oath requirement does not, in their opinion, apply to presidential candidates.)

A challenge to the Illinois oath is one section of a CoDEL case now pending in the courts. Plaintiffs in the suit are members of the Socialist Workers Party. The suit also attacks the requirement that signatures on nominating petitions must be obtained from more than one county, thereby making it more difficult for small parties to collect the necessary number of signatures.

Other recent endorsers include: Paul O'Dwyer, civil rights attorney and

prominent liberal Democrat in New York; Leon M. Despres, Chicago Alderman, 5th Ward; Doris Bein Walker, an Angela Davis defense attorney; the California State Executive Board of the Social Services Union; Professor George Wald of Harvard University and Nobel Prize winner in physiology and medicine; and John Haag, national committee of the Peace and Freedom Party.

Among previous endorsers are Dr. Benjamin Spock; José Angel Gutiérrez, Crystal City Raza Unida Party; Professor Salvador Luria, MIT; and Representative Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.).

Indian SWP on Bangladesh

The following declaration was issued Dec. 18, 1971, by the West Bengal State Committee of the Socialist Workers Party of India, which is affiliated to the Fourth International. It is reprinted from the Jan. 17, 1972, issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

We congratulate and extend our unconditional support to the Mukti Bahini [Liberation Forces] on their heroic struggle in Bangladesh. We fervently hope that they will not cease fighting simply because of the defeat of the Pakistan Army, but will continue uninterrupted the struggle for a Socialist or Red Bangladesh. The real emancipation of the people cannot be achieved by substituting one capitalist regime for another.

The fascist-like repression which the Indian bourgeoisie carries out in many parts of India and especially West Bengal exposes her new pose as the champion of Bangladesh's "liberation". Here it is also necessary to point out that this year (1971) in the month of April (after the Pakistani invasion of Eastern Bengal) when revolutionists rose in revolt against the Bandaranaike regime in Ceylon, India sent her navy, infantry and air force within eight hours to help save the skin of Mrs. Bandaranaike. Thus both India and Pakistan were among the saviours of capitalism in Ceylon.

Now that Bangladesh is a *fait accompli*, the Indian rulers will not allow any other government than a capitalist one to exist in Dacca. In these circumstances a new government in Bangladesh will have to serve Marwari-Bhatia or Bengali capitalists instead of West Pakistani capital. She will gradually side with the Anglo-American blocs.

The left parties in India have played a frustrating and disappointing role. They have been totally swept away by the current of cheap nationalism and chauvinism. They failed to seize the opportunities offered by the two capitalist powers in conflict. They completely forgot that mass slaughters of political workers are continuing unabated before and after 25th March 1971 in West Bengal. The recent mass murder of political workers in Alipore central jail in Calcutta is only one such example. We urge all left parties to abandon their chauvinism and return to the road of revolutionary socialism.

We hope that the Mukti Bahini, remembering the mirth and jubilation of the people during 14th August 1947 (partitioned independence of the sub-continent) and the grim aftermath, will march forward to a Red Bangladesh. This will immediately pave the way for a United Socialist Bengal culminating into a Socialist Revolution in the entire Indian sub-continent.

Should Blacks give the Democratic Party another chance?



Detroit rally in defense of Attica prisoners, Sept. 23, 1971. Many young militants who participate in such independent actions are questioning the Democratic and Republican parties.

Photo by Tom Vernier

The following is the major portion of the speech delivered by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, at the national election campaign rally held in Houston, Texas, Dec. 30. The speech by SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness will be printed in a future issue.

First, I just want to say that it's good to see so many supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign and the Young Socialist Alliance gathered here in Space City, Texas.

Eight years ago, during the presidential campaign of 1964, all the major Black leaders, with the exception of Malcolm X, called for a moratorium on demonstrations. They did not want to embarrass the Texas cracker Lyndon Johnson in his race against Barry Goldwater. Huge numbers of Blacks turned out at the polls to pull the lever for Johnson.

In 1968 the Black leaders were again telling Black people that our only hope was to defeat Nixon and vote for Hubert Humphrey. And again record numbers of Blacks voted for the Democratic Party contender.

Now in 1972 it's time to take stock. What has been gained by supporting the Democratic Party politicians? Has the heel of oppression that grinds Black people into misery been even slightly lifted? Can we honestly say that in the last eight years we have made progress?

I think the record speaks for itself.

Although President Johnson claimed he was leading a war on poverty it turned out this was in reality a war against Black people—a war where hundreds of national guardsmen were used to crush revolts against the miserable conditions in our communities.

Unemployment has climbed so high that in many cities the rate is nearly 45 percent among young Black brothers and sisters. Schools and housing grow older and more dilapidated each year. Urban renewal programs destroy what little shelter many of us call home. While President Nixon tries to drive real wages down—wages that are already too low for Blacks—prices skyrocket. Everything costs more—medical care, transportation, food and rent—all the daily needs of life.

The Democrat Kennedy led the first major escalation of the war in Vietnam. The Democrat Johnson escalated the war, and the Democratic-controlled Congress has kept the money for this war flowing. We have seen 14 years of Democratic Party rule in Vietnam and 11 years of Republican Party rule in Vietnam. This racist war and the racist draft have been continued by the Democrats in the face of the opposition of the majority in this country.

Thousands of Black women are butchered every year because they can't get legal abortions. The capitalist politicians tell us that to repeal reactionary abortion laws is the same as legalizing murder. Unfortunately, many Black men say that abortion is "genocide" and some have attacked repeal of reactionary abortion laws as "racist."

It is Black women most of all who are the victims of the government's sexist and racist anti-abortion laws! We say that what is in the interest of Black women cannot be called racist. Those who are serious about achieving Black liberation don't have time to complain when others join the struggle against the oppressor. The right of all women to control their bodies—the right to legal abortions and no forced sterilization—is not murder or genocide. . . .

One example of the role of the Democratic Party in the Black community is the case of State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, a prominent Democratic Party official in Chicago.

Early in the morning of Dec. 4, 1969, two years ago, Hanrahan ordered Chicago cops to raid the apartment of Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Hampton and Clark were murdered in their beds. This day of tragedy is still remembered in the Black community.

But what happened to Mr. Democrat Hanrahan? Was he arrested? Was he tried for murder? No. Nothing happened until finally the protests of the Black community grew so loud that a grand jury was called to determine whether Hanrahan was guilty of interfering with the attempt to find the real murderers.

A decision as to whether Hanrahan will be tried on this modest charge will be made next month. But meanwhile Hanrahan has announced that he plans to seek the Democratic Party nomination for the office he now holds. The Democratic Party had planned to run Hanrahan again for the office he holds. It was only when the Black community began to raise its voice in protest that they began to rethink their strategy.

Is this the choice for Chicago Blacks in 1972? To vote for a known murderer and conspirator who is loose and on the rampage?

What Democrats offer

And what about the national arena? What are the Democrats serving up for us there? They have this cracker from north of the Mason-Dixon line, Edmund Muskie, who says he doesn't want a Black vice-presidential candidate on his ticket.

Actually, we shouldn't be too hard on him, because he admitted that a Black person on his ticket wouldn't be in the best interests of Blacks. And with that I think all of us here can agree.

And then there's George McGovern, who voted for legislation aimed at prosecuting Blacks who participated in community revolts. He also calls for a "Policeman's Bill of Rights." And everyone here remembers his first response to the proposed nomination of racist Senator Byrd to the Supreme Court. He declared that Byrd is "a man of enormous industry and personal pride" who would "bend every effort to become a great justice" if placed on the court.

And not one of the Democratic or Republican party presidential contenders has called for freeing Angela Davis!

But what about the Congressional Black Caucus? Is it a sign that there's still hope for Black people in the Democratic Party?

I think that one of the best descriptions of the Black Caucus was the title of an article that recently appeared in *Muhammad Speaks*. It asked: "What's Black, has 13 heads, and doesn't know where it's going?"

The article pointed out that the disagreements and rivalries among members of the caucus have prevented them from even rallying behind Shirley Chisholm's campaign.

This all-Black caucus inside the Democratic Party has adapted to the nationalist sentiment in the Black community in order to trick Blacks into supporting our enemy.

It's true that the Black Caucus is focusing attention on many of the problems faced by Black people. But its goal is to pressure the delegates at the Democratic convention to adopt a more "progressive" program for Blacks. It's like trying to convince Hitler to act a little like Mussolini, or a slave master to be a little more like Jesus Christ.

That is not a program to end the oppression Blacks suffer! It is a program to obtain a few verbal crumbs from our oppressors! They are telling Black people to rely on the same political party which has shot scores of us down in the streets, put hundreds of us in jails, and sent us to die fighting against our Vietnamese brothers and sisters. They are telling us to trust the same party that has failed us year after year! After more than 100 years of rule they have the nerve to ask us to give the Democratic and Republican parties another chance. They've had enough time, I think.

They ask us to depend on their efforts as individual leaders rather than to rely on the organized mass strength of Black people. There is not one word from the Black Caucus that explains how we as Black people can organize ourselves to fight for the right to control our lives.

This is an important difference between the Black Caucus and the Socialist Workers Party.

The SWP candidates attempt to explain and popularize ideas that will help Black people develop self-confidence—confidence inspired by the knowledge that only we, as Black people organized in our own independent organizations, can lead the struggle for our freedom. The SWP candidates bring suggestions based on experience that will assist the development of effective demands and tactics—demands and tactics that will lead toward a situation where Black Americans make the decisions that affect our lives, where we control our communities.

And that's what Black people want.

Talked to Black GIs

In the past four months I've spoken in 15 states. I talked to Black GIs at Darmstadt, Kaiserslautern, Frankfurt, in West Germany, and to GIs throughout the U. S.

When I was in Germany I spoke to a meeting of more than 250 Black GIs protesting the murder of Brother George Jackson. Joe Miles and I went from base to base and had meetings with Black GIs. . . .

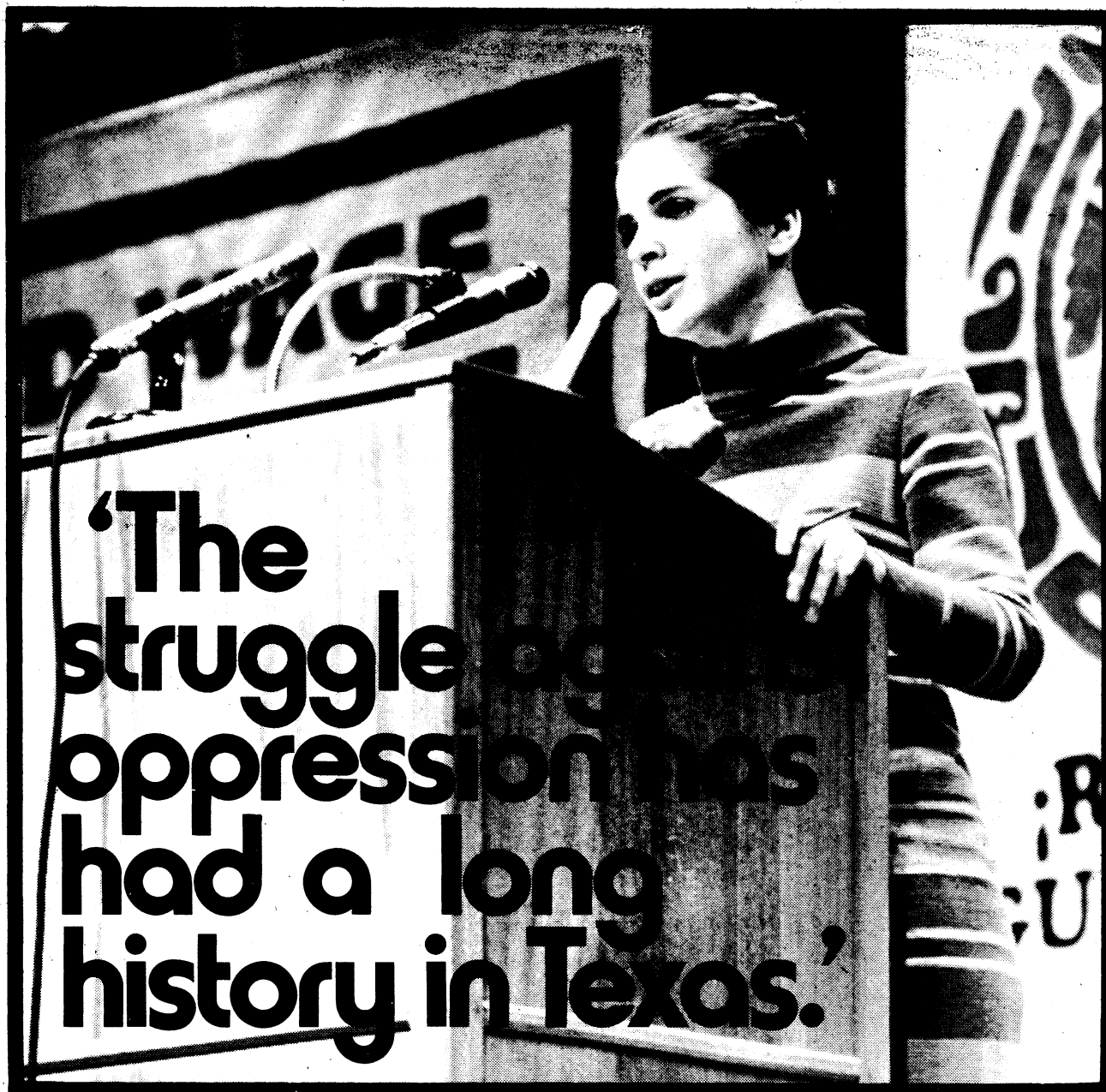
In Colorado the campaign requested permission to speak to GIs at Fort Carson. Permission was denied. We drove to the gate, introduced ourselves,

Continued on page 22



Andrew Pulley

Photo by Brian Shannon



Debby Leonard speaking at national SWP campaign rally in Houston

Photo by Ed Weaver

The following is the text of the speech by Debby Leonard at the national election campaign rally held by the Socialist Workers Party in Houston, Texas, Dec. 30. Leonard was the SWP's candidate for mayor of Houston in 1971 and is presently its candidate for governor of Texas.

Welcome to Houston, Texas.

All of you who have attended this national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance and those of you who have come to this Socialist Workers campaign rally are making history. This is the first revolutionary-socialist convention ever held in the South, and we are here to say it won't be the last!

1972 will be the first year the Socialist Workers Party will be on the ballot statewide in Texas—and we promise to keep it on the ballot until we have ousted the corrupt, racist capitalist politicians who run this state and run this country.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have not been in Texas very long. When we first started organizing and getting ourselves together, Texas—with its 267,339 square miles—seemed awfully big and we felt pretty small. But we broadcast our program, and our program is very big indeed.

Because of our program, last March we were bombed and last May we were machine-gunned in this city by the Klan. And very quickly we became fighters. We joined forces with civil libertarians and scores of victims of right-wing terrorism in the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston.

For nearly a year in Houston we have battled the Klan, the Minutemen, the city administration and the Houston police in the fight for democratic rights in Houston and in defense of our very right to exist. We have been through the courts, we have been grilled by the district attorney, we have withstood intimidation, harassment, threats, bribes, inquisitions and investigations.

But we have learned from this fight and this fight has made us strong. We are armed with the political experience and the fortitude and the determination to carry the struggle for democratic rights across this state in the 1972 campaign.

In the course of this fight we have learned that the struggle against oppression has had a long history in Texas.

When we support the demand for Black control of the Black community, when we call for Black studies programs in schools across the state, we are following in the footsteps of Black slaves in Texas who in 1850 organized mass flights to Mexico where they joined forces with Comanche Indians and beat back slaveholders' expeditions across the border to recapture them. We are talk-

ing about the cooperation in Texas in 1856 between Mexicans, a few white revolutionaries and Black slaves to initiate an insurrection against their common oppressor. We are recalling the anti-slavery fires that burned down whole towns in the counties of Anderson, Austin, Dallas, Denton, Ellis, Grimes, Lamar, Milan, Montgomery, Rusk, Tarrant, Walker and Wood during those eight weeks in 1860.

We are reminding Texas that of the 35,000 cowboys who made the trail drives north from Texas after the Civil War, more than 5,000 were Black and more than 7,000 were Mexican. The best bulldogger in the country—and the man often credited with inventing bulldogging—was a Texas cowboy, Bill Pickett, a Black Texas cowboy.

Abolish Texas Rangers!

When we defend La Raza Unida Party and support their demand for abolition of the Texas Rangers and make it a plank in our platform, we are recalling that the Indians who first settled this vast plain and fought valiantly in defense of their land and the buffalo they hunted but never exterminated, who taught the white invaders how to survive in the hot desert climate—and who gave Texas its name from the Indian word "Tejas," meaning "friendly." Those great tribes were massacred, hunted down, defeated by superior weaponry and driven out of this state in a campaign led by the Texas Rangers.

It was the Texas Rangers who led the United States Army into Mexico in 1846 and rode into Mexico City in December 1847 on a campaign to rip off the land north of the Rio Grande and turn it over to the white racist administration of James K. Polk.

During the Civil War, Texas Rangers merged with the Confederate Army in the fight to preserve slavery, and were rewarded with promotions in the force.

In the union organizing drives among farm workers in the Valley, the Texas Rangers have established themselves as a crackerjack strike-breaking vigilante squad.

We say Abolish the Texas Rangers! And we will say it so loud and clear that before this next year is over, that new Dallas baseball team, the Rangers, will deeply regret their unfortunate choice of a name.

When we call for self-determination for Chicanos in Texas, we remember that Mexicans lived on this land for generations before the territory was ripped off from Mexico in 1848. We remember that Mexican workers built the railroads, irrigated the farms and harvested the crops for the Anglo invaders of the Southwest.

When we applaud the statewide formation of La Raza Unida Party, it is because Chicanos are organizing to break from the twin big business parties of capitalism—the Democrats and the Republicans—who have misrepresented and misled Chicanos and the overwhelming majority of people in this country for generations.

We do not have the first woman candidate for governor of Texas. We have the second. But old Ma Ferguson will roll over in her grave when our demands for women's rights echo across this state. We demand repeal of the Texas abortion law, which says that a woman can only have an abortion if her physical life is in danger. Hundreds of women leave this state every month for New York and California in the fight to control their own bodies. And many others who cannot afford to make the trip are butchered by back-alley abortionists here in Texas.

We will not let the state legislature forget that they adjourned their last session without repealing that law—in defiance of the interests, needs and demands of hundreds of thousands of women across this state.

On side of workers

Our campaign stands squarely on the side of working people. We support the right of workers to organize, to bargain collectively, and to strike. We oppose the so-called "right-to-work" law on the books in Texas, which, in fact, gives the boss the right to employ workers at low wages, under poor conditions, with no job security, and deprives workers of their major weapon of self-defense—collective organizing.

As Richard Nixon and our native son John Connally step up their attack on the wages and living standards of working people during the next year, we will stand behind any moves made by Texas workers to combat this attack. We call for a congress of labor, of everyone affected by the national administration's antilabor economic policies, to organize an independent course of action in defense of their own interests.

And we will go to the docks when longshoremen are on strike, we will join the farm workers' picketlines, we will support the firemen in their fight for collective bargaining rights.

We will join the fight for student and faculty control over the universities and high schools across this state. We will be at Sam Houston State in Huntsville when students challenge the rule against outdoor rallies.

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley at the University of Houston are organizing to fight the witch-hunt attack by Representative Bowers against student rights to allocate student funds to Women's Liberation, Gay Liberation, the Young Socialist Alliance or any other organization they want. We will support the recognition fight of Gay Liberation at the University of Texas in Austin.

The decision by the Young Socialist Alliance at this national convention to give full support to and to build the Socialist Workers Party campaign is going to have a big impact on Texas politics in 1972!

We are the campaign that will bring the single most important political question in this country today into the Texas '72 elections—the war in Southeast Asia. We will nail each and every state politician and candidate for public office and demand that he let Texans know if he supports immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Southeast Asia.

We will make it our business when GIs get arrested in Killeen for walking down the sidewalk with signs protesting the war in Southeast Asia. We will make it our business when high school students get suspended or arrested in Houston for distributing antiwar literature. We will make it our business when students at San Jacinto Junior College in Pasadena and North Texas State University in Denton are prohibited from organizing a Student Mobilization Committee. And we will make it the business of all the people in Texas in the coming year!

You know, on election night in Houston this past Nov. 20, a news commentator on a major network was heard to say, "Well, the socialists have won their legal fights; they have made their point; they are on the ballot and they have made an impact. Now let's see if they fold up their tents and go away!"

Well, I have news for that newsman. We are here to stay! And we are very proud to be bringing socialism back to Texas and to be continuing and deepening the struggles waged by socialists in Texas in the early years of this century when thousands of Texans voted for Eugene Debs and when in the territory west of the Mississippi—in Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Oklahoma and Texas—there was a socialist movement so radical that it made most of the moderate Eastern social democrats shudder.

N.Y. women unite to defend abortion right

By EVA CHERTOV

NEW YORK, Jan. 12 — On Jan. 9 more than 100 women from a broad range of political and women's organizations met to plan a united response to attempts to roll back the limited right to abortion that women now have under the liberal New York abortion law.

The meeting had been called in response to a temporary injunction issued Jan. 5 banning all abortions in municipal hospitals pending the outcome of a suit by Fordham University Professor Robert Bryn, which challenges the constitutionality of the New York abortion law. The law permits abortion on demand by a doctor up to the 24th week of pregnancy.

The overwhelming sentiment at the Jan. 9 meeting was to hold an immediate demonstration on Jan. 13 as the first step in mobilizing women of New

York to protect the rights they have won.

Despite the Jan. 5 injunction, abortions have not been halted in municipal hospitals because the City of New York appealed the injunction ruling. The city's appeal automatically resulted in a stay of the injunction until the appeal was heard.

On Jan. 11 the city's appeal came before the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court, along with challenges to the injunction by representatives of New York State, and Nancy Stearns, representing pregnant women desiring abortions. Before a courtroom filled with some 200 women both for and against the right to abortion, presiding Justice Samuel Rabin ruled that abortions could not be halted in municipal hospitals until he rules on the city's appeal. His ruling is expected later this week.

The response of the women's movement to these developments has been immediate, angry and united. Two successful news conferences have been held, one following the Jan. 5 injunction, and one to announce the decision of the Jan. 9 meeting to hold a demonstration. Participants in the press conferences have included representatives from the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC), the National Organization for Women, Women's Health and Abortion Project, Women's Political Caucus, B'nai B'rith, Representative Bella Abzug's office, United Church of Christ, and various campus women's liberation groups, such as Columbia and New York University.

Many women see this attack on the New York law as just the opening salvo of an all-out attack on the gains women have made in winning the right to abortion in this state. This attack on the New York law has national implications, since New York has the most liberal law in the country and women come here from all over to be able to have legal abortions. A setback in New York would thus have a devastating effect on the movement for repeal of abortion laws nationwide.

For this reason the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, which sponsored the Nov. 20 demonstrations for abortion law repeal, has moved its national office to New York in order to begin building an aggressive defense of the gains made here in the struggle of women to control their own bodies. WONAAC chapters in other states have also responded to these developments with successful press conferences protesting the attack on the New York law and tying it

in to the abortion situation in their own states.

The challenge to the New York law means that the national abortion conference called by WONAAC for Feb. 11-13 at Boston University takes on the character of an emergency conference where the movement for the right to abortion can plan a national response in defense of women's rights.

At the women's meeting Jan. 9 Nancy Stearns answered questions on the legal aspects of the struggle and explained how the lawyers were planning to proceed. Following this was a very full discussion on the best way to reach as many women as possible and let them know how their right to abortion is under attack.

Some women brought up the idea of picketing one of the main Catholic churches because of the Catholic hierarchy's role in opposing the New York law. However, Catholic and ex-Catholic women pointed out that there are many Catholic women who are in favor of a woman's right to abortion but who might consider a demonstration at a church as an attack on their religion.

Other women made the point that a demonstration at a Catholic church would muddy rather than clarify the issue because prime responsibility for the enforcement of separation of church and state lies with the state.

It was decided that the demonstration would be a march from Times Square to Herald Square at rush hour after work. Thursday evening is a shopping night in New York, and Herald Square is not only one of the main shopping areas but also has a high concentration of female workers. The march will end with mass leafleting of all the subways and stores in the area.



Jan. 9 meeting in N.Y. to plan fight against attacks on right to abortion.

Photo by Lora Eckert

By Any Means Necessary

JUGGLING STATISTICS I Last year Daniel Patrick Moynihan, then a White House counselor, sent a much-publicized memorandum to President Nixon urging a policy of "benign neglect" in respect to the problems of Black people. As evidence in support of such a policy, Moynihan cited statistics showing that between 1959 and 1970, the income of Northern Black couples under 35 years of age rose from 85 percent to 104 percent of their white counterparts. In Moynihan's opinion, this was "extraordinary progress."

However, the Census Bureau released last December a report that makes shambles of his figures. According to the Dec. 20 New York Times, the report showed the average income of such Black families increasing from 78 percent to 96 percent of their white counterparts. But that's not all. The factor enabling such a jump was that 63 percent of the wives in such families worked, compared with 54 percent of the wives in white families. Moreover, the report reveals, 52 percent of the employed Black wives worked year-round while only 36 percent of working white wives did so.

These gross inequities are only further illuminated by the fact that the income of Black families where only the husband worked was 74.6 percent of their white counterparts in 1959 and 75.8 percent in 1970, an increment the Census Bureau views as statistically insignificant.

But even these statistics do not mirror the real situation. The report does not say what kinds of jobs these Black wage earners have. And the 1970 statistics are already out of date, thanks to Nixon's "New Economic Policy."

JUGGLING STATISTICS II The Dec. 30 New York Times reports a Census Bureau finding that nearly one million white people (a net figure arrived at after subtracting the in-migration from the out-migration) left New York City over the past decade. Because there were more births than deaths, however, the actual loss of white population was 617,127.

In respect to the oppressed nationalities, the report lapses into generalities about Black and "other races." The net migration of Blacks and "other races" into New York City over the decade was 435,840. When births over deaths are taken into account, the official increase in the number of oppressed nationalities is registered at 702,903.

The Census Bureau goes on to conclude that the oppressed nationalities numbered 1,844,225 in 1970. And of this figure, they say that 1,666,636 are Black. But it is commonly accepted that there are more than one million Puerto Ricans in the city. What about the Dominicans and Haitians—whose numbers are estimated in the hundreds of thousands. What about the Chinese and Japanese-Americans, who reside in very sizable and definable communities. One previous census figure pegged the Native American population in the city at 10,000 in 1970.

And there are probably numerous other nationalities from Latin America, Africa, and Asia who entered the city over the decade. But these and additions to the above are not counted or given any personality in the figures on migration in and out of New York City. They are all jammed into the category of Black and "other races."

Nevertheless, there is a hint as to how the Census Bureau dealt with these "other races"—90 percent of the Puerto Ricans were classified as "white."

MIRIAM MAKEBA'S RECENT CONCERT TOUR WAS SEVERELY SABOTAGED by the machinations of the U.S. government. According to the Dec. 10 Third World, "In Newark's Symphony Hall, over 2,000 people who had been waiting for over three hours to hear Sister Miriam Makeba's first American appearance in three years, listened to poet-playwright Imamu Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones) explain why she wasn't there. 'The U.S. Immigration Department is holding her up. She probably won't be able to get into the country for another week to 10 days. There will be

another concert and you all will be allowed to get in free.'

"He looked out over the October 16th audience. 'We thought her name had been whitewashed, but we can see from tonight that that didn't happen.'

"Brother Baraka was right. The faithful had not forgotten Sister Miriam in spite of combined efforts of government and the racist entertainment industry. She was given a thunderous reception the following week at Symphony Hall when she gave a free concert for those who had bought tickets to the first. But the hassle with the Immigration Department was to set a pattern of involvement by various government departments to make her tour of the U.S. a financial failure, in spite of unquestioned artistic success.

"She made no money in Newark. After a limited financial success in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, she was not paid for Detroit, Chicago, Baltimore and Washington, D.C. . . . everywhere the U.S. government dogged her tail, seizing box office money for unverified claims of back taxes, intimidating promoters in cities across the country and threatening to deport her if she made any public statements about their harassment. . . .

"The forces of white, economic power, since singer Miriam Makeba's marriage to Stokely Carmichael in the Spring of '68, have moved systematically to end her career. Shortly after she married . . . her record sales dropped sharply. Invitations to appear on major television shows stopped and top night clubs, from New York to Las Vegas, which earlier had begged for her services, suddenly found reason to cancel contracts. For three years she made no public appearances in America, confining her engagements to Europe and the African continent, where she now makes her home in Conakry, Guinea. . . ."

Third World can be obtained at 1320 Vermont Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20005. Subscription for one year (24 issues) can be had for \$6.

— DERRICK MORRISON

YWLL student gov't denies democratic rights

By JOSEPH HARRIS and WILL STANLEY

NEW YORK—Despite the Young Socialist Alliance's extensive activities on the Borough of Manhattan Community College campus, its charter application for official recognition was denied recently by the student government, which is controlled by the campus Young Workers Liberation League through a formation known as the Third World Coalition. The YWLL is the youth organization associated with the Communist Party.

In a Dec. 8 meeting, the student government turned down the request on the grounds that the YSA is in political opposition to the TWC, and consequently the TWC should not charter "that which does not support it." After a heated debate with members of the YSA, the TWC government voted unanimously, with one abstention, against granting a charter. In a subsequent meeting Dec. 22, the TWC refused to even put the question on the agenda.

Richard Hoyen, a leader of TWC and New York State campus work coordinator of the Young Workers Liberation League, was a key spokesman against the YSA request for a charter.

This is but one episode in the continuing attacks on the democratic rights of the YSA by the TWC and YWLL. Last spring the TWC, which then controlled the student government, expelled a YSA activist from co-editorship of the school paper and excluded the YSA from using student government facilities—mimeograph, office space, etc.—which are set aside for use by the whole student body. In addition, Hoyen, the student government president at the time, refused to sign the charter papers submitted then.

This year the TWC editor of the school newspaper announced that no "Trotskyite" articles will be printed. And at the Dec. 8 meeting, the YSA was referred to on the agenda as "Trotskyite dogs."

What emerges clearly from these events is the total disregard of the YWLL and TWC for the democratic rights of those in opposition to it, and their willingness to use the same tactics of slander and political victimization the campus administration has used against the TWC itself and many militants. By its action the TWC opens the door for an attack on themselves by the administration.

This fall, when the administration attempted to deny the TWC its legitimately won seats in the student government election, the YSA was the only organization participating in the elections to oppose this move.

Without a charter, the YSA cannot be funded, hold meetings on campus, set up literature tables, and is barred from leafleting on campus. This action is an attack on the right of all students to organize and be chartered regardless of whether or not they agree with the politics of the TWC.

The YSA plans to launch a petition campaign to enlist support of all campus groups and mobilize students in defense of basic democratic rights.

Croatian nationalism threatens Yugoslav socialist development

The following is the first of two articles.

By CAROLINE LUND

Yugoslavia, Poland and Czechoslovakia have all experienced powerful student upsurges in the 1950s and 1960s demanding a deepening of socialist policies and criticizing the bureaucratic regimes from the left. However, the past two months in Yugoslavia have witnessed what is perhaps the first reactionary student strike since the development of the international youth radicalization of the 1960s.

On Nov. 23 some 30,000 students launched a 10-day strike at the University of Zagreb in the Yugoslav republic of Croatia. Croatia is the second largest of Yugoslavia's six republics. The others are Slovenia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia. Croatia includes most of the Adriatic Sea coast within Yugoslavia's borders, and enjoys a substantial tourist business. The average standard of living of Croatia is higher than in any of the other republics.

The major demand of the striking nationalist students was that the law be changed to allow each republic to keep all foreign exchange earned by their own enterprises.

At present, foreign exchange is considered a national resource, since the Yugoslav dinar is not easily exchanged with other currencies on the world market. All foreign exchange except for a small percentage must be traded in to the central Yugoslav banks for dinars, and the federal government decides how it is to be distributed. Some of it has been allocated to the less developed republics of Bosnia, Macedonia and Montenegro to enable them to buy modern industrial goods from the West.

Croatia is Yugoslavia's major exporting republic. With its exports and flourishing tourist trade, Croatia brings in 40 percent of the foreign exchange earned by Yugoslavia.

Thus when the Zagreb students condemn the current foreign exchange policy as "economic discrimination" and "colonialism" against Croatia, what they mean is the reactionary concept that the republics should relate to each other on the basis of strict competition, rather than fraternal aid from the richer regions to help the more backward areas become industrialized. They were in essence demanding the continuation of the privileged position Croatia holds. Some of the students also demanded a separate state of Croatia.

On Dec. 1 Yugoslav President Tito intervened, denouncing the reactionary demands of the Croatian protesters. This led to the resignation of many Croatian Communist Party leaders as well as the Croatian premier. The resignations were followed by four nights of nationalist protests in the streets of Zagreb.

The nature of the support for the nationalists was indicated in a report by C. Malagnou in the Jan. 10 *Intercontinental Press*. Malagnou writes: "In most previous campus struggles the liberal arts and social science students took the lead; this time commercial science students were much in evidence. Among these, sons of factory managers and other plant administrators, as well as of officials in import-export firms were at the forefront. . . ."

"Fortunately, everything indicates that the Yugoslav working class is not going to be taken in. When the vice-rector of the University of Zagreb, Yvan Cicack, a student, called on the workers to join in the strike, they refused to let themselves be recruited into a holy alliance with the nationalists, the petty-bourgeoisie, the local bureaucracy, and all those elements that aspire to become a new bourgeoisie."

How have reactionary chauvinist sentiments developed so such a pitch in a country where capitalism has been abolished by a social revolution?

Even before the Yugoslav revolution in the late 1940s, nationalist antagonisms were extremely intense in Yugoslavia and presented a great obstacle that had to be overcome in the process of the Yugoslav revolution.

The multinational state of Yugoslavia was created by the Versailles Treaty ending World War I. The administration of the state—called the Kingdom of the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes—was given to the Great Serbian bourgeoisie.

World War II and occupation of Yugoslavia by the Nazis brought nationalist and religious conflicts to an intense level. Conflicts broke out based on the accumulated hatred of the most oppressed nationalities, as well as rivalries between the three largest and most oppressive nationalities—the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes. Tens of thousands of Serbians and Jews were murdered by the Croatian nationalist organization Ustashi, which collaborated with the Nazis.

Tito's regime has ostensibly tried to unite the many nationalities that make up Yugoslavia. The government policy up to about 1957 was to try to eliminate the material basis for nationalist hostilities by providing for a higher rate of investment in the more backward re-

publics. The aim was to slowly eliminate the inequalities inherited from centuries of national oppression, especially against the three southern republics of Macedonia, Montenegro and Bosnia.

Fosters chauvinism

But other policies of the Tito regime have tended to foster nationalism and lay the groundwork for the current conflict and future conflicts that could be even more serious. The regime has fostered chauvinist sentiments through its policies of extreme decentralization of the econ-



Yugoslav President Tito

omy and so-called "market socialism," as well as through the failure of its foreign policy to educate the population in the spirit of working-class internationalism.

In 1950 Yugoslavia instituted the system of "workers self-management." All plants were to be owned by the workers who worked in them and run by workers councils elected by all the workers in the plant. Although this policy provided for significant control by workers on the plant level, it did not provide for workers control over basic economic and political decisions affecting the country as a whole.

Further "reforms" in 1956 and 1965 increased decentralization of the economy, providing for more autonomy to each republic, more autonomy to each factory, a decrease in investments by the federal government, and more leeway to market relations. Each factory or enterprise was to operate in competition with other enterprises, with great emphasis on "profitability."

The federal government of Yugoslavia now has very limited functions. They include responsibility for setting monetary policy, for administering a small federal fund for the development of more backward areas, and for foreign policy and national defense. The central government has steadily loosened its monopoly on foreign trade since 1952.

Encouragement of capitalist methods based on the market and "profitability" has gone so far that bureaucrats from some republics are pressing for a "socialist stock exchange" where funds for investment could be raised through selling bonds.

The autonomy of the republics is paralleled within the Yugoslav Communist leadership. The League of Yugoslav Communists is not a unified, centralized party, but a federation of six Communist parties—one in each republic—each with its own apparatus, press, etc.

The leaders of the Communist parties have appealed to nationalist sentiments in order to broaden their support. In relation to the current conflict, for instance, the Dec. 20 *New York Times* reported: "According to information available here in the federal capital [Belgrade] and in Zagreb, the Croatian capital, the nationalist wave was not merely tolerated by the Croatian Communist Party leadership, but was actually fostered by it."

The support of these bureaucrats for national chauvinism stems from their privileged economic and social position. The gap between the income and standard of living of an average worker and a Communist Party or government bureaucrat or plant manager is very wide. These self-seeking Croatian Communist bureaucrats are no doubt seeking even greater privileges for themselves in supporting the nationalist demands aimed at maintaining the privileged position of Croatia.

To be continued.

Nixon's policies mean speedup, layoffs

By DICK ROBERTS

What effect does the intensification of U. S. competition in world trade have on jobs in America?

When President Nixon launched the Aug. 15 wage-freeze attack on American workers, he attempted to justify it by claiming that bolstering the competitiveness of U. S. industry will provide more jobs in the long run. On this fundamental proposition Nixon has the support of the trade-union bureaucracy.

In efforts to make U. S. industry more competitive, union officials sometimes sound more nationalistic than corporate bosses. For example, I. W. Abel, the head of the United Steelworkers, who is also one of the five union members of Nixon's Pay Board, spearheaded the establishment of union-management "Committees on Productivity" in the steel industry.

The objective of these committees is outlined in the December issue of the steelworkers official newspaper *Steel Labor*. They are supposed "to work cooperatively to achieve significantly higher productivity trends" in order "to meet the challenge posed by principal foreign competitors in recent years."

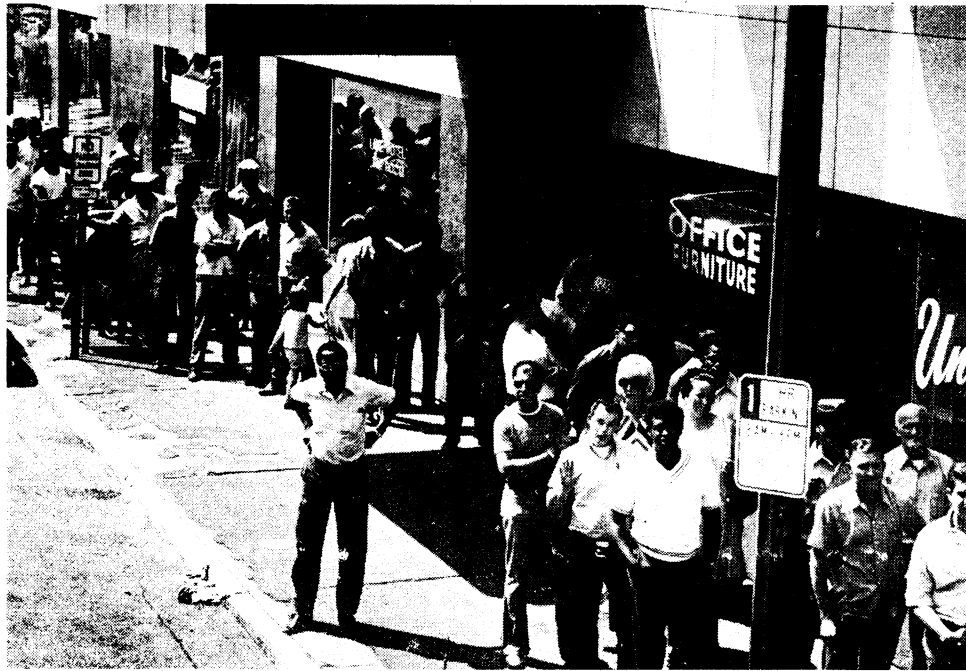
This kind of effort to cooperate with the bosses to improve U. S. productivity in international competition is a dangerous dead-end approach for workers. In their relentless drive for profits, the rulers of each capitalist nation pit the workers in one country against those in other countries. Their main aim is to drive down the standards of living of workers in "their own" nations in order to improve their competitive position internationally.

Monopoly capital cannot overcome the contradictions in world trade caused by national boundaries. Why shouldn't governments respond to the increasing threat of unemployment by international planning? In a rationally organized world economy only so many goods would be produced as were needed; production would be planned in order to meet the needs of the whole world's population. This would raise everyone's standard of living and there would be no unemployment.

But capitalist monopoly's quest for

profits in world markets is a far cry from this. Each competing national capitalism attempts to carve out the biggest markets and sell the most goods. The inevitable result is world overproduction of goods and massive unemployment as industries are forced to cut back production. The steel industry is an example.

Today there is a saturation of steel in world markets. From Japan's giant Nippon industry to West Germany's Krupp works, production is being slashed. Hardest hit of all are steel workers in the United States.



Laid-off steel workers in Gary, Ind., lined up for unemployment benefits

Photo by AFL-CIO News

A Jan. 1 article in the *Chicago Daily News* reports the situation in Gary Ind., "Unemployment has soared in Gary since August, and . . . a city hall survey indicates a current jobless rate of 41.1 percent, as many as 20,000 jobless persons. . . . Many laid-off steel workers fear they will never be called back. They fear that the mills will take advantage of special writeoffs granted by Congress for the purchase of new equipment to install machinery requiring fewer workers."

Is helping the industry to step up productivity, as steel union chief Abel promises, an answer to these problems? On the contrary, in their efforts to improve competitiveness, U. S. in-

dustrialists are attempting to rationalize their plants by speeding up production and introducing more automated machinery. This can result in massive job losses.

An article in the Dec. 28 *Wall Street Journal* complains about the "backwardness" of U. S. industry. "At the end of last year U. S. manufacturers surveyed by McGraw-Hill's economics department considered 15 percent of their facilities technologically obsolete. . . .

"John G. Myers, an economist . . . adds that many other U. S. plants

'are hopelessly out of date' because they aren't highly enough automated to compete with foreign facilities. . . . An estimated 26 percent of next year's capital spending . . . is expected to go for automated machinery. . . ."

The prospect that faces hundreds of thousands of workers today is lay-off and unemployment as U. S. industry is increasingly rationalized for world competition. There have been admissions of this fact here and there in ruling-class circles.

Last summer, Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally, who has been leading Nixon's foreign-policy offensive in world trade, stated: "We talk in terms of a norm of unemployment

being 4 percent. That is a myth, it has never happened, it has never been on an annual basis (at that rate) . . . save in wartime, not in the last quarter of a century." (*Washington Post*, July 11.)

Only in wartime can the American capitalist economy push unemployment down to the 4 percent level, which still means millions of workers are out of jobs. But because of the increasing automation of industry, this "minimum" level is being pushed upward. *Business Week* magazine declared Dec. 25: "Even if the slow improvement in business picks up speed, as economists expect, unemployment will cling stubbornly in the neighborhood of 5 percent. . . . There is no feasible growth rate that could get unemployment down to the magic 4 percent level without blasting the economy into another ruinous inflation."

Thus unemployment is a real and growing problem facing millions of workers right now and it is to this problem that a leadership of the working class—representing the workers and not the bosses—should address itself. The "Committees on Productivity" of the United Steelworkers are far from doing this. The December issue of *Steel Labor* describes their purpose:

"Committees on Productivity are free to discuss . . . more efficient use of production time and facilities; reducing equipment breakdowns and delays; improving quality and reducing the need for reprocessing products; eliminating waste and negligent use of materials, supplies and equipment; reducing excessive overtime; boosting employee morale; improving safety experience; and general focusing employee awareness on the productivity problem and the real threat of foreign competition." It sounds like the agenda of the board of directors.

There is not one word about the most pressing problem actually facing steelworkers and millions of other workers right now: unemployment. A union that had the workers in mind would demand a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay in order to assure that there would be no more layoffs and to provide work for those who have been laid off.

Lebanese army attacks Fedayeen

By TONY THOMAS

A *New York Times* dispatch from Beirut, Lebanon, dated Jan. 1, reports a major battle between Palestinian resistance forces in Lebanon and the Lebanese army. According to the *Times* dispatch: "Lebanese security forces and Palestinian guerrillas fought a pitched battle with machine guns here last night in the worst clash between them in almost two years."

The *Times* quoted Lebanese police who claimed that members of As Saiqua, which is connected with the Syrian Baath Party, were involved.

The Lebanese capitalists are using the incident to whip up anti-Palestinian sentiment by branding two slain security officers "martyrs." Lebanese Premier Saeb Salam visited the site of the incident, a police station in the Al Nahr district in Beirut's outskirts, and demanded punishment of violators of "law and order."

According to the *Times*, the "Higher Committee for Palestinian affairs in

Lebanon, made up of representatives of all the guerrilla groups, after an emergency meeting issued a statement strongly condemning the incident. 'Those responsible will not go unpunished,' it said."

The incident stemmed from an alleged attempt by the guerrillas to release a fedayeen held captive by the Lebanese police. Palestinian organizations in Lebanon fear this and a similar clash that took place between members of Al Fateh and police in downtown Beirut may be the prelude to a major repression of Palestinians in Lebanon.

Since clashes between the Lebanese army and the Palestinian resistance in 1969, the Palestinians were given bases on Mount Hermon in southeast Lebanon, near the border with Israel. In exchange, the Palestinians were prohibited from publicly carrying arms or appearing in their uniforms outside their camps. The Palestinians were also given control of 15 Palestinian refugee camps throughout Lebanon.

After the Palestinian resistance was driven from Jordan between September 1970 and July 1971, the importance of Lebanon as an open base of Palestinian activity increased. For this reason, it would not be surprising if the offensive against the Palestinians in the Arab world continued with the destruction of their rights in Lebanon.

Calif. teachers call for state labor meeting

By JEFF MACKLER

OAKLAND, Calif. — The Dec. 4 quarterly State Council meeting of the 20,000 member California Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, resolved to join with interested California unions in calling a statewide conference of labor to develop an action program against Nixon's wage controls.

The resolution, passed overwhelmingly by the more than 100 teacher leaders representing AFT locals throughout California, also established a special committee under the direction of state president Raoul Teihet to begin work in preparation for the labor conference.

A similar resolution had been defeated the previous month at the annual state convention because it con-

tained a section prohibiting the teacher's union from supporting any candidate for office who supported the wage freeze. Although this convention resolution received some 30-40 percent of the vote, it was clear that the majority of the delegates were not yet prepared to make the break with the Democratic Party the resolution clearly implied.

The passage of a resolution initiating a statewide conference of labor opens the door for rank and file unionists to involve broad sections of the working class in a real fight against the wage controls and mounting antilabor legislation.

There is already some evidence that a call for a statewide conference of labor would meet with the approval of a growing number of unions. Morris Evanson, recording secretary of Painters Local 4 in San Francisco, reported that a resolution passed by his local on the subject last fall has been endorsed by the San Francisco Building and Construction Trades Council. Local 10 of the Longshoremen's union has also passed a resolution on this question.

The National Picket Line

THE COURTS OF THIS COUNTRY can move swiftly when employers seek an injunction to stop or cripple a strike. But when victimized workers go to court seeking redress of wrongs inflicted by employers or their agents, it takes a long time to get action.

A recent example illustrates this general rule. On Jan. 7 Washington, D. C., federal Judge Gerhard A. Gesell ordered the National Bank of Washington and the United Mine Workers to pay \$11.5-million to the miners' pension fund for misuses of the fund.

The damage suit was filed two years ago by a group of disabled and retired miners and miners' widows. The December issue of the miners' publication **Black Lung Bulletin**, reviewing the outstanding events of 1971, notes: "The first indictment of Tony Boyle (UMW president) for misusing union funds is handed down March 2. . . ." In April 1971 Judge Gesell found that the UMW and the National Bank of Washington had participated in a 20-year conspiracy to deprive the miners' pension fund of interest payments on the \$160-million deposited each year in the union-controlled bank. He then ordered Boyle and Josephine Roche, a union appointee, removed from the fund's three-member board of trustees. All money in the fund was removed to another bank and the fund's operation was placed under strict control of the court.

This order to pay back interest owed to the fund is now subject to review after it is determined whether the union or the bank is liable for the \$11.5-million damage award. Each has filed claims against the other. The judge granted postponement of the settlement, finding no reason, "given the solvency of the union and the bank, not to stay the money judgment."

If and when the money is put back into the fund it supposedly will trickle down to miners eligible for pension benefits. The immediate ben-

eficiaries at this stage of the involved legal proceedings appear to be the miners' lawyers, who were awarded \$825,000 in fees to be paid from the pension fund damages. Lawyers for the other side are paid directly out of the union treasury and must also be counted among the beneficiaries.

No criminal action has been brought against Boyle or any other conspirators in this case. Control of the pension fund millions will remain beyond the reach of the miners until they manage to remove their corrupt union officials and take control of their own organization.

A DETROIT CORRESPONDENT has written to us about the case of United Auto Workers Vice-President Douglas Fraser, who entertained hopes of running for the U. S. Senate in Michigan on the Democratic Party ticket. He has now announced that he will not enter the state primary because it would cause a "political bloodbath" and hurt the Democratic Party's chances of unseating anti-union Senator Robert Griffin.

Of course, the employers who control the Democratic Party in Michigan do not want a union official on their ticket, and they will not support a program for union control of government and industry. So if union members ask why they cannot elect representatives from their ranks to public office, it is because they have no party of their own and allow their money and efforts to be squandered on the Democratic Party, which belongs to the employers. In an isolated instance where a worker manages to win in the Democratic or Republican primaries, it is impossible for such a "workers' candidate" to serve the workers' interests because the party and government structure is controlled from top to bottom by the employing class. This condition will persist until the workers organize their own independent labor party based on their unions.

FROM CHICAGO COMES AN EXAMPLE of how hostile all agencies of the capitalist government are to workers, to their unions, and to union officials who are pressured into representing workers' interests.

Wayne Kennedy, a member of Local 2816 of the American Federation of Government Employees, a union steward on his job, and a member of the union's national negotiating committee with the federal government's Office of Economic Opportunity, was fired by the OEO at the beginning of this year, just before contract negotiations started. The excuse given by OEO officials is that Kennedy violated agency rules by exposing OEO's failure to find adequate housing for Chicago Indian Village, a group of American Indians who have been shunted about the Chicago area for months without a permanent home.

"There just isn't enough money to go around," Kennedy charged. "Money goes to war, airplanes, everything before the man on the street." He rightly stated that his firing is an "outright attempt to deny government employee unions freedom of speech." He could have added that it is also an outright attempt by the OEO to intimidate the union negotiating committee, standard procedure for all employers. And when intimidation fails, they try bribery.

MORE ATTEMPTS OF STRIKEBREAKING AND UNION BUSTING by the employers can be expected if unemployment continues to grow. The official figures for December 1971 were released by the U. S. Labor Department Jan. 7. The government report says 6.1 percent of the nation's labor force is now out of work—about 5.2 million people. The average rate of unemployment for all of 1971 was 5.9 percent, the highest since 1961, when it averaged 6.7 percent.

—FRANK LOVELL

N.Y. transit workers rebel against contract

By JAMES MENDIETA

NEW YORK, Jan. 10—Enthusiastic demonstrations of transit workers took place Jan. 5, 7, and 8 in front of the Transport Workers Union headquarters here and another is set for Jan. 15. The nearly 1,000 workers who participated in each of these actions were protesting the terms of a new contract agreed to by the union officials Jan. 1, as well as the lack of democracy in the union.

The Jan. 7 rally was preceded by a sick-call action that left bus service in Brooklyn severely crippled during the day. Operations at two Brooklyn garages were shut down all day and three others had virtually no service. Queens was also without service in some areas.

Matthew Guinan, international president of the Transit Workers Union, and Daniel Gilmartin, president of Local 100, refused to meet with the Concerned Transit Workers, the group that organized the demonstrations. In a joint statement issued to the press, the union officials asserted that "the demonstrations had been provoked by misleaders and a handful of behind-the-scenes manipulators who have nothing to lose. Many of them are not even transit workers."

Members of the Rank and File Committee for a Democratic Union, a predominantly Black formation, have been actively supporting the demonstrations. The Rank and File Committee, formed a few years ago, has fought against discriminatory practices in promoting Black and Puerto Rican workers.

The workers are demanding: 1) a mass meeting of union members where a vote could be taken on the contract; 2) an end to mail-ballot voting on contracts; and 3) a lower fare for the riding public, rather than a hike in the fare. They plan to hire a lawyer to both fight the mail ballot and investigate the financial dealings of the Metropolitan Transit Authority and the Transport Workers Union.

The demonstrating workers also de-tailed some of the features of the new contract that they oppose. Among these were the failure to include a provision for a sick-insurance policy and major medical insurance, and the increased length of the contract with no cost-of-living wage increases.

Other things pointed out by the transit workers were that they still have to take up collections for sick workers and depend on overtime to make a decent salary, while taxes and inflation nullify the lousy pay increases.

Transit workers make about \$11,250 a year, including overtime and before taxes. At first glance this looks like quite a lot of money. But on a second look one sees that in New York City \$11,250 for a family of four is near the minimum needed to maintain a modest standard of living, and overtime work is necessary to get even that.

A central demand of the workers is for a fairer way of holding a vote on contracts. The way voting is set up now, each union member receives a ballot in the mail, marks it, and sends it back to be counted by union hirelings. If ballots are not sent in, they count as a yes vote. The TWU mails the ballots late or not at all and in this way keeps all control in its hands.

The picketing on Jan. 5 was lively, loud and militant. The union officials knew about the planned demonstration and called off the regularly scheduled union meeting even though this was the most important meeting in the last two years. The union sell-outs were afraid to show themselves at the hall.

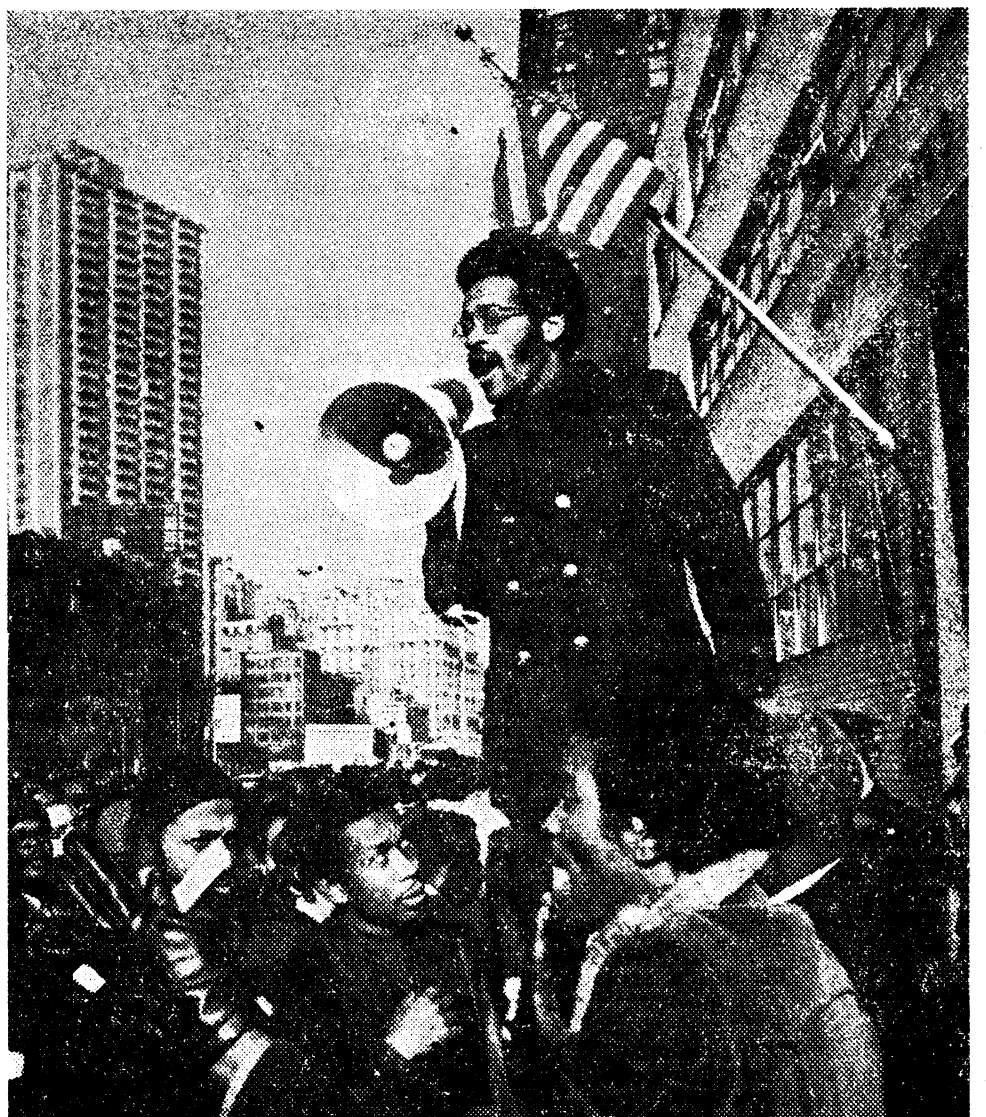
Workers from different shops and trades came with picket signs that indicated how their particular departments were hurt by this dirty contract. Those from the big car shops carried signs reading: "No Sell-out Speedup," "Stop using skills for bargaining," "Sold out by leadership." Most signs had the holder's trade or place of work on them.

Other popular signs were: "TWU is (then a picture of a screw) us," and the words "Three little pigs" with drawings of three pigs and the names of Mayor Lindsay, Guinan, and William Ronan, head of the Transit Authority. There were at least 20 other signs, all hand painted and to the point.

At the demonstration on Jan. 8 a collection was taken that netted hundreds of dollars for legal defense. When some ultraleft students showed

up with large red signs, a few workers wanted to attack them. The demonstration's leaders reminded them that if the students lost the right to picket, the workers would be next to lose the same right.

Because of these demonstrations about 20 members of the Rank and File Committee and Concerned Transit Workers have been summoned to appear at the Brooklyn Supreme Court today.



New York TWU members demonstrating outside City Hall Jan. 7.

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Penetration of dissident social and political movements by informants and provocateurs; wire-tapping; fabrication of evidence; destruction of evidence; theft of evidence; collusion with like-minded federal "law" agencies; entrapment; frame-up.

All of these are tools of the trade, used by virtually every major police force. In Los Angeles they carry such practices to a point where other police departments, by comparison, look almost legal.

All of these tactics and more were used against Shirley Sutherland and Donald Freed, who just won a two-year fight against a frame-up that could have sent them to prison for ten years.

The unsuccessful attempt to railroad them to prison was carried out by the Los Angeles Police Department in collusion with the U. S. Justice Department and its Treasury agents. The Office of Naval Intelligence lent a hand in the attempted entrapment and the key figure in the case wears at least three hats—member of the Los Angeles police force, Treasury agent, and, according to federal officials, CIA agent.

Sutherland and Freed were singled out for victimization because they were active in the Friends of the Panthers, a group that was aiding the Black Panther Party at a time when the LAPD had joined in a nationwide campaign by local and federal officials to destroy the Panthers.

The Friends of the Panthers (which has since evolved into the Liberation Union) supported the Panthers in a variety of ways. They helped distribute the Panther paper, raised money for the Panther breakfast program, for legal defense, etc.

Sutherland and Freed were among the most widely known individuals in the group. An educator and author, Freed is best known for his play "Inquest—The United States vs. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg." Sutherland, a Canadian actress, was the subject of media focus as the wife of actor Donald Sutherland and daughter of T. C. Douglas, leader of the Canadian New Democratic Party.

On Oct. 2, 1969 (two months before the savage LAPD attack on the Panther headquarters), armed Treasury agents descended on the homes of Sutherland and Freed. They were charged with conspiracy to obtain, and obtaining, 10 hand grenades for alleged use by the Panthers. The charges were a police fabrication from start to finish.

The central figure in the frame-up is a man known as James Jarrett. He became active in the Friends of the Panthers as an undercover member of the Los Angeles police department. He had discharge papers from the Green Berets and boasted of having participated in the Phoenix assassination program in Vietnam.

When the treasury agents arrested Freed and Sutherland, Jarrett participated in the raid. He carried a gun and was apparently considered by the Treasury agents as one of their own. ("Now I can cut my hair," he said as they took Freed into custody.)

In a later trial of two other Friends of the Panthers in which he was involved, the judge was advised that Jarrett would be unable to testify because he was a CIA agent and presently on assignment for that agency in Israel.

From the outset the Friends of the Panthers were very dubious about Jarrett. But the viewpoint came to prevail that he was, in social terms, a crazy, mixed-up person who could possibly be affected in a positive way by his association with the group.

Also, Jarrett proved useful. During this period a number of Friends of the Panthers were subjected to severe harassment. Several were attacked by unknown assailants. Jarrett undertook a program of self-defense training and first aid for the group, proving unusually competent in both. (Later, according to press reports, he helped train the LAPD Special Weapons and Tactical Squad, which made the raid on the Panther headquarters.)

In October 1969, Jarrett saw an opening for the frame-up of Sutherland and Freed. A woman in the group was raped by a Cuban counterrevolutionary. Another, who operated a movement bookstore, was assaulted in the store.

Freed raised the idea that perhaps the women in the group should carry some kind of chemical protective devices. Jarrett promptly announced he could obtain chemical Mace and pressed the idea with Freed that he should do so. When Freed told him he was not in a position to provide the money to obtain the Mace, Jarrett suggested that perhaps Sutherland would be able to. He phoned her and discussed the idea with her.

Entrapment

Then came the middle-of-the-night knocking on Freed's door. It was Jarrett. He came in carrying a package which he indicated was Mace. Freed,

half asleep, inquired why it was necessary to come in the middle of the night, explained he had no money to pay for it, bid Jarrett goodnight and returned to sleep.

A few minutes later there was more knocking at the door. This time when he opened it, it was Jarrett accompanied by five Treasury agents. All, including Jarrett, were armed. They retrieved the box, which lay untouched and unopened where Jarrett had left it. They declared it contained hand grenades and arrested Freed for illegal possession of explosives. (The charge was based on a federal statute requiring a permit to obtain such explosives.)

How two L.A. Panther supporters beat frame-up charges



Shirley Sutherland and Donald Freed

Meanwhile, other Treasury agents swarmed into Sutherland's home, also armed, and arrested her for "conspiring" to obtain the grenades.

After being released on bail, the defendants and their associates began to probe the facts surrounding the frame-up. They retained a private investigator, Mike McGowan, to aid in this. What emerged had a real stench to it. And there was more to come.

In April 1970, a federal judge conducted a pre-trial examination of the evidence in the case. The

prosecution advised that Jarrett had obtained the grenades from the Office of Naval Intelligence, but the grenades were no longer available. They were destroyed, it was explained, because they were old.

Had Jarrett obtained the necessary federal permit to procure the grenades? the judge inquired. The point was relevant, he indicated, since this was the legal requirement Sutherland and Freed were charged with having violated. The answer, of course, was that no such permit had been obtained, that the grenades had in fact been illegally obtained by the police from the ONI.

Offering some acid comments on the patent entrapment aspects of the case and observing that the permit requirement was probably unconstitutional anyway, the judge ordered the indictments quashed. In making his ruling he did not even refer to a document in his possession that was even more damaging to the prosecution.

Undeterred by the odor surrounding its case, the Justice Department pressed on. The quashing of the indictments was appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court. In April 1971 that august body ruled unanimously that the indictments be reinstated. The machinery for retrial was set in motion.

The U. S. Attorney's office pressed for the new trial even though it had already officially acknowledged that it did not come into court with clean hands.

Illegal wiretapping

During the original pretrial hearing, where the indictments were quashed, a member of the prosecutor's staff inadvertently revealed to defense attorneys that the LAPD had obtained tapes made by defense investigator Mike McGowan of telephone conversations with Freed and Sutherland.

With this admission, the U. S. Attorney's office apparently decided that the least damaging course was to get into court with its version of the matter before the defense acted.

A unique document entitled "Memorandum of Fact" was submitted to the court by the U. S. Attorney's office.

This document explained that LAPD officials had been approached by one Sam Bluth, a former member of the force who had "resigned under pressure" and was seeking reinstatement. Bluth advised the police that he was employed by McGowan and had access to tapes McGowan had made of phone conversations between himself and his clients.

The police accepted the tapes from Bluth, the memorandum stated. Copies were made for the LAPD's Intelligence Division and its Internal Affairs Division.

No one in the Attorney's office, the "Memorandum of Fact" piously stated, listened to these tapes. However, it added, five members of the LAPD had listened to them, including three officers who were witnesses for the prosecution. One of the three, the memo said, was Jarrett.

According to the memorandum, Bluth later provided the police with McGowan's own transcript of his taped conversations with his clients. Bluth also provided, the memo said, unspecified "additional information which had been obtained."

McGowan charges that his office files were rifled and material on the Freed-Sutherland case stolen. He has filed a damage suit against the LAPD. (He was also attacked by an unknown assailant in front of his home during the investigation and shot at another time while emerging from his home.)

In the course of the second set of pretrial hearings, the prosecution conceded that phone conversations between the defendants and other individuals had been tapped. Had privileged conversations between the defendants and their lawyers also been tapped, as the defense charged? The Justice Department responded it would neither affirm nor deny this. The defense, it said, would have to prove it.

At this point the judge ordered that transcripts of all tapped conversations be in his hands before the trial began.

The trial was slated to open this past Dec. 3. On Dec. 1, the prosecution appeared before the judge and presented a motion that "in the interests of justice" the case against Sutherland and Freed be dropped. The judge agreed.

The defendants are relieved and gratified by their victory. But they are also determined to make the malodorous facts of their victimization known as widely as possible to help make such frame-ups more difficult in the future.

Justice for All, the committee that organized support for the defendants, remains in need of financial aid. There are heavy legal debts and there is the continuing effort to bring the facts of the frame-up to the broadest public.

Contributions to help with this may be sent to Justice for All, P. O. Box 3342, Beverly Hills, Calif. 90212.

Are abortions for Black women racist?

By MARSHA COLEMAN

The Dec. 3 issue of *Muhammad Speaks* featured an article attacking Beulah Sanders of the National Welfare Rights Organization, the Black Women's Task Force of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, and myself for our participation in the Nov. 20 demonstration in Washington, D.C., demanding the repeal of anti-abortion laws and an end to forced sterilization. Lonnie Kashif of *Muhammad Speaks*' Washington Bureau stated that in calling for the right to abortion on demand we were supporting racist population-control schemes.

This argument—which I want to take up not only from the viewpoint of a participant in the Black Women's Task Force, but also as an activist in the Young Socialist Alliance—flows from the misconception that Black feminism and Black nationalism are contradictory and that Black women mobilizing and demonstrating against their oppression is divisive to the total struggle for Black liberation.

Both assumptions are incorrect because they deny the legitimacy of the demands of more than half the Black population—women. The purveyors of these assumptions hold back the struggle for Black liberation by leaving out of consideration the fact that Black women are not oppressed only as Blacks but also as women.

Many Black nationalists see no contradiction between the struggle for self-determination and the demands raised by Black students, or Black workers, or most recently Black prisoners and Black GIs. The demands of these sectors of the Black community are considered complementary to the total struggle because they provide an example to inspire and spark to action the rest of the Black community.

But somehow this understanding of the dynamic of the struggle is thrown overboard when it comes to relating to the demands of Black women.

There is no contradiction between the Black liberation struggle and Black women mobilizing to demand control over their bodies and their lives. The demands of Black feminists—for abortion on demand, equal pay for equal work, and community-controlled hospitals and day-care centers—are aimed at the government and

the bosses and not, as some would have us believe, against Black people.

But for Kashif, nationalist demands and feminist demands stand at opposite poles. This is rather ironic because *Muhammad Speaks* has for years run articles exposing government sterilization schemes aimed at Black women. Nevertheless, when it comes to relating to a concrete movement demanding the right of women to decide whether or not to bear children, to control their own bodies, and an end to forced sterilization, *Muhammad Speaks* denounces it.

Kashif turns the question on its head by accusing (in reference to myself) the movement for abortion law repeal and for an end to forced sterilization of "aiding the white power structure's line that it is their babies who are the chief causes of Black women's problems. . . ."

This is not the position of WONAAC, which has repudiated population-control schemes in this country as racist and sexist and has publicly stated this position in the mass media.

What Kashif's remark reveals is that he does not understand that both forced sterilization and forced motherhood are policies that keep women—especially Black women—"in their place." It is inconsistent to oppose one policy and not the other.

But aside from this remark Kashif does not explain his position on abortion. The bulk of his article is devoted to an attack on the participation of lesbian sisters in the Nov. 20 action. He refers to them as "sexually perverted," and as "homosexual liberation deviants." These attacks on lesbians are double-edged because some of them were Black. WONAAC sought to unite all women, regardless of their sexual preference, who supported the goals of the action.

In another effort at smokescreening, Kashif belittles the Black women in the demonstration and arrogantly asserts—in the title of the article—"Black women reject abortion as cure-all." He cites no facts, statistics, or recent surveys to buttress his assertion, just the number of Black women in the march. But even his figure of 20 is way below the mark.

Despite the relatively small number of Black women marchers, the demonstration reflected the desires and as-

pirations of Black women in particular and women in general (3,000 women marched in D.C. on Nov. 20 while another 3,000 gathered in San Francisco). We are confident that for every Black woman in the streets on Nov. 20, there were thousands who weren't there but were saying to themselves, "Right on, Sisters!"

One of every four women will have an abortion at some time in her life. According to a study cited in the April 13, 1970, *Newsweek*, complications from illegal abortions were the cause of death of nearly 50 percent of all Black women in New York who died due to pregnancy or childbirth, while such complications caused the death of 25 percent of white women.

Because the Black Women's Task Force pointed out these facts and offered a vehicle for fighting both forced sterilization and forced motherhood, many Black individuals and groups endorsed the Nov. 20 action, including Mississippi civil rights leader Fanny Lou Hamer, the National Council of Negro Women, Georgia legislator Julian Bond, and Berkeley, Calif., Mayor Warren Widener.

Statistics show that even a partial repeal of abortion laws, as occurred in New York state in 1970 under the

impact of feminist-led demonstrations, can make a great deal of difference as to whether many women, especially Black women, live or die.

According to an article in the June 30, 1971, *New York Times*, a year after the enactment of the liberalized abortion law, "Hospitals in the city report that they are treating far fewer victims of botched abortions than they did in years past. The maternal mortality rate—to which criminal abortions have always contributed a major portion—is now at a record low of 2.3 for each 10,000 live births, compared with 5.2 for each 10,000 at this time last year."

The article goes on to say, "Non-white and poor women, who had little access to legal abortions prior to last July, apparently are getting abortions without much difficulty under the new law. In the first six months, nonwhites and Puerto Ricans received half the abortions done on women in the city. . . ."

Lonnie Kashif notwithstanding, the building of a Black feminist movement will enhance the overall Black liberation movement. This task is at present in an embryonic state, but as our brothers at Attica remarked last September, this is but the sound before the fury.



Photo by Mark Satinoff

Black Women's Task Force on Nov. 20, 1971, march in Washington, D.C.

Cambridge City Council lifts rent ceiling

By JEAN LAFFERTY and JEFF POWERS

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — The Cambridge City Council, after three tumultuous meetings in late December, succeeded in repealing the city's rent-control program, paving the way for unrestricted rent increases.

The regular council meeting of Dec. 27 was adjourned after six and a half hours of wild debate. Five hundred citizens of Cambridge jammed the meeting in order to block the repeal attempt.

The council called for a special meeting two days later, hoping that the furor might die, but over 1,500 people showed up at this meeting.

The Cambridge Tenants Organizing Committee (CTOC) had appealed for a large turnout at the meetings in order to block the repeal attempts. The council's attempts were directly opposed to the feelings of its own con-

stituency, as the Cambridge electorate had twice passed rent-control resolutions in city elections. Rents have increased over 250 percent in the last 10 years in Cambridge as slumlords have taken advantage of the housing shortage to gouge the large number of Blacks and students who are unable to get decent places to live.

The special council meeting on Dec. 29 was the wildest in the city's history. The crowd arrived well before the meeting time in Rindge Technical High School, ready to engage the City Council in open debate (the general public is allowed to attend and participate in City Council meetings).

By the time the meeting started at 8 o'clock, there was already a long line at the floor microphone. When the meeting opened, the council moved to vote without discussion from the floor. The floor microphone was then disconnected.

It was pointed out that no vote could legally be taken at a special council meeting, but those councilors opposed to rent control remained undeterred. A large portion of the crowd left their seats and surged toward the stage, as did the police.

It was at this point that the meeting became completely chaotic. City councilors were arguing among themselves while police were dragging participants from the crowd off the stage.

Five of the nine council members huddled behind a cordon of police, declared themselves a quorum, voted the repeal of the rent-control law, and then voted adjournment. The other four council members were unaware of the decision until the five "quorum" members informed them of it.

City council member Barbara Ackerman, a liberal proponent of rent control, informed the crowd of the illegal decision, and councilor-elect

Graham announced that the city council would meet again the following day to "legitimize" the vote.

The council was better prepared the next day and invoked the city fire laws to keep out the crowd of 400 that had assembled to continue the fight.

The repeal of the rent-control program was officially passed over the heads of the incoming city council and in the face of widespread opposition from the citizens of Cambridge.

At these meetings, Socialist Workers Party election campaign literature was distributed, and SWP and young socialist activists participated in the discussions. The SWP calls for a rent rollback to the level they were at in 1960, in addition to tenant control of the rent-control board. It also demands that landlords open their books to reveal where exorbitant rent money is going.

In Review

Books

Writings of Leon Trotsky during exile in France



Trotsky in exile in France, with one of his watchdogs.

Writings of Leon Trotsky (1934-35). Edited by George Breitman and Bev Scott. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1971. 364 pp. \$8.95 cloth. \$3.45 paper.

This is the fifth of the 11-volume series of Leon Trotsky's works written during his third and last exile. Like the four already published, it contains only material not previously published in English in his books and pamphlets and consists of writings from a one-year period. This book covers the period from June 1934 until Trotsky's departure for Norway in June 1935 after a two-year stay in France.

The second year in France was very hard for Trotsky. He was under constant police surveillance, compelled to live in a small village far from Paris, harassed by both Stalinists and fascists, and under expulsion orders that required him to leave the country. But the unwillingness of any other country to take him forced him to remain in France until Norway agreed to allow him to live there.

Despite these onerous conditions, which undoubtedly would have forced a lesser person to give up any effort to do productive work, Trotsky managed to pour out a wealth of political and theoretical writings. The times required constant attention to critical situations, particularly in France and the Soviet Union. Trotsky addressed himself to these current problems mainly for the purpose of strengthening the position of his followers and building the Fourth International—his primary task in the last years of his life.

Hitler's victory in Germany in 1933 caused a big shake-up among radical parties everywhere. The fact that the German Communist Party had not fired even a single shot to prevent the Nazis from taking power compelled Trotsky and the international movement of which he was the leader to make a new assessment of the Stalinized Third International. It was this body that was responsible for the German CP's fatal policy of branding the Social Democrats as "social fascists" and refusing to form a united front with them to prevent Hitler from coming to power. Prior to this, the Trotskyists considered themselves an unjustly expelled faction of the Comintern and demanded readmittance. The new situation after Hitler took power showed a further degeneration of the Stalinist parties and satisfied Trotsky that it was impossible to reform the Comintern and put it back on the Leninist road of revolutionary Marxism. Therefore, the Trotskyists began independent existence in all countries, called for the formation of a new international, and tried to get other radical groups to collaborate with them for this purpose.

At the same time, Stalin turned away from the sectarian, ultraleftist policies that had facilitated Hitler's rise to power and called for collaboration with Social Democrats, and very soon thereafter, with liberal capitalists as well. The final version of Stalin's new policy was to be an alliance of Communist parties, Social Democrats, and liberal capitalists, such as the French Radicals, to form popular fronts. This was to be the response to further fascist threats, especially in France.

This is how Trotsky characterized the first stage of the developing popular front when the French CP offered the Social Democrats a united front: "For several years the most active fighting slogan of the League [the Trotskyists] was 'The United Front.' Without a doubt this slogan was, in spite of its 'abstract' character for two or three years, the key to the situation in Germany, then in France. The defeat of the German proletariat, the Austrian catastrophe, the growth of fascism in France and other countries were necessary before the Comintern bureaucracy took a radical turn in the question of the united front. The examples of earlier turns have only proven to us all too well that without a critical *overhauling* of the old position and without a theoretical foundation for the new one, a turn even formally progressive offers no guarantee for a correct policy. On the contrary, it unavoidably bears within it a chain of new vacillations and mistakes. Eloquent signs of the new dangers are already there: the ultimatists become opportunists. For this reason our whole struggle transfers itself to a new, higher plane." (Emphasis in original.) The entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations in 1934 was a good example of how "ultimatists become opportunists." It was a step in the general rightward turn of the Stalinists toward making capitalist allies.

'Bonapartism'

French fascists made a strong but unsuccessful bid for power in February 1934. However, they did force the existing government to resign and opened a period of severe crisis in France. During this period, which was

characterized by the inability of either the workers or capitalists to win a decisive victory and establish a firm regime, state power tended to slip out of the hands of the Chamber of Deputies, the French parliament. The power shifted to regimes that balanced themselves between the contending classes, and that Trotsky labeled "Bonapartist." Trotsky's analysis of this strange political phenomenon that first appeared during the decline of the French Revolution with Napoleon Bonaparte is highly educational. In almost every serious crisis in capitalist countries, Bonapartism in one form or another appears. Revolutionaries need to understand what this reactionary phenomenon is, how and why it arises, and how to deal with it.

On this point, Trotsky writes: "A government that raises itself above the nation is not, however, suspended in air. The true axis of the present government passes through the police, the bureaucracy, the military clique. It is a military-police dictatorship with which we are confronted, barely concealed with the decorations of parliamentarism. But a government of the saber as the judge-arbiter of the nation—that's just what *Bonapartism* is."

Trotsky was the first to recognize and analyze Bonapartism of the Soviet variety. Here he illuminates the way in which the Russian revolution developed, particularly in the period of its decline following Lenin's death in 1924. He explains how Stalin and his regime qualified as Bonapartists of a new kind. He also deals with the related subject of "Soviet Thermidor," that is, the period in which the authentic revolutionaries lost power to more conservative elements.

Of considerable interest is the way Trotsky goes back to the French revolution and the fall of Robespierre from power on 9th Thermidor 1794, opening up the period of reaction following that revolution. The revolutionaries who were associated with Lenin and Trotsky did not hesitate to compare the Russian revolution with other revolutions, even a bourgeois revolution like that of France, to see where analogous situations occurred and how they could learn from them.

Much of Trotsky's writing in this book deals with the entry of his followers into Social Democratic parties as a way of building their forces. This policy, called the French turn, was first tried in that country. It was opposed by some Trotskyists in several countries and strongly defended by Trotsky. The polemics are rich in content on this question. They tell much about how a revolutionary party must be built and what tactics should be used when revolutionaries are relatively few in number and various other workers parties are much larger.

Kirov assassination

An important part of the book is devoted to the assassination of Sergei Kirov in the Soviet Union. Kirov, the top Stalinist official in Leningrad, was shot by a young member of the Soviet Communist Party in 1934. This event triggered the show trials and purges that dominated Soviet life from 1934 to 1939. Trotsky's analysis brought him to the conclusion that the killing of Kirov was arranged by Stalin and his secret police. This was ultimately confirmed by one of the most prominent of Stalin's successors—Khrushchev, in his secret speech at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956.

Trotsky attached great importance to the events around the Kirov assassination. In the wake of many arrests and executions two of Lenin's closest co-workers, Gregory Zinoviev and Leon Kamenev, were also accused of complicity in the crime, tried and sentenced to prison, although they had absolutely nothing to do with it. Trotsky predicted the future Moscow Trials in which these two fallen leaders, as well as he, would be accused of the most monstrous crimes concocted by Stalin and his secret police.

Trotsky's analysis of these events came before the more important parts of Stalin's purge plans were carried out. In order to complete the rightward political swing that united in action Communist and capitalist parties in imperialist countries for the first time, Stalin had to extirpate all those who might have opposed this step. This included, first of all, that layer of revolutionaries who were Lenin's closest associates and, therefore, not considered reliable enough by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Another important event that claimed Trotsky's attention was the mutual assistance pact signed by Stalin with France. The agreement contained a provision that the French Communist Party would no longer oppose militarism, the draft of soldiers into the army, and other French imperialist plans. In this way the French CP was compelled not only to find common ground with capitalist parties but to give up what few vestiges it still retained of a revolutionary program.

Continued on page 22

Anderson papers expose U.S. cynicism

By TONY THOMAS

Like the revelation of the Pentagon Papers last summer, the publication of several "secret" government documents on U. S. policy toward the Indo-Pakistani war by newspaper columnist Jack Anderson has again exposed this country's political rulers as liars.

The impact of these documents on the American people came not so much from the fact that they revealed new information many people did not already know. Rather it stemmed from the discovery of the extent to which the ruling class attempts to keep the truth from the American people and the cynical nature of the discussions they have among themselves when they meet behind closed doors.

On Jan. 5 the *Washington Post* and other prominent U. S. newspapers published minutes of meetings of the Washington Special Action Group (WSAG), a top-secret subcommittee of the National Security Council. The meetings were held on Dec. 3, 4, and 6 at the White House. They involved top government and military figures, including Henry Kissinger, assistant to the president for national security affairs; CIA director Richard Helms; Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and General William Westmoreland.

At the Dec. 3 meeting, Kissinger disclosed that, despite Washington's open support to the Pakistan dictatorship, Nixon felt that the U. S. was not sufficiently pro-Pakistani. Kissinger stated, "I am getting hell every half-hour from the president that we are not being tough enough on India. . . . He wants to tilt in favor of Pakistan. He feels everything we do comes out otherwise."

The papers also disclosed that the U. S. government sensationalized concern for the small pro-Pakistani minority in Bangladesh in order to manufacture an excuse for a possible U. S. or United Nations intervention.

Kissinger, according to the minutes of the Dec. 6 meeting, "asked whether we should be calling attention to the plight of these people now." Maurice Williams, a representative of the Agency for International Development, "stated that perhaps an international humanitarian effort could be launched on their behalf." Joseph Sisco, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, lamented the fact that no UN forces were immediately available to intervene on this pretext, but suggested mounting

a campaign inside the UN on this issue.

Since then a large-scale campaign has been conducted in the mass media about the dangers the Biharis and other pro-Pakistani people face from the "bloodthirsty" Bengali forces. However, even some of the capitalist newspapers conducting this campaign, such as the *Wall Street Journal*, have admitted that surprisingly few reprisals have occurred. This is true despite the fact that many of these people supported and participated in the Pakistani devastation of Bangladesh, which resulted in the murder of more than one million Bengalis and the exile of 10 million others.

Later in the meeting, Kissinger asked if the U. S. could authorize Jordan or Saudi Arabia to transfer military equipment to Pakistan. After a State Department official explained that such shipments to Pakistan were illegal, the minutes of the Dec. 6 meeting state that "Dr. Kissinger said that the president may want to honor these requests. The matter has not been brought to presidential attention but it is quite obvious that the president is not inclined to let the Paks be defeated. Mr. Packard [from the Defense Department] then said that we should look at what could be done. Mr. Sisco agreed but said it should be done very quietly."

This plan was subsequently shelved because Pakistan surrendered only 10 days later.

The discussion during the meetings was marked with allusions to secret treaties with the Pakistani dictators that went far beyond even the imperialist SEATO and CENTO pacts. These agreements, according to press reports after the publication of the Anderson Papers, were kept secret not only from the masses of people in this country, but even from such prominent capitalist politicians as Senator J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

While Kissinger and his friends expressed "humanitarian" concern for the 1.5 million Biharis and other Pakistani collaborators in Bangladesh, they showed complete indifference to the massacres of Bengalis that have gone on since last March by the U. S.-endorsed and -financed Pakistani regime. They showed similar indifference to the threats of massive famine and economic catastrophe facing post-war Bangladesh, the effects of which

will also hurt their Bihari "wards."

According to the minutes of the Dec. 6 meeting, "Dr. Kissinger inquired about a possible famine in East Pakistan. . . . Ambassador [U. Alexis] Johnson added that Bangladesh will be an 'international basket case.' Dr. Kissinger said, however, it will not necessarily be our basket case."

These disclosures prove once again that U. S. aid and U. S. "humanitarian" concerns are only tools for U. S. imperialist aims. U. S. "humanitarianism" is more concerned with financing the murder, rape, and exile of millions of Bengalis, and whipping up "humanitarian" hysteria for the Pakistani collaborators than in preventing a massive famine in Bangladesh.

Anderson claims he published the full text of these documents because Kissinger criticized his first reports on them as being "distorted." His disclosures have been limited, as yet, to minutes of three meetings of the WSAG, though Anderson has shown reporters for the *Washington Post* over 20 file folders containing "classified" documents relating to Bangladesh and claims he has more. According to the Jan. 5 *Washington Post*, Anderson said he would not release the exact texts of cables because of what the *Post* claims is "his own view of what might harm national security."

The controversy aroused by Ander-

son's disclosures reflects the great difficulties faced by America's capitalist rulers in selling their reactionary policies to the masses of Americans or even sections of their own ruling class.

Anderson has claimed that he received his information from top-level figures in the Nixon administration who felt that the U. S. would have been better able to further its imperialist interests in the Indian subcontinent if it had taken a position more sympathetic to Indira Gandhi's regime. However, supporting capitalist India as the way to keep a check on revolution in India and Bangladesh would certainly be no more in the interests of the national liberation of the East Bengali nation than Nixon's course.

U. S. newspapers, especially the *New York Times*, have utilized Anderson's disclosures to castigate Nixon for his pro-Pakistan position. They have been joined by Fulbright and other Democratic Party politicians, including presidential hopeful Edmund Muskie, in decrying Nixon's "credibility gap."

The fact is that U. S. imperialism, under both Democratic and Republican administrations, requires secret diplomacy and deceit in order to function. It has always used such tactics to carry out its aggression, oppression, and exploitation, both internationally and within the United States.



Bangladesh liberation fighters, victorious despite genocide inflicted by U. S.-supported Pakistanis.

Newark teachers complete jail terms

By NAT LONDON

NEWARK—On Dec. 15 and 23, two groups of Newark teachers—nearly 200 teachers in all, including this reporter—were fingerprinted, photographed, loaded in police vans and shipped off to spend the holidays at the Essex County penitentiary. On Nov. 29, eight union officers and rank-and-file members of the Newark Teachers Union (NTU) had also been imprisoned.

While most rank-and-file teachers have been given 8-day sentences, the union officials have been dealt with much more severely. Vice-President Frank Fiorito, for example, is presently serving 15 months. The union's president, Carole Graves, may serve nine months, pending appeal.

These jail terms are the result of two long and bitter strikes led by the NTU. For four weeks in 1970 and 11 weeks in 1971, the Newark school system was shaken to its foundations by the determined efforts of thousands of teachers to win and maintain a union contract.

During the 1970 strike, a permanent injunction was issued. Its purpose was to force the teachers back to work

and to bar them from striking in the future. The injunction also prohibited any aid or assistance for the teachers during the strike. All the teachers and union officials recently arrested were sentenced on contempt of court for violating this permanent injunction.

A two-year legal battle was stymied when the U. S. Supreme Court refused to even hear the appeal of the 1970 convictions. A last-minute clemency appeal to Governor William Cahill was also rejected. Legal efforts to have the more than \$350,000 in fines reduced have been ignored. Thus, the teachers face a solid block of opposition—from the board of education and Mayor Kenneth Gibson's office to the governor's mansion, and from the local courts to the U. S. Supreme Court.

This opposition has been partially successful. The union is saddled with debts, its officials are in prison, and many of the union activists have done short terms in jail. However, the main objective of the repression has failed—the NTU has not been crushed. But while it has withstood severe blows, there can be no doubt that the NTU

has been weakened.

The NTU's failure to win support from two of its potential allies—the students, and the Black and Puerto Rican communities—is a main reason for its weakness. Newark's population is officially 61 percent Black and 11 percent Puerto Rican. Eighty percent of the students in public school are Black. The NTU is more than 30 percent Black. Nevertheless, the union has shown little sympathy for the demands of Black and Puerto Rican students and parents for control over their own education.

No teachers union today can afford to ignore the growing sentiment within the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities in favor of community control of education. Only clear and unequivocal union support for this demand can win these groups to the side of the union. A union that withholds support or opposes community control is weakened, as in the case of the NTU. This situation can only benefit boards of education and city governments—the enemies of the union and the oppressed nationalities.

Calendar

ATLANTA

MAKE YOUR FIRST VOTE COUNT IN '72. There will be a YSJP banquet on Sat., Jan. 22, at 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. A campaign rally will follow, featuring Laura Miller, national coordinator of YSJP; and Alice Conner, 1972 SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Georgia. Tickets for the banquet are \$3.50, or \$1 for rally only. High school student tickets are \$1.75, or .75 for rally only. For more information, call (404) 523-0610.

BERKELEY-OAKLAND

WHICH WAY FOR THE RADICAL MOVEMENT OF THE SEVENTIES? A DEBATE. Speakers: Michael Lerner, founder and organizer of New American Movement; Cynthia Burke, national committee member, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Jan. 21, 8 p.m., at 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Forum. For further information, call (415) 654-9728.

BROOKLYN

THE STRUGGLE IN BANGLADESH. Speakers: Faride Majid, spokeswoman for the Bangladesh Action Coalition; and Edward Petley, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 21, 8 p.m., at 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Brooklyn Militant Forum.

CHICAGO

IS PUERTO RICO THE NEXT CUBA? Speaker: Dick Garza, who attended the founding conference of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party in November, 1971. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m., at 180 N. Wacker. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

DETROIT

THE CHICANO VOTE AND THE '72 ELECTIONS. Speaker: Antonio Camejo, staff writer for The Militant, editor of La Raza Unida Party in Texas and Documents of the Chicano Struggle. Fri., Jan. 21, 8 p.m., at Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave. Phone: (313) 831-6135. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. The Militant Forum.

LOS ANGELES

INQUEST: A dramatic reading of the play by its author, Donald Freed, and Barbara Freed. Based on the frame-up trial and conviction of the Rosenbergs during the witch-hunt period of the fifties; followed by discussion of the recent government frame-up of the author and Shirley Sutherland in connection with the Panther 13 case. Fri., Jan. 21, 8 p.m., at 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE DOWNFALL OF THE DOLLAR: A MARXIST ANALYSIS. Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., Jan. 21, 8 p.m., at 2744 Broadway (105 St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

TWIN CITIES

LABOR'S PROGRAM FOR PHASE TWO. Speaker: Frank Lovell, labor editor of The Militant. Fri., Jan. 21, 8 p.m., at 1 University Ave. N.E. (at E. Hennepin), Second Floor, Mpls. Donation: \$1, unemployed 50c. Aup. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

...Connie

Continued from page 4

of their designated roles, confident of their own abilities and asserting their rights as human beings.

When Betty Friedan's book *The Feminine Mystique* appeared in 1963,

Connie was elated by it and was one of the first in the SWP to realize its great significance. She asked to give a talk at the New York Militant Labor Forum on the book, and later made a tour of Midwest SWP branches speaking on the importance of this first sign of a rebirth of feminism.

By the time the feminist movement emerged in the late 1960s, her deteriorating health prevented her from being as active as she would have liked. But she participated in a N. Y. women's antiwar march in May 1966 and in the Aug. 26 women's liberation demonstrations in 1970 and 1971.

Particularly dear to her heart was the fight for the right of women to have abortions, and, consequently, she was an ardent supporter of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. She also belonged to the National Organization for Women.

As her health declined she had to withdraw from full time work for Merit Publishers (now Pathfinder Press). However, she continued proofreading for the *International Socialist Review*, translating, writing articles and reviews for the *ISR*, and also working one afternoon a week in the bookstore of the New York Lower Manhattan branch.

Connie felt very bad about having to withdraw from more active work in the revolutionary movement. Very few people knew about her health problems, and she was afraid she would be considered some kind of "deserter." But on the contrary, the young people who worked with her in the last years of her life developed the greatest respect for her dependability, hard work, and human warmth.

To many members and friends of the SWP Connie will be remembered especially for her generosity and concern for the people who make up the revolutionary movement. She was exceptionally sensitive to personal difficulties of her comrades and helped many overcome the normal human problems that sometimes become exacerbated for people involved in the revolutionary-socialist movement.

In many ways Connie Weissman would seem to be a very unlikely candidate for nearly 30 years in a small revolutionary party. She could have lived a life of power and luxury, associated with the rich and powerful. But she left her class and joined the struggle of the working people and

oppressed nationalities for a just and humane socialist society, turning all her energies, talents and resources to that cause.

...Pulley

Continued from page 12

and requested permission again to speak and enter. The MP asked us to wait until he telephoned his superior. About five MP cars drove up hurriedly and the MP ran over to our car and asked, "Where is the vice-president?" Evidently they had gotten their information crossed. We wanted to clarify this so they wouldn't think we were trying to impersonate Agnew. I replied, "I'm the SWP candidate for vice-president, I'm not Mr. Agnew." They looked disappointed, but we were given permission to enter the base.

I have also toured six prisons. And among the most important meetings I've spoken at are a number of meetings organized by Black Student Unions.

And from talking to hundreds of Black people I have learned that there's still many illusions about the Democratic Party, particularly about Black Democrats—illusions that will unfortunately lead most Blacks to vote Democrat in 1972. However, I noticed that there's a relatively small but significant number of young Black militants who are seriously questioning the capitalist parties, and are receptive to socialist ideas. These politicalizing militants are an important indication of things to come and are at present the best source of new Black recruits to the socialist movement.

This fall the YSA played a key role in helping to make the circulation of *The Militant* the largest of any radical newspaper in the United States. You have heard here the plans to expand the printing and distribution of revolutionary socialist literature. And now at this convention the YSA has set for itself the goal to use the SWP election campaign to expand its membership.

Our task is to lead the Black, Chicano, women, workers, students and all movements of the oppressed to victory. This city, this state, this country and the world are being changed. New movements are coming onto the scene. And more and more people are beginning to stand up and refuse the degradation so long bestowed on them by leaders of this so-called land of the free and home of the brave. We are destined to build a new so-

ciety, a world without racial oppression, a society without sexual oppression, a society where new generations will not even know such things as Attica or Mylai or Hiroshima. Our objective is to build a society where, in order for young people of that day to know anything of the massacres that go on today in Vietnam at the hands of the United States, it will be necessary to turn on a movie like the *Green Berets*.

We are assured of victory simply because history itself dictates that masses of people who are oppressed will begin to organize in a mass way and ultimately realize the goals not only of people in the U. S. but of people on a world scale.

...Trotsky

Continued from page 20

This turn cut the party off from about 60 million colonial slaves of French imperialism, who were now expected to adjust to armed forces stationed in their countries for the purpose of keeping them in imperialist bondage. It also came in handy for the French Social Democrats, who could now garnish their own social patriotism with the idea that if the CP approved militarism, it must be all right. Finally, extensive damage was done in Germany, where the Nazis were not slow to call to the attention of German workers that Stalin had signed a pact with the hated French, who were the enforcers of the equally hated Versailles Treaty.

In Lenin's time temporary agreements with capitalist states did not tie the hands of Communists in those countries. They retained complete freedom of action.

There is a group of miscellaneous articles that are highly informative, but which go into their subjects less extensively than those discussed above. Of special interest to Americans is an article entitled "If America Should Go Communist."

This volume appears in a new, book-size format, unlike the four volumes published previously, which were of magazine size and many of whose chapters were simply photocopies of articles that appeared originally in various periodicals. There is also another important improvement. The editors have provided valuable and extensive notes, a chronology, and an index. It would be difficult to exaggerate the value of this book for the present generation of revolutionaries.

—MILTON ALVIN

Socialist Directory

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

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, P.O. Box 456, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 968-5738.

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

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Claremont: YSA, c/o Mark Neithercut, Story House, Claremont Men's College, Claremont, Calif. 91711.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Bob Secor, 3702 T St., Sacramento, Calif. 95815.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Diego: SWP, P.O. Box 15111, San Diego, Calif. 92115. YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Robert Mattson, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107. Tel: (805) 968-1988.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Barbara Thornton, 1316 Arapahoe Ave., Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 444-1440.

Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1100 Champa St., Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Bob Quigley, 127 Washington St., Apt. 106, Hartford, Conn. 06106.

New Haven: YSA and Socialist Workers '72 Campaign, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA c/o David Zimet, Box 13861 University Station, Gainesville, Fla. 32601. Tel: (904) 373-2627.

Jacksonville: YSA, P.O. Box 8409, Arlington Branch, Jacksonville, Fla. 32211.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Brett Merkey, 814 California St. Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 222-8776.

Tampa: YSA, P.O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604. Tel: (813) 228-4655.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. (3rd floor), SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o John Center, 1407 Schnider Hall, Bush Towers, Carbondale, Ill. 62901. Tel: (618) 453-5882.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois U, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 758-2935 (night).

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Don Caine, 446 E. 2nd St., Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

LOUISIANA: Baton Rouge: YSA, c/o John Hickman, P.O. Box 19435, Baton Rouge, La. 70803. Tel: (504) 388-1517.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, Box 324, Student Activities Office, Campus Center, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981, 262-9688.

Pittsfield: YSA, c/o R.G. Pucko, 77 Euclid Ave., Pittsfield, Mass. 01201.

Worcester: YSA, Box 1470, Clark U., Worcester, Mass. 01610, Socialist Workers Campaign '72, P.O. Box 97, Webster Sq. Sta., Worcester, Mass. 01603.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TEI-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 14, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

NEW JERSEY: Wayne: YSA, c/o Clyde Magarelli, William-Paterson College of N.J., 300 Pompton Rd., Wayne, N.J. 07470.

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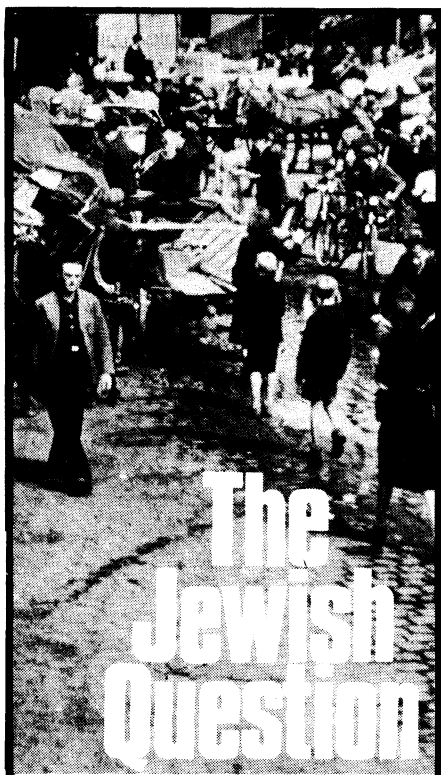
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THE MILITANT

Unarmed Blacks shot down by police in Baton Rouge

Two Militant reporters from Houston, David Katz and Ed Weaver, accompanied Debbie Leonard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas, to Baton Rouge. This is their report, based on conversations with several leaders and residents of the city.

BATON ROUGE, La., Jan. 12—Two days ago local police attacked a street rally in the Black community here killing two unarmed Black men. During the attack, two white plainclothesmen were killed and at least 31 persons were injured. One of the Black men was Thomas Davis, 25, of Chicago, and the other is tentatively identified as Samuel Upton, 29, of Vallejo, Calif.

Within hours of the police attack, Louisiana Governor John J. McKeithen called out the National Guard and the state police. They are still occupying the Black community. W. W. Dumas, mayor of Baton Rouge, imposed a dusk-to-dawn curfew that has been in effect every night since the shooting.

From conversations with various individuals here, we were able to reconstruct what happened on Monday, Jan. 10.

At noon that day, approximately 500 to 600 Afro-Americans assembled on North Boulevard in front of the Temple Theater in the Black community. This rally was a follow-up to a public meeting of 200 held in the Temple Theater on Friday, Jan. 7. Emmitt Douglas, state president of the Louisiana NAACP, told us that the Jan. 7 meeting was called to discuss "how to gain control over the Black community." Present at this meeting was a group of individuals who some city officials claim are affiliated to the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims). A spokesman for the Muslims in Chicago has disavowed any connection. We received different opinions here about their relationship to the Muslims, but they were contradictory and the actual connection is still unclear.

It is generally agreed, however, that a group of over a dozen young Black men came to Baton Rouge in early January and appeared at the Jan. 7 meetings, where they spoke in support of their program for Black control of the Black community. They urged those present to help build a public rally on Jan. 10.

Both of these two public meetings in the Black community followed several incidents of police harassment of Black activists during the past two weeks. One incident included the arrest of James Marshall, coordinator of Grassroots Organization, on the charge of marijuana possession and trespassing.

Another incident occurred on Monday morning, Jan. 10, when students at McKinley High School, which is 99 percent Black, rebelled against the repressive activities of a white cop assigned to their school. The cop was dismissed that morning.

At the noon rally on Jan. 10, two cars were placed in the street to cordon off space for the meeting. Two of the speakers from the Friday night meeting got up on one of the cars and began to address the crowd.

An off-duty Black newsman happened to be at the rally and called his station, WBRZ, to send out a crew. Soon afterward, two white newsmen

arrived and began to film the rally. The crowd noticed the white reporters and demanded that they leave.

In the angry fracas that followed, one of the reporters, Bob Johnson, was critically injured. In a few minutes, hundreds of riot-equipped cops arrived on the scene and began to swing their nightsticks and beat the assembled Blacks with shotgun butts. The crowd dispersed, but the half-dozen unarmed speakers remained lined up in front of the car.

According to Douglas, a small caliber weapon was heard. However, it has not yet been established if this shot was actually fired and, if it was, who fired it.

But it was at this point that the cops went berserk. They began to fire their weapons wildly at everyone and

incident resulting from their "incitement to riot."

The men charged with murder include: Lawrence Brooks, 25, Baton Rouge; Raymond Eames, 21, Baton Rouge; Henry Harris, 24, Baton Rouge; Robert J. Barber, 20, Los Angeles; David McKinney, 22, Chicago; Warren Hall, 25, Philadelphia; Toussaint L'Ouverture, 21, Chicago; and Ridgley Williams Jr., Chicago.

State and local officials are attempting to launch a hysterical campaign against what they characterize as a "conspiracy." The mayor declared, "This is a conspiracy, a revolution of some kind." He stated that police intelligence had discovered "a national plot to overthrow the city of Baton Rouge and other major cities." He warned all revolutionaries to "stay out

The following statement was released Jan. 13 by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president.

The police attack on the Jan. 10 rally in the Baton Rouge, La., Black community stands alongside the massacre of unarmed inmates at Attica and the 1969 police murders of Black Panthers Mark Clark and Fred Hampton while they slept as tragic examples of white, capitalist justice in America. The Socialist Workers Party demands:

An end to the police and National Guard occupation of the Black community.

Release all those arrested during the Jan. 10 police attack and thereafter for alleged violation of the curfew.

Establish an independent investigating committee of the Black community to determine who the real murderers are and bring them to trial.

everything, killing two unarmed Blacks who had helped organize the meeting, and wounding many others, some seriously.

They pursued three local Blacks into a store, dragged them out, and demolished the store in the process. Mr. Higgins, a local representative of the Louisiana Educational Association, whose office is right above the street, told us that he heard the cops exclaim, "Kill them! Kill them! Kill them!"

Apparently the two cops who were killed got caught in the police cross fire. According to a report issued yesterday by the parish coroner, Dr. Chester Williams, the bullets that killed the two policemen were fired from .38-caliber weapons, the same as the bullets that killed the two dead Black men. The police on the scene carried .38-caliber service revolvers and shotguns.

The Baton Rouge *Morning Advocate* reported this morning that "While top officials are discounting the possibility of people being killed or wounded by a police cross fire, investigators are unofficially acknowledging the possibility."

Percy Sims, deputy director of the local Community Action Center, told *New York Times* reporter Jon Nordheimer, "I haven't heard a single person who was there tell me that any of the Blacks carried guns. As a matter of fact, they told the young men not to carry weapons because it would give the police an excuse to shoot."

Twenty-two Blacks were arrested during this confrontation and eight of them have been charged with murder and inciting to riot. They are being held in lieu of \$500,000 bail each.

The eight are charged with violating a state law that declares a person who addresses a rally can be held responsible for any alleged in-

of Baton Rouge," and said all cars with out-of-state license plates would be stopped. He claimed that an itinerant listing other cities was found on one of the arrested men.

Police in major cities in the South pledged to lend the support of their departments to nip the "conspiracy" in the bud. The Louisiana Ku Klux Klan offered its services to the police, although they were politely turned down.

Soon after the curfew was declared, 46 persons—all Black except for two white hitchhikers—were arrested for violating the curfew and held in lieu of \$25,000 bond each.

The reasons behind this violent confrontation can be better understood in the context of the oppressive and intolerable situation facing the Black people in this city, the capital of Louisiana. Baton Rouge has a population of 162,000, about 36 percent Black, according to local NAACP figures. Emmitt Douglas told us that "Baton Rouge is the most segregated and racist capital city in the country."

The overwhelming majority of the Black population here lives in abject poverty, many of them in shacks. Blacks have virtually no voice in the city government. The school system remains totally segregated, and busing is still being fought in court by the racist city administration. Unemployment in the Black community is over 25 percent.

Debbie Leonard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas, was in Baton Rouge today with reporters from *The Militant*. She sharply condemned the police attack on the Jan. 10 meeting and particularly criticized Baton Rouge and Louisiana officials for ordering the occupation of the Black community with armed troops. She pledged to spread the truth about what happened in Baton Rouge throughout Texas.

700 rally for Davis in S.F.

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO—About 700 people rallied here for Angela Davis at Longshoremen's Hall on Jan. 8. Sallye Davis, the defendant's mother, told the crowd, "Lately conditions have improved for Angela, and this is due to public pressure. This public pressure must be intensified and redoubled in the future. She has been denied what every human being must have—the right to properly prepare for her defense. . . . When any one person is denied social justice, no one is safe."

Other speakers included Howard Moore Jr., chief counsel for the Davis defense; Franklin Alexander, national coordinator for the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis; Arthur Eve, New York state assemblyman; and the Black woman mayor of Nairobi (formerly East Palo Alto), Calif.

Ken Milner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in California's 7th CD, told the press at the rally that his campaign will attempt to build support for Davis and other political prisoners. Milner stated, "Knowing that the original charges amount to a gross attempt to frame Angela Davis for her political views and actions rather than any crime, the authorities now act to protect themselves by setting up conditions that



Angela Davis

make impossible any fair trial for Davis on these charges."

The state's intentions to prevent a fair trial can be illustrated by comparing the \$672,000 that will be lavished on security facilities and the slating of the smallest courtroom in Santa Clara County (59 seats) for the actual trial.

Defense lawyers for Davis will be petitioning for her democratic right to bail and to an unprejudiced jury right up until Jan. 31, when jury selection is scheduled to begin. A new motion was filed on Jan. 10 to move the trial site from Santa Clara County, and on Jan. 12 a hearing is scheduled on the right to bail in U.S. district court in San Francisco. The American Civil Liberties Union has entered a friend of the court brief in the petition for bail.