

THE MILITANT

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

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PROTEST DOMINICAN KILLINGS: A demonstration to protest the recent killings of four leftists in the Dominican Republic by Balaguer's dictatorial regime will take place at the Dominican consulate, 50th St. and 6th Ave., New York City, on Saturday, Jan. 22 from 2 to 5 p.m. Supporters of civil liberties are urged to attend.

FRENCH PRISONERS REVOLT: A rebellion occurred Jan. 15 in a prison at Nancy, France, which took riot police seven hours to put down. According to the Jan. 16 New York Times, this was the sixth prison revolt within a week. "Extreme left-wing groups have attacked the government over the prison crisis. Today, for example, the Communist League, a Trotskyite group, denounced what it termed 'the savage repression of prisoners fighting for less inhuman conditions of detention' and called on students and workers to demonstrate their solidarity against 'a medieval penitentiary system.'"

Minister of Justice Rene Pleven interrupted a weekend in Brittany to rush back to Paris, where he warned that police and military forces were at his disposal "to oppose any attempt at subversion in the prisons."

Following the revolt of prisoners in the Toul prison last month a commission of inquiry was set up to seek a scapegoat. According to the Times, "It issued a report last week criticizing the prison administration for its harsh discipline and recommended that the warden be removed. Mr. Pleven announced he would move for reforms before the end of the month and a criminal investigation was begun to determine whether anyone should be prosecuted for mistreating prisoners."

GIs PROTEST WAR, DEMAND RIGHTS: Nearly 100 GIs and civilian supporters demonstrated in front of Fort Devens, near Boston, on Jan. 15 in an action sponsored by the Ft. Devens United Front. According to the Jan. 16 Boston Globe, demands included the following: 1) the release of Black GI Roosevelt Clady Jr., convicted by a recent court-martial of assault and using "provoking" language, and sentenced to nine months at hard labor, fined \$900, and given a bad conduct discharge; 2) an end to deplorable conditions at the Personnel Control Facility, which holds GIs who had gone AWOL but turned themselves in and are awaiting Army action; 3) the right of men and women in the military to exercise their constitutional rights; 4) the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Southeast Asia.

'IF IT TAKES A BLOODBATH': A Committee to Investigate Right-wing Terrorism has been formed at San Diego State College (SDSC) to protest the shooting of radical activist Paula Tharp on Jan. 6. Tharp suffered permanent injury when a bullet shattered a bone in her arm as she was sitting in her living room. This incident followed months of harassment of socialist economics professor Peter Bohmer, Tharp, and other young activists who share the Ocean Beach Collective, headquarters for the San Diego Convention Coalition. This is a group organizing "Evict Nixon" demonstrations during the Republican Party convention next summer. A group called the "Secret Army Organization" claims credit for the shooting, threatening phone calls and leaflets, and other attempts at intimidation.

Bohmer had been waging a defense case against the SDSC administration, which was attempting to discipline him for allegedly threatening to lower students' grades if they held conservative views. After a two-week hearing he was cleared of these charges on Dec. 31. Hundreds of students had demonstrated against the administration's attempted frame-up.

The right-wing terrorists had no doubt been encouraged by the administration's harassment of Bohmer and by the anticommunist rationale used by the U.S. government for its aggression in Southeast Asia. CIRT also pointed to "the atmosphere of hysteria and fear" created by California Governor Ronald Reagan, who, during the May 1970 student upsurge, called for removing the antiwar activists from the campuses. "If it takes a bloodbath," Reagan then declared, "let's get it over with."

City officials have admitted that San Diego right-wingers have harassed radical activists for years, and that no arrests have ever been made.

NO 'MERE SLAP ON THE WRIST': The Los Angeles City College Two were sentenced on Dec. 12 after being found guilty in Los Angeles County court. The charges grew out of a peaceful demonstration against Marine recruiters at Los Angeles City College last October. Larry Mitchell was sentenced to three years' probation and \$100 fine. Richard Spear was hit with five days in jail, three years' probation and a \$300 fine.

The prosecutor had pressed for a stiff sentence for Spear: "In trials against protesters we usually come up with sheep. This time we got one of the leaders. Richard Spear must not be let off with a mere slap on the wrist."

Spear will appeal. Mitchell chose to accept his sentence. The LACC Defense Committee has raised the \$1,250 appeal bond for Spear.

LINDSAY ACCUSED OF BREAKING PROMISE: Several members of the New York City Council and Gay Activists Alliance leader Richard Wandel have accused Mayor John Lindsay of giving only token support to Intro 475, the bill which would ban discrimination against homosexuals in employment, housing and public accommodations. They have threatened to campaign against him in the California primary and elsewhere. Lindsay is accused of withdrawing his promise to have the police and fire commissioners testify in support of the bill, testimony its sponsors consider essential. Meanwhile, Deputy Police Commissioner Robert Daley is quoted in the Jan. 7 New York Post as admitting that the department "probably would" discriminate against avowed homosexuals. He went on to say, "I imagine there are homosexuals on the police force in the same proportion that they are in the general population."

STANFORD MOVES CLOSER TO FIRING PROF: Stanford University's faculty Advisory Board and Dr. Richard Lyman, the president of the school, have recommended that the Board of Trustees immediately dismiss Maoist associate professor of English A. Bruce Franklin. The vote in the faculty group was five to two, with the minority urging suspension without pay for one quarter. Nobel laureate Linus Pauling joined with hundreds of students and faculty in protesting the group's decision as "a great blow, not just to academic freedom but freedom of speech."

Franklin, the first tenured professor at Stanford to be the victim of such unjust action, was under fire for participating in antiwar activities in January and February of 1971. An occupation of the campus computer center grew out of a protest against the U. S.-supported invasion of Laos and Stanford's complicity in the war. Franklin was said by the majority of the faculty group to have incited the computer center occupation, encouraged resistance to a police order to disperse, and incited further disruption later. According to the Jan. 10 New York Times, Franklin's lawyer, Joel Klein, "contended that the professor was facing dismissal for vague exhortations that would not be punishable in a criminal court."

Militant reporter Michael Schreiber reports that "Unfortunately, it will be difficult to build a broad defense movement for Franklin because of the peculiar analysis of his Maoist Venceremos group. Defeats become victories and victories inevitably become defeats. Franklin says that although his impending firing is a short-term victory for repression, it is in the long run a 'roaring success,' since 'the decision proves that our analysis is absolutely correct . . . it demonstrates that when we talk about liberals as being fascists, it is no idle rhetoric.'"

"When the press asked whether Franklin believed that campus violence might follow the announcement of his dismissal, he replied, 'I hope so.' Franklin referred to the unloaded carbine his wife was holding during the press conference. 'This gun,' he explained, 'is because of our analysis that that is what political power comes from.'"

SUPREME COURT VICTORY FOR GROPP: By a seven-to-nothing vote the U. S. Supreme Court has overturned the contempt conviction of Rev. James Groppi of Milwaukee. In 1969 Groppi led 1,000 civil rights activists into the Wisconsin State Assembly chambers to protest welfare cuts. He was arrested and charged with disorderly conduct, but was acquitted by a jury. The legislature voted two days after the action to hold him in contempt and sentenced him to six months in jail. The Supreme Court decision was restricted to placing limits on the contempt powers of legislative bodies. By waiting two days before taking the contempt action and by not giving Groppi an opportunity to defend himself, the assembly was said to have denied Groppi due process of law.

PROTECTIVE CUSTODY FOR HAYMARKET STATUE: A statue of a cop has stood in Chicago's Haymarket Square since 1887. It is a blatant symbol of the victimization of the Haymarket Martyrs, labor leaders who were framed-up and later executed for their leading role in the eight-hour-day movement. Since the statue has been bombed twice in recent years, police have been guarding it with a 24-hour police detail and monitoring it by closed-circuit TV—at an annual cost to Chicago taxpayers of \$68,000. According to the Jan. 13 Chicago Tribune, the Chicago Patrolman's Association recommended moving the statue to a safe location, eliminating the need for the round-the-clock protection. Joseph Pecoraro, president of the association, said he had talked to Mayor Daley about it. "The mayor liked the idea and two months ago he told me the statue would be moved to inside the lobby of police headquarters." A fitting place.

—JOEL BRITTON

Pioneer socialists went after subscriptions, too

By DAVE FRANKEL

In launching a subscription renewal drive aimed at its 32,580 new readers, *The Militant* is following in the footsteps of the pioneer socialists in the United States. These militants built a massive movement against the injustice and brutality fostered by the explosive expansion of American capitalism in the late 1800s and early 1900s. One of the main tools they used to do this was the socialist press.

The most famous of the early socialist newspapers was the *Appeal to Reason*, a four-page weekly started by J.A. Wayland in 1895 and published for most of its existence in Girard, Kan. The *Appeal* was always peppered with announcements such as: "Those who have tried it find no cheaper or better method of propaganda than 25 copies weekly to their address of the *Appeal to Reason* three months for \$1.50. Always loaded for b'ar."

Issue No. 6 of the *Appeal*, dated Oct. 5, 1895, declared: "Energy on the part of friends of the *Appeal* will give it 100,000 readers inside a year. Such a paper will be a great educational engine, and enable it to assist in ways and means that are not now to be had."

Although the *Appeal* did not get 100,000 readers by 1896, it did get them by the beginning of 1899. By the autumn of 1905 the *Appeal* had 250,000 readers, and in 1909 it had more than 500,000.

Perhaps one of the greatest "ways and means" by which the *Appeal* was able to assist the growing radical and labor movement was through the role it played as the organizer of the magnificent defense campaign waged on behalf of Charles Moyer and Bill Haywood.

Moyer and Haywood, two leaders of the Western Federation of Miners, were framed up for the assassination of a former governor of Idaho in March of 1906, after being illegally

extradited to Idaho from Colorado. The *Appeal* opened its pages to Eugene V. Debs and campaigned for a massive protest movement against the frame-up. Ten barrels of ink, six carloads of newsprint, 3,000 mailbags, and 10 U.S. mail cars were needed to print and mail a single edition of the *Appeal to Reason* during this campaign, which saw demonstrations of tens of thousands across the country and was ultimately victorious in winning the acquittal and release of Moyer and Haywood.

During one drive to increase its circulation, the *Appeal* offered to outfit as a traveling socialist propagandist—with a van, two horses to pull it, and \$100 worth of socialist literature—whoever sold the greatest number of subscriptions to the paper. Although *The Militant* is not offering two horses and a van as part of its renewal campaign, it is offering socialist literature and the best news coverage and analysis of any paper in the country.

One of the best expressions of the consciousness American radicals during the Debsian period had of the importance of the press is found in a letter run in the Dec. 29, 1910, *Industrial Worker*. Headlined "The Live Wire, The Champion—How to Get Subs for the Worker," the letter reads as follows:

"Fellow Workers: It seems to me that you would only be doing your duty when you get subscriptions for the *Industrial Worker*. Don't you know that if ever we expect to build up a strong organization we must have some medium through which we can do it? The best way is through the press. . . .

"How many subscribers do you think the *Oregonian* or the *Spokesman-Review* or any other capitalist paper would have if they were going to wait until people came to the office to subscribe? They have agents in every city and town going from house

to house getting subscribers. . . . If we expect to accomplish anything we have to get out and get the subs. Every member of the IWW should be an agent for our own press. We have just as much right to go from house to house and get subs as the capitalists' agents have. . . . Every Sunday morning I start for town and take in house by house for the last three months. The result has been 130 subs.

"It is impossible to get subs sitting around the stove talking about something that does not amount to a tinker's damn. . . .

"There has been practically no agitation for Industrial Unionism in Hoquiam, and when subs can be obtained in Hoquiam it stands to reason that they can be obtained in any other town in America.

"When I first set out I did not get many subs, as I was somewhat bashful, but I soon got over that ailment and took courage and went at it in earnest. . . .

"Here's hoping that every member of the IWW will wake up and get the subs so that we can tell the workers how to organize.

"Yours for Industrial Freedom, J. A. Stoltz, Hoquiam, Wash."

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are spearheading a three-month effort to increase *The Militant's* subscription renewal rate. Other supporters of *The Militant* are urged to help in the drive to increase our circulation by introducing *The Militant* to friends and acquaintances, and by joining with SWP and YSA activists in visiting the new subscribers to talk to them about renewing their subs. (See the Socialist Directory on page 22 for the SWP and YSA offices in your area.)

To quote the *Appeal to Reason* one more time, "the only pay for [this] work [is] a sense of duty done for humanity."

Readers begin to renew

By SHARON CABANISS

The renewal campaign is beginning to get into gear with 103 renewals in so far—most of them for one year. Most have been sent in on their own, not through any contact with teams of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, Young Socialist Alliance, and Socialist Workers Party members who will be working on the renewal campaign.

While illustrating the good response *The Militant* has received, this fact demonstrates the necessity of organizing to take full advantage of the time remaining in this campaign—which is already one quarter of the way through. Local areas will have to group expiring subscriptions by cities, campus dorms and neighborhoods, check the best times for visits, and organize teams that are large enough and have adequate time to visit and talk to the *Militant* subscribers.

New *Militant* readers are finding many reasons to renew. One wrote: "I've enjoyed my intro subscription very much so I'm back for more. I agree with the letter in *The Militant* that said there is more to women's liberation than just the abolition of abortion laws. Hope you will delve into the other areas as well as you have in this one."

Another new reader who renewed his subscription for one year wrote us: "I subscribed particularly to follow the Socialist Workers Campaign. I like it and can't wait to help in the petition drive to get them on the ballot in Georgia (even though it will take 90,000 signatures—I'm sure the SWP can obtain ballot status with a little work.) Keep up the great coverage of Jenness and Pulley."

A third reader writes: "Although my subscription to *The Militant* expired Nov. 1971, you continue to forward it to me. Many thanks. Enclosed is a check for \$12 for a two-year subscription, and keep up the good work.

"I do receive a daily capitalist paper, but it doesn't tell me what I want to know, nor do I believe all I read."

One subscriber sent in a one-year renewal with this note: "I would send in the order blank but an article on the NPAC antiwar strategy is on the back." Another said: "I didn't use the subscription coupon because my friend who subscribes to *The Militant* won't let me cut anything out of it—he cherishes it like a commodity!"

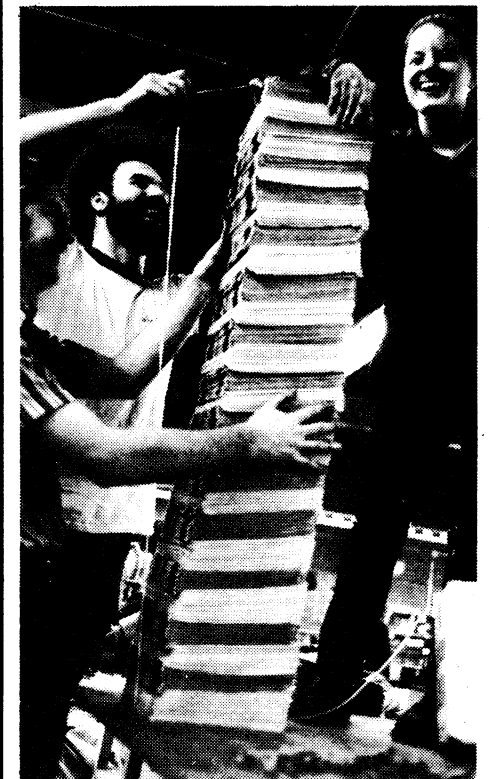


Photo by Flax Hermes

This stack of *Militants* goes to Gainesville.

Why did one out of every 37 students at the University of Florida in Gainesville subscribe to *The Militant*? *The Militant* tells the truth. RENEW NOW!

There are 19,850 university students in Gainesville and 533 of them subscribed to *The Militant* during our successful subscription campaign last fall.

Coverage of recent Florida happenings in *The Militant* has included: the Shirley Wheeler case for the right to abortion, the fight at Florida State University in Tallahassee for the right of "Radical Jack" Lieberman to teach a class on "How to Make a Revolution in the U.S.," and the successful petitioning campaign to place the Socialist Workers Party on the Florida ballot in 1972.

If you're one of our 533 new subscribers in Gainesville, or one of our 32,580 new readers in the U.S., renew now so you'll continue to receive the best socialist newsweekly in the country.

Free book offer

With a one-year renewal to *The Militant* you can choose any one of the following books at no extra cost:

- () 1. **BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY** by Malcolm X.
- () 2. **PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION** by Evelyn Reed

- () 3. **TWO PAMPHLETS ON THE LABOR MOVEMENT:** The Revolutionary Potential of the Working Class by Ernest Mandel and George Novack; and Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions.
- () 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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Jenness debates McCloskey

By SANDRA MAXFIELD

NEW LONDON, N. H. — Representative Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.), a contender for the Republican Party presidential nomination, and Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness debated before an audience of 300 people at Colby Junior College here on Jan. 15. The debate was not only the first between presidential candidates in the 1972 elections, but also the first time that an SWP candidate has formally debated a capitalist candidate for president.

All the Democratic and Republican candidates seeking their parties' nominations were invited to participate, but every one of them refused. Five of them, however, felt the challenge from Jenness and McCloskey was serious enough to warrant a written declination. The campaign offices of Muskie, Humphrey, McGovern, Lindsay, and Yorty sent letters to Linda Jenness officially declining.

versity; the University of Massachusetts in Amherst; Dartmouth College in Hanover, N. H.; Brown University in Providence, R. I.; and Salem State College in Salem, Mass. Many traveled more than 100 miles to attend.

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley helped build the meeting by sending a team of travelers to schools in New Hampshire the week before to distribute SWP campaign literature and leaflets on the debate.

Reporters from Associated Press; United Press International; *Boston After Dark*; *BU News*, the student newspaper at Boston University; the *Manchester Union Leader*, New Hampshire's major daily newspaper; *The New Hampshire*, student newspaper at the University of New Hampshire; and WTNH, a New Hampshire radio station, covered the debate.

Rev. John Jensen, the college chaplain, chaired the meeting, which lasted more than an hour. It focused on the

ness' analysis of the two-party system, McCloskey began his speech by commenting, "Let me say that many of the criticisms that Miss Jenness has made I share about both political parties." Conceding that the "two political parties are admittedly both corrupt or decadent or insensitive to the real problems of the times," that "the leadership of both the Democratic and Republican parties today are bankrupt in the ability to solve any of the problems of the nation," McCloskey justified running in the Republican Party on the basis that "a third party movement . . . might very well insure that Richard Nixon is the next president of the United States."

Two-party system

He was forced to agree with Jenness' assertion that "you can't tell the difference between the two major parties," but insisted that he would "make no apology for asking young people

000, and about a third in the small donations."

Attacked by Jenness for voting to repeal the legislation that gives small parties equal time on radio and TV with the Democrats and Republicans, McCloskey tried to cover up his voting record by saying that the question had not come up in Congress during this session. In fact, however, he has voted twice against equal time. On Oct. 9, 1968, McCloskey supported Senate Joint Resolution 175, which called for a temporary suspension of equal time so that Nixon and Humphrey could debate on TV. On Sept. 16, 1970, he voted for the Conference Report on S3637, which included a bill to permanently repeal equal time. (Neither bill ever became law—S.J. Res. 175 never passed the Senate, and S. 3637 was vetoed by Nixon.)

Jenness urged McCloskey to support the April 22 demonstrations in New York City and on the West Coast for immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia. He replied that he would, "of course, support the peace demonstrations."

During the question and answer period his real position on the war became clear when he defended Nixon's use of the prisoners of war issue as a legitimate reason to continue U. S. aggression in Indochina. Attempting to absolve the capitalist rulers and place the burden for the war on the American people, he stated:

"When the American people send people into Vietnam to bomb this country—when it changes this policy . . . in my judgment [it] does not have the right to say that we are going to abandon the men who carried out our orders. . . ."

Jenness explained that the question of the POWs was quite simple:

"The only way to defend the POWs, the only way to hurry up their release, is to totally, immediately, unconditionally withdraw the troops."

War appropriations

She went on to point out the contradiction between McCloskey's claim to be against the war and the fact that he has voted consistently for war appropriations.

Rather than try to falsify his record on this question as well, McCloskey pretended that congressional votes were a highly technical matter. "I don't think Miss Jenness understands the Congressional procedure," he began. He claimed he had been helpless in voting for war appropriations that he opposed because the bills also included other items he supported, such as "the housekeeping money to maintain an armed force, if you believe that an armed force is necessary even in time of peace, to preserve peace."

Jenness criticized the congressman for supporting reform of the anti-abortion laws, rather than repeal. He replied with a slippery statement that indicated support for repeal and at the same time implied that he favored a law allowing abortions only up to the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy, and then with a doctor's permission.

McCloskey's support to the crushing of national liberation movements around the world was brought home in his answer to a question from the audience about the right of the Palestinians to return to their country. "I support the right for a reasonable number of Palestinians to regain their homeland," he began. He then went on to blame the violence in the Middle East on the Palestinian liberation



Representative Paul McCloskey and Linda Jenness at Colby Junior College debate

Photo by Dave Wulp

McGovern's office sent Jenness a letter stating that "the Senator does not feel it is appropriate to debate with candidates who are constitutionally unqualified for the office." Yorty's office wrote, "While we would be most delighted to debate other Democratic candidates, we are not, at this time, interested in debates with minor party candidates or candidates for other parties' nominations." Lindsay sent Jenness a personal letter stating, "My schedule is simply too crowded."

Despite the refusal of the other capitalist candidates to appear on a platform with Jenness, the event was proof of the impact that the socialist campaign has already had in the five months since it was launched. McCloskey originally agreed to the debate when challenged by Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley at a meeting at Providence College in Providence, R. I., on Oct. 29, 1971. Clearly, support for the Jenness-Pulley ticket, especially on campuses and in high schools, convinced McCloskey that he could not ignore the Jenness campaign.

Young people from five states—New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts—converged on the Colby Junior College campus for the debate. They came from schools such as Boston Uni-

versity; the University of Massachusetts in Amherst; Dartmouth College in Hanover, N. H.; Brown University in Providence, R. I.; and Salem State College in Salem, Mass. Many traveled more than 100 miles to attend.

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Rev. John Jensen, the college chaplain, chaired the meeting, which lasted more than an hour. It focused on the question of whether young people should attempt to reform the Republican and Democratic parties or should work for an independent socialist alternative in 1972. Jenness, who spoke first, stated in her opening remarks:

"McCloskey believes that the Democratic and Republican parties can solve the crisis facing Americans. . . . The Democratic and Republican parties are controlled from the top by a tiny handful of big businessmen, bankers, and millionaires, and they make all [the] decisions—and that is not democratic."

"The solution is not to vote for the Democrats and Republicans but to build . . . the antiwar movement, the feminist movement, student movement, labor movement, and Black and Brown liberation movements—the movements that do represent the American people. . . . And that's what the Socialist Workers Party campaign represents and is fighting for."

Referring to McCloskey's candidacy, she explained that "a vote for him is essentially just a vote for the Republican Party, which he admits is basically why he's running—to get youth into the Republican Party. . . . The most effective thing that you can do is join and help build the socialist campaign."

Rather than attempting to refute Jen-

ness' analysis of the two-party system, McCloskey began his speech by commenting, "Let me say that many of the criticisms that Miss Jenness has made I share about both political parties." Conceding that the "two political parties are admittedly both corrupt or decadent or insensitive to the real problems of the times," that "the leadership of both the Democratic and Republican parties today are bankrupt in the ability to solve any of the problems of the nation," McCloskey justified running in the Republican Party on the basis that "a third party movement . . . might very well insure that Richard Nixon is the next president of the United States."

forces who are defending their right to self-determination. Throwing his support to Israeli aggression, he said "some of those Palestinians insist on coming in [to Israel] with weapons and operating a guerrilla warfare situation. I think you can understand the Israeli reluctance to let them in except under controlled conditions."

Jenness replied to the same question by clearly stating her support to the struggle of the Palestinians for self-determination and her opposition to the Zionist state of Israel.

McCloskey's credibility had already been significantly eroded by the time of the last question, when he made his most damaging statement in the debate—he refused to support freedom for Angela Davis. Asked by someone from the audience where he stood on the imprisoned Black militant's case, he replied:

"I don't know. . . . We don't know what the facts are. . . . We don't know which witnesses tell the truth and which do not."

Trying to maintain a stance of neutrality, he argued that:

"It isn't appropriate for a politician to comment on the innocence of a potential defendant any more than to comment on the guilt of a potential defendant. Once the legitimate legal process is initiated, the whole purpose of this country is to leave the determination of the court free from politicians either screaming out against a defendant or screaming out in favor of a defendant. We trust that the law will reach a fair verdict. We have every law in this country based on the right of appeal, the right of due process. I'm satisfied that if Angela Davis is innocent, the court and the jury will so find her."

Jenness responded with shock:

". . . to not stand up and defend Angela Davis I think is almost a criminal act! . . . I think we have to demand immediate freedom for Angela Davis . . . that's what I demand and I'm very proud of it. I'm not ashamed at all as a politician to demand that."

This last statement by Jenness, the final word in the debate, brought a sustained round of applause from the crowd. Although she was suffering from laryngitis during the meeting, Jenness received an enthusiastic re-

A one-hour tape of the entire Jenness-McCloskey debate is available for \$5. To order, write to SWP National Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. All orders must be prepaid.

sponse when she spoke. It was clear to everyone present, including McCloskey supporters, that the congressman was on the defensive during the debate and spent most of his time trying to explain away the contradictions between his liberal self-image and his record.

At the end of the meeting, 12 people signed up to support the SWP ticket and volunteered to help get the SWP on the ballot in New England states. Three people also asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

In conversation with a reporter from *Boston After Dark* following the debate, McCloskey indicated that he might be willing to debate Jenness again at a major university in Boston.

The SWP national campaign office is presently discussing with McCloskey's staff the possibility of another such debate.

'72 Socialist Campaign

Orders for more than 7,000 copies of *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about George McGovern . . .* by Laura Miller have been received since the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley truth kit became available in mid-December.

This week, YSJPer in Madison, Wis., ordered 100 more truth kits, informing the national campaign office that they "sell especially well when our tables are set up next to McGovern tables in the University Memorial Union."

And the Phoenix YSJP has placed an order for an additional 20 truth kits and other literature they say they "desperately need to help build a growing movement in Phoenix."

The 16-page pamphlet, which discusses McGovern's position and Senate voting record on key campaign issues, is available for 25 cents (15 cents on orders of 50 or more). Write to Socialist Workers 1972 Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

The Jan. 11 Philadelphia Tribune, a Black weekly published in Philadelphia, carries a lengthy and favorable article on the Jenness-Pulley campaign by reporter Len Lear.

The article is based on interviews obtained last fall with both candidates. Lear quotes Pulley as saying:

". . . Muskie said he won't even run on the same ticket as a Black man. And if that isn't enough proof that the Democratic Party is a racist party, don't forget that it's the party of Lester Maddox, George Wallace, Mayor Daley, and Frank Rizzo."

Channel 11, an educational TV station in Durham, N.H., taped a 30-minute program on the Linda Jenness presidential campaign while she was campaigning at the University of New Hampshire at Durham in December. The program will be aired Feb. 24 at 7:30 p.m. and Feb. 25 at 3 p.m. and 6:30 p.m.

The Arizona Women's Political Caucus held its founding meeting in Phoenix Jan. 9. Among those in attendance were members of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, who sold more than \$50 worth of women's liberation and SWP campaign literature and materials.

YSJPer Irene Gorgoz reports that, in addition to representatives of the Democratic and Republican parties, a YSJP speaker was allowed to address the meeting.

"Many of those in attendance apparently felt this a welcome relief from the stale rhetoric of the Republican and Democratic party representatives, and made loud objections when she was bureaucratically cut off," Gorgoz reports.

"One woman asked during the question and answer period, 'Why can't the Republican and Democratic party candidates speak to women's issues like the Socialist Workers Party?'"

The YSJP is sending out six teams of three people each across the country in February, March, and April to spread the word about the socialist campaign and to organize YSJP groups throughout the nation. They will have campaign literature, buttons,

posters, and lots of good ideas on how to get organized and talks prepared on the campaign. If you would like one of the teams to visit your school or area, contact the national campaign office.

The Michigan SWP is currently wrapping up its drive to get 23,000 signatures on petitions to secure a place for Jenness and Pulley on the 1972 Michigan ballot. One petitioner, Detroit SWP organizer Charlie Bolduc, obtained 75 signatures in one hour at Wayne State University.



Photo by Bill Greller

Maceo Dixon, Michigan SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 1st C.D.

The Ohio SWP on Jan. 13 began a campaign for more than 15,000 signatures to get the SWP national ticket and three congressional candidates on the ballot. On the first day, nearly 1,000 signatures were obtained, primarily on campuses.

Womankind, a feminist newspaper in Detroit, published a full-page interview with Linda Jenness in its issue no. 4. In the article, the author, Judith Riley, writes:

"I asked Linda how she thought her candidacy on the SWP ticket related to the Women's Movement, in general, and why a feminist should consider supporting a Socialist, rather than say, Shirley Chisholm. . . .

"(Jenness replied) I am running on a feminist platform. . . . I tell (women) they must build their own movement, not try to channel it through the Democratic Party. . . . just look at the record. . . . capitalism cannot meet the demands made by feminism."

"I agree with Shirley Chisholm on many things, but I really think it is impossible to try to bring radical reform from within the present party system. The Democratic Party is the party of Johnson. It's the party of Lester Maddox. How can you reform that?"

If you come across a newspaper article on the SWP national campaign, or on local SWP candidates, don't forget to send the clipping into the national campaign office. Address all letters, inquiries or requests for campaign materials to Socialist Workers Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-4150.

—STEVE BEREN

Socialist election campaigns launched

Ohio

By BOB BRESNAHAN

CLEVELAND, Jan. 17—At a press conference here today, the Ohio Socialist Workers Party announced its candidates for U.S. Congress—Caryl Loeb, 22nd C.D.; Cecil Lampkin, 21st C.D.; and Herman Kirsch, 20th C.D.

Loeb, a former Democratic Party precinct committeewoman, told the press, "As a feminist, I am acutely aware of the inability of the two old parties to be anything but repressive and tokenist on questions of equality for women or Blacks."

Lampkin, who is running against Louis Stokes, a leader of the 21st Congressional District Caucus and brother of Democratic Mayor Carl Stokes, called for the formation of an independent Black political party to fight for the demands of Cleveland's Blacks.

Kirsch, a veteran trade unionist, has been active in the labor movement for 25 years.

The SWP has filed a suit in U.S. District Court requesting an extension of the Feb. 2 filing deadline for nominating petitions. "We have to file many more signatures than the candidates of [the Democratic and Republican] parties, and we have to file them on the same date that they do, although we do not participate in the primary election," Loeb said.

Loeb reported that supporters of the campaign have already gathered 3,000 of the necessary 18,000 signatures to place the congressional candidates and the SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates on the Ohio ballot.

California

By FRED FELDMAN

OAKLAND, Calif.—Kenneth Milner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. representative from California's 7th C.D. (the position currently held by Ron Dellums), will launch his campaign at a Jan. 28 rally at the SWP campaign headquarters, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Also speaking at the rally will be Popeye Jackson, a campaign supporter and a leader of the United Prisoners Union.

Milner, 25, was Northern California coordinator of the Black Moratorium Committee, which built Black participation in the Nov. 6, 1971, antiwar demonstration in San Francisco. He organized a Black Moratorium contingent for the massive April 24, 1971, antiwar march on Washington, D.C., and was coordinator of the April 3, 1971, memorial march in Detroit commemorating Martin Luther King.

The news conference at which Milner announced his candidacy was covered on KGO-TV, KTVU-TV, in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Berkeley Gazette*, and the *Berkeley Post*, (a newspaper in the Black community), as well as on five radio stations.

Milner explained he is running against Dellums because "He uses his radical positions on many questions to spread the illusion that you can fight the system by supporting a party that defends the system—the Democratic Party. I can agree with Ron Dellums on some things but I will not follow him into the party of the oppressor."

In Our Opinion

The amnesty issue

The growing sentiment for amnesty for deserters and draft resisters is yet another reflection of the growing revulsion of the American people—including GIs—to the war in Southeast Asia.

An estimated 70,000 deserters and draft avoiders are presently living in other countries to escape the prison sentences that would face them if they were to return. The huge desertion rate—98,000 last year—and the large incidence of draft resistance (the Justice Department considered 30,000 cases for prosecution in 1970) demonstrate that many draft-age youths are choosing the risk of exile or prison rather than be forced to participate in the slaughter in Southeast Asia. Other GIs are fighting within the armed forces to express their antiwar and antiracist views.

Both deserters and draft resisters deserve the full, unconditional right to return to the U.S. if they wish—with no prosecution, harassment, or discrimination whatsoever. Their only "crime" is to have refused to participate directly in the criminal and immoral war in Southeast Asia, a war that the majority of Americans have renounced.

A Gallup Poll published by the Jan. 17 *Newsweek* found that 71 percent of Americans favor some form of amnesty, with 63 percent favoring amnesty on condition of a period of public service. Popular sentiment against the war and for amnesty is reflected in the positions that politicians, including presidential contenders, are beginning to take on this issue. Democratic presidential hopefuls Lindsay and McGovern favor conditional amnesty for draft resisters but not for deserters.

Democratic frontrunner Muskie, however, thinks the issue should not even be discussed until the war is over. Similarly, Nixon opposes any amnesty while American troops are still in Southeast Asia.

Top politicians and Congress are being forced by the massive antiwar sentiment to discuss the desirability of what would in effect constitute legalization of desertion—in the midst of a war.

This illustrates the power of the antiwar movement to increasingly limit the U.S. imperialists' ability to win a military victory in Southeast Asia. And it indicates the potential for building a significant protest against the war on April 22, the next date set for national demonstrations.

Cuba threatened

In the past weeks the United States government has hardened its aggressive posture toward the people of Cuba, using as its pretext the Cuban capture of two Miami-based freighters flying Panamanian flags on Dec. 5 and Dec. 15. The Cuban government charges that the captured ships were transporting arms and counterrevolutionary agents into Cuba.

A Dec. 17 AP dispatch reported that "Pentagon sources" indicated U.S. naval and air units were being placed on alert in Cherry Point, N.C.; Jacksonville, Fla.; and the naval base in Guantánamo in eastern Cuba. There has been no announcement that this alert has been called off.

The two ships captured by Cuba—the *Johnny Express* and the *Layla Express*—are both owned by the Babum family, notorious in Cuba for its counterrevolutionary activities. Three members of this same family were among those captured at the Bay of Pigs in 1961, when a force of 1,500 counterrevolutionaries and mercenaries—recruited, armed and financed by the U.S. government—invaded Cuba and were defeated.

In denouncing Cuba's capture of these ships, Robert McCloskey, spokesman for the State Department, declared: "The government of the United States considers these armed attacks on commercial vessels . . . an overt threat to free trade and navigation on the Caribbean and a threat to U.S. citizens."

What hypocrisy for the U.S. government to speak of "free trade and navigation" when it is responsible for attempting to isolate and starve Cuba with a trade blockade. What hypocrisy for Washington to speak of "armed attacks" when it has organized and financed countless armed attacks against Cuba.

In response to charges that the ships were being utilized by the CIA for plots against Cuba, McCloskey replied that "neither of these ships has any connection with the government of the United States." This statement sounds just like the lying statement of Adlai Stevenson, who, as U.S. delegate to the United Nations, disavowed any U.S. government connection with the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, which was later proved beyond a doubt to have been a direct CIA operation.

All those in this country who oppose U.S. imperialist intervention in the affairs of other countries must speak out against Nixon's threats against Cuba and demand that the U.S. remove the economic blockade and its military base at Guantánamo.

Letters

'Guardian of fetuses'

The following letter was entitled "Open Letter to Prof. Robert Byrn, 'Legal Guardian of unborn fetuses.'" Professor Byrn has initiated a suit against the liberal New York abortion law.

Go preach your sermon on the Fourteenth Amendment, "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, etc.," to the men in the White House—who are responsible for aborting real live human beings, thousands of our youth in the prime of their lives, falling and dying on blood-soaked battlefields. Go preach the Fourteenth Amendment to the real murderers—the War Lords of Slaughter. Men.

Your personal opinions and beliefs, which you want to ram down the throats of poor, once voiceless women, are in direct violation of the First Amendment: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion."

If anyone has an adverse interest in the unborn fetus, as you claim in the Dec. 26 *Long Island Press*, it is *you*, and not the pregnant woman seeking an abortion. She does not wish to bring a child into this defoliated, polluted planet and "lunatic asylum of the universe," as Voltaire called it back in the eighteenth century.

D.M.

New York, N.Y.

Sister in prison

Hello from a sister in Washington Prison for Women! May I please have a free subscription to your beautiful paper? I'm in Maximum Security; I have been for six months now.

A friend of mine in here receives your paper and has shared hers with me for some time now and I think it's outtasite!

Also, could you tell me any places we could write for any free buttons, posters, etc., as we are without funds in here and would appreciate getting these items for our rooms.

Your sister in struggle,

L.C.

Purdy Prison for Women
Gig Harbor, Wash.

Democrats and gay people

Re: Letter to the editor from Steve Beren in the Dec. 10, 1971, issue of *The Militant*.

Mr. Beren reported that he had called Senator George McGovern's office to ask for his views on gay rights. Mr. Beren felt that Senator McGovern's aide did not give a satisfactory answer and therefore we must support the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

Before I go on, I must admit that I am undecided about whom I will vote for in 1972. I just want certain facts to be known.

In a letter to Julie Lee of the New Jersey Daughters of Bilitis, McGovern wrote that he believes in "the rights and freedoms of the individual. This applies to all individuals—homosexuals, . . . women, Blacks, Indians." This letter was reported in the *Advocate*, a gay national newspaper, Oct. 27, 1971.

Also, Senator Birch Bayh told a Buffalo gay delegation in September that the 1972 Democratic convention

should consider gay rights (*Advocate*, Oct. 13, 1971). Eugene McCarthy said that an appeals court job ruling against gay activist Michael McConnell in Minnesota is wrong (*Advocate*, Nov. 24, 1971). Senator Kennedy said that if elected president he would be willing to issue an executive order to insure the basic rights of gays (*Advocate*, Dec. 8, 1971).

So Democratic leaders are speaking on gay issues. You may believe that these are token statements, but nonetheless they are speaking.

Gary Miller

San Francisco, Calif.

In reply

Let's take a look at some of the other statements made by the candidates Gary Miller refers to.

McCarthy qualifies his support on gay job rights: "it depends on what rights you're talking about . . . there might be a security risk with some jobs." (*Advocate*, Nov. 24)

In Buffalo, Bayh "termed gay rights a very 'emotional' issue" and "admitted that he himself did not know 'the pros and cons' of homosexual rights." (*Advocate*, Oct. 13)

Although supporting an executive order "if necessary," when asked about Intro 475 (a bill that would ban discrimination against gay people in housing and employment in New York City), "Kennedy felt he could not state his opinion" and "deferred comments on other homosexual rights issues." (*Advocate*, Dec. 8)

Despite his abstract statement of support for the rights of "all individuals," McGovern has never done anything concrete for gay liberation, such as introducing gay rights legislation into the Senate or endorsing a gay liberation demonstration.

McGovern and other liberal politicians, seeing the independent gay liberation movement as a threat to the status quo, are now making token statements in an attempt to direct the power and activism of the movement away from independent struggle and into the Democratic Party.

The SWP unconditionally supports the gay liberation movement in the struggle for full rights for gays. Through its election campaigns and through the *Militant* and *ISR*, the SWP publicizes and builds support for demonstrations, gay rights legislation, defense cases, struggles against police brutality, gay contingents in antiwar and women's liberation demonstrations, etc.

Steve Beren

New York, N.Y.

Indispensable

I am writing this letter as a reader of *The Militant* rather than as a staff member. The recent months have been the first time that I have been a distance away from where the paper is published and this has given me an opportunity to more fully appreciate what an invaluable role it plays in providing essential news and analysis.

I was particularly impressed in this regard by the coverage of the India-Pakistan war and the Bangladesh independence movement. If I had had to rely solely on the local press for an understanding of this major de-

The Great Society

velopment I think I would have found myself a good way off base.

The *Los Angeles Times* is, in terms of the capitalist media, much better than average and provided extensive coverage of the India-Pakistan war, with lengthy reports from its own correspondents in the area.

Yet from reading those reports I got no real conception of the actual role and political weight of the Bangladesh independence movement. The conflict between the reactionary Pakistani and Indian regimes seemed decisive and there was little to indicate the key role of the independence movement in Bangladesh.

It was only on the basis of the information *The Militant* pieced together from international news sources, coupled with the excellent background and analytical articles, that the situation there came into perspective. It underlined for me how indispensable our paper really is.

Harry Ring
Los Angeles, Calif.

Campaign idea

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party, and others may want to follow up on this idea for building the SWP election campaign.

Yesterday I wrote three letters to the national networks: 1) American Broadcasting Co., 1330 Avenue of the Americas, N. Y., N. Y. 10020; 2) CBS News, 2020 M St. N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036; and 3) National Broadcasting Co., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, N. Y., N. Y. 10020. I told them how and where to contact the SWP campaign office to make arrangements for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley to be interviewed on "Issues and Answers," "Face the Nation," and "Meet the Press" (in accordance with Federal Communications Commission regulations).

I also pointed out to the networks that I was not satisfied with their lack of news coverage on the SWP election campaign. If I knew the addresses of the other networks, I would have written them also.

Kathryn Murphey
Weatherford, Texas

[The SWP 1972 campaign headquarters is at 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone: (212) 260-4150.]

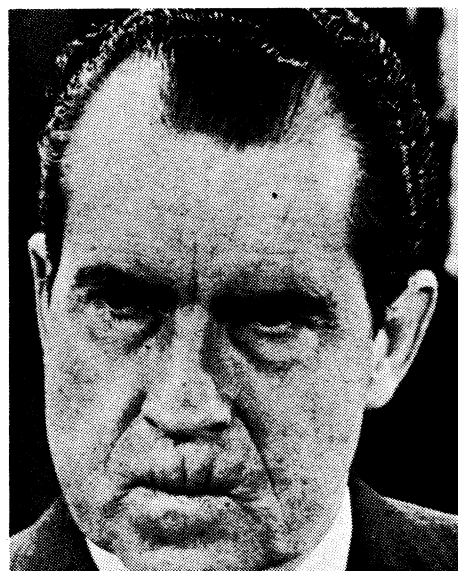
The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Relative on the force?—A Hong Kong toy manufacturer, who apparently keeps a finger on the American pulse, sent over a shipment of toy sets containing a plastic gun, hand grenade and knife. The name of the game was "Shoot the Cops." While the sets did not violate any law, the FDA reports, the importer voluntarily rejected them.

Hard times in the desert—Visitors to Las Vegas with the impression that money flows into the casino coffers like water may be victims of a mirage. The Las Vegas area is so impoverished that the county welfare office has been shut down. However, with an apparent concern that visitors not be offended by unseemly clutter, the county will continue to finance the burial of local indigents.

Now if he mixed the two together—Charles Hall, the furniture designer who came up with the water bed, says he really was in search of a completely new chair. Before stumbling on the water bed, he explains, "I built a chair full of cooking starch. I got about 300 pounds of starch and mixed it with some styrene balls for buoyancy. . . . It felt real good when

you first sat on it, but you'd start sinking after ten minutes and pretty soon you were up to your elbows in chair."



Esthetics dep't—It seemed reasonable when artist Andrew Wyeth said he'd been selected to do the official portrait of the president. The Nixons had previously organized a one-man show for him. He in turn had waxed enthusiastic about Pat Nixon's beauty and bone structure, and said of

the president: "He's a very handsome man . . . a remarkable looking person." Maybe the White House denial that Wyeth had been chosen was prompted by an AP appraisal of him as "one of America's foremost realist painters."

Maybe if they sold people by the pound . . . A manual issued by the Wheat Flour Institute lists the ingredients of the wheat residue that goes into animal feed after the white flour has been milled for human consumption. According to one scientist, the listing confirms that pigs get much more of the vital nutrients in the whole wheat grain than people get in white flour.

Uncorked wisdom—In a *Los Angeles Times* pitch on the merits of wine for gift-giving, author Nathan Chroman soberly advises that sauternes "are most likely to please a feminine palate." Red wines, he further assures, "always are a favorite with men." He also suggests that wine tastes better poured from a large bottle. And, he might have added, as you get closer to the bottom, lucidity increases.

— HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

LEGAL FIGHTS AGAINST ANTI-ABORTION LAWS—The Vermont Supreme Court declared the state abortion law invalid on Jan. 14, preventing the state from prosecuting doctors who perform abortions. Since the court did not also declare the law unconstitutional, it is now up to the state legislature to either amend the present law, repeal it, or replace it with a new statute.

The Vermont decision is the latest in a series of legal victories that have overturned sections of several state anti-abortion laws. Deepening sentiment for the legalization of abortion and the growth of the abortion law repeal movement have played the major role in forcing the courts to knock out some of these reactionary state laws.

These victories coincide, however, with the stepped-up attack on women's right to abortion by anti-abortion groups, state legislatures, and the Catholic Church, who are making bigger efforts than ever before to roll back the gains won thus far by women. A case in point is the injunction issued Jan. 5 by the Supreme Court of Queens County against the performance of abortions in New York municipal hospitals. Pending the outcome of an appeal of this ruling, abortions are still taking place.

A lower court in Alachua County, Florida, declared two sections of the state's abortion law unconstitutional on Dec. 10, 1971. The decision resulted from the case of Ron Sachs, editor of *The Florida Alligator*, the University of Florida student newspaper. Sachs was arrested Oct. 6 for distributing a list of abortion referral agencies. The court struck down both the section prohibiting abortions except where the woman's health is in danger, and the section outlawing the publication of information on abortion.

According to the Dec. 11, 1971, *Tampa Tribune*, the ruling stated that the section prohibiting abortion "violated constitutional rights and invaded the privacy of women involved in abortions." The court failed to rule on another section of the state law, Chapter 782, which makes "illegal abortion" homicide. This is the section that was used to convict Shirley Wheeler of manslaughter on Oct. 15, 1971.

Although the ruling applies only to Alachua County and not to the whole state, it represents an important precedent for the struggle to repeal Florida's reactionary laws on abortion. In particular, the decision could have bearing in the appeal now in progress by Shirley Wheeler.

A similar development around another student paper has occurred in Virginia. Students at George Mason College went to court after the school administration threatened to withhold funds from the campus paper because it had printed an abortion-counseling ad. Virginia has a state law prohibiting the publication of information on how to obtain abortions.

On Nov. 22, 1971, a federal judge who was hearing the case stated he would "not hesitate" to prevent Virginia from enforcing its law, claiming that the law violated university students' rights of free speech and freedom of the press.

The appeal of a University of Virginia student editor, who was recently convicted under the statute, is currently being heard in the Virginia Supreme Court.

In California, the state Supreme Court is expected to make a decision soon on two contradictory appeals of lower court rulings on the state's 1967 abortion law. The 1967 law permits abortions only if the woman declares herself mentally unfit or is the victim of rape or incest. One appeal is of a San Francisco lower court decision that all sections of the state law are unconstitutional except the provisions that abortions must be performed by a doctor in a hospital before the twentieth week of pregnancy. The second is an appeal of a Los Angeles lower court decision that upheld the 1967 law.

There are also federal laws aimed at prohibiting abortions. Some of these statutes, deriving from the old "Comstock" laws, make it illegal to mail, import or transport across state lines or to foreign countries abortion-inducing drugs and devices, or information on obtaining abortions. Federal laws also prohibit mailing unsolicited contraceptives or ads for contraceptives, except to specified health professions. There is also a section of Title X of the Public Health Service Act that makes it illegal to use funds allocated under the Title for family planning services "in programs where abortion is a method of family planning."

Further federal restrictions include the edict handed down by Nixon in April 1971 that requires military hospitals to follow restrictions contained in state abortion laws and the abortion law in the District of Columbia, which allows abortions only where the life, or physical or mental health of the woman is endangered.

Part of the national campaign to repeal all anti-abortion laws is to overturn these federal regulations. At the July 1971 conference where the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) was founded, participants decided to investigate federal anti-abortion laws to determine what action could be taken to remove them.

The existence of these laws establishes the fact that the U.S. government does take a position on the question of abortion. It is therefore within federal powers to take measures that would assure the right to an abortion for every woman in this country, either through legislative action or a constitutional amendment.

Fighting the anti-abortion laws on the legal front will be one of the focuses of the national conference of WONAAC, scheduled for Boston University, Boston, Mass., Feb. 11-13.

— CINDY JAQUITH

Pan-Africanists and the '72 elections: A reply to 'Black News'

By PAUL BOUTELLE
and DERRICK MORRISON

The new interest in Pan-Africanism in the U. S. is a significant development reflecting a deepening of Black people's identity with their African ancestry and roots. Black power conferences have given way to congresses of "African people." And one of the preoccupations of many Pan-Africanists is how to develop the necessary political organization to establish Black control of the Black community.

Unlike many Black activists of a few years ago, a number of Pan-Africanists have no hang-ups about participating in elections. They do not dismiss the electoral process as "irrelevant" or "meaningless." In fact, some say they are in favor of building a Black political party in opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties. However, mapping a strategy for building an independent Black party is a more difficult question. We want to assess one such experience.

The experience was previously dealt with in the July 30 *Militant*, in an article by Derrick Morrison entitled "No gains at Brooklyn Black Convention." The convention was held July 3-5 at a school in Brooklyn.

The organizers of the affair were grouped principally around *Black News*, a Pan-Africanist publication whose offices are located at The East, an African-American cultural and educational center.

The reason we return to an analysis of this convention is an article appearing in the Sept. 10 *Black News* attacking the *Militant's* coverage of the convention and the participation of revolutionary socialists in the meeting. Entitled "Negro Leftist Flunkies,"

it is unsigned but apparently represents the views of the editors of *Black News*.

Failing to clearly address the political questions involved, the editors fling around charges of "espionage," "Frankenstein monsters," "political robots," and "white trash."

For instance, they write, "Morrison stated in his effusion that at the inaugural convention of the African People's Nationalist Party [political party formed out of the convention] no progress had been made from the convention of 7th November [1970]. He argued that the organizers had no plan, program, or strategy to offer the convention. The normal response to criticisms emanating from persons such as Morrison would be to enquire of him why he conspicuously failed to make a contribution at the said convention. . . . This leads one to ask what function Morrison had at the July convention. Was he on a mission of espionage for the benefit of his white collaborators?"

Espionage? Were the editors totally blind or oblivious to what was going on? We think not. Morrison, in broad daylight, registered at the convention as a representative of the Socialist Workers Party. And again, in broad daylight, he sold *The Militant* and sat behind an SWP literature table set up at the convention. This table, approved by the convention organizers, did a brisk business in the sale of revolutionary literature.

Of Boutelle they write, "To listen to Paul Boutelle is to hear a dreary political sales pitch of magic formulas unrelated to the dynamics of day-to-day living and experiences of black people."

We didn't know Boutelle was so "dreary." If the editors thought that, then why was Boutelle invited to give not just an address, but the keynote address no less, at the first Black political convention held out at The East on Nov. 7, 1970? And if Boutelle is "unrelated to the dynamics" of today, why was he asked to be on the steering committee to set up a Black political party after this initial convention?

First convention

In the Nov. 20, 1970, issue of *Black News*, Big Black, author of the column "Around Our Way," offered this estimate of Boutelle and the Nov. 7 convention: "Paul Boutelle, the keynote speaker, clearly outlined the necessity of a black political party at this time in our history. Boutelle noted the new party must identify itself with a new system and not become an accomplice of the existing racist and exploitative political machines. Paul stated that our people must develop an ideology forged out of struggle. He also emphasized that the party must be broad enough to encompass the many religious, spiritual and ideological groupings of Black people."

Big Black goes on to state, "Since Brother Boutelle is a socialist and has often run for public office on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, many of our people in the audience seemed ready to pounce on the brother and force him to defend socialism and/or the Socialist Workers Party. But this was not the issue or the question. We were not assembled to argue the merits of capitalism and socialism but to further the ends of our people, and no amount of arguing and rhetoric will solve the problem."

So Big Black understood that a broad array of forces had to be gathered, excluding no one, including socialists, who wanted to build a Black party.

And in the Nov. 3, 1970, *Black News*, Big Black motivated the first convention by writing, "We are in a sorry condition, black people are killed day after day like flies by a variety of evils, cops, dope, substandard housing, contaminated food and a host of other plagues. To add insult to injury, black people are without representation at any level; it is true there are Negroes whom black people have elected, but they are impotent black cogs in a white political machine bent on getting the maximum amount of spoils from the system."

"It is because of these events that this meeting (preliminary to convention) issues a call for a convention of all black people to form a new political party made up of black people and only black people. This party will not collaborate with any white group, be it Republican or Democratic party; nor will this party seek or accept money of any kind from contributors; this party will draw all of its strength from black people and will have no obligation to segments of the community other than black people."

So what happened between the first convention of Nov. 7 and the second convention of July 3-5?

Discussions with Baraka

As the first affair, in which 300 people participated, drew to a close,

a steering committee was set up. It dealt mainly with various organizational plans for the structure of the future party. Unfortunately, suggestions for programs of action made at the convention and later were pigeon holed until a structure could be finalized.

During the spring of 1971, the steering committee entered into discussions with Imamu Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones) of the Committee For a Unified Newark.

Through these discussions, it became readily apparent that Baraka was not about the business of organizing an independent Black political party. Baraka counseled "flexibility" toward the Democratic Party and possible political action within it.

This line of accommodation to the Democratic Party was passively accepted by the overwhelming majority of the steering committee. The only opposition raised to it was by Boutelle. In reply, Baraka resorted to red-baiting, saying that since principled opposition to the Democratic Party was the line of the Socialist Workers Party, this line should thus be rejected.

Such reasoning only revealed the shallowness of Baraka's position. Why didn't he just come out and say he disagreed with Brother Malcolm X's intractable and unequivocal opposition to the Democratic Party and the two-party setup? Why didn't he simply state that he was now entering the political camp of Muskie, McGovern, Kennedy, and Humphrey, not to speak of Wallace, Maddox, Stennis, and Daley?

The acceptance of Baraka's line by the vast majority of the steering committee precipitously diminished expectations for the July convention.

In the course of that convention, Baraka presented a position paper entitled "Strategy and Tactics of a Pan-African Nationalist Party." The paper was adopted and printed in the Sept. 10 issue of *Black News*.

Although the paper goes on at length about an "independent African Nationalist Party," nowhere does it describe how such a party is being built in Newark. In fact, the only concrete prescription for political action presented is that of running in the Democratic Party—not as regular Democrats but as "African Nationalist Democrats."

To illuminate this course of action, Baraka mentions the unsuccessful campaign of John Cashin for governor of Alabama in 1970 as the model to emulate. Cashin headed a slate of 162 Blacks seeking office on the local level. All of the candidates belonged to the National Democratic Party of Alabama (NDPA), a faction of the state Democratic Party.

It is to this class-collaborationist strategy for gaining power and representation that Baraka attaches himself. And the endorsement of it by the editors of *Black News* turns the African People's Nationalist Party, not into a conduit for Black people out of the Democratic Party, but into an instrument for channeling nationalist militants back into that party.

The editors of *Black News* have attempted to cover this political retreat by a crude, red-baiting attack on Black socialists who support the construction of an independent Black political party.



Imamu Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones)

**The Case for
an Independent Black Party**
with new introduction by Paul Boutelle

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Quebec labor takes class-struggle stand

By TONY THOMAS

"The QFL [Québec Federation of Labor] proclaims its support to the principle of a Québec having the complete right to self-determination including the right to proclaim its sovereignty, provided it is in accordance with the needs and aspirations of the laboring classes."

"The QFL reaffirms its position in favor of French as the official language on Québec territory."

"The QFL must work to establish a socialist and democratic society. This can only be achieved through struggle and this struggle must be led on the political and trade-union planes at one and the same time."

"The economic and political system in which we live is directed toward overwhelming us. We have no choice but to destroy it, in order not to be destroyed."

These are not statements by Québécois revolutionary socialists, student radicals, Québécois "separatists," or a radical trade-union caucus. The first two are quotations from resolutions adopted at the Nov. 30-Dec. 3 biennial convention of the Québec Federation of Labor. The third is from a speech by QFL President Louis Laberge to the convention's delegates and the fourth is from "Manifesto for a New Strategy," a document submitted by the QFL leadership for discussion at the convention and in union locals.

With 235,000 members, the QFL is Québec's largest union confederation and is affiliated to the Canadian Labor Confederation and the AFL-CIO.

These class-struggle positions reflect the growing radicalization of Québec workers, which reached its sharpest point in the mass actions a few months ago in support of *La Presse* newspaper workers in Montréal.

La Presse workers have demanded control over the production of the newspaper and attacked attempts by the owners to fire workers and completely close the paper down. The strike has been solid for more than three months and has won broad support in the labor movement.

After a demonstration of 15,000 in support of *La Presse* workers was brutally attacked by the Montréal police on Oct. 29, sentiment for a gen-



Rally for French Quebec in Montreal Oct. 16, 1971.

Photo by Jeff White/Labor Challenge

eral strike grew in the Québec labor movement. At a meeting of over 300 delegates to the Montréal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU)—led by Michel Chartrand, who was a victim of the 1970 War Measures Act—a majority voted for a one-hour general strike, according to the Nov. 22 *Labor Challenge*, a Canadian socialist biweekly. The Dec. 20 *Labor Challenge* reports that a then uncompleted poll found 90 percent of the Montréal region membership in favor of a general strike.

Another indication of the rising class consciousness of Québécois workers is the development of more united action between the different trade-union federations in Québec. The QFL, the CNTU and the Québec Teachers' Union, all of which had sharp rivalries throughout the 1960s, formed a common front to defend *La Presse* strikers—a front that has been extended to other labor activities.

One of the most significant aspects of the growth of class consciousness among the Québécois workers is the role of Québécois nationalism. Massive struggles in defense of the French language, often

initiated by students, have taken place in the past few years. These nationalist struggles have helped to increase the consciousness of the Québécois workers as a class exploited by the capitalist rulers. At the same time, Québécois workers are becoming the most ardent supporters of Québécois nationalism. The role the CNTU has played as a key part of the nationalist struggle of Québec and the recent steps by the QFL convention to take a greater role in the struggle are reflections of this.

The QFL registered its support to Québec's demand for the right to self-determination and the demand for a unilingual, French-speaking Québec. Formerly, the position of the QFL had been to condemn Québécois "separatism." At the recent convention, the QFL overwhelmingly rejected a resolution condemning "separatism." Even the delegates who sponsored the resolution did not speak for it.

The rising Québec labor radicalization has also exposed the Parti Québécois—the nationalist-capitalist party that has enjoyed broad support among the Québec masses. The procapitalist leadership

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By Any Means Necessary

CLOSE TO 15,000 BLACK MINERS ON STRIKE IN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA. The strike began in mid-December when several thousand Blacks, the majority belonging to the Ovambo tribe, staged a walk-out in Windhoek—the capital from which the South African government administers the territory of South-West Africa. This action sparked a walkout by 4,000 Ovambos at the biggest copper mine in the territory, which is operated by the American-owned Tsumeb Corporation. From there the strike spread out over South-West Africa, halting and crippling production at its copper and nickel mines.

The Blacks are protesting the contract-labor system, which in effect amounts to a kind of indentured servitude. Apartheid relegates the Ovambos—who constitute half of the 749,000 people of the territory—to a small area in the north bordering Angola. Ovamboland, as it is called, is one of 11 "Bantustans" or "homelands" in South-West Africa created for the specific occupation by the Blacks.

"To work," writes Frederic Hunter in the Jan. 11 *Christian Science Monitor*, "a man must take a labor contract at a wage specified by the recruiting organization, which represents employers. A man cannot sell his labor on an open market. He cannot in fact leave his 'homeland' without a contract. Neither may he ordinarily return home until the contract expires."

The contract usually runs from one to one and one-half years. And wages are even lower than those of Black miners in South Africa proper, where white miners make 20 times the wages of the Black.

The workers are housed in barrack-like compounds. There is no chance for advancement because the job they are assigned is the job they work for the duration of the contract.

The significance of the walkout is that strikes are illegal and unions are outlawed according to South African law. The strike's massive character and the peculiar status of South-West Africa has thwarted the use of force.

South-West Africa, a former colony of Germany, was administered by South Africa on a League of Nations mandate after World War I. In 1966 the United Nations terminated the mandate, and just last June the International Court of Justice ruled that South Africa was illegally occupying the territory.

Despite these decisions, South Africa continues on its way. But since it does not want the territory to become a thorn in its international relations, it is trying to negotiate the strike away. So to this end, talks are being held with the Ovambo Executive Council, amounting in reality to the puppeteer conversing with the puppet. Formal discussions between the council and the government on the contract-labor system have been scheduled for Jan. 18, outside of Ovamboland.

Because the workers were granted their request to return to Ovamboland after the walkout, the council is experiencing some problems, which prompted the South African government on Jan. 12 to airlift police from Pretoria to Ondangua, the capital of Ovamboland.

According to Paul Dold in the Jan. 13 *Monitor*, "The strikers have formed a committee of 24, drawn from all the tribal areas, which has rejected the contract labor system as slavery. Pamphlets are circulating in the homeland demanding better wages for contract workers, permission for workers to have free choice of jobs, and to be able to take their families along when they travel south to work for 18 months outside Ovamboland."

While the council has made efforts to meet with the strikers, it is also trying to reopen the recruiting office. Thus, not much can be expected from the Jan. 18 talks.

The strike represents the most impressive action in a decade undertaken by the South African masses, revealing just the tip of an iceberg of discontent.

ZULU LEADER REFUSES ALLEGIANCE TO SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. On Jan. 12 Chief Gatsha Buthelezi led members of the interim Bantustan government of Zululand in deleting all references to allegiance to the South African government in the oath being written for a projected Zulu legislature.

The Zulus, numbering four million, are the largest ethnic group of South Africa's 15 million Blacks. Under the Group Areas Act the Blacks are being segregated along tribal lines into areas called Bantustans, or Black reserves. The Zulu Bantustan is divided geographically.

The government is setting up Bantustan legislatures with the purported aim of granting these areas independence at some point in the future. The scheme is totally unreal because the 15 million Blacks are being jammed onto one-eighth of the South African land mass, leaving the other seven-eighths to three million whites.

Given the repressive nature of the regime, Black discontent is finding expression—ever dimly though—through these Bantustan "governments." Chief Buthelezi said he disagreed with laws requiring Blacks to carry pass books, and laws designating jobs for whites or Blacks, according to the Jan. 13 *New York Times*. However, the chief and the interim government agreed to include allegiance to the South African president in the oath.

RUMBLINGS IN RHODESIA. According to the Jan. 14 *New York Times*, one Black was killed and nine wounded Jan. 13 "in a disturbance at the asbestos mining town of Shabani, 311 miles southwest of Salisbury" (the capital). It quoted the Information Department of the government, which said there had been "a number of incidents involving intimidation and riotous behavior which have necessitated police intervention" since Dec. 19, 1971.

— DERRICK MORRISON

Gov't threatens to break longshore strike

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 17—Within half an hour after negotiations between the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the shipowners were broken off today, ILWU pickets once again closed down the waterfront here.

The Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), representing the shipping interests, remained arrogant and unyielding, knowing that the federal government is in its corner. The government's man, J. Curtis Counts, director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, attended all negotiation sessions, playing the hard cop

tainer cargo should be used by the union. Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU, explained that another disputed question was retroactive pay beginning Nov. 14 and covering the period when longshoremen were forced to work under a Taft-Hartley injunction at their prestrike wage scale. In addition, the ILWU is demanding that all classifications of dock work, including the most skilled, be dispatched through the union hiring hall on a rotation basis. This has been a traditional practice since 1934, but in recent years the employers have tried to institute the "steady man" system for some jobs, a vari-

ation of cargo handling, which has greatly increased productivity and cut the work force in half over the past 10 years. Now that containerized cargo has been standardized and the mechanized systems established, the employers are seeking to grab all the advantages for their own profits and exclude the longshoremen from their previously agreed-upon share in the labor-saving methods.

Just before the final negotiation session Counts told the press that if the longshoremen walked out again, the Nixon administration would immediately ask Congress to pass a law that would "either settle the terms of the contract, or establish a mechanism for handling those terms." This was taken by ILWU members to signify that the PMA had decided to break off negotiations.

All evidence points to preparations by the shipowners for another extended strike. Virtually all cargo has been cleared from the piers. (As one longshoreman put it, you can fire a cannon through any pier without touching a pound of cargo.)

Ships have been diverted to ports in Canada, Mexico, or the East Coast, or remain idle in the harbors.

It appears that the union is in for another bitter struggle against powerful opponents. Even after 100 days on the picket line from July to October, an 80-day Taft-Hartley injunction that expired Christmas day, plus a 22-day contract extension, the morale of the ranks remains high.

The weekly *Bulletin* of ILWU Local 10 (San Francisco), in its Jan. 14 issue, states: "January 17, 8:00 a.m. (short of a miracle) will see us back on the picket line, our strike apparatus going full blast. Based on our past experience we expect to do it much more professionally and effectively. We must if we are going to win this upcoming battle."

"As everyone knows, we were hurting the employers to such an extent during our 100-day strike that they got Nixon to institute the Taft-Hartley injunction. We hurt them even though our strike was not as tight as it might have been, and as tight as we have to

make it this trip. Hawaii may be out with us this time, which gives us the basis to call on British Columbia and the East Coast not to work any diverted cargo. We did not call upon our friends overseas to refuse to work cargo diverted from the West Coast. When employers begin to hurt, then those who are hurting most are going to begin to squawk and question the strategy of the PMA.

"The entire labor movement in the USA is being attacked. If the proper appeal is made to the unions, they will support those of us who are on the front lines. Of course, appeal has to be made to the rank and file as well as the top union leaders. Right now, Brother [Harry] Bridges is in the East, talking to various unions and their leaders to get support for the ILWU. There is a great power in the labor movement if only it is organized properly. As a matter of fact, large sections of the people not in the unions will support us because of who we are and what we stand for. . . .

"President Nixon might give us the ax and get his transportation bill passed or some other antilabor legislation. But he and his backers also have other problems. His credibility gap is becoming worse. More and more people are demanding honest answers. . . .

"Workers and people generally are discovering that his attempt to control the economy is for the very rich; and his program has not stopped inflation; [it] has increased unemployment and threatens to affect international trade."

At this time, despite strong opposition from all major locals on the West Coast, it appears that the policy of the Coast Negotiating Committee, headed by ILWU International President Harry Bridges, remains as before. That is, to work all military cargo, passenger ships, and wheat, and to allow diverted cargoes to be worked. The demands of the locals for a change in policy are being bureaucratically ignored. But an angry rank and file will find ways of making itself heard.

The following statement was issued Jan. 18 by Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

The Nixon Administration is moving rapidly towards an open strike-breaking role in the West Coast strike by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

J. Curtis Counts, top government representative in the negotiations, repeatedly threatened government action to halt a renewed strike in an attempt to force the union to accept the totally inadequate offer of the Pacific Maritime Association.

But the union refused to capitulate and went back on strike. Now Nixon is calling on Congress to intervene to break the strike.

The Democratic and Republican politicians in Washington have already shown that they stand against labor by their enactment of legislation authorizing federal control of wages under Phase Two.

Under Phase Two, Nixon's Pay Board has already overturned the negotiated contract in the aerospace industry. Phase Two is being used to hold wages down while profits soar and prices continue to rise unchecked.

Whether under cover of Phase Two, Taft-Hartley, or special legislation, federal intervention in the West Coast dock strike is an attack on the entire labor movement, and on labor's right to strike in defense of workers' standard of living and job security.

I urge the entire labor movement to close ranks behind the longshore workers and their right to strike, and to vigorously oppose any further federal intervention in the dock strike.

for the PMA. His principal role, according to union representatives, was to warn the union to settle—that is, accept the PMA's terms—or else the government would settle the dispute.

Edmund Flynn, PMA president, claimed that the only unresolved issue was over how the \$1-a-ton royalty paid by the employers on con-

ation of the old preunion "steady gang" system.

One of the most important issues is the guaranteed annual wage, which would provide payment for 40 hours work every week whether or not work is available. This was previously agreed to in principle by union and management as a condition for mech-

ILA members urged to accept wage offer

By FRANK LOVELL

NEW YORK—The Atlantic Coast wage-scale committee of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA-CIO) announced on Jan. 6 that it would recommend acceptance of an offer from the waterfront employers to raise hourly rates of pay from the present \$4.60 to \$6.10 over three years.

The East Coast dock workers walked off the job Oct. 1 but were ordered back to work Nov. 26 when President Nixon invoked the Taft-Hartley Act. The injunction expires Feb. 14.

The announcement of the new wage offer coincided with the conclusion of several days of meetings here between Harry R. Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (independent), representing West Coast dock workers, and President Thomas W. Gleason of the East Coast ILA. The Jan. 7 *New York Times* reported that both officials had told a Jan. 6 news conference they were "looking for some uniformity in working conditions for longshoremen all over the country."

It was not immediately clear what the conditions of work are to be under terms of the latest offer from the East Coast employers. The wage offer is a 70-cent hourly increase the first year, up from \$4.60 to \$5.30; and 40 cents an hour more for each of

the two remaining years, bringing the total in the third year to \$6.10.

Nothing has been settled on the guaranteed annual wage question. This is important because jobs are at stake. Mechanization of cargo handling has cut the labor force in half during the past ten years and continues to reduce it. The longshore union has tried to protect its members in the port of New York by demanding that no registered longshoreman be laid off and that all who are registered be guaranteed a minimum of 40 hours work a week for 52 weeks of the year. When no work is available, they are paid for the guaranteed annual minimum of 2,080 hours.

The Jan. 10 *Wall Street Journal* reported a management source as saying that the employers gained some contract improvements, that the union made no gains on vacations or holidays, and that the union demand for overtime after six hours, as on the West Coast, was not granted.

Top leaders of the longshore union on both coasts concede that whatever contracts they eventually reach with the employers will be subject to approval by the government Pay Board in Washington. The waterfront employers are stipulating that any agreement they sign must be approved by the Pay Board before becoming final and binding.

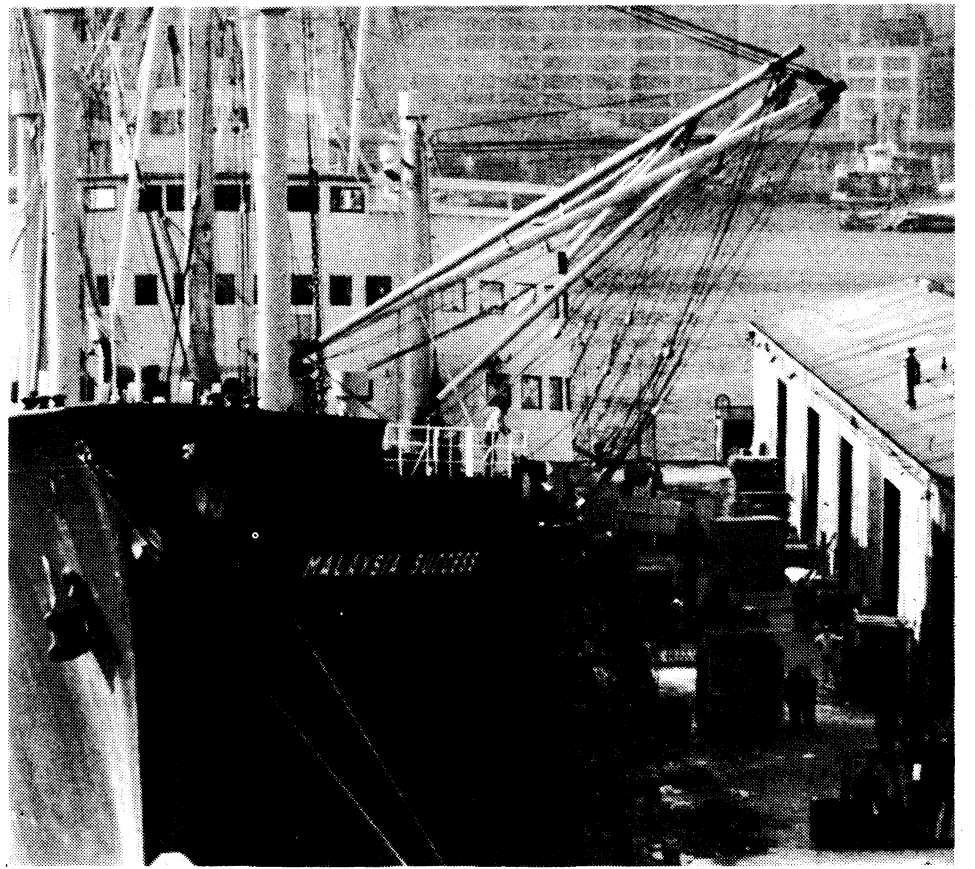


Photo by Howard Petrick

Scene at Brooklyn, N.Y., docks. "Mechanization of cargo handling has cut the labor force in half during the past 10 years and continues to reduce it."

300 at Constance Weissman memorial

By CAROLINE LUND

NEW YORK—More than 300 people, including members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance along with friends and relatives of Constance Weissman, gathered here Jan. 18 to honor her life. Connie Weissman died Jan. 8 at the age of 63, after being an active member of the Socialist Workers Party for almost 30 years.

The main speaker at the memorial meeting was George Weissman, Connie's husband, comrade, and companion for nearly 29 years. George Weissman gave an overview of Connie's life—her childhood and first marriage as part of the wealthy and socially prominent circles of her family, and the devotion of the second half of her life to building the Socialist Workers Party and the struggle against social injustice.

One revealing anecdote George Weissman described was Connie's difficulty in breaking with the Catholic religion she was brought up to accept. Although she had come to agree with most of the arguments against religion, she felt that to give up the ideas she had lived by and defended for so long, just because she couldn't answer all the arguments, would be weak and cowardly. She had to understand a whole new view before she would give up her old convictions.

She finally did reject religion and become a Marxist. For the rest of her life she remained devoted to these ideas with the same tenacity—refusing to desert her convictions even at times when the SWP was isolated from any mass movements and appeared small and ineffective.

George described Connie's "keen sense of injustice, her purity of character, her high intellectual standards, and her workman-like habits."

Another speaker was Carolyn Kerry, who worked with Connie as a comrade and friend since 1943, when Connie first became active in the Civil Rights Defense Committee, not as a socialist but as a person sincerely committed to the defense of civil liberties. The CRDC was formed to defend 18 SWP leaders who were imprisoned under the Smith "Gag" Act for supposedly attempting to violently overthrow the government.

Karolyn Kerry described their work together in the CRDC: "There was no task too tedious for Connie—from licking postage stamps to cleaning up after a reception; from composing letters for mailings to unions, to answering individual correspondence; from the meticulous attention to the million details of organizing public meetings held in behalf of the defendants, to the arduous work involved in rummage sales and bazaars we held to raise funds for their families."

Connie Weissman's unwavering devotion to the revolutionary movement was also noted in the remarks made by Elizabeth Stone, a member of the political committee of the SWP. "Connie was one of those very unusual individuals who was on the frontlines throughout all the periods of isolation and the witch-hunt—who maintained a revolutionary perspective regardless of the difficulties and regardless of how much the immediate objective situation seemed to speak against this perspective."

Professor Timothy Harding of California State College in Los Angeles, Connie's son, spoke of the impact his mother's character had on his own life, and said that it was the people and the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party that had given Connie's life its great meaning. He also reminded the audience of Connie's sense of humor and the fact that she could laugh at herself.

Chairman of the meeting, SWP political committee member Barry Shepard, and Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for vice-president in 1968, read some of the many messages that were sent to the meeting from all over the United States and from many other countries.

There were messages from branches of the SWP and from individual SWP members who had known and worked with Connie. In addition there were messages from author Maxwell Geismar; Black liberation fighter William Worthy; leaders of the Fourth International, including Ernest Mandel, Gisela Mandel, Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pi-lan; Ross Dowson on behalf of the Canadian revolutionary-socialist movement; and many others.

N.Y. phone workers stage strike rallies

NEW YORK—The sharp contrast between the way the government treats workers and consumers and the way it treats employers was again demonstrated Jan. 17 when the New York Public Service Commission approved a \$160-million increase in phone rates. This was the second huge increase granted in the past six months, for a total grab by the company of \$350-million. This means that telephone users will pay 29 percent more than they did last July 9.

On July 14 a nationwide telephone strike was called by the Communications Workers of America. It was quickly settled under government pressure, with only slight increases in wages. The unsatisfactory wage pattern, however, was rejected by 38,500 skilled craftsmen in the New York phone system. They have remained on strike for more than six months.

On Jan. 12 the strikers staged a mass demonstration against the telephone company in the center of New York City. About 1,500 peaceful pickets came to a noontime rally at Governor Rockefeller's office on West 55th

Street. When three were arrested, the angry pickets marched through the crowded streets of Manhattan, snarling blocks of heavy traffic, overturning phone company work trucks and tool trailers, and pasting "scab" stickers on them. At CWA Local 1101 headquarters on 49th Street, Daniel Keenan, local president and also state president of the Communications Workers union, said the action was to "demonstrate our disgust with the New York company's bargaining committee, our disgust with the governor of New York."

Again, on Jan. 15, Local 1101 pickets gathered before dawn in front of the Statler Hilton Hotel, where the New York phone company is housing out-of-state strikebreakers in flagrant violation of an unenforced city ordinance against scab herding. This time the noisy and spirited demonstration lasted half a day and again tied up traffic in the busy midtown between 34th and 42nd streets.

Strike leaders promise to continue and extend these demonstrations until they win.

N.Y. NPAC meeting plans spring action

By JULIE SIMON

NEW YORK—The first New York meeting of the National Peace Action Coalition since the national antiwar convention in December was held here Jan. 13. The meeting was called to get plans for the April 22 antiwar action in New York off the ground. About 50 people attended, including representatives from Neighbors for Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Socialist Workers Party, Village Peace Center, the FDR Reform Democratic Club, Student Mobilization Committee, Concerned Democrats of Yonkers, Young Socialist Alliance, and staff members from the New York Liberal Party and SANE. The meeting was held the night of Nixon's troop withdrawal announcement and the effect the withdrawals would have on the American people was discussed.

Everyone agreed on the need to widely publicize the fact that Nixon is really escalating the war and on the importance of keeping the antiwar movement alive and growing.

The meeting heard a report from Stephanie Coontz, an NPAC coordinator, on her recent trip to Paris, where the Vietnamese indicated support for continued antiwar actions.

The meeting centered on project proposals for the antiwar movement in New York. There was discussion

about the possibility of having a referendum on the ballot in New York on immediate withdrawal. New York State law prohibits such a referendum, and NPAC is exploring the possibility of mounting a legal challenge against this law. Eldon Clingan, New York City councilman, has expressed interest in working with NPAC on this. Clingan, who helped to get Nov. 6 declared Peace Action Day by the New York City Council, is planning to introduce a similar motion for April 22.

The meeting also heard a report from Sam Manuel of the Student Mobilization Committee about plans for the SMC-sponsored National Student Antiwar Conference to be held at Washington Irving High School in New York City Feb. 25-27. SMC is planning a national teach-in, co-hosted by NPAC, for the first night of the conference. There was discussion at the meeting about ways NPAC could help build the teach-in.

Out of the meeting, three subcommittees of New York NPAC were formed—one to investigate the possibilities of a referendum, one to work on the SMC-NPAC rally, and another to begin to organize the April 22 action. This includes getting endorsers, putting out literature, etc. Applications for parade and rally permits have already been made.

Hearings to expose Baton Rouge police

By DANNY LAIRD

BATON ROUGE—In the aftermath of the Jan. 10 police assault on a rally in the Black community in which two Blacks were killed and several wounded, measures are being taken to defend those arrested and expose the actions of the police.

The local chapter of the NAACP has announced that it will convene a community hearing on the shooting. No date has been set.

Murphy Bell, defense counsel for 21-year-old Raymond Eames of Baton Rouge, one of the eight young Blacks charged with the murder of two policemen at the rally, told this reporter that he will try to have the trial moved out of the area. "It's going to be a political trial, and these men could never get a fair trial here," said Bell. Under Louisiana riot laws, those holding a rally are held accountable for anything that happens during the rally.

Because police investigations have

failed to turn up any arms allegedly possessed by those at the rally, Bell was certain the state would be hard pressed to prove the charges of murder. He added that the policemen who were shot "apparently got caught in their own cross fire."

But he conceded that the riot laws would make the case difficult. Two men, one of whom is Emmitt Douglas, NAACP state president, are now appealing their convictions under this law and challenging its constitutionality.

Meanwhile, activity has continued in the Black community. At predominantly white Tera High School, all 120 Black students walked out Jan. 13 when school officials refused to hear their demands. The students are pushing for Black history courses and Black representation in student organizations. Thirty of the students who participated in a peaceful demonstration that followed the walkout were told they could not return to school.

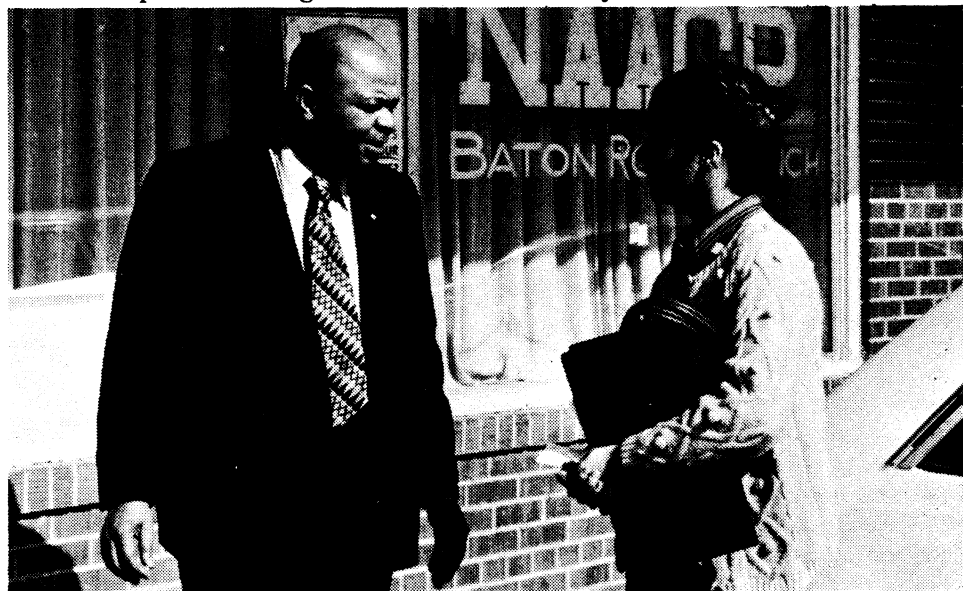


Photo by Ed Weaver

Emmitt Douglas, president of Louisiana NAACP, discussing police attack on Black rally with SWP candidate for governor of Texas, Debby Leonard.

Red-baiting in the wor

By CAROL LIPMAN

If you are an active participant in the women's liberation movement or have followed the coverage of this movement in the women's and radical press, you have certainly noticed the considerable amount of energy and time spent attacking the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) for their role in building this movement.

You might have been a sympathetic reporter who on the eve of the Nov. 20 abortion law repeal demonstra-

tion in a special interview that communists and socialists had infiltrated the local affiliate of WONAAC. She stated to the reporter that "We had always heard about them [the socialists] before, but we never thought we would see them in the flesh."

These are just a few examples of the scores of attacks that have been made against the SWP and YSA. What kind of image do they convey?

SWP and YSA women are devils. They are dominated and controlled by some alien force. In those attacks

woman (usually in the SWP) who knows Roberts Rules. . . .

"5. Decide to 'build' for a mass demonstration.

"7. Set up a coordinating committee with party members and sympathizers.

"8. Write a leaflet that is always characterized by . . . endorsements . . ."

Thus, YSA and SWP members are supposed manipulators because they bring ideas to meetings; a lot of YSA and SWP women are interested in

cussion within the women's movement.

WONAAC was founded upon the conviction that a fight should be directed against the anti-abortion laws—through mass demonstrations, legal action, legislation, education, debates—around the central demand of repealing the laws and fighting for the related demands of repealing the restrictive contraception laws and an end to forced sterilization.

Disagreement with this perspective has been raised along some of the following lines: (1) this struggle should also raise the slogan free abortions on demand; (2) no action campaign of the women's movement should be organized around one issue, particularly the abortion issue, but should raise several or all demands relating to women's oppression; (3) mass demonstrations are a fruitless tactic; (4) any struggle of women to control their own bodies should include the demand of freedom of sexual expression between consenting persons.

Many of those who hold one or more of these positions do not attempt to defend their views on a political basis but resort to red-baiting, innuendos, lies and distortions about the behavior of women in the SWP, YSA and WONAAC whom they disagree with.

One example is an article on the Nov. 20 WONAAC demonstration in Washington, D.C., that appeared in the December 1971 issue of *Off Our Backs*, one of the more influential women's newspapers in the U.S. The article was signed by several staff members of the newspaper.

Three-quarters of the article is devoted to blaming the SWP and YSA for their strong participation in the demonstration. They write about how some women they interviewed were "freaked out" because they "hadn't known that the SWP was involved until then."

They write about all the YSA and SWP literature they saw distributed at the rally, and the fact that many SWP and YSA men marched on the demonstration. They explain that WONAAC is "controlled by the SWP," and also charge the National Peace Action Coalition, which had a literature table at the rally, with being an "SWP-controlled coalition."

Then at the end of the article they finally explain their political objections to the abortion campaign. They state: "The abortion issue cannot stand alone. It is too easy for this country to give women the right to have abortions—just as it has been easy for Nixon to 'bring the boys home' and cool-out the antiwar movement—just as it was easy for women to be allowed to vote. . . ."

"Abortion must be tied in with other women's issues, with alternatives to abortions, which means alternatives to present child-rearing structures. We don't simply need free abortions—we need free prenatal care, free childbirth, and health care treated as a human right, not a privilege."

So it finally comes out. These women politically disagree with the perspective of WONAAC. But rather than trying to convince women of their political objections, they concentrate on trying to appeal to the fear of "socialist manipulation" fostered by this anti-communist society.

This red-baiting is designed to sow distrust and create dissent within WONAAC, which is composed of women from many different backgrounds and political views.

It also attempts to keep women who might agree with the aims of WO-

March 3, 1971

Letters to the Editor

NYU Women's Lib Not YSA Dominated

If you women sense a polarization at this conference, you are not alone. The Women's National Abortion Coalition has been called by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its affiliate, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), including women supposedly representing the Women's Liberation Movement, who in truth represent, first, the SWP and YSA. The Women's Liberation Movement is a political movement, not a social movement.

WUNTRAC
WOMEN UNITED FOR NEEDLESS TROTSKYIST RHETORIC ACTION COALITION
36 W. 22 St., New York, N.Y. 10010

THE PINK SHEET ON THE NEW LEFT
Your Report on Radical Activities from Phillip Abbott Luce

TROTSKYIST ABORTION RALLY FLOPS
Local demonstration held November 20th in Washington, D.C. was organized by the Trotskyite-controlled WONAAC.

SUBVERSION IN THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT: WHAT IS TO BE DONE?
by Martha Shelley

An open letter to my sisters, in the hope that we will

of the Women's Center. It is interesting to note that since last fall, the Women's Center has also withdrawn its support from the N.Y.U. Women's Strike Coalition, a group which, with the support of virtually every other women's organization in the city—including the YSA—has become the foremost builder of the women's movement in New York.

time for women to learn to direct their differences into more channels—when differences of opinion become an or false allegations and vilification, the point is missed. It is only by together, with one at we can achieve the set, both at N.Y.U. re.

Socialist Alliance
It also urged YSA

Examples of red-baiting and discussion of the role of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance from both inside and outside the women's movement.

tions received an anonymous press release claiming to unmask a "massive public deception" around the abortion issue, asserting that the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) "is completely controlled both politically and financially—and always has been—by the Socialist Workers Party."

You might have attended the convention of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in early September where part of the leadership attempted to force through a motion castigating the SWP and the YSA for "dividing and exploiting" the women's movement and using it for its own ends.

You might have attended the founding conference of WONAAC last July 16-18 in New York City, and been accused—by a group of women who walked out of the conference—of being "duped" and led like sheep by the "male-dominated" SWP and YSA.

You may have been informed by the Nov. 1, 1971, issue of *The Spokeswoman*, "an independent monthly newsletter of women's news" published in Chicago, that "many feminists are withholding support [to the abortion campaign] on the basis that WONAAC leadership comes from outside the independent women's movement, specifically from the Socialist Workers Party." (Emphasis added.)

The Nov. 29, 1971, *Pink Sheet on the New Left*, "Your Report on Radical Activities from Phillip Abbott Luce," may have found its way into your mailbox. In this issue, Luce, a professional anticommunist red-baiter, "exposed" both the "ultra-liberal" Ripon Society, a Republican organization, and the "Trotskyite-controlled Women's National Abortion Action Coalition."

Maybe you read the article in the Nov. 16 *Detroit News*, just four days before the Nov. 20 abortion demonstrations, where Lorraine Beebe, a former Republican state senator, declared

that come from within the women's movement, the alien force is men.

They are infiltrators. Communists or socialists supposedly don't just join a movement. They infiltrate it. They come in from the outside. Maybe from another planet.

They are subversive. "Subversion in the Women's Movement: What Is to Be Done?" is the title of an article circulated widely within the women's movement following the nationwide, massive women's demonstrations on Aug. 26, 1970. The author, Martha Shelley, discussed both "subversion" from the right and "subversion" from the left. NOW was the enemy on the right; the SWP, Black Panther Party, Rat, and others were the enemy on the left.

They dupe and manipulate people. When the ideas of socialist women coincide with the desires of large numbers of women, it is only because some mysterious duping process has taken place.

Specific criticisms

Let's look at some of the specific criticisms of the SWP and YSA that have been raised in conjunction with these red-baiting attacks. An undated issue (Vol. 1, No. 4) of *Womankind*, a Detroit women's liberation newspaper, carried an article by the Detroit Women's Liberation Movement that charged the SWP with "making a concerted effort in city after city of the country to manipulate and control the women's liberation movement."

As alleged proof, they present a "list of tactics that have appeared in takeover after attempted takeover," including among others:

"1. Come to a women's liberation meeting with a plan for what should be done.

"2. Pack the meeting with members of the SWP and its 'youth' group the YSA.

"3. Set up a structure with a chair-

building the women's liberation movement and come to meetings; they like orderly meetings and democratic structures; they get broad endorsement for women's actions and programs. What more proof do you need?

All these red-baiting attacks on the SWP and YSA are attempts to discredit revolutionary women by branding them with the epithets that are characteristic of the general anticommunist ideology of the capitalist government of this country. They attempt to reinforce the prejudices taught us throughout our lives about communism and socialism, so as to sow distrust and resentment toward YSA and SWP members within the women's movement.

What is underneath this red-baiting are differences over political perspectives for the women's movement. Every red-baiting attack on the SWP and YSA has come from women who disagree with the SWP's political ideas for the women's movement.

Within the feminist movement there are many analyses of what causes women's oppression, and different programs and perspectives are being put forward on how best to build the movement and how to eliminate this oppression. Political discussion and debate within a movement is one sign that it is alive and developing.

Abortion campaign

The attacks on the YSA and SWP during the past six months have focused on the development of the national campaign for the repeal of all anti-abortion laws and the formation of WONAAC.

The struggle for the right of women to control their own bodies and the specific fight against laws that declare abortion illegal in this country have been a major feature of the second wave of feminism. How to wage the most effective campaign for the control over our own bodies and lives has been the topic of debate and dis-

men's movement

NAAC from participating in the abortion campaign by raising the specter of "domination" by some outside force.

Such red-baiting can only be damaging to the fight against the reactionary abortion laws and the entire struggle for the liberation of women.

McCarthyism

It is the same type of method the government used in the McCarthyite witch-hunt period of the 1950s—a method aimed at framing up radicals fighting for social change in this society. The ultimate goal of the witch-hunting was to destroy all militant struggles of the oppressed.

In general, the new radical movements of the 1960s and the 1970s have refused to go along with the McCarthyite tactics. As the silent generation of the 1950s began to wake up in the early 1960s, one of the first fights was against the remnants of McCarthyism and anticommunism. For example, there were student battles against the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). Students drove HUAC off the campuses of this country through mass struggle, discrediting the attempts to destroy this new radicalization by "exposing" the participation of communists, socialists and other radicals.

Anticommunism is the motivation used by the United States government for the war against the people of Vietnam. Young people were the first to reject this rationale and initiated a powerful movement against U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

Attempts by the government to head off this movement through red-baiting have backfired time and time again. The government has been unable to quash the movement and carry out its full aims of defeating the Vietnamese revolution because the antiwar movement has been based on a number of very important prin-

waged in the name of anticommunism unless the movement itself rejected this ideology within its own ranks?

In a number of important instances the women's movement has also rejected this policy of red-baiting. At the founding conference of WONAAC, a group of women, frustrated because the majority of women there disagreed with their proposals, accused the conference participants of being duped by the YSA and SWP.

The overwhelming majority rejected the tactics of those women, participated in political debate and discussion, and moved forward the following day with a program of united action to win the repeal of abortion laws in this country.

At the national conference of NOW last September, a section of the leadership introduced a resolution condemning the SWP and YSA. A heated and lengthy debate ensued, and the leadership was forced to remove the names of the YSA and SWP from the resolution in order to get it passed.

These rejections of red-baiting by both the WONAAC conference and the NOW convention are strong indications that this form of slander will not become the accepted norm in the women's movement. Women who are serious about fighting their real enemy in this society—the capitalist government and institutions that maintain their oppression—will not allow the methods of our common enemy to be introduced into the debates and disagreements that are a necessary and logical outgrowth of a new movement.

One thread that runs through the attacks on the SWP and YSA by some sections of the women's movement is that they are "male dominated" or "male oriented," and are involved in the women's movement because "they want to build their own organization."

What are the SWP and YSA all about?

tion to begin to rationally reorganize this society.

Not only are socialists against the oppression of women, we are against the oppression of all working people, and of Black people, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asian-Americans and Native Americans. We believe that the independent mobilization of working people, of women, and of the oppressed nationalities will be the force that can rid the world of the monstrous, imperialist power of the United States.

We are active participants in the women's liberation movement because we want to end female oppression. We believe that this struggle against the subjugation of women will be part of the American socialist revolution. And more and more women are joining the YSA and SWP because they agree with this perspective.

There is no contradiction between building a mass feminist movement fighting specific oppression of women, and building the revolutionary-socialist movement that fights against all forms of oppression and the capitalist system, which is at the root of oppression and exploitation.

When the small minority of women who disagreed with WONAAC's abortion campaign walked out of the founding conference, they declared that "The women's liberation movement is walking out of this conference."

The women's liberation movement does not belong to a group of self-proclaimed owners of this movement. Feminism is where women are struggling against their oppression. Feminism is where those who are already conscious are reaching out to and organizing the masses of women who more and more are becoming aware of their oppression.

The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, by beginning to organize the vast sentiment that exists against the abortion laws, and the

Socialist to appeal expulsion from Fla. university

By BILL BOYD

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Jan. 13—In preparation for his appeal of a federal court ruling handed down yesterday, Jack Lieberman, the Young Socialist dismissed from Florida State University for teaching a course on "How to Make a Socialist Revolution in the U.S.," will be making a three-week tour of the state explaining the facts in his case.

Meanwhile, Lieberman has already begun teaching the class on revolution as a guest lecturer at FSU's Center for Participant Education (CPE—a student-led, free-university program). Brett Merkey, who leads the class Lieberman was dismissed for teaching, has invited Lieberman to lecture to all eight sessions of the course this school term.

Lieberman's "How to Make a Revolution" classes have been the focus of controversy since last year when members of the state legislature tried to have it banned from FSU. Last fall FSU President Stanley Marshall arbitrarily overturned the rulings of two student honor courts and dismissed Lieberman for teaching the class—allegedly, for teaching it at the "wrong time."

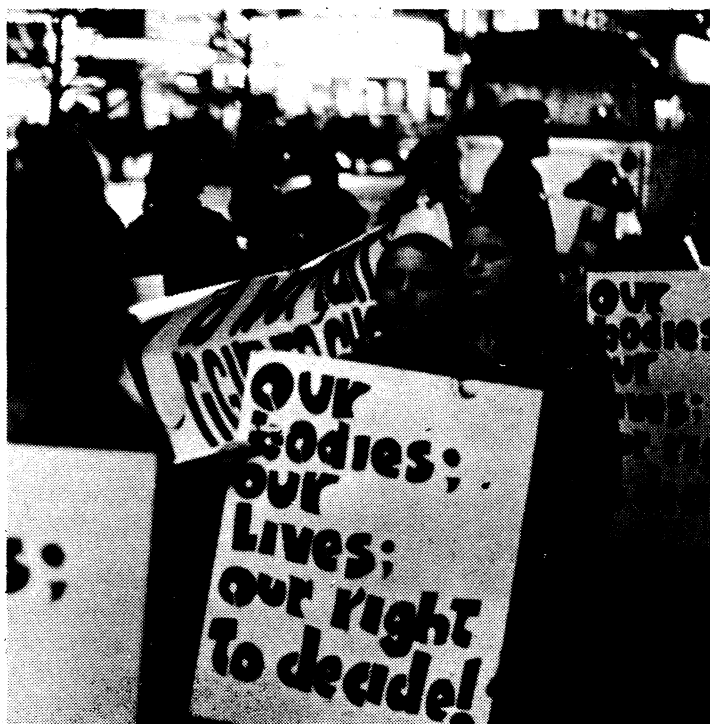
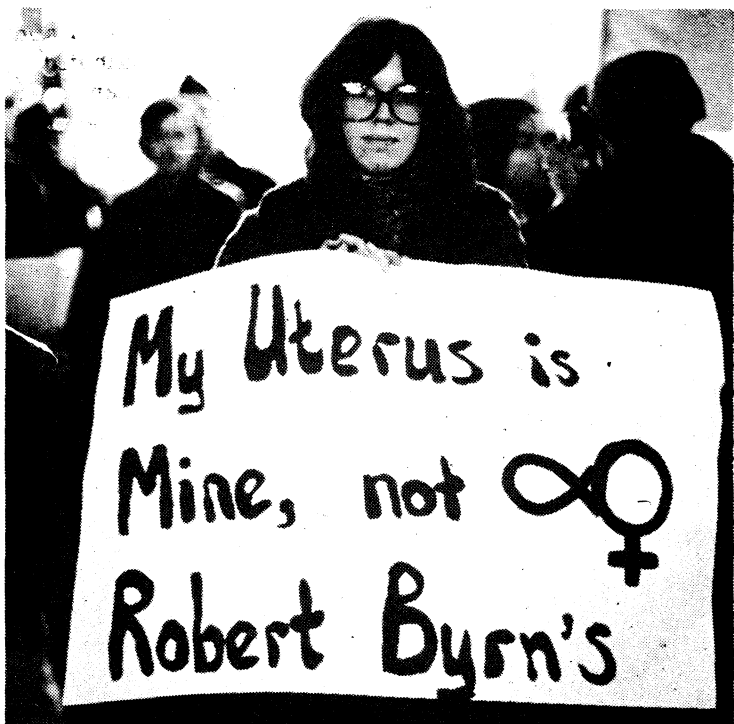
On Jan. 12, federal Judge David K. Middlebrooks upheld Marshall's ruling in a reactionary decision that denies the existence of free speech rights for college students.

According to Middlebrooks' ruling, unless school officials are "unreasonable," they may abridge students' First Amendment rights. His 27-page written order states that "the Courts . . . are not concerned with 'whether such rules are wise or expedient but merely whether they are a reasonable exercise of the power and discretion of the school authorities.'"

Citing the "time-tested rubric of the law that freedom of speech is not an absolute right," Middlebrooks maintains in his ruling that "Students may be severely punished by a school administration under its inherent authority without a prior published rule specifically prohibiting the conduct in question." In other words, the judge is asserting virtually autocratic power for school authorities to rule by sheer whim!

Middlebrooks' decision drives home the intimate connection between Lieberman's case and the rights of all students in Florida and the rest of the country. This identity of interest has been widely recognized by students at FSU, who have repeatedly turned out in large numbers for marches and rallies in defense of Lieberman since the fight began.

For information on the Florida tour or to make financial contributions, write: Committee for Free Speech at FSU, Box 1206, FSU, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.



Photos by Lora Eckert

The New York Women's Abortion Action Coalition demonstrating Jan. 13 in defense of women's right to abortion. The demonstration was called in response to the suit brought by Professor Robert Byrn challenging the constitutionality of the liberal New York abortion law. Byrn's request for an injunction against performance of any abortions in municipal hospitals until his constitutional challenge is settled has still not been granted as of Jan. 18. Nor has a ruling come down on the appeal against the injunction by representatives of New York City, New York State and pregnant women desiring abortions.

ciples, one of the most important being its policy of nonexclusion.

Everyone is welcome in the antiwar movement, regardless of what positions they take on other issues and what organizations they are active in, as long as they are for an end to the war in Vietnam.

This is what makes the antiwar movement strong. How could a movement be built against a war being

The SWP and YSA are revolutionary-socialist organizations that include both women and men, from many nationalities and all class backgrounds, who agree with a program of struggle for creating a socialist society that will end all forms of oppression. People join the SWP and YSA because they believe that the capitalist system is rotten from top to bottom, and that it is going to take a socialist revolu-

desire of women to control their own bodies, is making a deep impact on the struggle for the liberation of women. Members of the SWP and YSA are proud to have been among the 1,000 women who initiated this national abortion campaign six months ago and are confident that this campaign will be a central part of the expanding struggle of women for total liberation.

Peking welcomes Sudanese butchers

By TONY THOMAS

In a series of banquets and meetings during December with a delegation from the Nimeiry regime of Sudan, Chinese Premier Chou En-lai and other officials of the Maoist regime reiterated their reactionary policy of support to the national capitalist regimes in the Sudan and Pakistan.

The Sudanese delegation was led by General Khaled Hassan Abbas, vice-president of Sudan and minister of defense. He represents the same Sudanese regime that murdered thousands of Communists and activists in labor, peasant, student, and women's organizations last July. This regime is also carrying on a war against the non-Arab Blacks in southern Sudan, who are demanding national liberation from the Arab-dominated Khartoum government.

According to the Dec. 22 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, China granted the Sudanese regime roughly \$3.3-million in credit, as well as additional military, technical and economic aid.

Chinese officials, including Chou En-lai, expressed the hope that friendly relations between the two countries would develop "on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence." In return, according to the Dec. 22 *Le Monde*, "the banquets in Peking gave the Sudanese leaders the opportunity to thank China for political support during the insurrection in the month of July and in the struggle against the rebellions in the southern part of the country."

Chou En-lai utilized the occasion to reiterate his support to the Pakistanis in their war not only against

India but against the Bengalis as well. In a speech at a banquet for the Sudanese leaders, Chou stated, "The government and the people of China firmly support the Pakistani government and people in their just struggle" (*Le Monde*, Dec. 17). He praised the Pakistani's part in the Indo-Bengali-Pakistani war as a "heroic fight."

Socialist campaign provides speakers

By JANICE LYNN

Members of the Socialist Workers Party 1972 National Campaign Committee are presently available to fill engagements throughout the country. They are actively campaigning for the SWP's presidential ticket of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, supplementing the national tours of the two candidates, which are beginning this week.

The chairman of the SWP 1972 National Campaign Committee is Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate from Massachusetts in 1970 and author of the popular pamphlet, *How to Make a Revolution in the U. S.* George Novack is serving as treasurer of the committee. Novack is a noted Marxist scholar and author of many books and pamphlets, among them *Empiricism and Its Evolution: A Marxist View* and *Democracy and Revolution*. He is also the editor of an anthology entitled *Existentialism versus Marxism: Conflicting Views on Humanism*.

Other committee members include Evelyn Reed, Marxist anthropologist and author of the book, *Problems of Women's Liberation: A Marxist Approach*; Peter Buch, well-known spokesman on the Middle East and author of *Burning Issues of the Mid-*

East Crisis; Olga Rodriguez, Los Angeles Chicana activist; and Paul Boutele, 1968 vice-presidential candidate and activist in the Black liberation movement.

Also on the committee are Dan Styron, long-time antiwar activist and 1970 SWP candidate for governor of Texas; Clifton DeBerry, 1964 SWP candidate for president and participant in the Black and labor movements since the 1930s; and Mirta Vidal, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance and author of *Chicano Liberation and Revolutionary Youth*.

Appearances by members of the SWP 1972 National Campaign Committee will be coordinated through the national campaign office. Send your requests for speaking engagements to Socialist Workers Party '72 Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003; phone: (212) 260-4150.

Notre Dame Raza students protest

By MIRTA VIDAL

Raza students at the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Ind., are protesting discrimination against Chicanos in the admissions policies of the school.

The *Scholastic Magazine* of this bastion of Anglo elitism reports that "less than 4 percent of the undergraduate student body is either Black, Chicano or American Indian." The administration claims to have made efforts in the last two years to increase the enrollment of "minority ethnic groups." They claim to have an equitable sys-

tem of recruitment in which names of Chicano youth who may qualify are solicited not only from the official channels on campus but also from individual Chicano students, faculty and alumni. But the actual acceptance of Raza youth is left entirely up to the admissions office, which does not even have a Spanish-speaking counselor.

As part of an effort to improve the situation, Notre Dame's MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán) and the Mid-West Council of La Raza have been working to bring more Chicano youth into contact with the university, as well as pressuring for a Spanish-speaking member of the admissions office to recruit Chicanos.

In an article in the student paper *Observer*, Armando Alonzo of MECHA explains, "California and Texas combined have five million Chicanos, yet where do recruiters go—suburbia!" An additional problem, Alonzo explains, is that Chicanos are not being accepted from areas of the Midwest that have "some of the nation's highest percentage Chicano populations." According to the article, out of the entire Chicano student enrollment at Notre Dame, only three come from the Midwest.

One of the main barriers to the entrance of Chicanos is the fact that the overwhelming majority cannot afford to attend. Thus, the traditional excuse given is that funds are not available. But a Chicano professor at Notre Dame, Julian Samora, author of *La Raza: Forgotten Americans*, says he has put the following question to the university, with no reply: "If Notre Dame admits 1,600 new students every year, and if over 50 percent . . . are given financial assistance in one way or another, why isn't it possible that among these students a number of slots be set aside for the different minorities?"

Observer reports that 19 Chicano undergraduates are now given financial aid, compared to 11 last year. "The provost says that this is progress," said Alonzo. "We question his estimation of progress."

¡La Raza en Acción!



PUERTO RICAN EDUCATORS' ASSOCIATION STUDIES NEW YORK CITY SCHOOLS: A major report on the quality of education for Puerto Rican students in New York City public schools is scheduled to be given to the state legislature early this year. Initial information released last fall and reported in the Nov. 22, 1971, *New York Post* charged the schools with "complicity in the slaughter of the educational lives of thousands and thousands of Puerto Rican children."

The study, made by the Puerto Rican Educators' Association (PREA) pointed out that the longer Puerto Rican children spend in the public school system, the further they fall behind. The dropout (more correctly push-out) rate from high schools among Puerto Ricans is more than 50 percent, higher than for both white and Black students, according to the study. It was also reported that the severe retardation in reading level among Puerto Rican students was attributed to a "lack of consideration of linguistic and cultural differences," by the schools.

PREA said it had difficulty obtaining data on Puerto Rican students because "of the tendency of the board of education to withhold this information from the public."

"WE'RE NOT PERFECT": I reported in this column (Dec. 3, 1971) that the Bureau of Census "lost" upward of 4.8 million Chicanos in their 1970 census. Recently the *Wall Street Journal* reported that two Chicano organizations in California, the *Confederación de la Raza Unida* and the San Benito County Consumers Co-op Inc., have filed a class action suit in federal court against the U. S. Census Bureau.

The suit charges that by undercounting La Raza, the Spanish-speaking community could lose an estimated \$10-billion in federal funds and some

105,000 federal jobs over the next decade. The Census Bureau based its figures exclusively on a mailed, 164-question all-English questionnaire. The *Journal* reported that the suit seeks a preliminary injunction "to prevent the Census Bureau from publishing and disseminating allegedly false information on the Spanish-American population until it verifies its mail survey with a bilingual door-to-door count in sample counties, such as Santa Clara County [California]."

This is apparently the first suit ever filed by an oppressed nationality charging an undercount. An official of the Census Bureau was quoted as saying, "We know as a fact that we do miss people. We're not perfect."

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION ASSAILS SCHOOLS IN SOUTHWEST: A 100-page report, the second in a projected series of seven issued by the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, "painted a bleak picture of the education of Mexican-Americans, Blacks and Indians," in the schools of the Southwest, according to the Dec. 7, 1971, *New York Times*.

The report, which covers 532 school districts in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas, focuses on five measures of educational quality—reading skills, dropout rates, grade repetition, age-grade relation, and participation in extracurricular activity. It stated that if present school dropout rates in California continue, 130,000 out of 300,000 Chicano students in grades one through six will not make it through high school. The corresponding figures for Blacks would be 60,000 push-outs from an elementary school enrollment of 190,000.

A forthcoming report, due in February, states that "the schools [in the Southwest] use a variety of exclusionary practices which deny the Chicano

student the use of his language, a pride in his heritage, and the support of his community." The still unpublished report goes on to say that "suppression" and "strict repressive measures" are still applied to enforce a ban on the Spanish language within the schools. The *Times* article reports that "fewer than 10 percent of the schools in the Southwest offer courses in Mexican-American history, and in some cases use textbooks with 'an inexcusable Anglo-American bias.'"

The "dropout" rates for Chicano students by state are reported as follows: 47 percent in Texas, 19 percent in Arizona, 36 percent in California, 33 percent in Colorado, and 29 percent in New Mexico. These, of course, are only average figures, and tend to paint a better picture than the actual conditions in some of the key barrio schools of the Southwest, where push-out rates sometimes go as high as 70 percent.

'GIVE ME YOUR TIRED, YOUR POOR, YOUR HUDDLED MASSES. . .': The Jan. 17 *U. S. News & World Report* states that some 450,000 to 500,000 youths will enter the job market in Mexico this year. Unable to find jobs in their own country, thousands will try to come north in hopes of making some kind of a living.

Because of rising unemployment in the U. S., the Immigration Service is attempting to curtail the influx of "illegal aliens." To facilitate this, reports the *U. S. News*, money has been allocated to the Immigration Service "to experiment with sensors designed by the military for use in Vietnam to locate an enemy. These sensors will be tested by the Immigration Service at remote points on the Texas border to see if they can help detect illegal border crossers."

— ANTONIO CAMEJO

La Raza and the '72 elections

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

With the approach of the 1972 elections, there is increasing discussion about what Chicanos should do in the electoral arena. This is the first in a series of articles dealing with some basic problems that the elections raise for the Chicano movement.

Last June, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the Mexican-American Bar Association of California issued the results of a study indicating the power of the Chicano vote. It pointed out that, based on the 1960 and 1968 presidential election patterns, a shift of even 6 percent in the Chicano vote in the states of California, Texas, New Mexico and Illinois could determine the outcome of the 1972 presidential race.

Assuming a Chicano voter turnout of 50 percent, there will be some 894,000 Raza voters this fall in California. This would be 25 times the margin John F. Kennedy had over Nixon in that state in 1960. In Texas, the study reveals, the Chicano vote will be 17 times the margin Humphrey had over Nixon in 1968.

The significance of this report for the political parties of the ruling class has not gone unnoticed. Every Democratic and Republican presidential hopeful has suddenly "discovered" La Raza. The Republican administration has been busy attempting to improve its "Mexican-American" image through a series of token governmental appointments.

A leading Democratic hopeful, Senator George McGovern, addressed the California Democratic Council last spring, warning his party to pay more attention to the Chicano vote. Urging his colleagues to get more Blacks and Chicanos into the Democratic Party, he said that if they failed

out of the 15,650 elected and appointed officials only 310, just 1.98 percent, are Mexican-American.

It is within this context that liberal Democratic Party politicians organized the National Spanish-speaking Coalition conference in Washington, D.C., last October. Like the Women's National Political Caucus, the recently held National Youth Caucus, and a scheduled national conference called by the Congressional Black Caucus, the Spanish-speaking conference was projected as a "nonpartisan" gathering to "deal with the social, economic, and political problems of the Spanish-speaking people in this country."

The gathering was held under the slogan "Unidos" (United), but was not designed to unite the masses of the Puerto Rican and Chicano people in a struggle to throw off the oppression they now face. The organizers' hope was instead to create a vehicle that could effectively corral the deepening radicalization of the Chicano and Puerto Rican community and use it as a lever in obtaining more privileges, more patronage, and greater influence within the Democratic Party.

In order to have more bargaining power within the Democratic Party, you naturally must have something to offer in exchange. Their aim was, and remains, that of mobilizing the Chicano and Puerto Rican vote behind their Anglo *patrones* (bosses). By establishing the Spanish-speaking Coalition, these liberal Democratic Party politicians and other *vendidos* (sell-outs) could then hope to get themselves in the position of literally selling Chicano or Puerto Rican votes to this or that capitalist politician in exchange for promises and the enhancement of their own political careers.

When questioned by a *Militant* reporter about whether or not they saw

dantly clear what he wanted La Raza to do when he stated to the entire conference that he made one of his most important decisions "the day that I was 21 years of age when I registered in the Democratic Party. I am now a Democrat and expect to remain a Democrat."

This strategy of the *vendidos* is exactly the opposite of what is needed to begin dealing with some of the pressing problems facing La Raza—such as unemployment, the plight of the farm workers, racist and inferior education, dilapidated housing, rampant malnutrition, and the outrageous casualty figures suffered in Vietnam.

The reformist liberal Democrats and those who support them make one fundamental mistake: They believe that the capitalist system is basically workable and that by getting the right individuals into office it can be patched up sufficiently to solve the basic problems of war, racism, poverty, and the destruction of the environment around us.

'Dump Nixon'

The movement to "Dump Nixon," enthusiastically supported by liberal Democrats, most trade-union officials, and the Communist Party, is an example of the concept that the individual makes the difference. They argue that the problem is one individual, Richard Milhous Nixon. Dump him (by electing a Democrat, of course) and everything will be all right—at least until the next election, when you will build a new movement to dump the dumper.

The more sophisticated reformists argue that, of course, both Democrats and Republicans are bad, but the Democrats are the "lesser evil." This argument has been eloquently refuted by an analogy frequently used

ties—the Democrats and the Republicans. The *Plan de Aztlán* correctly describes them as "the same animal with two heads that feed from the same trough."

When one party becomes unpopular for violating everything it promised in the elections, the ruling class merely puts forward the other party with a program calculated to entice the disillusioned voter. Thus the Democrats and Republicans have been monopolizing the political arena for more than 70 years without a major challenge to their misrule.

They are the ones who perpetuate the oppression of La Raza. It is the Democrats and Republicans who have sent thousands of Raza youth to their death in Vietnam and thousands more to be maimed for life. The subjugation of La Raza in the Southwest was historically necessary for American capitalism to become what it is today. And that continued oppression remains a necessary and inherent part of the American way of life.

La Raza Unida Party

What then is the solution? In order to advance the struggle for Chicano liberation we must first recognize that the Democratic Party cannot possibly bring about our freedom. It is the enemy of the Chicano people and all oppressed people. Anything, therefore, that helps strengthen the Democratic Party strengthens the very people who are oppressing us. Anyone who joins the Democratic Party helps the oppressor. And anyone who seeks political office as a Democrat or Republican is serving the interests of the racist capitalist ruling class, no matter what rhetoric they use to cover this up. Those who believe they can infiltrate, take over, or use the Demo-



Strategy combining mass action with independent electoral action is key to advancing Chicano liberation in 1972.

Photo by Shelby Harris

to do so "the day will surely come when those minorities will leave the Democratic Party out in the political cold" (*Congressional Record*, April 21, 1971). For those who failed to get the point, McGovern added, "You can't play games with people any more. [Like you could in the good old days?—A.C.] You either give them what they deserve or they will give you what you deserve."

The deepening radicalization among the Chicano people and other sections of the American population is forcing the Democratic Party politicians to be a little bit more slick in how they approach the voter. It is more difficult in Texas, for instance, because of the existence of La Raza Unida Party and the Chicano movement in general, to go around openly buying Chicano votes, which was a traditional practice of the Democratic Party machine. It is also very difficult for the California Democratic Party, which controls the state legislature, to convince Chicanos (who comprise 15 percent of the state's population) that it is "their party"—especially when

the conference as a step toward independent political action, such as the Raza Unida Party, the three organizers responded with an emphatic "no." These were their answers:

● Senator Montoya (D-N.M.): "I wouldn't advocate a third party. To me, going into a third party is just like getting away from the competition and watching the races from the sideline."

● Representative Roybal (D-Calif.): "No, definitely not. I think that it is our intention to work within the various parties to effectuate changes. We are in favor of social, economic, and political reform by working within the power structure."

● Representative Badillo (D-N.Y.): "No, no, no. I would expect that they would be working within the established parties."

All three opposed a resolution at the Washington conference calling for support to the *independentista* movement in Puerto Rico. How then could anyone expect them to be in favor of self-determination for La Raza right here at home? Roybal made abun-

by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, chairman of the Colorado Raza Unida Party. He argues that "If four grains of arsenic kill you, and eight grains of arsenic kill you, which is the lesser of two evils? You're dead either way."

In a Texas speech on May 4, 1970, José Angel Gutiérrez, founder and leader of the Crystal City Raza Unida Party, referred to the two parties this way: "It doesn't matter what name it goes by. It can be Kelloggs, All-Bran or Shredded Wheat, but it's still the same crap."

The capitalist owners of the United States hold state power. They wield that power to protect and further their own interests—the making of mammoth profits off the backs of working people, especially off the backs of the oppressed nationalities. They extend their control to every continent on this earth, except where the masses have put an end to their rule through socialist revolutions.

In order to facilitate their rule and the exploitation of the American people, they use their two political par-

cratic Party for their own ends are making a tragic mistake. Tragic because it mis-educates and disorients the masses of our people as to who the real enemy is. In the end, it is always La Raza that ends up getting used.

A correct strategy for self-determination will involve the building of a mass movement independent of the ruling class and its twin political parties and strong enough to remove them from power. In order to forge the kind of alliances with other oppressed sections of the population that will be necessary to overturn this powerful and entrenched ruling class, La Raza must first organize itself.

The building of a mass Raza Unida Party, which could mobilize La Raza in independent political action, both in the streets and in elections, is the best way to guarantee that our right to self-determination will not be violated. It is also a necessary step in the process of preparing for a revolutionary transformation of this society, which alone will give La Raza full liberation.

Israel attacks Palestinians and Lebanese

By TONY THOMAS

JAN. 15—During the past week, Israel's Zionist regime has conducted an aggressive offensive against the Lebanese people and Palestinian resistance forces in Lebanon. The purpose of these raids, according to Israeli chief of staff Lieutenant General David Elazar, is to force the Lebanese authorities to crush the resistance forces based in southern Lebanon.

On the evening of Jan. 10, Israeli troops attacked Palestinian positions and Lebanese villages in southern Lebanon. Lebanese officials describe it as the biggest Israeli attack against Lebanon in a year.

The Israelis raided commando bases in the villages of Bint Jbail, Kfar Hamam, and Rashaya Fakhar. Kfar Hamam and Rashaya Fakhar are on the slopes of Mount Hermon, where Palestinian commandos maintain several camps.

The Israelis claimed that they blew up "four buildings in Lebanon which served as terrorist bases," according to the Jan. 12 *New York Times*. They also asserted that they killed "a number of terrorists" and lost only two Israelis. They said the raids were in retaliation for attacks by the Palestinian freedom fighters on Israeli settlements close to the Lebanese border, and in the nearby Golan Heights area seized from Syria in 1967.

Lebanese officials quoted in the *Times* claim the attacks involved "100 Israeli soldiers backed by tanks . . . [at the] Bint Jbail attack, while 150 carried out the other raid."



Photo by Nick Medvecky

Demonstration at funeral of Palestinian commando in Beirut, Lebanon, Aug. 27, 1969.

The *Times* stated, "A fedayeen statement said that the commandos had fought a pitched battle with Israeli forces in the Mount Hermon region. The statement put Israeli casualties at 20 killed or wounded.

"The commandos put their own casualties at two killed and two wounded. . . ."

Premier Saeb Salam of Lebanon pompously condemned the attacks as "Israeli aggression." However, only a week before, Salam betrayed his true feelings when he praised Lebanese police killed while repressing the Palestinian commandos and called them "martyrs."

On the night of Jan. 13, according to the Jan. 15 *New York Times*, the Israelis launched another attack on Lebanon. This attack centered on the village of Kafra, which is about six miles north of the Lebanon-Israel border.

These attacks, taken in the context of the expulsion of the Palestinian resistance from Jordan in 1970 and 1971 and the recent confrontations between the Lebanese army and the Palestinians, signal a new combined Israeli-Lebanese offensive to wipe out Palestinian rights in Lebanon. Lebanon is one of the few Arab countries where the Palestinians have been able to carry on their operations openly, including their actions against Israel. For example, more than 24 Palestinian actions against Israel have been launched from Lebanon in the past six weeks, according to the Jan. 15 *Times*.

The *Times* also stated that Lebanese military leaders had met with Palestinian fedayeen led by Yasir Arafat of the Palestinian Liberation Organization and Fateh "to work out a new relationship [between the guerrillas and the Lebanese government] aimed at reducing harm to Lebanon from guerrilla attacks against Israel." According to the *Times*, Lebanese Premier Saeb Salam has stated he would like to "review" agreements reached in 1969 that allowed the Palestinians bases in the area around Mount Hermon.

Bureaucratic policies foster Yugoslav rightist outbreak

The following is the second of two articles.

By CAROLINE LUND

Political turmoil in Yugoslavia has continued in the wake of the reactionary nationalist strike of Zagreb University students in the Yugoslav republic of Croatia. On Jan. 11, 11 prominent intellectuals active in Croatian nationalist organizations were arrested on charges of preparing to overthrow the present Yugoslav economic system and plotting the secession of Croatia.

In a related development, President Tito ordered last month a full investigation of profiteering, "unjustifiable amassing of wealth," and the widening disparity in personal income in Yugoslavia. According to a Jan. 12 *Washington Post* report from Belgrade, Tito told a meeting of trade union officials that he sometimes wondered "if the socialist character of our society has been lost."

Tito is compelled to suppress such reactionary nationalist outbreaks and the growth of capitalist relations when these tendencies get out of hand in order to preserve the nationalized property system, which is the very base of his own power. But these problems of chauvinism and capitalist methods have in fact been encouraged by the policies of the Tito regime itself—namely, the policies of decentralization, "profitability" of factories, and a foreign policy that is not based on international working-class solidarity but on narrow national interests.

The policy of "workers self-management," combined with "decentralization," was presented by the Tito regime as the answer to the bureaucratic rule that exists in the Soviet Union. However, the effect of decentralization is to give workers control over only small decisions concerning their own factories—where most of decisions are dictated by the need to be profitable anyway—but no control over the utilization and distribution of the country's resources as a whole or the country's foreign policy.

In fact, it is only through democratically controlled central planning and central control of foreign trade that a workers state can to some extent avoid being ruled by pressures of the world market and gain the ability to provide social services and a balanced development of the economy that would move toward elimination of inequalities.

The economic policies of the Tito regime have led to deep popular discontent. In addition to massive layoffs and unemployment, Yugoslavia has in recent years been plagued with inflation, migration of workers, inability of factories to meet payrolls, the growth of privately owned businesses in the service industries, and a slowdown in economic growth. The gap between income and rate of growth in the relatively advanced republics and the relatively backward republics has deepened. Public services such as housing and medical aid have been curtailed because they are not "profitable."

These are the inevitable results of a system of competition between rich and poor factories according to individual plant profitability. The richer plants will get richer and the poorer will get relatively poorer. Similarly, the gap between richer and poorer regions or nationalities will widen, fostering increased conflicts between them.

Discontent with economic problems exploded in widespread strikes in the late 1960s. Although only 139 strikes were recorded in 1966, 2,000 took place in 1968, and in 1969 a strike wave hit all the republics.

In addition to generating chauvinist outlooks through its economic policies, the Tito regime has generated such sentiments through its lack of an internationalist foreign policy. It has failed, for example, to side with oppressed nations and classes in struggle against their oppressors.

During the Korean war, in return for U.S. economic aid, Yugoslavia's delegate to the United Nations took the side of the United States against China and the Korean people. After the Tricontinental Congress held in Havana in 1966, Tito's regime criticized Cuba for its perspective of aiding anticapitalist struggles within Latin American countries, claiming that such aid violated the principle of "peaceful coexistence."

The position of the Yugoslavian regime on the Vietnam war has been rotten. To ingratiate himself with Washington, Tito has refrained from branding the United States as the aggressor in Vietnam, and Yugoslav publications have criticized the Vietnamese for not negotiating sooner with the U.S.

In December of 1967 a wave of student dem-

onstrations swept Yugoslavia protesting U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Ten thousand students demonstrated in Zagreb, and similar protests under student leadership took place throughout the country. Authorities ordered police to disperse the crowds with tear gas.

Red university

In 1968 popular dissatisfaction with the policies of the Tito regime was given a powerful voice in a nationwide student rebellion. Forty thousand students occupied the University of Belgrade for nine days in June 1968. They were joined by more than 200,000 students all over the country.

Students renamed Belgrade University the Red University of Karl Marx, and their central slogan was "Socialism, freedom, democracy." Their demands included: Make the self-management system real; provide jobs for the unemployed; increase the wages of the lower-paid; remove privileges and high incomes of bureaucrats and political leaders; and improve student grants to enable more workers' children to attend the university.

The strike was settled only through the personal intervention of President Tito, who conceded that the students' grievances were real and promised to deal with them.

But after the student upsurge subsided, the Tito regime quietly began a crackdown on the student movement. Magazines containing discussions of the June strike were banned. The Communist Party groups in the faculties of philosophy and sociology at the University of Belgrade were dissolved. And when the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia in August of 1968, the Tito regime demagogically used the threat of Soviet invasion of Yugoslavia to ban all demonstrations, consolidate the grip of the bureaucracy, and make it more difficult for the left to exist.

Tito's duplicity and basic Stalinist outlook on



Student rebels at University of Belgrade in June 1968 demanded an end to economic privilege, whereas reactionary Zagreb strike in December 1971 demanded continuation of privileges for Croatia.

this issue of Soviet intervention in other countries could be more clearly seen in his position supporting the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956.

Despite Tito's claims of support for a nonbureaucratic and democratic system in contrast with that of the Soviet Union, the recent events have revealed again that Tito's regime is rooted in the Stalinist brand of politics—politics of a privileged, bureaucratic caste based on conservatism, nationalism, opportunism and counterrevolution. In attempting to equate centralized economic planning with bureaucracy, Tito has attempted to stifle any demands for real control by workers over the key political and economic decisions, which are made on the level of the economy as a whole.

Dissent over the results of Tito's policies has been encouraged to take nationalist channels, while left-wing criticism of the regime has been suppressed. Thus the Tito regime itself is responsible for laying the groundwork for the present reactionary nationalist outbreak. The resulting rampant chauvinism, combined with the introduction of more and more capitalist economic organization, presents grave dangers for the future of building a socialist society in Yugoslavia.

Hoffa: never one to buck the system



By FRANK LOVELL

On Dec. 23 James R. Hoffa, the 58-year-old former president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, left the federal penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pa. As he left, some prisoners were heard to call after him, "Good luck, Jimmy. Take it easy." In an interview just outside the gates, Hoffa sent back the word, "I want to thank all the 1,500 guys I lived with in prison over the last 57 months. They're a great bunch of guys."

Back in Detroit, Hoffa later explained that his experience had convinced him of the need for prison reform. However, he was quoted as saying he had no intention "to make a career out of it."

These two interviews tell a good deal about Hoffa—his ability to get along on the inside and his willingness to help from the outside. The first is the character trait that made him popular with the membership when he was an official of the Teamsters union. But the other side of Hoffa is reflected in the remark that he doesn't intend to make a career of prison reform. If he got converted while on the inside and came out a reformer, that would be suspiciously out of character. Hoffa was never a reformer, never one to buck the system. And even if his time in prison is taken into account, it must be admitted he hasn't done badly, so far.

Nixon commuted his 13-year sentence to four years, nine months, and 16 days—the time actually served. He had received an eight-year sentence in March 1964 for jury tampering in a frame-up trial in Nashville, Tenn., on charges brought against him by the federal government. In August 1964, an additional five-year sentence

was handed down by a federal judge in Chicago, this time for defrauding the Teamster's pension fund of about \$2-million. After all appeals were turned down, he went to jail on March 7, 1967.

Under the terms of his release, he is not permitted to have anything to do with the Teamsters' multimillion-dollar pension fund and is prohibited from interfering in the affairs of the union until March 6, 1980, when his full time is up.

In all these instances, Hoffa has been the victim of a political squeeze on the union movement. He found himself vulnerable because he operates on the false assumption that the rules of court procedure and money manipulation apply equally and in the same way to union officials as to the bosses and bankers and other bona fide members of the ruling class. Hoffa's convictions and the conditions placed on his release from prison prove they don't.

His troubles began in 1957 when Senator John L. McClellan's Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor and Management Field made only the most cursory and limited investigation of management activities, concentrating all its fire on unions.

Robert F. Kennedy, chief counsel of the McClellan committee, was intent on proving that Democrats are not "soft on unions." He pursued the charges against Hoffa and others in the Teamsters union until John F. Kennedy, then a U.S. senator, had secured enactment of the 1959 anti-labor Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Bill.

The Hoffa trials and convictions, plus the antiunion hysteria against

the longest steel strike in U.S. history, served to insure easy passage of the antilabor legislation and to warn other union officials that if they weren't careful to comply with government policy they could also be victimized.

The release of Hoffa may again serve the same purpose. Even though specifically restricted from "direct or indirect management" of any union, the Justice Department quickly announced he is free to attend meetings of the Teamsters union, confer with officials and members, and express opinions about union affairs. One of his first expressed opinions was that Phase Two of the government wage controls has "not bothered" the Teamsters union. So long as he continues to speak in this vein, he is not likely to be remanded to prison.

As matters stand, Hoffa has elected to collect his retirement pension from the Teamsters union in a lump sum, amounting to \$1.2-million after taxes, instead of \$75,000 a year. His wife, Josephine, receives \$48,000 a year as head of the women's auxiliary of DRIVE, the union's political action committee. Their son, James P. Hoffa, is also on the payroll as an attorney for the union.

From the purely financial standpoint, which is how the worth of a man is usually measured in this society, Hoffa's retirement position is comparable to that of General Motors board chairman James M. Roche at \$88,000 a year, AT&T chairman H. I. Romnes at \$138,000, and IBM chairman Thomas J. Watson Jr. at only \$55,000. Of course, these retired business executives have other advantages and lucrative stock options. Besides, they don't have to report to a parole officer.

The National Picket Line

TWO IMPORTANT STRIKES in New York State testify to the power and tenacity of organized workers.

The first is the six-month-old strike of 38,500 New York telephone linemen and equipment installers who walked out when the nationwide telephone strike was called last July 14 and still refuse to go back until they win better wages and working conditions. (See story in this issue.)

The second was in Yonkers, the fourth largest city in the state, with a population of 200,000. On Jan. 3 the city's teachers closed all 43 schools. This action came after the Board of Education rejected a very modest wage recommendation by an arbitration board, following months of negotiations. The teachers then walked out and remained out for 10 days until the board finally came to terms. Even so, the final wage settlement was below the very modest increases recommended by the arbitration board.

The strike was called in defiance of the state's Taylor Law, which prohibits strikes of public employees. It continued in defiance of a court injunction imposing fines upon the strikers.

The striking teachers helped set up "freedom schools," where older students taught younger ones and working mothers could bring their children. Many parents, children and student-teachers seemed to enjoy the new system. One student assigned to lead a class in geometry said some in the class told her "they wish they had me as their regular teacher." There are 29,800 students in the school system, which is 20 percent Black and Puerto Rican.

The city administration is plagued with a budget crisis, a slowdown of sanitation workers, a job action by firemen, and a city council that wants to balance the budget and restore law and order. Whatever they may think of the city administration and its problems, many people in the city of Yonkers were solidly on the side of the teachers and against the Board of Education. Some parents provided hot coffee and shelter in their homes

near school for the teacher pickets.

The Board of Education agreed to rehire 200 teachers who were fired last Dec. 31 and signed a new job-security clause that forbids discharge for "budgetary reasons." The teacher's base pay was raised from \$8,300 to \$8,900 a year.

A CHICAGO CORRESPONDENT reports that 25,000 teachers in that city have good reason to distrust capitalist politicians. They signed a two-year contract last year, which they thought Mayor Daley helped them negotiate. This year they have been told by the Chicago Board of Education that their contract, which doesn't expire until 1973, is not worth the paper it's written on. According to John E. Desmond, president of the Chicago teachers' union, the board has informed the union that it is considering cutting about \$35-million worth of pay and benefits due to teachers, increasing class size, and reducing the number of teaching jobs by about 1,800. In response, the American Federation of Teachers' governing body in Chicago, the 400-member House of Representatives, voted 314 to 14 for a strike to be called Jan. 18.

Desmond said, "The union doesn't want a strike and our members are very bitter about the board's obvious intent to force us out on the picket lines." He made no reference to Democratic Mayor Daley, his political "friend."

FROM DENVER comes a report of the three-day Mountain States Socialist Educational Conference held last December. A Dec. 3 Denver Post account describes a speech by Joan Fulks, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Colorado, who explained one of the main reasons why prices rise and what can be done about it. According to the Post, "she said the manufacture of bombs and other munitions generates wages for workers but no consumable product. 'That means there is more money than there are goods,' and prices rise." This is an economic fact that those

labor bureaucrats now serving on the government Pay Board on the pretext that they are "trying to help end inflation" ought to learn.

LAST OCT. 26 AFL-CIO PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY testified before the House Ways and Means Committee, urging enactment of a National Health Security plan similar to that in England, the very thing called "socialized medicine" by the American Medical Association.

Since Meany's testimony, the AFL-CIO has submitted about 100 case histories showing that the present health system is a tragic failure. The following is one example cited:

"A 21-year-old woman died two weeks after she was refused admission—even though she was in active labor—to a Kentucky hospital. Her baby was born at home 15 minutes after she returned from the hospital.

"The hospital would not accept her insurance or a personal check.

"'I think it was awful,' she wrote before her death, 'to call the city police and run us off.'"

Provisions for a national health plan were included initially as part of the 1935 federal Social Security Act, but were deleted from the legislation to satisfy protests of the American Medical Association. President Roosevelt and other proponents of the health plan then gave assurances that it would be passed "next year." Thirty-six years later there is still no national health plan in this country.

The union movement is the only organized mass political force in this country urging a national health plan, but it seeks to win such legislation by supporting the Democratic Party. It should be clear after 36 years that neither the Democratic or Republican parties are interested in a national health plan. What is needed is a labor party based on the unions that would wage a campaign for this and other beneficial social demands.

— FRANK LOVELL

Hugo Blanco on Peru, Uruguay, and Chile



Photo by Ed Shaw

Part of crowd of 500,000 that turned out Nov. 24, 1971, in Montevideo, Uruguay, for action called by the Broad Front.

The Peruvian revolutionary socialist Hugo Blanco spent more than eight years in prison for organizing peasants. In September of last year, less than one year following his release, he was deported from Peru by the Velasco regime to Mexico City, where he now lives in exile. In December he gave a Canadian student an interview, which was translated from Spanish by Intercontinental Press and printed in its Jan. 17 issue. The following are Blanco's full answers to some of the questions from that interview.

Question. What do you think Fidel's recent visit to Peru means for the Cuban revolution and for Peru itself?

Answer. First of all, I think that his visits both to Peru and Chile were progressive in one sense. They represented a tacit recognition by both the Chilean and Peruvian governments of Cuba and its revolution, a break in the U.S.-erected blockade against Cuba. These are very positive symptoms. If Peru decides to trade with Cuba, if it recognizes Cuba, that is a very good thing. It is a triumph for the revolution throughout the continent.

But there were many negative aspects to this visit. Unfortunately, it also marked a capitulation by the Cuban government to the Peruvian dictatorship. I repeat, we are not against establishing trade or diplomatic relations with Peru. But we are against paying the price of political capitulation to achieve this. We are against Fidel Castro and the Cuban government in general having to say in return that the Peruvian government is revolutionary, that it is advancing toward socialism, and even, according to what we have been told, to say that anyone who opposes this regime is a counterrevolutionary. I think that all this was very negative.

You have to remember that Castro's invitation to visit Chile, as well as the reception he got in Peru, was a reflection of mass pressure, a reflection of the revolutionary rise that is occurring in Latin America in general, and particularly in those countries. It was specifically to ingratiate themselves with the masses that these governments welcomed Castro. And precisely this should make us understand, and should make the Cuban government understand, that the upsurge of the Chilean and Peruvian masses should be impelled forward and not pulled back. Capitulating, saying that these governments are revolutionary, injures not only Peru—that is, the Peruvian and Chilean working masses—but it injures Cuba itself.

The best kind of support Cuba could get would be the victory of a socialist revolution, of a workers' revolution in Peru, in Chile, or in any other country of Latin America. But the statements of Castro and of the Cuban government in general, by supporting the bourgeois regimes currently in power in both Chile and Peru, tend to hold back such a revolution. Therefore, even from the standpoint of Cuba's interests, the best thing would have been to tell the truth to the Peruvian and Chilean masses, not to surrender to the blandishments of these governments.

Telling the truth to the masses, I repeat, does not contradict opening up trade connections or diplomatic relations, or even agreeing on common actions with these bourgeois governments so as to strengthen your position against imperialism. But there must be full political clarity about such diplomatic maneuvers. If we realize that it is the masses who make revolutions, we must educate them. And we cannot do this by diplomatic lies. The applause Fidel received, both in Chile and Peru, was the applause of the Peruvian and Chilean masses for the Cuban revolution; it was not for Fidel's capitulations to the bourgeois governments of these countries.

Q. Fidel came to Peru after visiting Chile. How similar are the governments in these two countries?

A. The Peruvian government is a regime sponsoring industrial development. While it represents the Peruvian bourgeoisie as a whole, it is more inclined to favor those sectors with an interest in industrial development. This category includes not only Peruvian bourgeois sectors but also the imperialist sectors of the United States, the European countries, Japan, and also petty-bourgeois strata whose interests are tied up with Peruvian industrial development. The measures introduced by this government were taken fundamentally in accordance with these economic interests.

Undoubtedly, in order to carry out its plan, the Peruvian government will have to take into consideration the pressures from the proletariat and the other exploited classes. In order to achieve its objectives, it will unquestionably have to resort to a certain demagoguery to win the support of the masses, or at least neutralize their action. But there is a great difference between the government in Peru and the one in Chile. In Chile, the main factor in the rise of Allende and the measures he is taking is the pressure of the masses. In Peru it is only another factor, the main one being the government's development schemes. In Chile it is fundamental. This is the principal difference between the Velasco and Allende governments, as it was between the Velasco and Torres governments.

Q. The government of Allende is now just over one year old. Many said when he was elected that his regime represented the road to socialism in the particular conditions of Chile. What do you think about this claim and what do you believe his government represents?

A. Allende rose to power as the result of an election. But, as we all know, this election could have been thrown out by the legislature. In order to win in the congress he needed support outside his own grouping. Concretely, this meant from the Christian Democrats. But in order to get this backing, Allende had to promise that he would preserve inviolate the main bulwarks of the bourgeois system—the judiciary and the army—pledging that they would not be replaced by organs arising out of the people, such as people's courts in the case of the judiciary, and popular militias in the case of the armed forces.

Besides this, Allende also made a lot of promises about maintaining respect for the church. We defend freedom of religion. But all Allende's long-winded avowals showed a complete capitulation to the bourgeois system.

We must understand that if the army is left untouched, then the main defensive force of the whole bourgeois apparatus remains intact. We see this now. Allende cannot nationalize the basic industries. He has nationalized some mines, he has expropriated some ranches, all of course with compensation. But he has not touched the manufacturing sector. And naturally he cannot do it, because if he did, the army would topple him immediately. Of course, this might turn into a civil war; it might open up risks for the bourgeoisie of a real revolution that would really destroy the bulwarks of the bourgeois system and really open the way for a socialist government. But what I wanted to show was that in promising at the start of his administration to respect the basic pillars of the bourgeois system, Allende committed himself to respect the bourgeois system as a whole.

I am not saying that whatever nationalizations he carries out are not progressive steps. I do not mean that they represent what the nationalizations in Peru generally represent, since the latter are completely bourgeois measures to improve the functioning of the Peruvian capitalist system. Unquestionably, in Chile many of these measures are the result of great pressure from the popular masses. But one swallow doesn't make a summer, that is, these measures do not mean that there is socialism in Chile.

For all these reasons, I do not believe that the Allende government represents the road toward socialism, at least not in the sense that Allende, by his actions, is leading Chile toward socialism. His government may be a step toward socialism in another sense, in the sense that it will give the masses their final experience with a bourgeois reformist government and that, as a result of this lesson, they will come to understand that they themselves must take power, destroying all the foundations of the bourgeois system. That is, for what it is teaching the masses, the Allende government can be, and unquestionably is, a step toward the socialist revolution. But not in the sense that it is on the way to becoming a socialist government.

Q. In recent weeks there have been signs on several occasions of a powerful right-wing mobilization against the Allende government. What measures do you think the Allende government should take in order to respond effectively to this threat?

A. The government should explain to the people what is happening and call on them to act. The only way to halt the resurgence of the right in Chile is to mobilize the popular masses to block this mobilization. The task of stemming the rightist tide cannot be left to the bourgeois army, because it is only lying low, waiting for its chance to strike at the government, a chance that may be created precisely by such right-wing demonstrations. It is quite likely, moreover, that these demonstrations are being fomented by elements in the army itself.

I said that the army is lying in wait for the right moment to move, to overthrow Allende. It is calculating the relationship of forces, estimating whether or not the popular masses have been sufficiently weakened to permit a coup. Thus, the only way to block these intentions effectively is to mobilize the masses. Clearly Allende is not doing this. He is afraid to do it. For if the masses did mobilize actively against these right-wing maneuvers, the mobilization would burst beyond the limits Allende, or the leaders of his Unidad Popular, want to impose. Therefore, I think it is the duty of the revolutionary left in Chile to organize the popular masses themselves to resist these rightist schemes, even though Allende opposes such a mobilization.

Allende's attitude is like Perón's at the time of the 1955 coup in Argentina. Demonstrations began against the regime, and afterward the army took charge of the offensive. But Perón held back mass action and blocked all attempts to mobilize the masses. Allende is taking this same suicidal attitude, suicidal for him, perhaps, and for his regime. But I firmly believe that Allende is one of the capitalist system's last cards in Chile, that is, the fundamental reason Allende is failing to mobilize the masses is that he prefers the capitalist system to be saved, even if his regime falls.

Q. After the defeat of the Frente Amplio, Fidel was reported as saying that this defeat showed that in Uruguay an armed struggle would be needed to bring about the victory of socialism. What is your opinion of this statement?

Continued on page 22

The terrorist record of the JDL

By HOWARD REED

NEW YORK—The activities in recent months of the Jewish Defense League and other right-wing Zionist organizations have included attacks against the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party.

An example of such hooligan organizations as the JDL was their attempt to disrupt a Nov. 23 meeting here at New York University. Linda Jenness, SWP presidential candidate, was the featured speaker at the meeting.

Along with the attempted disruption, a leaflet was issued at the meeting, signed by the Jewish Activists Movement, Betar, the Jewish Defense League, and Masada of the Zoa. It criticized the SWP for its "unconditional support of the Arab terrorists' genocidal war against the State of Israel," as well as for sponsoring teach-ins on various campuses, which, it charged, "brought vicious anti-Israeli and Anti-Semitic canards to many students."

The leaflet, flaunting the democratic right of organizations to hold public meetings, says it is correct to disrupt functions of the SWP because of the SWP's alleged "virulent anti-Semitism."

These hooligans attempt to justify their disruption and harassment by falsely equating anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism. They contend that those who are opposed to the Israeli state are therefore hostile to the interests of the Jewish people.

Less than one month after this incident, Meir Kahane, founder of the Jewish Defense League, wrote two articles that appeared in the Dec. 10 and Dec. 17 issues of the right-wing *Jewish Press*, published in Brooklyn. Entitled "Exposing the Haters," the articles focus their attack on the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Kahane maintains that the YSA and SWP are "dangerous to Jews." He equates sympathy with the Arab liberation movement and the Black liberation struggle with anti-Semitism. He also expresses hostility to the SWP's consistent record in helping to build a mass movement of opposition to U. S. aggression in Southeast Asia. These reactionary views were part of Kahane's beliefs even before the inception of the JDL in 1968. In 1967, Kahane coauthored "The Jewish Stake in Vietnam," a book that defended U. S. policy in Vietnam. Interviewed in the Nov. 21, 1971, *New York Times Magazine*, Kahane said that a defeat for the U. S. in Vietnam would be, in his opinion, "a disaster for America and the free world."

Since it was founded, the JDL has consistently opposed the struggle of Black and Puerto Rican people to control their own communities and end their oppression. Among its first activities was organizing vigilante groups in Brooklyn and Manhattan, armed with bicycle chains and baseball bats.

In 1969 the JDL fought against instituting an open admissions policy at the City College of New York. This policy sought to establish the same proportion of Blacks and Puerto Ricans in classes entering the college as in the city's high school population as a whole. Kahane charged that this policy, which would have meant a significant increase of Black and Puerto Rican students at the college, would be harmful to Jewish students.

In May 1970 the JDL attempted to invade the Harlem offices of the Black Panther Party. On Aug. 30, 1971, Kahane gave a speech in Brooklyn outlining a plan to "turn back the tide with Jewish power." Applications for gun permits and order

forms for shotguns and rifles were distributed to the crowd. Kahane proposed radio car patrols with neighborhood thugs and visits to local high school principals to tell them that "the JDL will step in if they are lax with hoodlums in the schools."

During the past few years the JDL has also supported other terrorist actions, including attacks against Soviet citizens and buildings in this country. Kahane claims that such attacks are justified because of the oppression of Jews in the Soviet Union.

Attacks attributed to the JDL and from which the JDL has not dissociated itself include: the June 3, 1970, invasion of the offices of the *Daily World*, the voice of the Communist Party in the U. S.; the Oct. 7, 1970, beating of 30 Columbia University SDS members picketing a speech by an Israeli official; the Jan. 8, 1971, bombing of a Russian cultural building in Washington, D. C.; the March 30, 1971, bombing of the Communist Party national headquarters in New York; and the May 19, 1971, bombing of the Communist Party headquarters in Philadelphia.

The overwhelming majority of Jewish groups have dissociated themselves from these terrorist actions, and have, in some cases, themselves been the focus of sit-ins and similar activities by the JDL.

However, in spite of their opposition to these tactics, they have joined with the JDL in attacking the Black and Puerto Rican liberation struggles and the Arab revolution as anti-Semitic. They have consistently portrayed anti-Zionist opposition to the Israeli government as anti-Semitism, and have, along with the JDL, condemned and red-baited anti-Zionist organizations, such as the SWP. For example, a Nov. 23, 1971, press re-



Meir Kahane, leader of Jewish Defense League.

lease from the supposedly liberal Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith quoted Judge David A. Rose, chairman of the League's national executive committee, as saying that right-wing and left-wing extremists "all too often use the word 'Zionism' as a code word for attacks on Jews as Jews." He claimed that "the anti-Israel hate campaign by these extremists not only poses a serious threat to Israel's survival, but is, in its broadest sense, anti-Jewish." He criticized several radical organizations, including the SWP and YSA, saying they are proponents of this view.

These allegations are not only falsifications of the views of the SWP and YSA but also mislead people about who the real enemies of the Jews are. Jews in Israel are not oppressed by the Palestinians. It is the

Continued on page 22

In 1904 the Debs campaign raised \$33,000 and put 22 full-time organizers on the road... In 1972 the Jenness and Pulley campaign will do better, with your help...



For about \$3,000 the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley can put a carload of volunteer organizers on the road for two months. The money will cover their minimal living expenses, gas and tolls, and the cost of the literature they will distribute. These traveling organizers will reach hundreds of thousands of young people with the socialist campaign and convince many of them to join the struggle for a revolutionary transformation of this society.

Jenness and Pulley have no millionaire industrialists picking up the bills for their campaign, nor did Debs. These teams of campaign organizers, and the other activities of the campaign, depend on the contributions of campaign supporters. At the young socialist convention in Houston, \$15,000 was pledged towards the teams. That will put the first few teams on the road. We are counting on you for the rest.

Enclosed is a contribution of \$_____

towards the cost of the Jenness-Pulley election campaign.

I want to make a regular monthly pledge of \$_____ from now until November.

Name _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Socialist Workers Party '72 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003 (212) 260-4150.

In Review

Film

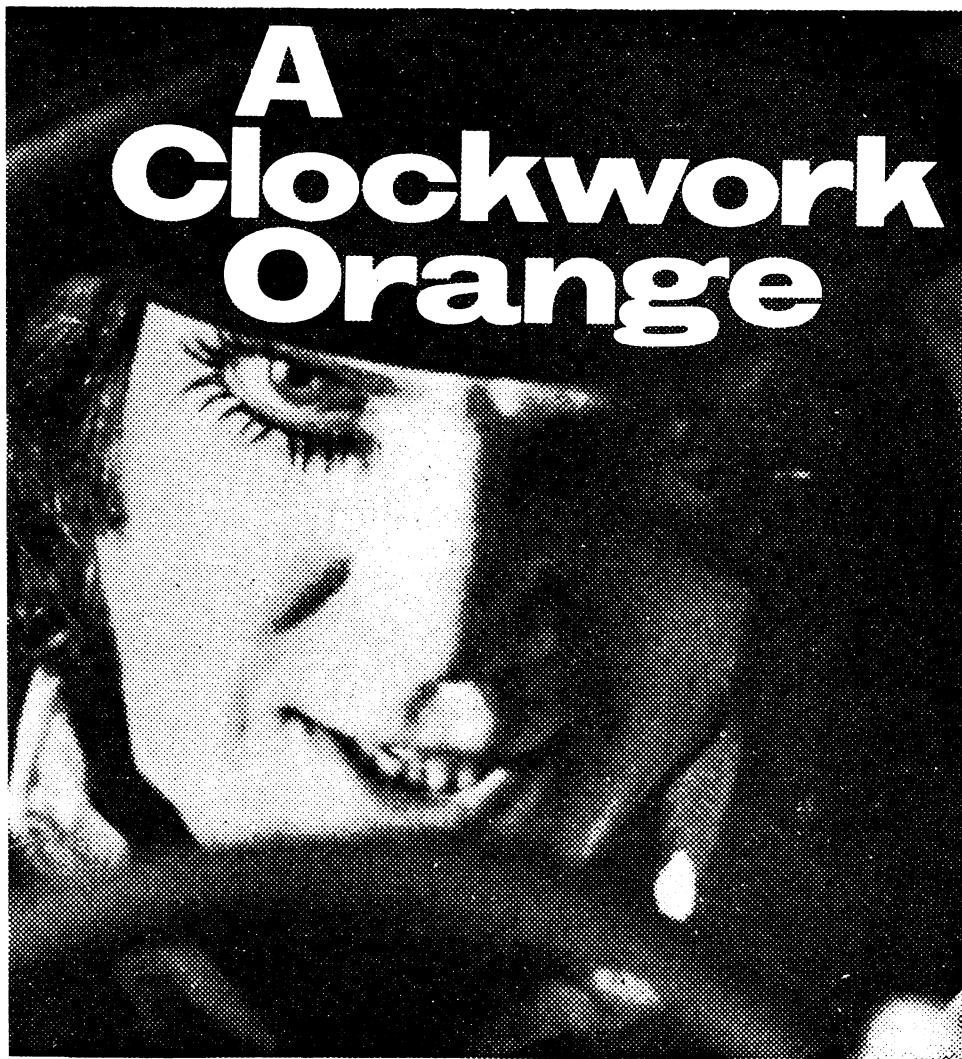
A Clockwork Orange. Directed and produced by Stanley Kubrick. Screenplay by Stanley Kubrick. Starring Malcolm McDowell, Patrick Magee, Adrienne Corri and Miriam Karlin. Warner Brothers.

Most readers will by now have read at least one other review of *A Clockwork Orange*, and, more likely than not, one laced with recollections of Kubrick's earlier films; with descriptions of his idiosyncrasies, his childhood, his cars (both the Mercedes and the Landrover) and his house outside London; and with lengthy quotations from the director about original sin, films in general and this film in particular.

It is obvious that a promotion campaign of unparalleled proportions accompanied the film's release at the end of the year. The Jan. 3 *Newsweek* featured on its cover a five-page article about Kubrick and *A Clockwork Orange* by Paul D. Zimmerman. The Jan. 20 *Rolling Stone* advertised on its cover as an "exclusive interview" a similar article by Andrew Bailey (containing many identical quotes and describing many of the same incidents) and put a three-quarter-page photo of Malcolm McDowell on the inside front page. Some of the same quotes and episodes also appeared in a feature by Bernard Weinraub in the Jan. 4 *New York Times* entertainment section.

The theme echoed in all of this material is that Kubrick's latest film is some kind of profound statement that ranks him as a philosopher of our times. This is unfortunate.

It is unfortunate because *A Clockwork Orange* is a well-crafted and entertaining movie. Raising its simple-minded message to the lofty plane of great ideas only makes it appear cheap and shabby. The film is based on Anthony Burgess' book by the same title, which Vincent Canby correctly summed up in his Dec. 20 *New York Times* review as a "perversely



moral, essentially Christian novel about the value of free will, even if the choice exercised is to tear through the night, robbing, raping and battering. . . ."

If one insists on looking at Kubrick as a great thinker and his films as treatises, then the director must be judged a fraud and *A Clockwork Orange* ranks as a bomb. If, on the other hand, one is prepared to recognize that *A Clockwork Orange* is the best of the proliferation of novels by Burgess, which, while they are certainly not great literature, rank at least on a par with the better works of science fiction, mystery and other

light reading; that Kubrick is a technical master at turning out slick, visually exciting commodities that compete favorably in the millions-budget movie market; and that in this latest film he has perfectly captured the grotesque future society conceived by Burgess, then Kubrick must be credited with having made a product that is good enough to take the sting out of paying the outrageous admission charged for movies nowadays.

The story, briefly, concerns the adventures of Alex (Malcolm McDowell), a sadistic teenage hoodlum who, with three companions, seeks thrills in acts of wanton violence—something it is

implied is common in the exaggerated welfare-state-type society that provides the setting. Falling out with his accomplices, he is arrested, imprisoned and subjected to pharmacological conditioning so that the mere thought of sex or violence reduces him to a mass of gagging jelly. Political oppositionists attempt to use his pathetic condition against the regime, but the party in power strikes back by undoing the conditioning, as it moves, the story suggests, toward open dictatorship.

The use of Nadsat, a slang full of Russian roots spoken by teenagers in the dystopian Britain of tomorrow, lacks in the film the quality it was able to add in the novel. But since former composer Burgess was unable to give the novel a soundtrack, Alex's fondness for the works of Beethoven and other classical masters makes an even better gimmick in the movie.

One scene violates the mood of the novel. When Alex's gang fights the rival gang of Billyboy, the book conjures an image of graceful violence—for example, Alex uses his britva (razor) to open the clothing of one combatant without making a scratch on the victim's flesh and then carefully slices his face to send symmetrical curtains of blood down each cheek—but the movie's version of the battle is slapstick, with chairs crashing over heads, etc.

All other departures from the novel only enhance the story's essential, nightmarish character.

The canned promotional interviews quote Kubrick as saying, "One assumes that one hires actors who are great virtuosos." The cast in *A Clockwork Orange* justifies his assumption in this case.

If you go to *A Clockwork Orange* looking for some deep, new insight, you'll be disappointed. But if you're looking for escapist nonsense, Kubrick gives you more for your money than James Bond.

—LEE SMITH

Books

Alice in the wonderland of American politics

The Campaign Alice or Alice Through the Election Booth & How She Lost Her Innocence by Jim Quinn. Illustrated by Mike Kanarek. Published by Mixed Media. Philadelphia, 1971. 119 pp. \$1.50.

This little book is a skillful parody of *Alice in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass*, bringing them up to date to make some biting commentary on the present-day wielders of political power in America.

The satire is from a generally radical point of view and does not let the various liberal Democrats like Lindsay, Kennedy, McGovern and McCarthy get off unscathed. Naturally, Nixon, Agnew and Humphrey also come in for some hard knocks.

Let's take a sample. New York's Mayor John V. Lindsay is portrayed as the White Queen:

"The next creature looked like a huge chess piece.

"I'm the White Queen," she said, "and I travel quick as a wink in any direction: right, left, Republican, Dem . . ."

"You're very handsome," said Alice, "but can't you take better care of yourself? Your robes are all covered with garbage, and rubbish, and great lumps of dogshit!"

"I can only do one thing at a time," said the Queen, "and right now I'm not running in the Primaries. Therefore, not running is all I can do. It's like with the Panthers. First I put them in jail, then I had a trial, then last of all comes the

crime. Everything in proper order: one thing at a time."

"But suppose they never commit the crime?" asked Alice.

"We took care of that possibility at the trial," said the Queen. "The jury found them innocent. So if they never commit a crime, it will be all the better."

"Better for you," said Alice, "but not the Panthers."

"You're wrong there. Weren't you ever punished?"

"Only when I was bad."

"And you were all the better for it, I know!" said the Queen triumphantly.

A lot of clever work has gone into this book, but like *MacBird* it will undoubtedly fade into oblivion along with the characters it ridicules and exposes—such is the way with this kind of topical literature.

On the negative side, it is unfortunate in the extreme that in addition to a few technical faults, such as a few lines of poetry whose rhythms don't match, there is a serious ideological deficiency in this book. It comes out most sharply in Kanarek's illustrations. Alice is drawn as a semi-naked young woman wearing a women's liberation button—which suggests that Kanarek is being deliberately insensitive. He might have put his evident talent as an illustrator to better use.

The Campaign Alice can be ordered from Mixed Media, Wilford Building, 33rd and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104.

—ARTHUR MAGLIN

From *Intercontinental Press*
By GEORGE SAUNDERS

Acting with guilty haste, the Brezhnev-Kosygin-Podgorny regime went through the motions of a sudden, virtually secret, one-day trial on January 5 and condemned Vladimir Bukovsky to seven years confinement (two in prison, five in a strict-regime labor camp), plus five years enforced exile in some remote area. This was the maximum penalty under Article 70 of the Russian Republic Criminal Code prohibiting "anti-Soviet propaganda or agitation."

Bukovsky, twenty-nine, is one of the leading figures in the struggle for democratic liberties in the Soviet Union today. His defense had become a major focus for the Soviet civil-rights

notice and was concluded the day it began. Bukovsky's lawyer, Vladimir Shveisky, was notified of the trial date, apparently, only the day before. Bukovsky's mother, Nina Bukovskaya, was informed and in turn spread the word. Academician Andrei Sakharov, the nuclear physicist and civil-rights advocate, appealed together with several prominent scientists and rights advocates to the prosecutor and ministry of justice, urging that a fair trial be guaranteed.

Sakharov and other well-known friends of the accused were reportedly denied admission to the courtroom on January 5. In previous political trials, such as that of Revolt Pimenov a year ago, and those of Soviet Jews in the spring of 1971, Sakharov was allowed to attend. This time there seems to have been a special effort

issue of repressive use of psychiatric techniques in the USSR, not least through the efforts of Bukovsky himself. In addition, the book *A Question of Madness* documenting the repressive commitment of Soviet biologist Jaures Medvedev to a psychiatric hospital and the successful campaign that freed him was much in the news. And an international psychiatric congress in late November-early December in Mexico City was to consider a resolution condemning abuse of psychiatry for repressive purposes.

Accordingly, the Soviet government paper *Izvestia* ran an article October 24 denying that political opponents were forcibly confined in mental hospitals. And in mid-November word came that Bukovsky had been ruled sane and fit to stand trial rather than being held indefinitely as an alleged

frame-up trial. The prosecutor, Aza Bobrushko, accused Bukovsky not only of trying to send information abroad and to smuggle a printing press into the USSR for disseminating "subversive" material, but—oh, crime of unpatriotic crimes—of allegedly trying to persuade two Soviet military personnel to assist him. (Next, we'll hear, no doubt, that he appealed to the Czechoslovak army to invade the Soviet Union and "restore capitalism.")

Tass claimed, according to the January 6 *Washington Post*, that Bukovsky "did not deny the facts concerning the actions for which he was tried."

Perhaps he did not deny his real activities, but argued instead—as he did in his previous trial—that these were legal under the Soviet constitution, which guarantees freedom of speech, assembly, and the press. If so, Tass would surely have found such a detail not worth mentioning.

A remarkable aspect of the trial was reported in the January 6 *Vecherniaia Moskva*: a filmed interview that Bukovsky gave to U.S. newsmen William Cole in early 1970 was shown to the court. That film had been broadcast over major Western television systems in June 1970 and after. Some of Bukovsky's remarks in that interview are of interest in relation to his trial, since he undoubtedly spoke in a similar vein in defiance of his oppressors.

Before quoting from that interview, a comment is in order regarding Bukovsky's stated opposition to the Soviet "social system." When he describes himself as an "anti-Communist," he actually means "antibureaucrat." That is, he is opposed to the bureaucratized Communist party in the Soviet Union which uses repression and lies in the name of Marxism in order to preserve special privileges at the expense of the working masses and of the worldwide struggle of the oppressed. Although he would surely not describe his views quite that way, he has shown a clearly fraternal attitude toward such dissident Communists as Grigorenko, Yakhimovich, Yakir, Sakharov, and the Greek Theodorakis. Moreover, none of his statements or actions have shown him to favor restoration of private ownership of the means of production. His one concern is that Soviet citizens enjoy democratic freedoms and be secure from arbitrary repression by the state—aims that true Communists and revolutionary socialists from Marx and Engels through Lenin and Trotsky to those of today share with him.

"I believe that the imprisonment of people like myself is an absurdity and that people who are convinced of the injustice of an existing social system cannot have their views changed by techniques of political persecution, by means of terror, by being held in camps, and so forth. For us, for people like myself, the deprivation of liberty cannot be a means of correction.

"I shall never change my political views. As I was, so I shall remain, in spite of the severity of punishment, imprisonment, and so forth. I know a great many people who have been through no less suffering than I and been deprived of their freedom, but who have remained unchanged, have remained human beings, defending the civil rights of their people; and no means at the disposal of the authorities are capable of changing our opinions."

"Interviewer: Do you think there is any hope for civil rights, freedom of speech in the Soviet Union?"

"Bukovsky: I consider that, if there is an attempt in our country to turn the system back to Stalinist ways, that will bring closer together and unite a vast number of people of various ideologies, nationalities, and opinions to struggle against that turn of events, and it will create a common platform for a decisive and final battle against

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The one-day frame-up trial of Vladimir Bukovsky

movement since his arrest in March 1971. [See "The Case of Vladimir Bukovsky" and "Kremlin Shifts Ground in Bukovsky Case" respectively in the October 18 and November 22 issues of *Intercontinental Press* for 1971, pp. 889-90 and p. 1011.]

Many features of the January 5 trial pointed to the Kremlin's extreme nervousness about the case. Above all, the bureaucrats seem to have feared that supporters of democratic rights might gather at the courthouse and that demonstrations or other undesirable actions drawing public attention to the trial might develop. After all, a few weeks before, on December 21, democratic-minded citizens had turned the official funeral ceremonies for writer Aleksandr Tvardovsky into an unofficial quasi-demonstration of their own.

The bureaucracy's fear of protests or excessive publicity around the Bukovsky trial and the pains it was willing to take to avoid them can be gathered from the following account by Charlotte Saikowski, Moscow correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*. It appeared in the January 6 issue of that paper.

"For foreign newsmen [and newswomen, too, presumably], it was a bizarre scene that was played out near the courthouse as the trial opened.

"When they arrived in the suburban worker district of Lublino, where the court is located, they found the street barred to them by several militiamen and a dozen or so secret police and so-called 'people's volunteers' with the customary red bands around their arms.

"Asked why they could not proceed to the courtroom, a tall, fur-hatted militia lieutenant told them firmly:

"'This is a railroad district. It is forbidden to foreigners.' (Technically, all areas within Moscow city limits are open to foreigners.)

"'And if we come tomorrow or next week, is that still the law?' one newsmen responded.

"'I don't know. There is no permanent law in any country. It depends on the circumstances.'

"Returning to their cars, parked in the almost empty lot of a new supermarket, the correspondents were told by plainclothesmen they were not allowed to park there. A supermarket official, a woman, also emerged to ask a reporter to move his car.

"The reason for all this official action was to try to prevent direct contacts between the newsmen and friends of the accused attending the trial."

The trial was held on very short

to prevent any but the official version of the trial proceedings from becoming known.

Perhaps the Kremlin leaders have unpleasant recollections of the trial transcript circulated the last time Bukovsky was tried, in September 1967. It was Pavel Litvinov who then made public the final plea by Bukovsky, which still stands as an eloquent denunciation of the denial of democratic rights by the heirs of Stalin.

With the obvious aim of preventing publication of any similar statements by Bukovsky in his new trial, foreign correspondents were also excluded. Instead, the official press agency Tass provided an unusual running account of the trial throughout the day. This Kremlin-doctored version was for foreign subscribers of the agency only. As of this writing, Soviet readers have been given only one short, distorted account so far as we know—in the January 6 local Moscow paper, *Vecherniaia Moskva*. Only short bits of the Tass version have appeared in the Western press. We have not yet been allowed to see the full Tass account by any of the papers that subscribe to Tass.

Some uncensored news of what actually happened at the trial did get out. Friends of Bukovsky were able to report that in his final plea he made a declaration to this effect: "My only regret is that in one year, three months, and three days I did so little." (Released after serving a three-year sentence in January 1970, he was re-arrested in March 1971. In the interim he was extremely active in publicizing facts on the bureaucratic suppression of political dissent. Documents showing the Kremlin misuse of psychiatric facilities to incarcerate political opponents, such as ex-Red Army General Pyotr Grigorenko and dissident Communist Ivan Yakhimovich, were sent abroad by Bukovsky a year ago. It was that action more than any of his numerous other civil-rights activities that led to his arrest and indictment.)

Why a quick trial?

A note in regard to the timing of the trial is in order at this point. As we have said, Bukovsky's case became a major focus of the Soviet democratic movement during the past year. Protests became especially intense in October 1971 when the legal time limit for pretrial detention expired and he was still being held for "psychiatric examination."

At the same time international attention was focused sharply on the

mental patient.

The aim was to defuse the issue at the psychiatric congress. As it turned out, a majority of the professionals at the Mexico City congress voted not to take a "political" stand, many no doubt considering this a skirmish in the Cold War, in which they did not want to become enmeshed. Some also were probably pressured or persuaded by the large Soviet delegation of psychiatrists, which included Dr. Snezhnevsky who



Vladimir Bukovsky

had been quoted at length by *Izvestia* on the merits of Soviet psychiatry and the absurdity of the charges that its facilities were used against dissenters.

Having avoided a bad black eye at the psychiatric congress, the Soviet bureaucrats still had to deal with the prisoner Bukovsky. Since they might revive the controversy by holding him indefinitely on grounds of insanity, a quick trial was chosen as the way out—to face his supporters at home and abroad with a *fait accompli*. The maximum sentence is undoubtedly intended to "legally" remove him from circulation as long as possible. But the hopes of the Kremlin bosses that he will be forgotten, or that the problems raised by his case have been removed, are not likely to be realized.

Undoubtedly more extensive information about the trial and about the struggle in support of Bukovsky, which is sure to continue, will be forthcoming through *samizdat*—whether in the *Chronicle of Current Events* or some other form of privately circulated material.

From what little has been reported of the Tass version of the trial, one can deduce the kind of sensationalism used by the prosecution in this latest

Calendar

ATLANTA

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR BANGLADESH! Speaker: Susan Christie, spokeswoman for the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m., at the Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.W. (at Poplar), Third Floor. For further information, call 523-0610.

BERKELEY-OAKLAND

THE BLACK VOTE IN 1972: Independent Political Action or the Democratic Party? Speaker: Ken Miliner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 7th C.D. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m., at 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Ausp. Militant Forum. Donations \$1, h.s. students 50c. For further information, call (415) 654-9728.

BROOKLYN

NEW STAGE IN THE PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT: A Report on the Founding Convention of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Speaker: a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m., at 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Brooklyn Militant Forum.

CHICAGO

THE MEANING OF PHASE TWO OF THE WAGE FREEZE. Speaker: Frank Lovell, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m., at 180 N. Wacker. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. Gourmet dinner served at 6:30 p.m., \$1.25. For further information, call (312) 641-0147.

DETROIT

SOCIAL USES OF ROCK AND ROLL MUSIC. Speakers: John and Leni Sinclair. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m., at 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For further information, call (313) 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN '72 BANQUET. Featured speakers will be Linda Jenness, SWP presidential candidate, and Harry Ring of the Southwest Bureau of The Militant. Fri., Feb. 4, at Baces Hall, 1528 N. Vermont Ave. Tickets, \$5. Cocktails at 6 p.m., dinner at 7 p.m., and rally at 8 p.m. For reservations, call (213) 461-8131 or (213) 463-1917.

AN ALL WOMEN'S PARTY will be held featuring Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, on Sat., Jan. 29. The party will be held from 7:30 p.m.-midnight at 12202 Cantura in Studio City. Donation: \$2. Ausp. Women for Jenness and Pulley. For directions and further information, call Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee at (213) 461-8131.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM: What is the Role of Revolutionary Socialists in the Women's Liberation Movement? Speaker: Carol Lipman, national committee member Socialist Workers Party, former national project director of WONAAC. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m., at 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE NEW YORK TELEPHONE STRIKE: The First Six Months. Speakers: Dennis Serrette, vice-president Local 1101 Communications Workers of America, head of Local 1101 strike committee; and Doug Roper, representative of Local 1101 strike committee. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m., at 2744 Broadway (105 St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

SPRING ANTIWAR OFFENSIVE PLANNING MEETING—STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE. Sat., Jan. 22, 1 p.m. Harkness Theater, Columbia University, 116th St. and Broadway.

...Blanco

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A. It seems that the Cuban government still lacks a coherent strategy for the Latin American revolution. The option for revolutionists is not limited to capitulating in a popular front, or in an alliance with bourgeois sectors, which Fidel defends in Peru; it is not limited to what Fidel is defending in Chile, or what he would defend in Uruguay if need be. That is, we do not have to choose between this and guerrilla warfare, or immediate armed struggle. What we must do is raise the consciousness of the masses, starting off from their present level, using various tactics depending on the real situation in each country. We have to raise them up until they understand that they must overthrow the capitalist system and establish a socialist one by means of a workers' government, or a workers and peasants' government.

It seems to me that what has to be done in Uruguay is encourage the masses to organize to struggle for the demands they are fighting for now, to lift them toward better forms of organization and struggle until they gain the awareness that only by overthrowing the capitalist system can they see their aspirations satisfied.

There is no question that when the working masses come to understand this, the bourgeois system is going to defend itself tooth and nail. It is going to attack the masses fighting for their rights, just as it has always done. And then the masses will learn that they must also destroy the fundamental bulwarks of the capitalist system in order to establish their own state. To put it in a nutshell, our difference with Fidel is not that we are opposed to armed struggle but that we do not think that the answer to the Frente Amplio's defeat in Uruguay is to create guerrilla units.

...trial

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such a development. I do not believe such a development could be successful in our country, for the good reason that there are enough people ready to lay down their lives to prevent it happening. . . .

"What faith do I have in the victory of the cause for which I live and work? It's difficult to say—I'm not a prophet, and I can't foretell what will happen in a few years in the political world. But it seems to me that the number of people who understand the need for open, public protest against the lawlessness which goes on every hour and every second in this country is increasing every day. I am sure that the number will not grow less but more and that ultimately the cause for which I am working will triumph. Maybe it will happen in five years, maybe seven, I can't say exactly."

...QFL

Continued from page 9

of the PQ blasted the labor actions in support of the strike at *La Presse*.

René Lévesque, the national leader of the PQ, stated the PQ's attitude toward these developments and his chauvinist attitude toward the people of Latin America when he said he "would rather live in a South American banana republic than in a Québec run according to the rantings" of the trade-union leadership (Nov. 22 *Labor Challenge*).

Lévesque dissociated himself from the mass actions of the Québec workers' movement, stating that the PQ was a "political party and not an agitational movement or a movement for social disintegration." Robert Burns, the only PQ member of the Québec National Assembly to defend the workers' struggle, was "invited to leave the Parti Québécois" by Lévesque, according to the Dec. 20 *Labor Challenge*.

The QFL, however, failed to draw all the lessons of the PQ's attitude to the *Presse* mobilizations. While the QFL convention discussed the possibility of forming a new political party in Québec, the QFL leadership maintained its position of support to the PQ. QFL President Louis Laberge, after scoring the PQ's attacks on Québec workers, stated that Lévesque was a "good guy" and that the PQ is "the party which, in Québec, represents the workers best."

Québécois revolutionary socialists, who have played an important role in the mass actions in defense of the French language in Québec and in the struggles in support of *La Presse* strikers, have pointed to the political solution to the problems of the Qué-

bec labor movement—the formation of a Québécois labor party.

An editorial in the December 1971 issue of *Liberation*, a French-language revolutionary-socialist monthly published in Montréal, was entitled "Labor must break from Parti Québécois." It states, "The way forward for the vast majority of the Québécois, the workers and their allies, is clear: we must rely on our own forces—we must break with the PQ. . . .

"The only party capable of struggling and defending the rights of the workers and of the nation is a workers' party, a mass party based on the trade unions."

This is the anticapitalist thrust of the combined working class and national struggle of the Québécois.

At the close of the QFL convention, the delegates chanted the slogan of the French workers and students in May 1968: "Ce n'est qu'un début, continuons le combat." (This is just the beginning, let's continue the fight.)

...JDL

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Palestinians who have been uprooted by Jewish settlers in Israel. It is the Palestinians who are fighting to regain their land and to obtain equal status with all other peoples in the Mideast, including Jews. The Palestinian organizations involved in this struggle aren't anti-Semitic. They are opposed to the Israeli state because it oppresses them. Similarly, in this country, Blacks and Puerto Ricans are superexploited groups and are themselves the victims of capitalist society. Their fight is to end this oppression and control the institutions that affect their daily lives.

The real enemy of the Jews is not Black people or Palestinian people or socialists; it is the rulers of the United States and other capitalist countries. There is no capitalist state in the world where Jews have a secure status. Socialists, on the other hand, have always been staunch opponents of anti-Semitism wherever it occurs.

Socialists don't think that Jews will be liberated by supporting armed terrorist thugs like the JDL, who consistently support the most reactionary features of capitalism. Jews will be liberated through allying themselves with the movements of all oppressed people throughout the world for their liberation, a struggle that leads ultimately to socialism.

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.

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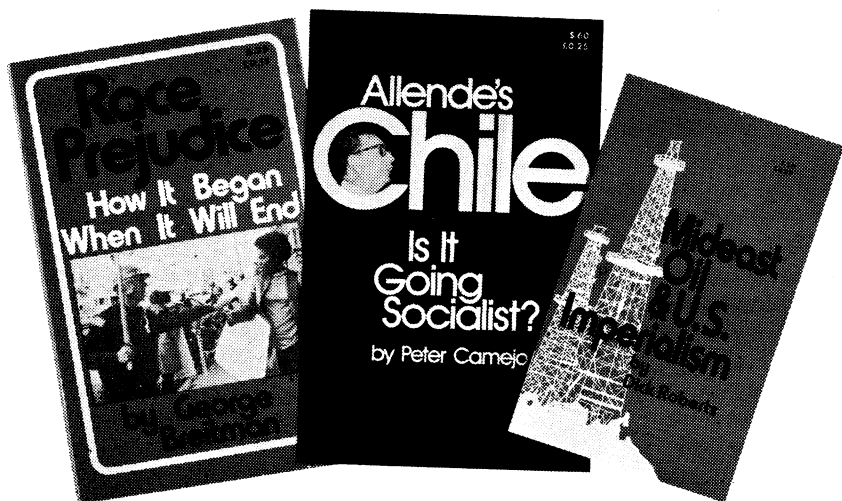
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Nixon's goal in '72: buy time to pursue Indochina war aims

By DICK ROBERTS

JAN. 18—Can President Nixon get through 1972 without a major blow-up over the war? The question is uppermost in Washington politics, according to correspondents in the capitol, because of the escalated military offensive of the revolutionary forces throughout Indochina in the last month.

Analysts for prominent ruling-class newspapers like the *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* are discussing Nixon's plans with unusual candor: If the war question can be kept to a minimum in the upcoming elections, they state, Nixon's possible reelection will buy him another four years to prosecute the war.

"Even if the Vietnamization strategy does founder eventually," *New York Times* reporter Neil Sheehan wrote from Washington Jan. 16, "Mr. Nixon may win another four years in which to maneuver for his goal of a non-Communist Vietnam, provided American casualties remain low and the Saigon forces do not unravel under enemy pressure during this election year."

Nixon has announced that he plans to reduce U.S. forces to a "residual" level of about 35,000 troops by the time of the elections. If this is done, it will still leave sufficient strength in South Vietnam to press the war indefinitely. "We will probably keep bombing the Ho Chi Minh Trail throughout 1972 and 1973," a U.S. official stated, according to *Wall Street Journal* staff reporter Robert Keatley.

In an article written from Washington Jan. 14, Keatley explained: "Senior officials foresee no fundamental changes soon in the war's conduct. . . . The men who manage foreign policy generally see the continued U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia as unavoidable. They argue that any sudden abandonment of Indochina could destroy American political influence and economic interests in Asia."

Those familiar with the *Pentagon Papers* will recognize the phraseology of the last sentence. Virtually every top-secret National Security Council resolution on war policy in the 25-year period covered by the *Pentagon documents* stresses the strategic importance of Indochina to U.S. political and economic interests in Asia. Nixon has not departed from the fundamental goal of establishing a military base for U.S. imperialism in war-torn Southeast Asia.

"Translated into specific actions," states Keatley, Nixon's policy "means the U.S. could soldier on in Indochina indefinitely, Congress and the general public willing."

Nixon administration officials fear the escalated revolutionary offensive could "revive questions here about the depth of U.S. involvement in the war

and its prospects for success," Keatley states. "It is said that a series of flashy raids—perhaps seizure of a major Vietnamese town, for example—could bring fresh congressional limitations of the U.S. military, perhaps forcing the full and final withdrawal that Mr. Nixon refuses to order himself." (The fact that a big upsurge of the antiwar movement would be necessary before any lawmakers in Washington acted against Nixon's policies is left unstated in this analysis. However, strategists at the White House do not forget that in 1968 the Tet offensive gave a huge impetus to the antiwar movement. In fact, President Johnson was forced to alter U.S. strategy at that time without any "congressional limitations" ever being suggested.)

"Hanoi's hardline Politburo also has other purposes," *Wall Street Journal* reporter Keatley continues. "One is to embarrass Mr. Nixon as he tours China; this might complicate his dealings with Premier Chou En-lai, something North Vietnam—perturbed by the Sino-American rapprochement—would enjoy doing. Hanoi also wants to serve notice that it won't yield to any Peking pressure for a compromise settlement of the war. North Vietnamese official statements continue to trumpet that 'the imperialists will certainly be defeated.'"

These remarks reflect the high hopes among top U.S. officials that Peking can bring pressure to bear on Hanoi for a Korean-type settlement of the war. The officials hinted to Keatley that Nixon might be willing to dump South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu in a deal with Hanoi. "Once we started talking about giving Thieu a reasonable chance, it was obvious that we no longer considered saving his government a vital U.S. interest," an official told Keatley.

But it is another question whether Hanoi will bow to pressure from Mao. The Vietnamese already have had the experience of the 1954 Geneva Accords, which partitioned their country and gave the imperialists the base in Saigon subsequently used to launch Washington's counterrevolutionary war. Is it likely the Vietnamese will accept a new division of their country?

Washington strategists do not count on it. The possibility "of a Communist policy change [in Hanoi] seems a slender hope," Keatley states. "Experts here concede there are no known internal crises that would force North Vietnam to switch away from protracted war; its economy is adequate, its manpower reserves sufficient and state control of the populace strong enough to prolong the war for many years."

This is why the officials in the White House are so concerned to keep the war question toned down in 1972. They don't foresee crushing the Vietnamese revolution in the near future.

Bengali leader tries to disarm guerrillas

By MARCEL BLACK

JAN. 18—Sheik Mujibur Rahman was welcomed by an enthusiastic crowd of 500,000 Bengalis when he returned to Bangladesh Jan. 10. However, Rahman's actions since his return show that his main political aim is to defuse the massive revolutionary mobilization of the Bengali people. Most significant is his attempt to disarm the tens of thousands of Bengali guerrillas who led the fight against the Pakistani occupation.

On Jan. 17, according to Tillman Durdin, writing in the Jan. 18 *New York Times*, "Rahman ordered all former Bengali guerrilla fighters . . . to surrender their arms to government agents within 10 days." Durdin described this as a "decisive move" intended to meet the serious problem posed to the new Bangladesh regime by the freedom fighters, who are "exercising extensive administrative powers in some rural areas." To help maintain capitalist law and order,

All of these politicians are members of the Awami League, the East Bengali bourgeois-nationalist party led by Rahman. Several held positions in the Pakistani administration of East Bengal before the struggle for liberation.

Rahman's regime further announced that a Constituent Assembly would meet to establish a permanent constitution, and that this body would also be composed entirely of Awami League representatives.

According to a report in the Jan. 24 *Intercontinental Press*, "That body will be composed of all those elected to the National and Provincial Assemblies in the December 1970 election, except people who collaborated with Pakistan during the occupation. As there were only two nonmembers of the Awami League elected to the National Assembly, one of whom . . . defected to Pakistan, there is no doubt that the new constitution will be an exclusively Awami League document."

Rahman, with this undemocratic maneuver, refuses to recognize the massive radicalization of the East Bengalis that has taken place since the 1970 Pakistani election and excludes those who boycotted the elections as an anti-Pakistani gesture. In fact, the narrowness of the government and the Constituent Assembly even surprised many commentators in the U.S. capitalist press who thought that the Provisional Government would be broadened.

Fox Butterfield stated in a *New York Times* dispatch from Dacca dated Jan. 12: "It had been thought that Sheik Mujib would broaden the provisional cabinet, which was composed entirely of leaders of the Awami League, to include some guerrilla leaders, students or members of the small leftist opposition groups, the National Awami Party and the Communists." Butterfield characterized the new government ministers as a "generally undistinguished group of old-line party regulars."

Butterfield pointed out that there "has been some resentment against them voiced by the Mukti Bahini, or Liberation Force, guerrillas and students who stayed behind to fight." So it is not surprising that one of the first moves Mujib made has been to attempt to disarm them.

The workers, peasants, and students of Bangladesh have waged a heroic struggle for democratic control over Bangladesh and for national liberation. Their struggle threatens to go beyond the aims of the Bengali capitalists led by Rahman and backed by the Indian occupation forces. The democratic control of sections of Bangladesh by the armed workers, peasants, and students is an important sign of this process.

Mujibur Rahman's attempts to disarm these freedom fighters and sweep aside the democratic rule that began to emerge during the long and bitter struggle against Pakistani occupation are aimed at preventing a social and economic revolution that would end capitalist rule over Bangladesh.



Sheik Mujibur Rahman

Rahman proposed absorbing some of the guerrillas into the regular army and police.

These threatening moves against the armed workers, peasants, and students in the guerrilla forces coincided with Rahman's attempts to set up a centralized capitalist government, organized around himself.

On Jan. 12, under terms of a temporary constitution proclaimed by himself, Rahman resigned as president of Bangladesh and appointed Abu Sayeed Choudhury president. Choudhury, in turn, appointed Rahman prime minister. Under the provisional constitution the prime minister is the key decision-maker and has the power to appoint the cabinet.

The cabinet Rahman appointed consisted of himself and a few other members of the Awami League. He appointed himself minister of defense, home affairs, cabinet affairs, and information. Syed Nazrul Islam, who was acting president until Rahman's return, was named minister of trade, industry, and commerce. Former Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmed was named minister of finance and planning.