

THE MILITANT

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

Nixon attacks N. Vietnam, steps up the war

The massive five-day U.S. bombing of North Vietnam underlined what many have been reluctant to believe: President Nixon is continuing to seek a military victory in Southeast Asia just as President Johnson before him. The real meaning of "Vietnamization" is defeat of the Vietnamese revolution and stabilization of a proimperialist regime in Saigon.

Beginning on Dec. 26, U.S. Air Force and Navy jet bombers flew about 1,000 attack sorties against targets described as "fuel and supply depots, antiaircraft gun, missile and radar sites, and MIG fighter airfields." The bombings were said to be in the "southern portion of North Vietnam below the 20th Parallel, about 200 miles north of the demilitarized zone and 70 miles south of Hanoi" (New York Times, Jan. 2).

This constituted by far the biggest bombing attack against North Vietnam since Johnson supposedly ceased bombing North Vietnam in 1968.

It is well to remember that for almost two years, from February 1965 to December 1966, the Johnson administration bombed North Vietnam under the same pretense of "hitting only military targets."

This lie was not challenged until New York Times assistant managing editor Harrison Salisbury visited Hanoi at the end of December 1966 and reported large-scale destruction of cities, towns and villages, including schools. The Pentagon Papers recently disclosed that the casualties in the first two years of bombing "military targets" were "about 80 percent civilian."

Nixon administration spokesmen stated at the Pentagon Jan. 3 that "United States planes had failed to hit all of their planned targets in the five-day series of air strikes," according to United Press International. The military officials were "holding open the possibility of renewed bombing of North Vietnam."

Nixon's escalated bombing of North Vietnam takes its place beside the May 1970 invasion of Cambodia and the February 1971 invasion of Laos as landmarks in Washington's continued attempt to crush the revolution in Southeast Asia by expanding the arena of warfare.

New York Times correspondent Neil Sheehan amplified this point

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Bombs are loaded aboard fighter-bombers on the USS Constellation for attacks on North Vietnam

Young socialist convention sets drive to build SWP campaign

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ELLSBERG REINDICTED: The Los Angeles federal grand jury that indicted Daniel Ellsberg last July for "illegally possessing" the Pentagon papers issued a new indictment Dec. 30 charging Ellsberg with conspiracy, theft and espionage. Indicted along with Ellsberg this time is Anthony J. Russo Jr., a former colleague of Ellsberg at the Rand Corporation. The new indictment also named two others—Vu Van Thai, former ambassador from South Vietnam, and Lynda Sinay, a Los Angeles advertising woman—as "co-conspirators" without charging them. Ellsberg termed the new charges entirely false. Asked if he would have gone ahead and made the papers public if he had known he would face such charges, Ellsberg replied: "How can you measure the jeopardy I'm in to the penalty that has already been paid by 50,000 American families and hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese?"

DANIEL BERRIGAN MAY BE PAROLED THIS MONTH: The U.S. Parole Board, which denied parole to Daniel Berrigan last July, has bent under pressure from supporters of the antiwar priest and agreed to rehear his case Jan. 26. Berrigan has 10 months left before the expiration of his three-year sentence for destroying draft records. His health has begun to fail in prison. His brother Philip, one of those charged in the Harrisburg Eight frame-up case, is serving a six-year sentence for destroying draft files and is not yet eligible for parole.

JUDGE REFUSES TO DROP LYTLE FRAME-UP: Brad Lytle, a coordinator of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice and widely known for his adherence to nonviolence, still faces phony frame-up charges that he assaulted a cop during the Mayday protests in Washington, D.C., last spring. Philip Hirschkop, Lytle's attorney, sought to have the case dismissed because it is being pressed by the government for purely political reasons rather than for its legal merits. However, Washington Superior Court Judge William S. Thompson refused to dismiss the charges Dec. 21, and at the same time refused to issue subpoenas for witnesses whose testimony Hirschkop sought to substantiate his argument.

NEWSFLASH

NEW YORK—On Jan. 5 Judge Francis Xavier Smith of the Supreme Court of Queens County issued an injunction against the performance of abortions in New York City municipal hospitals. The action was the result of a legal challenge by Professor Robert Byrn of Fordham University, who on Dec. 3 was appointed by the state Supreme Court as the legal guardian of all fetuses between the fourth and twenty-fourth weeks of gestation scheduled to be aborted in New York City municipal hospitals.

A statement released Jan. 6 by the New York office of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition called for "a unified meeting of women throughout the city to plan united activities in response to this attack." The meeting will take place at 7:30 p.m., Sunday, Jan. 9, at the West Side YWCA, 840 8th Ave. (at 50th St.), Room 300. For more information, contact WONAAC, (212) 741-0459.



UNSELLING THE WAR: As part of its participation in the Help Unsell the War project of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, the Phoenix Peace Center in Arizona is currently renting the billboard above, designed by Glendale, Ariz., Community College student John Smith. The group is soliciting funds to purchase minute and half-minute spots on TV and radio for antiwar commercials developed by agencies in the Help Unsell the War project. For more information on the radio, TV and newspaper ads available from Help Unsell the War, write: Clergy and Laymen Concerned, 637 West 125th St., New York, N.Y. 10027.

HOMOSEXUALS FILE CLASS ACTION AGAINST U.S.: Acting on behalf of four plaintiffs, the American Civil Liberties Union filed a class action suit Dec. 20 seeking a permanent injunction against the U.S. Civil Service Commission and the government barring investigations of the sexual practices of federal employees or job applicants. The suit, filed in the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., further seeks a court declaration that using homosexuality as the basis for disqualification is unlawful. ACLU executive director Florence Isbell noted that this was the first class action brought on behalf of former government employees dismissed for being homosexuals. She said two court victories had been won recently by dismissed homosexuals, but the government has not regarded these as binding on its general policy of discriminating against gays.

GAY SEX NO LONGER FELONY IN FLORIDA: The Florida Supreme Court last month declared unconstitutional that state's 103-year-old law making "crimes against nature" felonies. Keeping one foot in the Dark Ages, however, the court retained misdemeanor prohibitions against "unnatural and lascivious acts," arguing that these would continue society's protection "from this sort of reprehensible act."

JDL VANDALISM: Despite a request for added police protection two days in advance, there were no cops in sight Dec. 28 when two members of the right-wing Jewish Defense League entered the Syrian U.N. Mission in New York City and spray-painted a Star of David on a glass cabinet. City officials said "manpower shortage" was responsible for the lack of guards but posted two cops there after the fact.

FASCISTS BID FOR ITALY'S YOUTH: Denouncing the "decadence of parliamentary democracy" and pointing to the relative strength of the Italian Communist Party vis-a-vis other parties as evidence, the Italian Social Movement, Italy's fascist party, declared the opening of a drive to build an "Anti-Communist Youth" organization, the New York Times reported Dec. 26.

COURT DUCKS STUDENT RIGHTS CASE: The U.S. Supreme Court Dec. 14 refused to hear a case that could have firmly established that students should enjoy the same First Amendment rights as other citizens. The case was an appeal by a group of students at Madison College in Harrisonburg, Va., of a federal circuit court decision declaring exceptions to the First Amendment for "reasonable" college rules. The students had been disciplined for holding an orderly vigil in April 1970.

SOUTH VIETNAM IN STRUGGLE: The front page of No. 118 in 1971 (October 18) of the English-language publication of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, *South Vietnam in Struggle*, is entirely devoted to a letter of solidarity to the U.S. antiwar movement. The letter, signed by Ho Thu, a member of the NLF central committee and chairman of a committee for solidarity with the American people, takes note of the spring offensive against the war and includes wishes for a successful fall offensive. It also touches on Nixon's criminal, stubborn pursuit of the war and its terrible consequences for the peoples of Vietnam and the U.S.

FILIPINO MAGAZINE REPRINTS MILITANT: The November *Philippine Socialist Review*, the second issue of the new magazine, reprinted with a few minor editorial changes Tony Thomas' article "CPUSA (Communist Party USA) slanders Ceylon's rebel youth" from the Oct. 22 issue of *The Militant*.

"MYSTERIOUS PAMPHLET": The Jan. 1 New York Times reports an article in the Moscow newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, which refers to an article in the Tokyo weekly *Shukan Shincho*, which in turn summarizes the contents of what is said to be a pamphlet issued in China by the publishing house of the Chinese party organ, *Hung-Chi*. According to the Times, the pamphlet was on sale in Peking bookstores for a few hours before being withdrawn one day this fall. Reporting the pamphlet to be written in catechism form, the Times article quotes the following from the answer to the question of whether "there is a struggle now in China around two policies": "There are two lines on questions of domestic and foreign policy among the leadership. . . . Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai contend that China is threatened to a greater extent by the Soviet Union than by American imperialism. . . . Comrades who adhere to Marxist-Leninist theory characterize that line as far-reaching rightist deviation." The Times comments that by "using the medium of *Sovetskaya Rossiya* . . . the Kremlin appeared eager to show its sympathy for the views stated in the short-lived oppositionist pamphlet."

—LEE SMITH

To our new subscribers:

If you are one of the 32,580 people who bought a 10-week introductory subscription to *The Militant* during the recent drive to expand our circulation, you will have received a number of issues and have a better idea of what *The Militant* is like than when you first subscribed.

We believe that the more you know about *The Militant*, the more you will want to continue receiving it when your introductory subscription expires.

Many of you invested a dollar in *The Militant* because you wanted to find out what is really happening in the world. We believe you haven't been disappointed—*The Militant* has told the truth when the mass media did not. Examples from the beginning of the subscription campaign in September to the present include:

The wage freeze and Phase Two wage controls—"War, not wages, causes inflation" was a banner headline in one issue and a frequent theme in many others.

The war in Southeast Asia—Long before the recent escalation in bombing of North Vietnam, *The Militant* warned "The war is not over: Nixon's Vietnamization fraud," and "Nixon's plan: permanent U.S. war."

The Bangladesh liberation struggle—"Causes of the Indo-Pakistan war" and "National oppression of Bangladesh key issue in war" were among the articles *The Militant* ran to provide background information and analysis for our readers.

Defense cases—Among the cases regularly covered in *The Militant* were the Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee pretrial hearings and the trials of the Soledad Brothers and Huey Newton. We told the truth about the murder of George Jackson at San Quentin prison. We interviewed Shirley Wheel-

er, convicted of manslaughter by the state of Florida for having an abortion.

The prison revolts—*The Militant* sent a reporter to Attica and was one of the few newspapers to articulate the aspirations of the prisoners while others were printing the lies about "atrocities" committed by the inmates upon guards to set the stage for the massacre.

The Militant is not simply a source of accurate information but is a campaigner, an organizer. It is an indispensable weapon in the hands of activists who are building the mass-action movements of the new radicalization and those who are attempting to bring about the revolutionary transformation of American society. In November alone, there were two important national actions that *The Militant* did everything within its means to promote: the Nov. 6 antiwar demonstrations in 17 cities, and the Nov. 20 marches in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco for the repeal of all anti-abortion laws.

Throughout 1972 *The Militant* will continue to support and build such actions as the April 22 antiwar demonstrations in New York and on the West Coast called by the recent National Peace Action Coalition convention. *The Militant* will build the February conference of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, which will discuss an action perspective for the spring.

We will also be supporting and reporting on the Socialist Workers Party election campaign of Linda Jenness for president and Andrew Pulley for vice-president, which promises to be the biggest socialist campaign since the time of Eugene V. Debs.

Many new readers of *The Militant* are not aware of our past record.

Throughout its 43-year history, *The Militant* has consistently stood on the side of the oppressed and exploited. *The Militant* was part of the labor radicalization of the 1930s and participated in building the new industrial unions of the CIO.

Our record

As early as 1945, *The Militant* began to expose the U.S. intervention in Indochina. So today, when *The Militant* campaigns for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina, it is continuing a fight it began more than 25 years ago.

Another striking example of how *The Militant* has been out in front was its responsiveness to the rise of Black nationalism. When Malcolm X emerged as an important Black spokesman, *The Militant* welcomed this development at a time when virtually every other group in the country—on the left as well as on the right—launched vicious attacks on Malcolm and his ideas.

Malcolm had this to say of *The Militant*: "The *Militant* newspaper . . . is one of the best anywhere you go today because everywhere I go I see it. I saw it even in Paris . . . I saw it in some parts of Africa . . . I don't know how it gets there. But if you put the right things in it, what you put in it will see that it gets around."

One of the reasons *The Militant* gets around is because it has regular, in-depth coverage of developments in other countries, since it sees the struggle for a socialist America as part of the struggle for international socialism. When the general strike occurred in France in 1968, *The Militant* sent a team of reporters and photographers to bring its readers on-the-spot coverage. More recently, reporters for *The Militant* have covered developments firsthand in Ireland, Quebec,

Trinidad, Mexico, and Puerto Rico.

While reporting and analyzing political events, *The Militant* has also addressed itself to the current discussions and debates within various movements for social change, explaining the socialist position on these topics. One recent example was the discussion within the antiwar movement around the "Evict Nixon" perspective of electing a Democrat to replace Nixon versus the strategy of keeping the antiwar movement independent and marching in the streets. Another example was the debate over whether to support mass actions demanding the repeal of all anti-abortion laws or ending such actions to concentrate on electing liberal Democratic or Republican candidates.

During the past year, *The Militant* has expanded both its size and its coverage. In the course of this expansion, it has added a number of departments, such as the new Southwest Bureau and the regular column "La Raza en Accion." Both additions have helped make *The Militant's* coverage of the Chicano struggle the most extensive of any nationally circulated paper in the United States.

The Militant will continue to bring you the most complete coverage about those who are struggling against their oppression—working people, women, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and others. *The Militant* will help these movements grow and show how their fight will lead to the fight for a socialist America.

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— THE EDITORS

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Antiwar strategy: NPAC answers PCPJ

The following reply from the National Peace Action Coalition to the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice is part of a discussion of strategy that has been taking place in the antiwar movement. On Oct. 16 NPAC issued an open letter to PCPJ urging unification of the two antiwar coalitions. This open letter was answered by PCPJ in a statement approved by its national coordinating committee in November. The following is an answer to that reply. Stephanie Coontz is one of the national coordinators of NPAC.

By STEPHANIE COONTZ

The responsibility of the antiwar movement continues to be the mobilization of the largest numbers of Americans for the withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia. While the administration tries to convince us that the war is no longer an issue, increasingly fiendish methods of death and destruction are being used upon the people of Indochina. Attempts at deception similar to the Nixon "winding down" public relations campaign have been made in the past. They have failed due to the combined impact of the American antiwar movement and the resistance of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

It was in this context that NPAC addressed an open letter to PCPJ suggesting that "the time is now for all who oppose U.S. military intervention in Indochina to unite in a single antiwar coalition." We pointed out that the existence of two national coalitions had bred "confusion, division and unwanted competition" and a unified coalition would better enable the movement to reach out to new sections of the population. We pointed to the oft-repeated pleas for unity made by the Vietnamese themselves.

The question of unity is of concern to the entire movement and could not be relegated to private discussions between leaders of the two groups. This is why NPAC issued an open letter to PCPJ. The need for an open discussion was highlighted when the PCPJ coordinators made the unfortunate decision to bar Jerry Gordon from attending PCPJ's November Coordinating Committee meeting, where a response was to be formulated to our proposal for unity.

We welcome a frank and open discussion of the direction for the antiwar movement. Such a discussion does not have to be characterized by raking up old organizational charges or throwing out labels like "manipulative." It should concentrate on the political issues. At the end of its open letter, PCPJ does raise a number of political objections to a unified antiwar coalition. They are basically as follows:

1. PCPJ states that it does not view itself "simply as a 'peace' movement . . . we see in short that our nation is caught in a profound crisis that just simply can't be resolved by discussing only the peace issue, particularly when it is discussed in the superficial way that NPAC has done." They go on to say that what is needed is a coalition that becomes "in effect, an American left."

2. PCPJ objects to NPAC's "single slogan on the war—'OUT NOW'" as not being "an effective political tool."

3. PCPJ objects to the fact that NPAC does not take a position of support to the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam.

Unity in action?

We intend to deal with these objections in the course of this article, but before taking them up we would like to pose a question to PCPJ. If PCPJ does not see a basis for one unified national coalition, will they continue to favor unified national action? Will

they participate in building the upcoming April 22 mass demonstrations? We believe that while the two coalitions may disagree on a number of points they must work together, at the very least, to mobilize the most possible people against the war.

This is particularly necessary as the 1972 elections approach. Many people have developed the illusion that the war will now have to be ended, regardless of what the antiwar movement does. Some believe that Nixon will have to end it for reasons of political expediency. Others believe the Democratic Party will nominate a peace candidate who will end the war. This creates considerable pressure to get the antiwar movement off the streets and into working for candidates for election. Some sections of the antiwar movement have already called for a moratorium on mass demonstrations for exactly this purpose. Many forces within PCPJ, as evidenced

movement any more than the antiwar movement can substitute itself for the American left.

The antiwar movement is much broader than the American left. There are millions of Americans who oppose the war in Vietnam but who would not agree with the left on any other issue. If the antiwar movement as a whole adopts demands on these other issues, we are saying to those Americans, "We will not allow you to work with us against the war unless you agree with us on all these other positions. If you do not, then you must stay home."

It is the job of the antiwar movement to mobilize *everyone* who opposes the war in the strongest and most powerful movement possible to end the war *now*. Left wing forces in the antiwar movement can help tremendously in that job—but they cannot build a strong and ever-growing movement if they restrict it to those

and what its nature should be. However, a brief clarification of NPAC's position on some of the other political disagreements that PCPJ raises is in order.

Self-determination

PCPJ objects to NPAC's central slogan of "OUT NOW." In the past it has counterposed the slogan "SET THE DATE" as part of the PRG seven-point program. If the Vietnamese feel that in order to negotiate an American withdrawal they must concede to the U.S. the right to be in Vietnam for a given period, that is their decision. But the American antiwar movement should make clear our view that the U.S. has never had a right to be in Vietnam and has no right to stay there one day longer. From the point of view of the American antiwar movement, the demand of immediate withdrawal or, "OUT NOW,"



Cleveland Nov. 6 antiwar demonstration

Photo by Linda Burton

by the decisions of its recent coordinating committee meeting, likewise have proposed that the major energy of that organization should be directed at working to "Dump Nixon" or to elect "progressive candidates."

NPAC feels that it is crucial that demonstrations take place during the '72 election year and beyond if necessary. While constituent groups within the antiwar movement are, of course, free to follow their own electoral bent with respect to candidates or political parties, the movement as a whole must stay independent. Whether you support Democrats, Republicans or Socialists in '72, or plan to boycott the election, there is a need for ongoing visible massive opposition to the war. An independent antiwar movement has the power to mobilize such opposition.

Will PCPJ join with us in saying, regardless of our other differences, that in the face of election year pressures we will both mobilize the antiwar movement in building massive demonstrations in the streets for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam? Or do the expressions of interest in PCPJ publications for "dumping Nixon" or participating in Democratic Party primaries mean that PCPJ itself is giving in to these pressures?

Basic issue

The basic political issue is the question of whether there is a need for an antiwar coalition in this country. NPAC says yes. PCPJ in its recent statement renounces all claim to being such a coalition when it says that it has decided to become, "in effect, an American Left."

No one in NPAC denies PCPJ the right to attempt to build an "American Left." But we do not agree that any organization of the American left can substitute itself for the antiwar

people who already agree with them.

Obviously, other issues are related to the war. The racism of this society shows up in the casualty rates. The sexism shows up in the allocation of millions to electronic warfare, while they can't even come up with a safe method of birth control for women. NPAC has always had speakers on a wide range of other issues at its rallies, and we have formed task forces to concretely relate the needs of various constituencies—labor, blacks, women, Raza, GIs, veterans, gays—to the issue of the war.

What NPAC has not done and will not do is to formulate a program and set of demands for these other movements, or raise a whole set of demands that people must agree with before they march against the war.

We are not asking PCPJ to dissolve or to give up one bit of its own program. We are asking PCPJ to join us in implementing one part of its program—an end to the war in Indochina.

That is what an antiwar coalition is all about. It brings together people of many different political views to work on a central issue on which they all agree—that the war in Indochina must be ended now.

PCPJ agrees that there should be an immediate end to the war in Vietnam and that mass demonstrations "have great value." So does NPAC. That is a real basis for unity. We can work together around that.

PCPJ also raises other demands and espouses other tactics which NPAC does not. On those, we can go our separate ways. NPAC and PCPJ can work together on mass antiwar demonstrations and PCPJ can, on its own, raise other demands and schedule other activities.

The real issue is whether or not there should be an antiwar coalition,

is an expression of the political principle of self-determination. PCPJ calls it "only a slogan, not an effective political tool." Yet it is a slogan which has mobilized millions of people to oppose the war, in the streets. Doesn't this demonstrate that it is an effective political tool?

PCPJ has objected that NPAC does not support the seven-point program of the PRG. The seven-point program constitutes a negotiating position for the Vietnamese, designed to offer guarantees which might convince the American government to withdraw. PCPJ says the proposal shows "how a democratic and neutral government could be established in South Vietnam." The proposal, then, is a concession, a guarantee that the Vietnamese will be "democratic" and "neutral" in return for an American withdrawal. The Vietnamese have every right to make whatever concessions they feel are necessary to end the destruction of their country. But the American antiwar movement should not make its call for U.S. withdrawal contingent on such concessions. We must say that no matter what form of government the Vietnamese choose and no matter who their government aligns with, the U.S. must get out now, without demanding any conditions or guarantees.

Think about it. The only way that raising the seven-point proposal would gain new converts to the antiwar movement would be by reaching those who will not support an American withdrawal unless the Vietnamese guarantee to be neutral. We do not want to bring people into the antiwar movement on those terms. And the irony is that we do not need to. The majority of the American people oppose leaving any residual force in Vietnam even if that would mean,

Continued on page 22

By DICK ROBERTS

A series of moves in international finance has temporarily ended the worst crisis of the capitalist world monetary system since the 1930s. Far from representing a victory for the United States, however, the monetary decisions reached in mid-December reflected the fundamentally weakened position of U.S. imperialism in world trade and finance.

In addition they underlined the apprehension in international banking circles of initiating a trade war that would bring on world economic collapse.

On Dec. 14, at a meeting with French President Pompidou, President Nixon agreed to devalue the dollar in return for revaluations of major foreign currencies. This action formally dislodged the dollar from its once paramount role in international financial reserves.

New exchange rates for world currencies were then fixed by a conference of the International Monetary Fund in Washington, D.C., Dec. 19. At a meeting with British Prime Minister Heath the following day, Nixon announced the end of the 10 percent U.S. surcharge on imports and the "Buy American" tax credit for investment in U.S.-manufactured capital goods.

These restrictions on foreign trade, key parts of the "New Economic Policy" announced by Nixon last Aug. 15, were given up without obtaining any significant concessions on trade regulations from Western Europe or Japan.

U. S. payments deficit

The monetary crisis that erupted last May was caused by a massive deterioration of the U.S. balance of payments. The balance of payments deficit represents the difference between the amount of U.S. dollars spent abroad and foreign currencies spent in this country.

According to the Dec. 17 *New York Times*, the second-quarter "basic" deficit for 1971 reached \$3.2-billion, compared to a basic deficit of only \$3-billion for all of 1970. A third-quarter basic deficit of \$3.1-billion was announced in Washington Dec. 16, on the eve of the International Monetary Fund meetings that realigned world currencies.

"Basic" deficits do not include short-term capital outflows. They have three main components: long-term capital investments abroad, foreign military expenditures, and the deficit in the balance of trade. For most of the postwar period, the United States incurred military and foreign investment deficits, but the balance of trade was in surplus—more U.S. goods were exported than foreign goods were sold in this country. But in 1971 the U.S. encountered the first trade deficit for a full year since 1893.

This deficit was the culmination of six years of sharply rising prices. The U.S. inflation, primed by escalation of Washington's invasion of Southeast Asia, tended to price U.S. goods out of foreign markets and to open up the U.S. market for a massive flow of cheaper foreign imports.

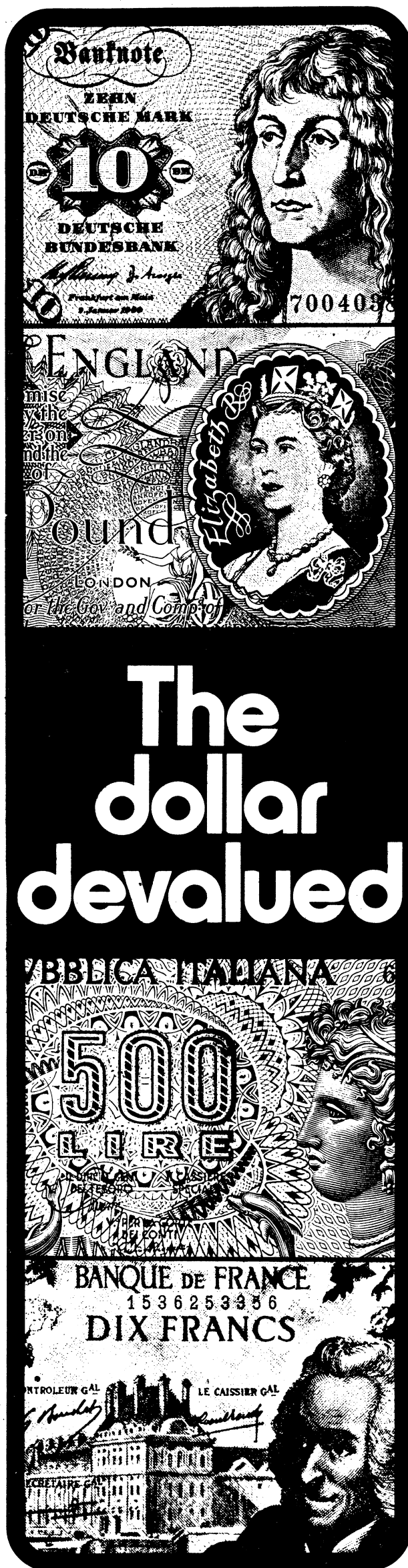
The central ingredients of imperialist foreign policy are consequently involved in the balance of payments deficit. The deficit reflects the huge expansion of the overseas investments of U.S. multinational industries and banks; the global U.S. military network to defend and extend this private investment; and the intensification of competition in world markets as Western Europe and Japan have increasingly challenged the once dominant U.S. hold. *Business Week* magazine estimated Sept. 25 that the cumulative U.S. deficit since 1950 had reached \$50-billion. Some \$30-billion of this was held by foreign central banks.

Inflation in the United States, which steadily worsened with each year of warfare in Southeast Asia, has eroded the competitive position of U.S. goods in world markets and undermined the value of the dollar.

Precisely because an inflated dollar can buy fewer goods, its value is depreciated. The huge quantity of dollars held abroad were losing their value because of U.S. inflation. Furthermore, other imperialist countries recognized in the weakness of the dollar a vehicle to attack the spread of U.S. investment abroad. By forcing a devaluation, they could reduce dollar investments.

This process came to a head in May when a staggering sum of short-term capital "fled" the United States side-by-side with the long-term capital outflow of the basic deficit described above. These short-term investments are the "hot money" that floods across international boundaries to hedge against devaluation. Believing that a devaluation of the dollar was imminent, investors traded massive amounts of dollars for foreign currencies in order to cash in on the certain profits when the devaluation took place.

Estimates vary. One authority cited by *New York Times* financial reporter H. Erich Heinemann Dec. 7 places the total short-term outflow at \$11-



The dollar devalued

billion for the first 10 months of 1971. If the basic deficit and the short-term outflow are combined, approximately \$24-billion flowed abroad in 1971 alone—very nearly 50 percent of the cumulative total of \$50-billion. This gigantic rain of inflated U.S. dollars on foreign central banks capsize the international monetary system.

"New Economic Policy"

Nixon's wage-freeze assault on American workers and offensive in world trade and finance are aimed at reducing the U.S. balance of payments deficit at the least cost to U.S. imperialists. Four aspects are central:

1) By instituting wage controls in this country, the ruling class hopes to hold down the wage increases of American workers and thus improve its position in international competition. The fact that organized labor has cooperated with Nixon's "Pay Board" and that no significant opposition has so far been raised in the labor movement to the policing of wages, marks considerably greater success for U.S. imperialism on the domestic front than it has achieved abroad.

2) Nixon requested that foreign countries "share the burden" of the world police apparatus of imperialism. West Germany has agreed to purchase close to \$1-billion worth of U.S. arms but further "progress" on this front seems unlikely.

3) Washington's refusal to continue converting dollars held by foreign central banks into gold was aimed at forcing the Japanese and European governments to revalue their currencies. This was the step finally agreed to in Washington Dec. 19. The following upward valuations were fixed (compared to the exchange rates that prevailed May 1, at the outset of the world currency crisis): Italian lire, up 7.5 percent; French francs, up 8.6 percent; British sterling, up 8.6 percent; West German D-marks, up 13.6 percent; Swiss francs, up 13.9 percent; Japanese yen, up 16.9 percent.

These revaluations automatically make U.S. goods cheaper in foreign trade and foreign goods more expensive in the American market by the percentages given. A Japanese Toyota that sold for \$2,000 in this country before the revaluation would now cost \$2,338, provided Toyota did not cut prices. This is clearly a significant change in the highly competitive small car field.

But the "best" that this can accomplish is a temporary shifting of recessionary pressures from one economy to the next. If the flow of Japanese goods into the United States is significantly retarded, this will increase recessionary pressures in Japan and also increase the need of Japanese industry to penetrate the European economy. Both results can only end up reproducing financial crises in other sectors of the capitalist monetary arena. While Nixon declared the currency revaluations to be "the most significant monetary agreements in the history of the world," Britain's leading financial weekly, *The Economist*, stated more accurately: "The most important point about the new pattern of world exchange rates is that it will not last for long."

Devaluation of the dollar (which must be approved by Congress) will change the price of gold from \$35 an ounce to \$38. This will not have an immediate direct effect on the prices of other commodities in world trade. But it is more than the "purely technical" matter referred to in much of the American financial press.

Dollar devaluation was not included in Nixon's Aug. 15 announcement and U.S. bankers stubbornly refused to change the dollar price of gold for four months after they had effectively devalued the dollar in terms of other currencies. This is because the gold price will have a significant impact on international reserves.

Changing the price of gold first of all underlines the fact that international capitalism cannot get away from gold. It shows that no matter what paper currencies are used in world finance, central bankers insist that a certain amount of their reserves be held in real values, especially as the danger of an international recession mounts.

The Nixon administration recognized this fact when it ceased converting dollars for gold at the \$10-billion level of U.S. gold reserves. Below that level Nixon refused to go.

But raising the dollar-price of gold goes beyond "restoring" gold to its necessary role in international finance. It admits the weakening of the dollar as an instrument of world investment. One devaluation can easily be followed by another. The dollar is not "as good as gold"—and it is becoming less so! This severely undercuts the use of dollars for foreign investment, which is one of the main financial aims of European and Japanese imperialism.

4) The 10 percent surcharge on foreign imports and the "Buy American" tax credit were aimed at bludgeoning Europe and Japan to remove significant barriers they have erected to foreign goods.

U.S. imperialism envisions not only retarding the flow of foreign goods into the American market, but also increasing the flow of U.S. goods into world markets. On this front Nixon did not make any notable gains; in fact he retreated. The surcharge and tax credit were removed without any substantive reciprocal agreements abroad.

Here it is necessary to stress the fear in international ruling-class circles of initiating all-out trade warfare. A sharply worded warning to Nixon came in the January 1972 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, publication of the prestigious Council on Foreign Relations.

CFR specialist on monetary policies C. Fred Bergsten criticized the "disastrous isolationist trend" of Nixon's trade policies. "A throwback to trade restrictions and competitive depreciations would lead just where they did once before," said Bergsten, "toward a world depression."

What Bergsten and other monetary experts like him fail to stress, however, is that Nixon's Aug. 15 policies and the currency revaluations that followed have already initiated "trade restrictions

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In Our Opinion

...bombing

Continued from page 1

in "The Week in Review" Jan. 2: "The administration is trying, with air power, to stave off a major military setback in Indochina, particularly during a sensitive election year. . . ."

"In May of 1970, when it appeared that the North Vietnamese might overthrow the pro-American regime of Gen. Lon Nol in Pnompenh and take over all of Cambodia . . . Mr. Nixon sent American and South Vietnamese troops into that country. . . ."

"When the military situation turned critical in Laos and Cambodia last month, with rapid enemy advances that threatened pro-American governments, Mr. Nixon resorted to the one major military tool left to him. The fighter-bombers went in. . . ."

Devastating setbacks to the imperialist forces in Cambodia and Laos were clearly a major factor in Nixon's decision to step up the bombing of North Vietnam.

U.S. News & World Report, a magazine that closely reflects official military thinking, reports in the Jan. 10 issue: "Especially worrisome to American leaders is the continuing fighting in Laos and Cambodia. Communist successes in those two countries in December showed how Hanoi can turn on the heat if it wants. More of the same seems to lie ahead. The prospect of saving South Vietnam from the Communists while losing the rest of Indochina is not a satisfactory one to the White House. . . ."

"Cambodia begins 1972 in the position Laos held for years—totally dependent upon the U.S. for its survival, and increasingly battered by Red attacks. The closing months of 1971 found Cambodian troops mauled, their morale and fighting capability damaged."

President Nixon's nationally televised interview with CBS news correspondent Dan Rather Jan. 2 had the merit of making it unmistakably clear that U.S. troops will remain in Indochina and the war will continue indefinitely into the future. Nixon "is still buying time to strengthen Saigon's forces and to improve the anti-Communist positions in Laos and Cambodia," *Times* Washington bureau chief Max Frankel stated Jan. 3.

Frankel continued, "It is a scenario that allows at least nine more months, and perhaps a much longer time, for periodic bombings of North Vietnam and heavy air support for allied forces in the rest of Indochina."

Frankel disclosed that "the debate among leading Americans (in Saigon) in recent months has dealt not with whether to leave a residual force plus air power in the war zone next summer but only with the size of the force."

These realities of Washington's military plans show how cynical was Nixon's attempt in the Rather interview to distract attention from the war and put it on the question of the prisoners of war. Nixon's deliberate lie is only part of the point.

White House spokesmen were forced to admit in Washington Jan. 4 that the U.S. had never proposed a firm date for withdrawal from Vietnam in exchange for the release of American POWs. What is more significant is the comment in *Times* reporter Terence Smith's Jan. 5 article on this question that "Privately, the administration's policy makers have conceded that Mr. Nixon simply was not prepared to make such an offer during 1971, regardless of whether it would be accepted."

Nixon made no such offer because he has no intentions of withdrawing all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia. The same is as true in 1972 as in 1971.

The revolutionary forces in Vietnam have repeatedly stated that the prisoners of war will be released if the United States withdraws from Southeast Asia and ceases to support the military clique in Saigon. Those in this country who are really concerned about the fate of the imprisoned soldiers, as well as the tens of thousands of American and Indochinese people who have been killed and wounded in this murderous war, have long answered: "U.S. Out Now!"

"Out Now" does not mean withdrawing U.S. troops bit by bit over the next few years. It means immediately pulling out all U.S. military personnel, ending all bombing raids, withdrawing all warships, and dismantling all military bases.

Nixon's new bombing escalation has already begun to shatter many illusions about Nixon's promise to withdraw from Vietnam. It is generating deep questioning about the realities of the war, and more people recognize that the war will continue as long as any U.S. forces occupy Southeast Asia.

The antiwar movement must respond to Nixon's escalation with vigorous protests, mobilizing as many antiwar forces as possible. Already there have been immediate actions protesting the bombing raids. More are planned.

The new events add extra urgency to building the National Student Antiwar Conference called by the Student Mobilization Committee. The conference, which will be held in New York City Feb. 25-27, plans to map out a spring campaign of antiwar activities in high schools and university campuses leading up to the demonstrations called in New York and on the West Coast for April 22.

Letters

Postattack information

I thought your readers might be interested in this communication from the Post Office Department to all postal employees in Minneapolis regarding "Civil Defense Postattack Information." It reads in part:

"Regulations require that instructions for the postattack registration system that would go into effect in a national emergency be distributed to all employees once each year.

"If you are prevented from reporting to work because of an enemy attack, Minneapolis postal service employees should report to their emergency relocation site: St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud College, St. Cloud, Minn. [about 75 miles from Minneapolis].

"If you are prevented from reporting to this site, go to the nearest first-, second-, or third-class post office; ask for a Federal Employee Registration Card, CSC Form 600; fill it out and deposit it there for forwarding to the office of the Civil Service Commission, which will maintain the registration file for your area. When the Civil Service Commission receives your card, the appropriate postal official will be notified. It can then be decided where and when you should report for work. This card will also enable the postal service to keep you on the roster of active employees and provide an address for forwarding your pay.

"You should obtain and complete the registration card as soon after enemy attack as possible but not until you are reasonably sure that you will be staying at the same address for a period of time. If you change your address after you have sent in a card, complete a new one and forward it immediately."

C. F.

Minneapolis, Minn.

Plan to end rape

Women's Liberation-Seattle is coming up with a plan to abolish rape. It involves taking direct action in the areas of public protection, individual self-defense, and general social attitudes toward women. I'd like to go into the plan in more detail, but there isn't room. So if any of your readers are interested, they can write to me and I'll tell them all about it.

While I'm at it, I think you should give more attention in your paper to other aspects of the women's movement besides abortion, such as the problem of rape, women's studies, etc. Not that I'm against legalizing abortion, but there's a lot more to the movement than that.

Min

1733 Boylston #10
Seattle, Wash. 98122

Jackson prison

We the Brothers here at Jackson Prison in the State of Michigan would like to say to you, *The Militant*, that someday, some way, we may be able to reciprocate for your generosity. *The Militant* is a very highly informative and beautiful paper, and this is not only coming from me, but all the Brothers here in this HELLHOLE who have read *The Militant*.

The Militant makes a man see the things and understand the things that he used to only look at. *The Militant* tells him to stand up and be a man, and this is what we need more of—a paper to tell it like it is without adding to or taking from, no matter how much it hurts.

I am very sorry to see that the wardens (pigs) at some of the pris-

ons cannot stand *The Militant*. If they are doing everything right, what is there to be afraid of? Smile.

Power to the Sisters in Washington, we love them.

Power to the people, yours in struggle,

Charles E. X (Thompson)
Jackson, Mich.

Black inmates

We, the four Black inmates confined in segregation block #10 at Walpole, listen to the rhetoric spewed by the local news media and by no means are we included.

Guards prance back and forth in front of our cells (we occupy cells next to each other) and give vent to their racist attitudes; exclaiming how this nigger is gonna be in Bridgewater (the mental hospital) by the end of the week, or when one of us (who has a bronchial asthmatic condition) has an attack we have to shake and rattle the bars, and holler for about six hours to get him to the infirmary. Still he receives little or no medical attention—then upon his return to the cell block the whole cycle starts all over again. Not so for the eight white inmates up here with us; if they're sick, out they go.

The press? That's a laugh. We have sent over 26 letters to various newspapers over the past 15 months I have been confined in segregation. Mention "Black inmate" and our letters are put in the "out" basket marked "waste!"

Two of us, Lamont M. Brewer and Ralph C. Hamm III, have compiled a book of poetry entitled *Black Gaol*, which is soon to be released by Broadside Press—with hopes of acquiring enough money for legal expenses in a Civil Rights Action we now have pending in federal court.

We happened to accidentally get a copy of your paper and talked over about sending you this letter, with the hopes that it will be published for the benefit of your reading public and possibly relief for ourselves.

Malik and Mguu
Walpole State Prison,
Walpole, Mass.

Hospitals as prisons

In your Dec. 10 issue you had a large spread about the use of mental hospitals in the USSR to repress political persons. It is important to realize that similar things go on in the U. S.

While working at Boston State Hospital I witnessed several cases of poor persons (Blacks, white elderly and hippie types) being confined because judges didn't like them or they didn't have the resources to fight the state mental health system.

One particular hippie was busted for jay walking, gave the judge some lip about not having a lawyer and was sent over for 30 days' psychiatric examination. He later pulled strings and got out in about 20 days.

An elderly Black man came in after having an epileptic fit, said something about wanting to die while recovering, and was sent to a psychiatric ward. Later the state tried to take his house and ship him off to a nursing home.

If you would be interested in investigating these or similar incidents, I would be glad to help.

M. E. W.
Narragansett, R. I.

The Great Society

Jewish Defense League

I read your excellent paper each week—just purchased a subscription. Every so often, however, I come across little pieces of ignorance that really turn the standards and objectives of your newssheet into a bitter farce.

The double-standard "CAPITALIST JUSTICE" that your "In Brief" reporter Lee Smith writes about is all too real. However, you will have to clear up a few contradictions for me before I'm willing to see Rabbi Meir Kahane labeled as—what would YSA [Young Socialist Alliance] people say—a capitalist's running dog?!—and a right-winger!!?

The Jewish Defense League (JDL) was begun originally in New York City with the establishment of classes in self-defense for those members of the Jewish community being harassed on their daily ways to temple, to market, to school—by the ignorance, prejudice and violence of the community.

Mr. Smith will have to explain to me what is so imperialistic and "right-wing" (!) about the slogan "Never Again" that echoes the defiant spirit of a people long, long oppressed.

Malcolm X said "by any means necessary" did he not? Where is the contradiction between this and the pressure tactics that JDL members have resorted to when their protests against the treatment of Russian Jews were repeatedly frustrated by hostile authorities?

Bob Mandel
New York City

In reply—Reader Mandel has a few contradictions of his own to clear up. He says he agrees there is a double-standard in the capitalist court system. However, he fails to admit that Meir Kahane has never borne the brunt of harsh treatment by the courts—he has been handled with kid gloves. Why? Because he is a racist and a right-winger. Kahane himself, of course, claims that he is persecuted by the authorities while "violent Black militants" are let off. The facts, however, dispute Kahane.

Is Mandel aware that his own reference to the "ignorance, prejudice and violence of the community" is a racist description of the Black community in Brooklyn used by JDL fear-mongers to whip up hysteria?

The JDL's use of the slogan "Never Again" is calculated to demagogically utilize the horrible memory of Nazi death camps to mobilize support for right-wing purposes.

The JDL's "pressure tactics" are the tactics of hooliganism and terrorism. They have been directed, not against the oppressors of Jews—the capitalist ruling class—but against Blacks, other oppressed national minorities, and the radical left.

Lee Smith

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.

Progress report—The Rhode Island Supreme Court ruled that men do not have the right to beat their wives. The court upheld a lower court, which denied a divorce to attorney Aram Berberian (two e's and one a) and issued a temporary restraining order barring him from assaulting his wife. Berberian argued that the federal and state constitution guaranteed his right to beat his wife "in accord with his fundamental right to chastise her."

Buck-oriented ducks—Analyzing the Donald Duck comic strips, a group of Swedish high school students concluded that Donald was a victim of capitalism and that the comic strip projected materialistic, racially bigoted values. "Almost every story revolves around money," one student observed. "It is made to appear by far the most important thing in life. Uncle Scrooge has all the money, controls everyone's lives. Everybody obeys him. He bribes and blackmails people, but he always has the law on his side."

Smoother clipping—We get annoyed every time we lose a Clipit, a gadget for clipping news items that contains about three cents worth of plastic and metal and costs a dollar. But we were particularly put out when we learned that for only \$11 Tiffany's would provide us a silver one. Which would be particularly nice for clipping *Fortune*.

Keeping up with the candidates—We find it hard not to be impressed by the lucidity of the public utterances of the various major party presidential aspirants. For instance, Mayor Yorty of Los Angeles says the U. S. must "stop pussyfooting around and demand that the United Nations order the North Vietnamese Communist aggressors to get out of Cambodia." Meanwhile, Hubert Humphrey said the only way we'll solve the problem of the cities is to "go back to the farm."

Pity the poor purveyor—A probe of worm-infested baby foods indicated that larvae tend to breed under the flange of twist-on caps. According to the *New York Times*, a representative of Gerber's "laid the blame for infestation-prone lids squarely on the consumer whose desire for a more convenient package forced a very competitive industry to give up impermeable tin cans. . . ." Not only that, but we hear the kids won't eat the stuff without worms.

Better than food stamps—To fortify them for the struggle against creeping socialism, government officials are provided good food at a discount. According to the General Accounting Office, NASA's executive lunchroom features a \$4.03 lunch for 45 cents. (But this is only possible because of illegal purchases from military com-

missaries.) Our Treasury Dept. watchdogs spend \$2.45 for a \$14.31 meal. At the National Science Foundation, research capacities are occasionally whetted with a batch of confiscated liquor from the Customs Bureau.

Guardians of good taste—Nude models will be featured at the 1972 auto show in London. "But we'll be keeping an eye on the exhibitors' display," sternly warned a spokesman for the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders, "and if it gets the slightest bit obscene, we'll stop it."

Immoral, undignified and unprofitable—First use of a plastic tombstone in a British graveyard evoked an angry response from Alexander Nevols, a superintendent of cemeteries. That the new plastic slab seems to be weatherproof and costs half the price of stone cuts no ice with the burial man. "A plastic memorial," he declared, "is a fraud, pure and simple. It is an insult to the dignity of death."

Thought for the week—"It's fun to do a garden when you don't have to do the digging."—The wife of the president of a South African computer outfit reporting on the servant situation in Johannesburg in a videotaped pitch for U. S. personnel.

— HARRY RING

By Any Means Necessary

THE BLACK SCHOLAR BOOK CLUB has been initiated by *The Black Scholar* magazine. The *Black Scholar* is a monthly journal of Black studies and research published on the West Coast by Nathan Hare. According to a news release, the book club is "a means of having at one's fingertips a vividly annotated listing of recommended books covering every facet of the Black experience; e.g., history, fiction, poetry, folktales, socio-political, biography, autobiography, etc."

The over 200 titles listed in the first catalog are being offered at a 25 to 50 percent discount. You can join the book club by simply ordering one or more books, receiving a membership card in return. The Board of Advisors includes Hare, Robert Chrisman (editor of *The Black Scholar*), Michael Harper, Imamu Amiri Baraka, Adam David Miller, El Muhajir (Marvin X), Floyd B. McKissick, Larry Neal, Gwendolyn Brooks, and Dr. Charles V. Hamilton. For more information and catalogs, write to: The Black Scholar Book Club, Box 908, Sausalito, Calif. 94965.

NINE POLICEMEN WERE INDICTED Dec. 19 by a Shelby County grand jury in Memphis as a result of the death of 17-year-old Elton Hayes last Oct. 15. Hayes, who was out driving his father's pickup truck with two other Black youths, tried to outrun a police car following him. This led to a high-speed chase with county police participating. After being caught, the three received an unwarranted and an unmerciful beating at the hands of 31 cops. Hayes was beaten to death.

But the police went on to report that Hayes died in an auto crash. However, this didn't hold together after an examination of the pickup truck, which was unmarked, and statements to the press by the two surviving youths. The whole affair sparked spontaneous demonstrations and other street activity in the Black community.

The grand jury, all-male and composed of nine whites and three Blacks, indicted four county and Memphis police officers on the charge of first degree murder; four Memphis police officers on the charge of assault to murder; and a police inspector on a misdemeanor charge of neglect of duty.

The city and county police departments entered a state of utter shock over the indictments. The county sheriff, Roy C. Nixon, broke down in tears while delivering a press statement on how he has stood "behind the men of this department."

The Dec. 9 *Memphis Press-Scimitar* reports another incident, unrelated but indicative of police mentality in the

city. The report concerns a cop taking an ax to a newsstand after he spotted a disparaging article on a fellow officer in a local daily. The cop, who was in plainclothes and driving home on a motorcycle at 1:30 a.m., stopped at a drugstore to get out of the rain. When he noticed the article at the newsstand in front of the store, he became enraged and used the ax carried on his cycle to chop away at the stand. He later resigned after being charged with malicious mischief.

HUEY P. NEWTON IS FREE after charges that he killed an Oakland cop in October 1967 were dropped by the prosecution. The charges were dismissed last month after the third jury trial ended in a six-to-six deadlock.

The first trial, in the summer of 1968, reduced the charges from murder to manslaughter. Newton served 22 months in prison before the verdict was overturned by a higher court on the grounds that the lower court did not consider all the evidence.

The second trial last August ended in a hung jury.

The primary factor in thwarting the state's effort to railroad the Black Panther leader to the gas chamber was the building of a massive defense effort in 1968 by the Black Panther Party. "Free Huey" became the cry of not only nationalist and radical youth in this country, but militants around the globe.

However, due to political zigzags entailing an ultra-leftist binge and now political prostration before the Democratic Party, the Panther Party is today a shell of its former self.

DROPPING HIS ALIAS OF "ROY WILLIAMS," H. RAP BROWN appeared in Manhattan Supreme Court Dec. 13 and pleaded not guilty to charges of attempted murder and robbery. His bail was lowered from \$250,000 to \$200,000.

Brown was arrested along with three others in a shoot-out with police outside an upper West Side bar in New York last October. He had been on the FBI's "Most Wanted List" for over a year after dropping out of sight during a trial in Maryland in 1970. He was to have faced trial there on charges fabricated by the state and in an atmosphere where two close friends, Ralph Featherstone and William "Che" Payne, were blown to bits in an automobile after leaving pretrial hearings.

Because Brown was wounded in the shoot-out by police, he is presently confined to Bellevue Hospital in New York City.

— DERRICK MORRISON

By HARRY RING

During a tour of Texas this past November a couple of young socialists and I visited the city of Lubbock. With a population of about 150,000, it is the second largest city in West Texas. It is several hundred miles from El Paso, which is about twice its size.

Most of the people in Lubbock are Chicano or Black, and most are poor. Chicanos are the largest ethnic group in the population.

Despite the city's relative isolation, *el movimiento* has come to Lubbock, with Chicano students at Texas Tech playing an important role in community organizing and political consciousness-raising generally. MECHA is the principal Chicano student organization. It has an active campus role even though Chicanos, as well as Blacks, are a small percentage of the student body.

One of the principal activists on campus and in the community is a Chicana whose militancy and dynamism have won her wide esteem. Her name is Mary Lou de la Cerda ("Actually it's Maria Louisa," she explains, "but my Anglo teachers decided Mary Lou was easier.")

We were introduced to Mary Lou at a community church center where several hundred people in the barrio had turned out for a meeting preparatory to the city's first major Chicano march in protest against police brutality.

Later that evening we attended a meeting of the Texas Tech student senate, where she and several other Chicano leaders made mincemeat of the city attorney, who came to the meeting to try to double-talk the police issue away.

Mary Lou is 30 and a graduate student at Texas Tech. She is a leading figure in MECHA and is the elected representative of the graduate school to the student senate. She won top vote among eleven contestants and was the first Raza student to be elected to the senate at a school where the Anglos are generally regarded as rather conservative.

Her victory was particularly significant in that it came relatively soon after she was the target of a red-baiting smear campaign by the local media. The red-baiting was intended to justify her being fired as a junior high school teacher in Lubbock. She is challenging that firing in the courts and agreed to an interview with *The Militant* to help in publicizing the facts of the case.

In the course of an afternoon-long interview-discussion we learned the facts of the firing and, along with it, an absorbing account of a life story that exemplifies the development of the Chicano movement. It is the story of a fierce personal struggle to escape the harshest privation; the achievement of a cherished goal; and then an evolution into a movement activist ready to subordinate personal career and well-being to the struggle of *La Raza*.

Fired from school system

Mary Lou was fired from the Lubbock school system in May 1970 during the massive national protests against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia and the Kent State killings. That protest reached into Lubbock and resulted in students at her school wearing black armbands.

The school principal charged, without basis in fact, that Mary Lou was responsible for the protest. When she explained this was not so, he advised her he had never cared for her "attitude." She responded that this was mutual and he fired her on the spot. The Texas Civil Liberties Union initiated court action against this illegal firing and the case is now pending in court. Meanwhile, Mary Lou obtained a grant enabling her to attend graduate school.

The firing came after an extended period of harassment. School officials began to take a dim view of Mary Lou's activities several years ago when she became publicly involved in the newly developing Chicano movement in the city. She was arbitrarily transferred from the school where she had originally taught to the one from which she has now been fired after Chicano students staged a brief walk-out in solidarity with victimized Chicano students in a neighboring area.

herself some searching questions. "Here I was a social studies teacher," she explained. "I was teaching 'democracy,' teaching 'equality' and teaching 'justice.' And I was preaching this. But everything I saw outside the classroom, and even in the school system, was different. What's written in the textbooks is not the reality. It's a myth.

"All of this began bothering me," she continued. "But back then I guess I was pretty hung up on the security

A Militant Interview

A Chicana activist fights to regain her teaching post



Mary Lou de la Cerda, fired teacher in Lubbock, Texas

Photo by Howard Petrick

On returning to school they had sought advice from Mary Lou. This was falsely interpreted by school officials as meaning she had instigated the walkout.

Fighting such a case in the West Texas courts is no easy matter, but she is determined to win her rights.

"I'm fighting the case," she said, "with the hope that it will create awareness in other people. I'm not only fighting for my rights. I'm fighting for the rights of all school teachers. And also for kids, for the students. Because if they can't have teachers who really care for them, teachers that they can identify with, then I feel that we're denying them."

How did her concern for helping to increase such awareness develop? I asked. How did she get involved in the movement?

Like most Chicanos, particularly those from impoverished families such as her own, she had always been keenly aware of Anglo racism and oppression. But it was about four years ago that she began to develop social and political awareness.

She had been teaching for about a year when she found she was asking

bit. I had had a rough time getting my education. It had taken me five years to go through college and become a teacher. So you're not just ready to act. Everything that you've been working for is at stake. I went through a lot of inner conflict for about a year."

How was the conflict resolved?

The turning point came when she read an article in a local movement publication, *La Voz*, by Nephatali de Leon, a well-known Chicano activist.

The article, she recalled, was "about the *vendidos* [sellouts] and the *tio tacos* [Chicano equivalent of uncle toms] who had made it in the educational system and had forgotten all about their people.

"I guess it hit me, it did something to me," she observed. "At that time maybe some people were considering me a *tio taco* or a *vendido*." So Mary Lou picked up the phone to tell de Leon she disagreed with the article.

He responded, "Fine! It's your right to disagree with me. How would you like to disagree with me in a debate on the radio?" Mary Lou accepted the challenge, agreeing to appear with him on a local Chicano program.

"Looking back now," she said, "at my whole involvement, my evolution *en el movimiento*, that debate really did something to me. He really got me thinking. After that debate I started looking deeper, really started questioning. I became more and more involved in community organizations.

"The school administration saw all this," she continued, "seeing one of their teachers getting involved, speaking on radio and TV, getting involved with *La Raza*. And they didn't like it. But they didn't come right out and say they didn't like what I was doing. They don't do it that way. To my face they'd say, 'You are doing a good job.' But behind my back, gringo style, they were having some fun stabbing me in the back. When that reality hit me," she continued, "what had been going on behind my back, when that sank in, I think that's when I really became committed to *el movimiento*."

It was only at this point in the interview that I got to ask Mary Lou about her personal background, what her life had been before she became a teacher.

"There were 14 of us, seven boys and seven girls. We grew up in West Texas. We moved here in 1949 as migrant workers, intending to stay just for the season and then go back home to Melvin, a small town near San Angelo. But my father decided we should stay and pick cotton in the fall. Well, we never went back.

"It was a very difficult situation. I grew up under very hard conditions—a two-room house, no inside water, no inside toilet.

"In the sixth grade," she continued, "I got turned on to school. I really got motivated by a teacher. I began dreaming about going to high school, finishing high school.

"I was the fifth oldest. The older ones were growing up, getting married, leaving home. And then, when I was a junior in high school, my father passed away. At that time I was the oldest one at home. My mother can't read or write English, can't sign her name. She had been very dependent on my father for everything. All she had done her entire life—she married when she was 13—was to have 14 kids, one after the other, one a year."

The death of Mary Lou's father led to "a big battle" at home, with her mother saying she should quit school and help out with the children. "Finally she said I'd have to do as she said or not live under her roof. I wanted to help her with the family, but I wanted that high school degree. I wasn't even thinking about college then. That was something unreachable. Anyway, the point came where we had to part roads for about a year."

Mary Lou did graduate from high school, affected a reconciliation with her mother, and went to work.

'Insult after insult'

"I had my degree, my high school diploma. Good deal. It's supposed to get you a fancy job. There I was with this piece of paper in my hand, this diploma, and the only job I could get was as a car hop at 75 cents an hour. I loathed it. I hated it. All the things I had been dreaming about—the things a high school diploma was going to help me do. And there you were, car-hopping. Putting up with insults—insult after insult after insult—because you were a Mexican, car-hopping in a small town. That was when I first started thinking about going to college.

"When the idea first came to my mind I said, 'Don't even think about. That's impossible. You're poor.'"

But Mary Lou saved her earnings as a car hop, made a down payment on a truck and became a "crew boss," transporting farmworkers to the fields.

Continued on page 22

El Paso Chicanos in campus struggle

By TED STACEY

EL PASO, Texas—The University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP) has been the scene of Chicano political activity for some time. La Raza on campus has been trying to obtain parity for Chicanos in three areas of the university: the student body, the faculty and the administration.

While the population of El Paso is 60 percent Chicano, the number of Chicanos in the university reflects the racist and biased attitudes of the Board of Regents. Forty percent of the students at UTEP are Chicano, and only 7 percent of the faculty and one administrator are Chicano.

In addition to their demand for parity, Chicano students at UTEP are also trying to establish a complete special services program consisting of tutoring, counseling, financial aid and a degree program in Chicano studies. The administration has not only failed to implement the program, but also appointed a racist, Dr. Gary Brooks, to oversee it.

The original program was drawn up by *La Mesa Directiva* (Board of Directors), a committee consisting of Chicano students, faculty, and community residents charged with running the Chicano studies department. Their program for Chicano services was submitted to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) in Washington, D.C., Oct. 16, 1970. HEW approved it, gave them \$130,000, and commented that it was one of the best programs it had seen. The Texas Board of Regents thought otherwise. They rejected the program and hired Dr. Brooks to oversee student affairs and rewrite the special services program. In his version, he made racist remarks and included "evaluation testing" rather than provide the needed special services.

On Nov. 30, 1971, *La Mesa Directiva* presented the university with several demands, including: "1) that Lydia Aguirre be hired as Assistant Dean of Students [to fill a vacated position]; 2) that Dr. Gary Brooks resign as vice-president of student affairs; 3) that priority be given to qualified Chicanos for administrative vacancies that occur in order to achieve parity in this area."

On Dec. 3, the administration re-

plied to their demands. They rejected Aguirre, refused to remove Brooks from his position, but "agreed" to continue "as we have in the past" to give priority to Chicanos when filling vacancies. Following the refusal of the administration to grant the first two demands, there was a demonstration on campus at which 34 students were arrested.

The administration then stepped up its propaganda against *La Mesa Directiva*. On Dec. 11, the El Paso papers carried a front-page story relating that Dr. Brooks had been "allegedly attacked" by two "Latins" earlier that morning. Dr. Brooks, who claims to have broken the arm of one and the nose of the other, says he was not hurt because he is a Karate expert.

Reacting to this attempt by the administration to make it appear as if the Chicanos were the cause of violence on campus, *La Mesa Directiva* countered with a cartoon distributed on campus. It depicted Dr. Brooks twisting the front leg of an elephant and kicking another elephant in the nose. The caption read, "On Saturday, Dec. 11, 1971, Dr. Gary Brooks engaged two pink elephants in combat, mistaking them for two Brown Berets. It was two-thirty in the morning, they all look alike in the dark." *La Mesa Directiva* then held a news conference on the afternoon of Dec. 11 to explain its side of the present struggle.

Community support for the students' position grew as even normally conservative groups voiced their support for *La Mesa Directiva*. In addition, Local 509 of the United Steelworkers as well as a local of the Building Trades union have issued statements of support.

Argentine prisoner defense launched

NEW YORK CITY—An international campaign demanding the restoration of civil liberties in Argentina has been launched here by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). A special January-February issue of the defense committee's newsletter, the *USLA Reporter*, has been printed to kick off the campaign.

Articles in the *USLA Reporter* show that over the past year abduction and torture, often culminating in murder,

have become the normal way Argentine strong-man General Alejandro A. Lanusse has dealt with those who oppose his dictatorship.

From the most recent police kidnapping of law student Luis Enrique Pujals on Sept. 24, 1971 (see the Nov. 12 *Militant*), which reportedly ended with Pujals' assassination, these incidents go back over a year to the case of Dr. Nestor Martins. Martins, a well-known civil liberties lawyer, and a client, Nildo Zenteno, were abducted in broad daylight on Dec. 16, 1970. Nothing has been heard of either of them since.

For the political prisoners the Lanusse regime admits holding (recent official figures list 399) conditions in the prisons themselves are a form of ongoing torture. Recently, the situation of four prominent oppositionists in a Buenos Aires jail became so bad that as a last recourse they initiated a hunger strike. They were joined by the lawyers and more than 93 other prisoners. The four prisoners had been placed in solitary confinement basement cells with no fresh air or sunlight and were denied even the most essential medical attention.

There is little knowledge or protest in the United States about what is happening under the Lanusse regime. The USLA Justice Committee hopes to bring these facts to the attention of the American public and carry out a campaign to get prominent individuals and organizations to endorse demands to end the abduction and torture of dissidents and to free all political prisoners.

To help get out information on these cases, the January-February *USLA Reporter* includes a number of articles on the situation in Argentina. In addition, fact sheets summarizing the cases are available for broad distribution and for soliciting support for the campaign. These fact sheets will be updated as new information becomes available.

Secondly, an international call is being sent out to defense committees and political groups in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, urging them to participate in the campaign.

In addition to getting out the facts, the committee plans to mobilize protests to put pressure on the Lanusse regime to end its barbaric treatment of dissidents. Public appeals by prominent individuals and organizations, demonstrations and petitions to Lanusse are planned.

International protest of this sort was responsible for preventing the death sentence and eventually winning the release of the Peruvian revolutionary peasant leader, Hugo Blanco, and helped win the release of Regis Debray from prison in Bolivia. The USLA, founded in 1966, played a significant role in both of these campaigns.

Subscriptions to the *USLA Reporter*, the best means of keeping up to date on the situation of political prisoners throughout Central and South America and the Caribbean, are available from the committee for \$2 for 10 issues.

Further information and materials to help in the campaign to free Argentine political prisoners are available from the USLA Justice Committee, P. O. Box 2303 New York, N. Y. 10001. Phone: (212) 924-0894.

L.A. students to appeal conviction

By MARTIN ROTHMAN

LOS ANGELES—The two-week-long trial of the two Los Angeles City College students victimized for protesting the presence of Marine recruiters on campus ended Dec. 22 with a con-

viction on two of four counts. The jury, after deliberating for two days, convicted Richard Spear and Larry Mitchell of "resisting a public officer in the performance of his duties" and "disturbing the peace."

The charges of "inciting a riot" and "malicious mischief" were dropped.

On Oct. 1, 1971, a small advertisement appeared in the campus newspaper announcing that Marine Corps recruiters would visit the campus on Oct. 4 and 5. The recruiters were scheduled to appear despite the fact that in the spring of 1971 a student referendum voted not to allow military recruiters on campus.

The Student Mobilization Committee initiated a series of emergency meetings in response to the administration's move. Discussions were held with administrators, and the student government condemned the administration and called for a debate with recruiters. When the administration refused to uphold the student mandate, the SMC called for a picket line and rally Oct. 4 in protest.

Two days after the demonstration, police arrested two LACC students on their way to class and picked up a third the following day.

The campus was thrown into turmoil. A defense committee including many campus organizations was formed. Two thousand endorsers were obtained by the defense committee in the first two weeks, including the Los Angeles Peace Action Council and the Out Now Coalition. A committee rally Oct. 13 drew 700 students.

A few days later charges were dropped against one of the three students and the prosecutor delayed the trial in hopes of undercutting student support.

The delay tactic worked only partially, and when the trial opened in the second week of December, the prosecution was faced with a courtroom full of students and other supporters of the defense committee.

Policemen who were prosecution witnesses discussed openly on the stand how they had "infiltrated" the demonstration, carefully placing police throughout the crowd. They explained their method of "picking out individuals in the crowd" for later prosecution. The campus police testified to possessing copies of every student's identification card. During fall registration, however, when student pictures were taken for these cards, students had been told that no copies were being made.

Student witnesses for the defense testified they had participated in a peaceful demonstration in which the campus police were the only ones to play a "malicious" role.

The prosecution began to emphasize an incident where the Marine table was pulled away. The students testified that they believed the table belonged to the students and that the Marines did not have permission from the students to use it.

The prosecution was reduced to fighting for its two most "vague" charges—"resisting a public officer" and "disturbing the peace." The evidence was conflicting on these charges.

The jury returned a guilty verdict on the two charges, which the defense committee plans to appeal.

In the aftermath of the Los Angeles Community College demonstration, the presence of Marine Corps recruiters was protested at three other junior colleges in Los Angeles. At Los Angeles Valley College antiwar students succeeded in forcing the removal of the Marines from their campus.

The defense committee regards its efforts as successful. Defendant Richard Spear summed up the case well when he said: "This trial has been a 'teach-in' for the students at LACC. They will not soon forget the role of the police and administration in complicity against the antiwar movement. They [the students] cannot help being encouraged and perhaps inspired by the conduct of our defense."



Photo by Arturo Enriquez/The Prospector

Two Chicanas being arrested in Dec. 3 demonstration

By TONY THOMAS

JAN. 4—If the West Pakistani government releases Sheik Mujibur Rahman after nearly a year of confinement, it will be an important victory for the Bangladesh national liberation struggle. It will represent an expression of the mass strength of the Bengali people and the campaign they mounted for his release.

Mujibur Rahman's release also reflects the fear of the new Bhutto regime in West Pakistan and its imperialist backers that the political differentiation taking place in Bangladesh will deepen into a socialist revolution.

A dispatch from Dacca, Bangladesh, in the Dec. 24 *Christian Science Monitor* states that Rahman's "prestige far exceeds that of any other politician here, and his presence may be needed to prevent an eruption of destructive factionalism, not to mention a possible drift to the extreme left."

army had not handed these Pakistanis over to the Bangladesh regime for arrest because of "international law."

The *Times* article also reported that the Indians are protecting more than 100,000 Pakistani supporters, including civil officials, politicians, businessmen, professionals, and soldiers. An undated article in the Jan. 10 issue of *Time* magazine reported that the Indians have begun evacuating Pakistanis to India.

Meanwhile, the Pakistani, U. S. and Indian governments are attempting to create an image of brutal reprisals against the Pakistanis by the Bengali masses. The Indians hope to justify in this way their continued occupation of Bangladesh and the disarming of the Bengali freedom fighters. In addition, the U. S. and Pakistan want to lay the basis for possible U. S. or United Nations intervention. The execution of four Pakistani collaborators by the Mukti Bahini at a mass rally in Dacca was widely publicized by the U. S. media. The

semblies in the 1970 elections were supporters of the Pakistani regime.

While the Awami League did gain 167 of the 169 seats from East Bengal for the Pakistani national assembly in 1970, many organizations to the left of the middle-class oriented Awami League (which at that time opposed full Bengali independence) boycotted the elections. Moreover, a year of revolutionary struggle and fierce repression has radicalized the Bengali masses beyond their level of political consciousness in 1970.

Another cause of friction has been the arms that tens of thousands of Bengalis have acquired in the national liberation struggle. The Mukti Bahini is composed of over 100,000 fighters, half of whom are volunteers, the rest, former members of the Pakistani army. Thousands of other Bengalis armed themselves either during the nine-month Pakistani occupation or after the defeat of Pakistani forces as a safeguard against Pakistani and Bihari terrorists, who still roam Bangladesh.

These guerrillas have developed much more radical political views than the Provisional Government, most of whose leaders took no part in the guerrilla struggle. The Dec. 27 *Wall Street Journal* points out that the guerrillas are asking "why the inheritors of the revolutionary war should be men who drank tea in Calcutta while others were hiding and fighting in the paddies of Bangladesh."

Moreover, according to the *Journal*, many liberation fighters took part in groups independent of the nominally pro-Awami League Mukti Bahini.

Disarming guerrillas

These and other anti-Provisional Government and anti-Indian armed groups and individuals pose a serious threat to capitalist stability in Bangladesh.

On Dec. 27, the Indian and Provisional governments announced a plan to disarm the 100,000 Mukti Bahini. Some would be integrated into an Indian-trained "regular" army of 20,000, mostly drawn from the 50,000 "Muktis" who were formerly in the Pakistani army and police. The 80,000 other members of the Mukti Bahini and the thousands of other armed Bengali workers, students, and peasants would apparently be completely disarmed and at the mercy of the Indian army and the Provisional Government.

Sections of the guerrilla movement have attacked these attempts at disarming the Bengalis. According to the Dec. 25 *Times*, an organization of Bengali students who armed themselves during the India-Pakistan war distributed an announcement "that they would not surrender their weapons until the Bengali political leader, Sheik Mujibur Rahman, was released from prison. . . ."

After the slaughter of masses of Bengalis and the refusal of the Awami League to arm the Bengali masses last March when they were attacked by Pakistani troops, it would not be surprising if the Bengali freedom fighters refused to be peacefully disarmed. This is especially true in light of the fact that many major social questions remain to be solved.

Answers to these questions—such as the ownership of land (which will be complicated by the return of 10 million refugees, most of whose land was grabbed by Biharis and other supporters of the Pakistani regime) and the problem of how to operate jute and tea plantations, many of which were owned by Pakistani capitalists or British imperialists—have yet to be posed.

Because the masses of Bengalis have been mobilized and radicalized by the national liberation struggle, the continuing struggle for their liberation has the possibility of growing over into a socialist revolution. Only such a revolution could complete the demands of the Bengali masses for national liberation, land, freedom from starvation, and democratic government.

The Indian and Provisional governments and a number of capitalist commentators in this country hope that Mujibur Rahman can divert the East Bengalis from social revolution.

Before the March 1971 invasion and occupation of Bangladesh, Mujibur and the Awami League opposed the mass movement for independence and refused to prepare the Bengali masses for armed resistance against the Pakistani forces. Although Mujibur's Awami League has nationalized a few Pakistani-owned banks and industries, it still supports the capitalist system that miserably exploits and oppresses 75 million East Bengalis.

To successfully complete the Bangladesh national liberation struggle through a socialist revolution, the Bengali masses can place no confidence in Mujibur Rahman, the Awami League, or the Indian capitalist regime of Indira Gandhi.

Conflict develops between Bangladesh militants and Provisional Government



Armed Bengalis celebrate defeat of Pakistan troops

The danger of an "extreme left" course exists because the struggle for the national liberation of Bangladesh has not been fully completed. Indian troops and authorities control much of Bangladesh, especially the cities. Furthermore, the capitalist Provisional Government of Bangladesh, dominated by Mujibur's Awami League, doesn't represent the interests of the Bengali masses. Both India and the Awami League seek to curb the struggles of the Bengali people.

Conflicts have already developed between these two forces and the masses of Bengali workers, peasants, and students over such issues as the punishment of Pakistani war criminals and supporters of the Pakistani regime within East Bengal. When Indian troops accepted the surrender of Pakistani troops in Dacca Dec. 16, the chief of staff of the Indian eastern command, Major General J. F. R. Jacob, stated that India had given its "guarantee that the soldiers and West Pakistanis will be protected, and we mean to keep it." (Dec. 17 *Washington Post*). The *Post* dispatch from Dacca reported "Indian troops are being dispatched around the city to protect any collaborators, as well as the defeated Pakistani soldiers."

India claims that protection of these Pakistanis from the Bengali masses is one of the reasons it remains in Bangladesh. The Dec. 26 *New York Times* states that Indian officials reject Indian withdrawal from Bangladesh because "they believe that without the soldiers there probably would be massacre by Bengalis seeking revenge against those who collaborated with the Pakistani troops." These officials claimed that there will be no substantial reductions in the size of the Indian forces for at least "three or four months."

The Dec. 27 *Times* reported that as a result of the pressure of the Bengali masses, the Provisional Government announced it had arrested 30 top Pakistani civilian officials and claimed it would put them on trial for genocide. Two days after these "arrests," India's special envoy in Dacca, Durga Prasad Dhar, stated that the Indian

Dec. 27 *Wall Street Journal*, as part of this anti-Bengali campaign, claimed that the East Bengali concept of "happiness" is a "warm sten gun."

The truth is, however, that the Bengali masses have shown remarkable restraint despite the fact that the Pakistanis murdered over one million Bengalis and exiled 10 million, raped thousands of women, and devastated the country. Even the *Wall Street Journal* was forced to admit in the same article that "the scale of Pakistani army atrocities over the past nine months made some degree of Bengali retribution inevitable, and the surprising thing has been that the Bengalis haven't (or haven't yet) indulged in mass slayings of the million or so members of Bangladesh's non-Bengali minority, the Biharis. [The Biharis supported and participated in the Pakistani murders, robberies and rapes in Bangladesh.]"

In fact, the Dec. 25 issue of *The Economist*, a British newsweekly, claims that the Bengali guerrillas have called for the trial only of war criminals and have attempted to persuade the people of Bangladesh to accept other former Pakistan supporters as Bangladesh citizens. The denial of the demands of the Bengali masses for the trial of these collaborators and war criminals is only one sign that the Bengalis have yet to gain full control over their national affairs.

No elections

Another sign of the friction between the Provisional Government and the Bengali masses is the fact that the government has refused to hold democratic elections now or in the near future. According to the Dec. 18 *Economist*, supporters of the Provisional Government claim that "since the government derives its legitimacy from the elections held in December 1970, room can be found only for those who were then duly elected." According to the *Economist*, this would mean a government exclusively made up of representatives of the Awami League, since the only other representatives to the national and provincial as-

Women confront abortion foes

SAN FRANCISCO—Cathedral Hill Hospital in San Francisco was the center of a heated confrontation Dec. 11 between the Women's Abortion Coalition (the Bay Area affiliate of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition) and Pro-Life, an anti-abortion organization.

Cathedral Hill Hospital has become known for its safe, fast abortions, and 30 young women were scheduled for abortions that day. Pro-Life, modern-day crusaders against women's rights, had called a picket line to prevent these women from exercising their right to have abortions. Instead of the cross and the sword, these modern inquisitors—numbering 35 and half of them male—marched with their famous necrophilic symbol: pictures of mangled fetuses in full color and full

size. A wrinkled priest blessed them as they passed.

The Women's Abortion Coalition confronted the Pro-Lifers head-on. Sylvia Weinstein of the coalition called the anti-abortion picketers "vicious." She said they added to the trauma of pregnant women seeking abortions by calling them murderers.

"But they are murderers," said Marian Banducci, who is head of the Fremont chapter of Voice for the Unborn. Weinstein, a grandmother who said she had had two abortions, shot back, "Your arguments are idiotic and stupid. A woman has the right to choose, but you are here denying women that right."

Two young women who were scheduled for abortions that day agreed to hear one of the Pro-Lifers. After listening to the Pro-Lifers, they both stated they had come for an abortion and were going ahead with it.

Pro-Life, knowing that most of these women were young and wanted their abortions to be a private affair, had deliberately called all the news media to inform them of their picket line. This attempt to intimidate these women with public exposure failed. All 30 women had their abortions, and were on their way back to lives of their choice in a matter of hours.

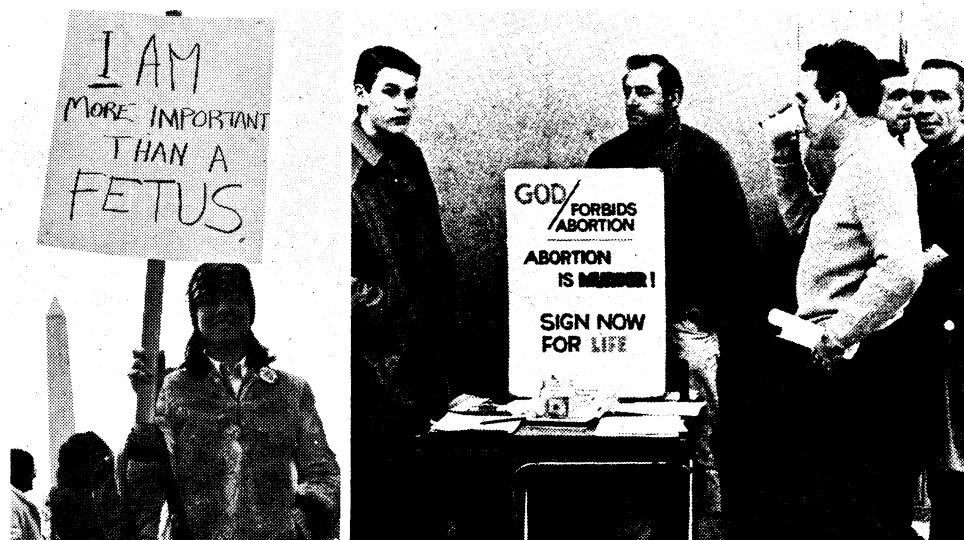


Photo by Caroline Lund

LNS photo

Left: demonstrator in Washington, D.C., Nov. 20. Right: anti-abortion people man (literally) literature table at New York bus terminal.

Nixon's support to Pakistan exposed

By MARCEL BLACK

Disclosures by syndicated columnist Jack Anderson, combined with the actions of ships from the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Bay of Bengal, make it abundantly clear that despite its claim to neutrality, U.S. imperialism gave complete support to Pakistan in its war with India and its attack on the Bangladesh people.

Anderson's disclosures were based on classified materials and notes taken by U.S. officials at top-level Nixon administration meetings. Excerpts from these notes were published by Anderson in his column Dec. 30.

Anderson concludes from studying the papers that "The president gruffly overrode the advice of the State Dept.'s professionals who urged him to use his special influence with Yahya to stop the Pakistani persecution and to grant the Bengalis a measure of autonomy. When the Indian army finally came to the aid of the Bengalis, the pros pleaded with Nixon to remain neutral if for no other reason than Pakistan looked like a sure loser Instead he supported the repres-

sor. . . ." Anderson also disclosed that Nixon wanted to ship major arms such as phantom jets to Pakistan despite a U.S. ban on such aid formally adopted after the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war. Nixon planned to ship the arms through Jordan and Saudi Arabia. The Dec. 27 *Newsweek* adds Iran and Turkey to the list of reactionary Moslem states Nixon wanted to use as conduits for shipping arms to Paki-

stan. Only the defeat of Pakistan prevented this.

When the Indo-Pakistan war broke out, the U.S. sent a naval task force including the aircraft carrier *Enterprise*, the most powerful warship in human history, to the Bay of Bengal. The *Enterprise* was supposedly sent to evacuate U.S. citizens, despite the fact that only a handful of Americans remained in Bangladesh.

An article in the Dec. 22 *Washington Post* further exposes the role of these naval forces. According to the *Post*, the force included, "the *Enterprise*, which carries 70 fighter-bombers . . . accompanied by two guided-missile destroyers and two conventional destroyers. The task force was then joined by the *Tripoli*—carrying 24 helicopters and 800 Marines—an oiler, and three more destroyers. . . . Altogether, about 6,000 U.S. Navy and Marines were involved."

According to Pentagon spokesman Jerry Friedheim, the ships took up position between the Maldive Islands and Ceylon—more than two days' sailing distance from Bangladesh or West Pakistan but well within the bombing range of aircraft from the nuclear-armed *Enterprise*—for the use of evacuation helicopters. Friedheim claimed the fleet was to be kept there so it could be used in operations in any part of the Indian subcontinent, not merely Bangladesh.

The stationing of the U.S. fleet in these waters is a threat designed to prevent the Bengali revolution from going beyond bounds acceptable to U.S. imperialism. It is a threat to the right of self-determination of all nations on the Indian subcontinent.

Women: The Insurgent Majority

DAY CARE—A conference on child care took place the last week in November at the University of Chicago, and it arrived at some pretty revolutionary conclusions. This was not a conference of radical women's liberation supporters, however. It was a conference of 200 Illinois government and community leaders called together by Illinois Governor Richard Ogilvie to come up with recommendations for a state policy on child care.

The conference recommended that "quality day care be provided as an option to all children."

The Nov. 28 *Chicago Sun-Times* explained the implications of this recommendation as follows: "This seeming platitude could mean that: No child would be left alone or in the care of other children, neighbors or unsuitable sitters. For the first time in history a low-income woman with children would have a genuine career choice. The public system of education would be extended down into infancy. The welfare of children would become a governmental responsibility."

ABORTION—A Dec. 8 Associated Press dispatch from Bonn begins by saying: "Hardly a week goes by without a demonstration somewhere in West Germany for a reform of the country's laws against abortion."

The article says that a heated public debate is occurring over the abortion question. During a congress of Chancellor Willy Brandt's Social Democratic Party in November, the abortion issue was raised from the floor against the wishes of the party leadership, and the more than 300 delegates voted overwhelmingly that abortion should be legalized for the first three months of pregnancy.

Presently abortion is illegal unless the woman's life is in danger, and a woman who has an abortion can be imprisoned for five years. The government estimates that 400,000 to 500,000 illegal abortions are performed each year and that 250 women die yearly from illegal abortions.

TELEPHONE WORKERS—According to the Dec. 1 issue of *The Spokeswoman*, the new contract agreed to by the Communications Workers of America does little to improve the lot of women telephone workers. Before the new settlement, top craftsmen (mainly male) made about \$182 a week, while top traffic operators (mainly female) made only \$114.50—just 62 percent of what the men made. The new contract narrows the gap only slightly by granting women 65 percent of men's pay. Fifty-five percent of the members of the Communications Workers union are female.

Meanwhile, the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission charged Dec. 1 that the Bell Telephone system is "without doubt the largest oppressor of women workers in the United States."

The Bell System has some 165,000 telephone operators nationally, only 224 of whom are male. An increasing number of operators are Black women.

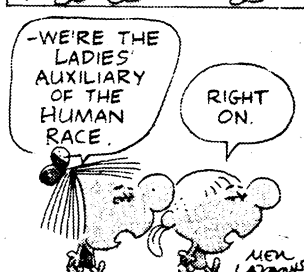
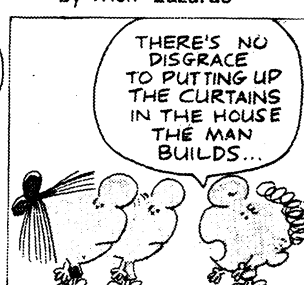
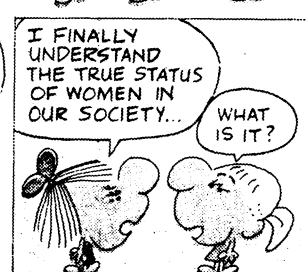
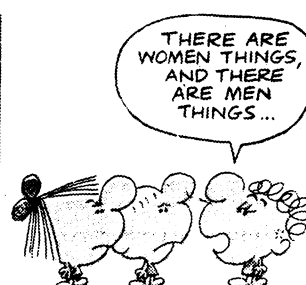
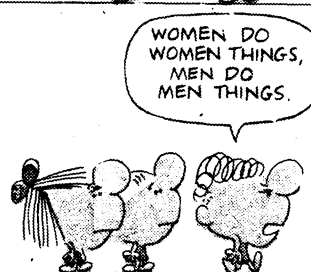
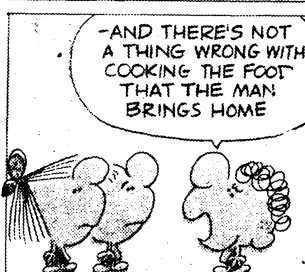
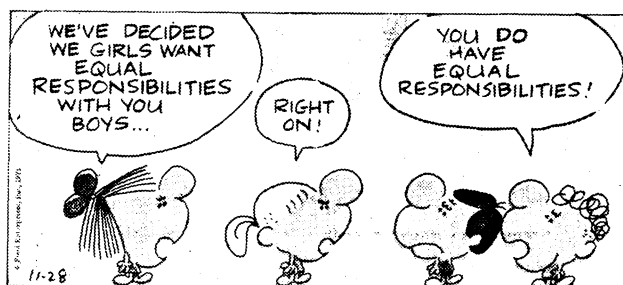
Bell Telephone issued a memorandum in 1966 explaining why only women were to be hired as operators. They said: "Many times operators' knees, elbows, hands, and arms brush their neighbors' bodies. To have men and women (even those with the best intentions and good will) working side by side under these conditions would create an intolerable situation."

Bell Telephone ignores the question of why there should be crowded working conditions in the first place.

THINGS ARE CHANGING—There is a prestigious, multivolume directory of scientists that has always been called *American Men of Science*. This year, reports the Nov. 23 *New York Times*, the name will be changed to *American Men and Women of Science*.

— CAROLINE LUND

MISS PEACH



by Mell Lazarus

By CINDY JAQUITH

HOUSTON—Nearly 1,000 people attended the spirited campaign rally that highlighted the proceedings of the 11th national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. Featured speakers at the rally were Linda Jenness, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, and SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley. "This is the first revolutionary-socialist convention ever held in the South; and we are here to say it won't be the last!" vowed Debby Leonard, SWP candidate for governor of Texas, who chaired the rally.

The keynote speech by Linda Jenness saluted the YSA for its work in support of the SWP campaign and its role in building the mass movements. Jenness stated that "even the largest and broadest mass movements will not be enough, unless there is a revolutionary-socialist party and youth organization to help lead these movements. And that is why we must build the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. . . . Our party adds a whole new dimension to the struggle—that dimension is a rounded program that interrelates all the movements into an organized struggle against the capitalist rulers. It is that program we are presenting to the American people in this campaign."

\$15,844—most of it in amounts of \$100 or less—was raised at the rally to help make the SWP 1972 campaign the biggest ever. Five people offered the use of their cars to the campaign for traveling teams of campaign organizers this spring. The total amount of money collected was almost three times the amount raised at the Cleveland rally in August that launched the 1972 campaign.

Mariana Hernandez, SWP campaign manager in Los Angeles, and Tom Vernier, a national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, also spoke at the rally. Vernier called on the audience to give a round of applause to campaign supporters in Florida who gathered more than 51,000 signatures on petitions to place the SWP on the ballot there.

Twelve hundred and forty young socialists participated in the convention, which lasted from Dec. 28 to Jan. 1. Delegates and observers from 31 states came to discuss and map out a revolutionary-socialist strategy for the election year. The discussion centered on the YSA's support to the SWP 1972 election campaign.

Although many participants had to travel thousands of miles to attend, the total registration was larger than at any previous YSA convention. There were 1,220 registered at last year's YSA convention in New York City.

The convention was the culmination of three months of political discussion in chapters of the YSA around the country. Five resolutions—proposing an overall political strategy for the YSA and the role it should play in the antiwar movement, the women's liberation movement, the Black struggle, and the Chicano struggle—were distributed to the YSA membership by the YSA National Executive Committee. These NEC draft resolutions were then discussed in local meetings. During the preconvention period, YSA members also contributed written res-

olutions and discussion articles which were published by the YSA national office and sent out to the entire membership. After this discussion, YSA members voted on the resolutions and elected delegates from each local. A total of 224 elected delegates attended the convention.

At the convention itself, the delegates discussed and voted on 11 reports presented by the outgoing National Executive Committee. The NEC resolutions and reports, approved virtually unanimously, now constitute the course the YSA will follow until its next convention.

The political report, given by Andy Rose, described both the problems and the opportunities facing revolutionaries during the election year. Because of deep illusions among the majority of people in this country that the elections can bring about change, election periods have traditionally been difficult times to mobilize people in independent actions in the streets. Rose cited the National Youth Caucus, formed at a Dec. 3-5 conference in Chicago, as one of the vehicles capitalist politicians are using to siphon the energy of activists away from the independent movements.

Election campaign

At the same time, however, since the attention of the American people is focused on the elections, the 1972 SWP election campaign presents the biggest opportunities yet for the YSA to gain a hearing for its ideas, Rose said. Involving thousands of young people in the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley will be the focus of the YSA's work over the next year. In this way, Rose explained, the YSA will win many young people to revolutionary socialism.

The political report was followed by a report on the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley by John Hawkins, one of three national coordinators of the YSJP. During the fall of 1971, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley addressed over 14,000 people at campaign meetings, and spoke to a total of 95,000 people, including the Nov. 6 antiwar actions and the Nov. 20 abortion law repeal demonstrations, according to Hawkins. Newspapers reaching an estimated 21 million readers have reported on the candidates. Two thousand three hundred people have signed cards endorsing the Jenness-Pulley ticket.

The delegates approved plans to obtain thousands more endorsers this spring and to send out 10 national teams of YSJP travelers to cover every part of the country. These campaign teams will visit campuses and high schools in places where the radical movement is very new, as well as areas where the candidates have been in the past. Selling *The Militant*, distributing campaign literature, confronting capitalist candidates, and speaking before student meetings, the teams are expected to establish scores of YSJP groups throughout the country.

Another aspect of the spring campaign offensive approved by the convention was the launching of YSJP election campaigns for student government offices on every campus and in every high school where there are campaign supporters. Delegates from the University of Texas in Austin and

Young Socialist convention election



the University of California in Berkeley discussed the gains made by their student election campaigns last fall.

The YSJP will also help to initiate Choice '72 in the schools, patterned after Choice '68, a mock election sponsored by *Time* magazine during the 1968 elections. Choice '72 will poll student preference on the presidential candidates, including Linda Jenness, and present referendums on the major questions before the student movement—such as the war in Southeast Asia, the repeal of anti-abortion laws, the right of self-determination for oppressed nationalities, and democratic rights for high school students. YSJP supporters will seek the active endorsement of Choice '72 by student governments, youth support groups of other candidates, antiwar groups, nationalist organizations, women's liberation groups, and student organizations.

The YSA's solidarity with the worldwide revolutionary movement was the theme of the international report, which was presented by Frank Boehm. Boehm pointed to the work of the YSA in defense of the Cuban revolution and its support to revolutionary struggles in France, Czechoslovakia, Québec, Mexico, and other parts of the world. He stressed that the chief work of the YSA was its continued defense of the Vietnamese revolution through building the antiwar movement in this country.

Latin American prisoners

An important part of the international report was a proposal that the YSA join in an international defense campaign for Latin American political prisoners. Revolutionaries in many Latin American countries have been imprisoned, tortured, and murdered for their opposition to repres-

sive national regimes subservient to the interests of U.S. imperialism. The campaign will center around defense of prisoners in Argentina and will also defend political prisoners in Brazil and Bolivia. In approving the campaign, the delegates agreed to support the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), which is seeking to obtain broad endorsement for the civil liberties of these prisoners.

The YSA's decision to join this campaign was the subject of a special article in the Jan. 1 *Houston Post*.

The convention opened just as Nixon escalated the bombing of North Vietnam. Explaining that this was further proof of Nixon's intention to remain in Southeast Asia until a military victory is secured, Geoff Mirelowitz, who reported on the NEC antiwar resolution, pointed to the necessity of the YSA continuing to support and actively build the antiwar movement, particularly the Student Mobilization Committee. The SMC, Mirelowitz stated, will play a key role during the election year in continuing to build demonstrations for immediate withdrawal that are independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Mirelowitz explained how the antiwar movement has been built by using the tactic of a united front composed of all organizations and individuals opposed to the war and organized around the central issue of immediate withdrawal.

The convention endorsed the SMC student conference slated for Feb. 25-27, and pledged to build the April 22 antiwar demonstrations called by the National Peace Action Coalition for New York and the West Coast.

Under the report on the women's liberation movement, presented by Delpine Welch, discussion centered on building the campaign to repeal all



SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley addresses national campaign rally in Houston.

Photo by Ed Weaver

Socialist on plans strategy



Photo by Ed Weaver

anti-abortion laws. Welch analyzed the Nov. 20 demonstrations for abortion law repeal as a successful first step in the struggle to draw women previously not involved in political activity into this campaign. She pointed to the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) conference in mid-February as an opportunity to bring together women throughout the country to plan actions for this spring.

The work of the YSA, Welch stressed, will be to continue this campaign through campus women's liberation and abortion groups and city-wide abortion coalitions. The SWP's 1972 election campaign presents an opportunity to gain many women supporters for the Jenness-Pulley ticket from abortion law repeal activists, including women who are involved in the National Women's Political Caucus.

The report on the Chicano liberation movement reaffirmed the YSA's support to Chicano nationalism and its support to La Raza Unida parties. Reporter Mirta Vidal explained how the 1972 elections will pose an important test for the Raza Unida parties. It also presents an opportunity to win many Chicano youth to support of the SWP campaign. She stressed the importance of the YSA helping to build Raza Task forces in the antiwar movement and involving more Chicanas in the abortion law repeal campaign.

In the report on the Black struggle, Malik Miah explained how building Black participation in the antiwar and abortion law repeal movements will help develop the leadership necessary for the formation of a Black political party. In the discussion, delegates centered their remarks around the SWP 1972 election campaign and how that campaign will gain the active support of many African-Americans, particu-

larly on the campuses and in the high schools.

High school report

For the first time at a YSA convention, there was a report on the high school movement. Steve Chainey described the growing revolt among high school and junior high school students around the questions of the war in Southeast Asia, the struggle of the oppressed nationalities, women's liberation, and the fight for democratic rights. It is particularly important, Chainey said, to get SWP candidates

More than \$2,000 worth of literature was sold at the Pathfinder Press table during the YSA convention, including 221 copies of the recently published book, Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1934-35.

One hundred twenty-eight people bought subscriptions to the weekly international news service Intercontinental Press. Forty-five one-year subs to The Militant and 31 one-year subs to International Socialist Review were sold.

to speak in high schools, to organize high school YSJPer, and to run YSJP candidates for student government.

The growth of the YSA's influence in the high schools was shown by the convention credentials report, which tallied 196 high school students in attendance and 20 junior high school students. Twenty-three percent of the convention participants were under 20 years of age.

The organization report, presented by Terry Hardy and approved by the delegates, included a proposal to help increase the readership of *The Militant* by supporting a special renewal campaign directed at the 32,580 new readers who purchased subscriptions in the fall of 1971.

The two final reports were the financial report, by Caroline Fowlkes, and the *Young Socialist Organizer* report by Nancy Cole. Delegates voted

to undertake a \$46,000 fund drive this spring—the largest fund drive ever adopted by the YSA.

An entire day was devoted to workshops and panels. Several sessions dealt with SWP campaign activities, including two on building the YSJP on campus and in the high schools, and one on obtaining ballot status for the SWP. Other panels discussed the high school movement and defense of Latin American prisoners.

A gay liberation panel focused on the YSA's unconditional support to the struggle of homosexuals for civil rights. It heard reports on building gay task forces for the Nov. 6 antiwar actions; the defense case of gay activist Mike McConnell, who was fired from his job in the library at the University of Minnesota; and Intro 475, a bill before the New York City Council that would ban discrimination against homosexuals.

A workshop on defense cases covered the fight of socialist professor Morris Starsky for reinstatement at California State College in Dominguez Hills, the free speech case of Jack Lieberman at Florida State University in Tallahassee, the campaign to allow Belgian Marxist scholar Ernest Mandel to visit the United States, and the defense of the right to sell *The Militant*.

Two films were shown on the last day of the convention. One, made in 1932, was a filmed speech by Leon Trotsky. This film was particularly inspiring because virtually no one in attendance had ever seen or heard a speech by one of the great orators of the Russian Revolution.

"To Make a Revolution," a film produced by the YSA, was also shown. This film is a documentary of the YSA's activities, including excellent footage of both the massive April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C., and the historic Aug. 26, 1970, Women's Strike in New York City. Andrew Pulley is also featured in the 37-minute film. (Copies can be purchased from the YSA National Office, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.)

The credentials report revealed the high level of involvement of young socialists in the major movements for social change. Five hundred and twenty-nine of those in attendance were members of the SMC, and 189 belonged to other antiwar organizations. Two hundred and twenty-two of the 473 women present were members of women's liberation groups. Fifty-eight participants belonged to nationalist organizations, including La Raza Unida parties, Black Student Unions, and MECHAs.

Six hundred and eight of those pres-

ent were students, and 114 were trade unionists.

Three hundred seventy-seven of those at the convention were neither members of the YSA nor the SWP. By the last day, 60 of them had asked to join.

The convention was given daily press coverage by the two major newspapers in Houston, the *Post* and *Chronicle*, and by TV and radio news shows. "The Morning Show," a national CBS TV program, reported on the convention, and Linda Jenness was interviewed for 15 minutes on the local CBS affiliate. Articles on the convention appeared in the Dec. 29 and Jan. 2 *New York Times*, AP, UPI, and Reuters sent out regular dispatches on convention proceedings.

The convention ended with the election of a new national committee in-

Continued on page 22

Internat'l guests greet YSA gathering

Revolutionary co-thinkers from many countries attended the YSA convention and delivered greetings. Representatives from the following organizations affiliated with or sympathizing with the Fourth International were present: the Communist League (France), International Marxist Group (Great Britain), Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (Canada), Revolutionary Marxist Organization (Sweden), Socialist Youth Alliance (Australia), Revolutionary Communist League (Japan), and the Socialist Action League (New Zealand).

The convention received greetings from Latin American Trotskyists, including a taped message from the Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco, and written messages from Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Colombia. International guests also appeared at a panel attended by more than 200.

Following his greetings to the convention, Christian Liénard, a leader of the French Communist League, was given a standing ovation. Liénard said, in part:

"This generation of the Fourth International will lead the masses of workers and oppressed people to revolution and socialism. But the road is difficult, for imperialism and bureaucracy, Brezhnev, Nixon and Mao won't hesitate to join against revolution as they already did in Ceylon and Pakistan. Yes, the path is hard but it is the only one. That cannot prevent us from continuing to struggle for a socialist United States of America, for a socialist France, for an international workers republic, because the day of the final conflict is coming soon."

Sibylle Plogstedt, a young German revolutionary arrested in Czechoslovakia in 1969 for "Trotskyist" activities, gave a solidarity message, as did Saad Merheg, secretary of the Organization of Arab Students in the United States and Canada, and Sean Keane of the Irish Republican Army. Al Fateh sent written greetings.

Join theYSA

- () I would like more information about the YSA.
- () Enclosed is \$1.25 for a set of the five convention resolutions adopted at the YSA convention.
- () I want to join the YSA.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____
TELEPHONE _____
Young Socialist Alliance,
Box 471 Cooper Station,
N.Y., N.Y. 10003. Phone:
(212) YU9-7570.

Navajo students suffer harsh treatment at U.S. gov't school

The article below is based on excerpts from a longer article by Frye Gaillard that appeared in the Aug. 16 *Race Relations Reporter*, newsletter of the Race Relations Information Center in Nashville, Tenn. In researching the article, Gaillard drew information from Native American organizations that have been collecting data about the Intermountain Indian School for several years, as well as from his own visit to the school and the vast Navajo reservation it serves.

As you follow U. S. Highway 89 into the town of Brigham City, Utah, the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Intermountain Boarding School is on your right — a massive institution surrounded by a 10-foot chain link fence and looking very much like the military facility that it used to be.

Visitors to the school are supposed to check in at Building 1, the administration center, but during the slack summer period, you can avoid doing that if you want to and can proceed directly to the classroom buildings or dormitories where a handful of teachers and students are only too happy to tell you about conditions at the school.

Their criticisms of the school begin with its very reason for being there. A Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) pamphlet entitled "Questions Commonly Asked About Intermountain School" lays out the difference between Intermountain and everyday public high schools:

"The essential difference is that public schools have the task of preserving the prevailing customs of our society, namely the same language, same costume, same diet, housing, social customs and civic responsibilities. The task of the Intermountain school is to change language, change diet, costume, housing, manners, customs, vocations and civic duties. Changing people's habits and outlooks is one of the most complex tasks in human affairs."

Implicit in this objective is a clear



"Oh, let 'em stay for a while. What possible harm can they do?"

lack of appreciation of the culture and way of life of the Navajos, whom the school serves exclusively. When the BIA's new education director, James Hawkins, conceded in May that the Navajos might be better off if the school were closed down, he was acknowledging something that many Navajos have believed for a long time.

The school is nearly 700 miles from the Navajo capital at Window Rock, Ariz. Students (grades 1-12) are bused to the school in the fall, bused home at Christmas, bused back after the holidays, and then home again for the summer.

Students find Brigham City not only different, but hostile. Jody Allen arrived at Intermountain as a junior high school student. He graduated this year. "It didn't take me long," he says, "to learn that something was bad wrong with this Intermountain place."

Language discrimination

One of the first things he noticed was that his teachers spoke no Navajo at all, which was a problem because he spoke very little English. He was able to communicate with some of his instructional aides, but even that was difficult because the speaking of Navajo was a punishable offense in those days—both among students and aides.

But the students' problems do not stop with language difficulties. "I remember the first time I was put in jail," says Allen. "I was getting ready to leave the dormitory when my instructional aide asked me to clean my room. I said, 'Man, I would like to clean it when I get back.' But he said, 'Nothing doing,' and he followed me down to the bathroom demanding that I clean the room. When I refused, he hit me and split open my eye. I started to fight back, and some of my friends tried to help me, but they broke us up and put me in jail."

Another time, when Allen failed to produce a cash register receipt for some hair cream he had purchased at a nearby drugstore, another instructional aide had him jailed for shoplifting.

"And one time after that," Jody continues, "I went AWOL with some friends, and we climbed the mountain behind the school and bought some beer. They caught us, although we were not drunk, they jailed us because we were underaged. I was 16 then, and the school supported the jailing. These white people who run the school, they always support the jailing of Indian students."

Intermountain never tries to help jailed students obtain legal counsel. What it does do, however, is make a record of the arrests to be placed in the permanent file of each student—a file that can be shown to future employers or to future educational institutions that the students may want to attend.

There is no record of unruly conduct or clashes between students and Intermountain guidance personnel [for the weekend of the 1970-71 term for which Gaillard was able to see Intermountain records], but such clashes do occur.

"Most of the guidance people, like most of the teachers, are non-Indians," explains Rosa Naranjo, a social studies teacher. "The white instructional aides tend to push the kids around, and that makes them mad. And one thing about most of these Navajos—they are not afraid to fight back."

The fights are usually one-sided, and the Navajos usually fare badly—primarily because the white administrators are able to call upon superior weaponry, such as handcuffs, a powerful tranquilizer—Thorazine—and the threat of such humiliating punishment as head-shaving.

Lehman Brightman, an Indian civil rights leader from California, told a Senate subcommittee earlier this year that when he visited Intermountain, he found Navajo young people whose wrists are permanently scarred by handcuffs.

Now, however, handcuffing appears to have been supplanted by the use of Thorazine. Tom Oxendine, a spokesman for the Bureau of Indian

Affairs, contends that the drug is used only when a student is a danger to himself or those around him, and that it is only administered by qualified medical personnel under a program approved by the Indian Health Service of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

But information in the Physicians Desk Reference, the standard pharmaceutical guide used by nearly all doctors, raises questions about the Health Service approval. On page 1,223, the guide points out that the use of Thorazine is inadvisable when large amounts of barbiturates, alcohol or narcotics are present in the central nervous system, explaining that the drug "prolongs and intensifies the action of C. N. S. depressants." It cautions that Thorazine—because it is so powerful—is an extremely dangerous drug if misused.

On top of that, Evelyn Reeder, who graduated first in her class from Intermountain this year, says of those students she has personally seen drugged with Thorazine, "Some of them were unruly, some weren't."

Perhaps the most humiliating punishment yet devised at Intermountain has been the practice of head-shaving. School rules require very short haircuts to begin with, and this is traumatic enough for some students. Traditional Navajo hairstyles are long, and many students have regarded these styles as an integral part of their culture. But in addition to routine haircutting, students who (in the judgment of their supervisors) misbehave have often had their hair shaved off at the scalpline.

In 1965, one Intermountain student who wound up in jail never came out. Boyd Tsosie Jr., who was 18 at the time, hanged himself in his cell with his sweater. Police officials said Tsosie had received "medical attention" at the Intermountain medical center before he was brought in on a charge of being drunk. They told the *Box Elder News*, a Brigham City newspaper, that Tsosie was seen "lying down and writhing about which is not unusual in such cases." Thirty minutes later he was dead.

The problems are not solely those of physical brutality. Evelyn Reeder's biggest objection to the school was that it didn't teach her anything.

"There are 18 teachers in the social studies department," Rosa Naranjo says. "Of those, 13 are Mormons and only three are Indians. Most of the teachers bring a very white perspective to their courses, and the textbooks have the same perspective. The result is that students don't begin to develop a full understanding or appreciation of who they are."

One of the books used by the school is called *Your Country's Story*, published by Ginn and Company. The cover depicts a wagon train crossing Indian territory, and on the title page is a white pioneer holding a rifle. The first chapter is entitled, "Europeans Added a New World to Their Maps," and in the chapter on westward expansion, Indians are discussed only as a threat to the brave pioneers. For example, the book states on page 163: "The area between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River was fertile, but many hostile Indians lived there."

Course outlines for the 1971-72 school year call for more attention to Indian history and culture, but as Mrs. Naranjo points out, "we have the same white teachers and the same white-washed textbooks."

Audiences large for Mandel in Canada

The following article appeared in the Dec. 20 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary socialist biweekly published in Canada. The article is reprinted from the Jan. 10, 1972, issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

Ernest Mandel ended his cross-Canada lecture tour December 15 with meetings at Trent University in Peterborough and McMaster in Hamilton. There were many high points on the tour with large audience turn-outs indicating an intense interest in Canada campuses in the views and writings of Mandel, the most authoritative exponent of Marxist economic theory today and a leader of the Trotskyist Fourth International.

Over 4,000 people came to Man-



Ernest Mandel

del's lectures in Vancouver, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Brandon, Toronto, Hamilton, Montréal, and Peterborough. In Manitoba he spoke to almost 1,000 at three campus lectures; in Vancouver over 600 people heard him speak at three campus meetings and 200 at the Vanguard Forum. In Toronto, about 500 students and faculty attended his lecture at York and over 400 at a rally sponsored by the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists.

In Montréal Mandel spoke to about 500 at McGill, the Université du Québec, and at the national educational conference of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

The author of the well-known *Marxist Economic Theory*, *Europe Versus America*, and *The Formation of the Economic Thought of Karl Marx*, Mandel spoke at campuses on the current capitalist monetary crisis. At the public rallies of the LSA and YS he gave an inspiring report of the resurgence of workers' struggles in Western Europe and the growing strength of the revolutionary-socialist vanguard in the workers' movement.

At the University of Toronto, Mandel was the guest lecturer of the School of Graduate Studies and the Department of Political Economy. He led a seminar discussion, chaired by Professor Mel Watkins, on "Marxist Perspectives on Economic Theory."

Mandel, banned from the United States by a State Department ruling, was able to reach through to certain American listeners within range of Toronto CBC Television. An interview was telecast by the program "Twenty-third Toronto Time," which is rated to have 300,000 viewers in southern Ontario and across Lake Ontario in the United States.

'72 Socialist Campaign

Joel Weisman and Ray McCarthy, in the Dec. 1 issue of *Chicago Today*, a major daily newspaper, provide several examples of the compromises Democratic hopeful Senator George McGovern is willing to make in his campaign for the presidency.

Weisman and McCarthy discuss McGovern's decision not to run delegates in Chicago against an "uncommitted" slate controlled by Chicago Mayor Daley. They quote McGovern as saying:

"But realistically I think it would not be a good use of my time and energy to run McGovern slates in Chicago challenging those run by Mayor Daley. . . . Daley said he was pleased I was coming into the state. I think I have as good a chance as anyone of getting the support of the Illinois delegation."

Weisman and McCarthy continue: "Of more interest than McGovern's political path to the Democratic nomination, however, is the candidate's attempt to change his image."

"In his effort to shed his one-time 'radical' tag, McGovern gets a helping hand from the Socialist Workers Party at virtually every campus meeting."

"Why don't you debate Linda Jenness, our candidate for president?" he was asked by students at Southern Illinois University (Carbondale), Illinois State (Normal), and Northwestern (Evanston).

"I won't debate her because I am running for the nomination of the Democratic Party," he snaps."

Weisman and McCarthy write that McGovern "guards carefully the possibility that his plans may be construed as cowardice."

"At every stop he refers to his own military record as a World War II bomber pilot. . . .

"He insists that he would 'never dismantle our defense capability.' And, he adds, 'I'd send American troops anywhere our national interests warranted it—but only for 30 days, unless I had a full declaration of war.'"

Stephen Robbins, Director of Scheduling and Advance for McGovern for President in Washington, D.C., sent a letter to Linda Jenness Dec. 8, replying to her invitation to debate her and Congressman Paul McCloskey

(R-Calif.) at Franconia (N.H.) College Jan. 13.

"At the present time, Senator McGovern is seeking the nomination of the Democratic Party, and is limiting debates to opponents within the party. In addition, the senator does not feel it is appropriate to debate with candidates who are constitutionally unqualified for the office," Robbins wrote.

At a Dec. 21 Washington, D.C., news conference to publicize and announce plans for the Young Socialist national convention, SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley, 20, called for a constitutional amendment to eliminate all restrictive age requirements for elective office.

"Fifty million Americans, more than half the electorate, are between the ages of 18 and 34. They are qualified to vote but not to serve as president. . . . All those eligible to vote should be eligible to serve in any elective office."

In a Dec. 24 letter to Robbins, Pulley wrote:

"Linda Jenness and I have called upon our Democratic and Republican opponents, including Senator McGovern, to join us in calling for a constitutional amendment (to eliminate all restrictive age requirements).

"Senator McGovern claims to represent the interests of young people, but declines to debate Linda Jenness because he 'does not feel it is appropriate to debate with candidates who are constitutionally unqualified for the office.'"

"Rather than attack Jenness because she is young, McGovern should join with us in defending the rights of young people."

"In our opinion, public debates between presidential candidates should include all the candidates—regardless of political affiliation or age."

"Everything you wanted to know about George McGovern: the real platform and record of the senator from South Dakota," the first in a series of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley truth kits on Democratic and Republican candidates, is now available.

The 16-page pamphlet by YSJP national coordinator Laura Miller discusses McGovern's position on the

role of the Democratic Party, the war in Indochina, the draft, the Middle East, the wage freeze, the national struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans, women's liberation and homosexual rights.

and Republicans, the delegates chose "stand-in" candidates—Dr. Benjamin Spock for president and Julius Hobson of the D.C. Statehood Party for vice-president—who would withdraw from the race if "acceptable" liberals

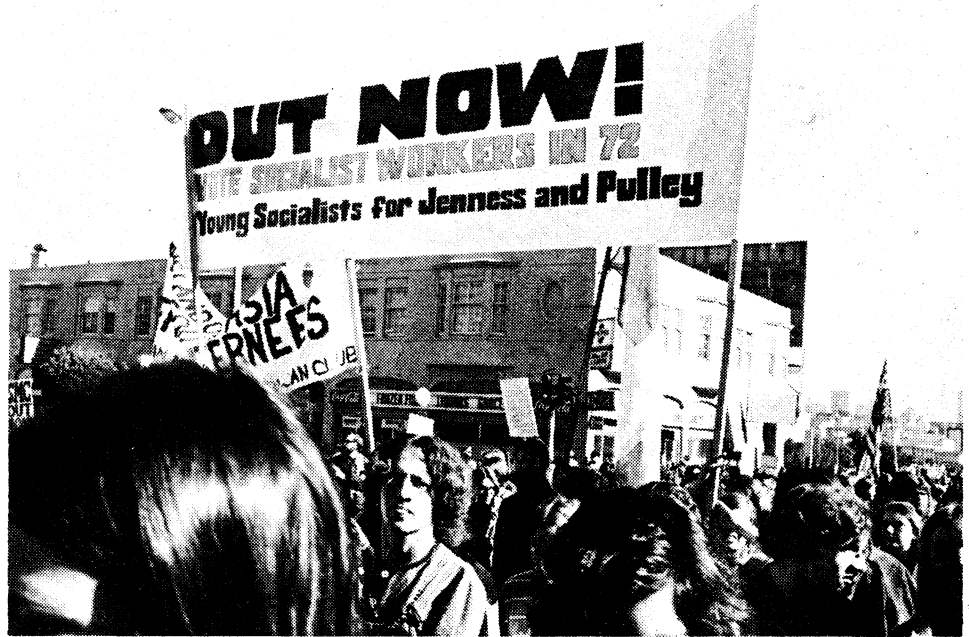


Photo by Dave Warren

YSJP banner on Nov. 6 antiwar demonstration in San Francisco

McGovern's voting record in the Senate on foreign policy, the draft, civil liberties and labor is also included in the pamphlet.

To get your copy, send 25 cents to Socialist Workers 1972 Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. If you would like to help McGovern shed his radical image, ask for a bulk order. The cost is 15 cents per copy on orders of 50 or more.

A red, black and green poster with the slogan "Black control of the Black community—vote Socialist Workers in '72," is now available. Send 10 cents (four cents each on orders of 100 or more) to Socialist Workers 1972 Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

About 200 supporters of the Peace and Freedom Party and similar formations were unable to reach agreement on much of anything at their convention in Dallas over Thanksgiving weekend. Deciding not to offer a clear alternative to the Democrats

are chosen by the Democrats to run against Nixon.

Many activists who have supported the Peace and Freedom Party in the past are becoming disgusted with the PFP's obvious orientation to the Democrats. For example, the November 1971 Peace and Freedom Newsletter, published in Long Beach, Calif., has a brief article by R. Sorenson, a member of the Wisconsin Alliance (WA). He writes, "I would recommend that the WA consider endorsing the SWP national ticket of Jenness for president and Pulley (a black ex-GI) for vice-president. . . . There are no alternatives in the national picture and I don't consider the liberal Peace and Freedom Coalition much different from the Democratic Party. At least the SWP will bring a semblance of socialism to new people who haven't been reached before. . . . Personally I plan to vote for their slate in the national elections except in the event a Labor Party emerges."

— STEVE BEREN

51,600 sign for SWP ballot status in Fla.

By JUDY UHL

In less than three weeks the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley in Florida collected 51,600 signatures, almost twice the 27,000 needed to put the Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot. Averaging 100-150 signatures per person each day, the campaign supporters easily surpassed the 45,000 goal they had set for themselves.

More than 75 young activists in five cities took part in the petitioning drive, including several who first heard about it through *The Militant*. Other campaign supporters housed petitioners, enabling them to travel in teams from one part of the state to another. Four petitioners stayed in a trailer in St. Petersburg, while another team in Jacksonville was housed in a government-financed poverty-program headquarters in the Black community there.

Coordinated on a statewide basis,

the petitioners set daily quotas for themselves and consistently met their projections.

Tom Vernier, a national coordinator for the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley who toured Florida during the drive, reported an excellent response to the campaign. Most schools closed for the Christmas vacation a few days after the drive began, Vernier noted. In the few days of campus petitioning, however, petitioners averaged well over 150 signatures per day. Vernier indicated that the pace of the petitioning would be duplicated or surpassed in many states where ballot drives are being planned when schools are in session.

Most signatures were collected on downtown street corners and at shopping centers, although some enterprising petitioners collected names at rock concerts, dog races and the beach.

Prior to the Florida ballot push, the SWP had never petitioned in the

deep South. Kentucky is the only Southern state in which the presidential candidates of the SWP have appeared on the ballot. This year the party plans to file in 35 states, including the Southern states of Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Tennessee, South Carolina and Virginia. The other states in which the SWP will file are Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Washington, D.C., Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington and Wisconsin.

Many Florida petitioners were present at the "Getting on the Ballot" workshop at the YSA convention in Houston. They contributed a number of suggestions on how to coordinate the petitioning in other states. A campaign

supporter from St. Petersburg indicated he found very little hesitancy on the part of signers to help put socialists on the ballot. Another petitioner remarked that the age of the candidates had a very positive effect on retired persons who live in Florida.

Twenty-eight people from Florida attended the Houston convention. First order of business at the convention was the seating of a delegate from Miami's newly formed local of the Young Socialist Alliance. The local was set up during the course of the petitioning drive in Miami.

One of the first activities of the Florida YSA members and Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley will be to wage a legal fight aimed at eliminating Florida's unconstitutional requirement that a party pay 10 cents for each signature filed with the state. \$5,160 would be needed to meet this filing-fee requirement and place Jenness and Pulley on the Florida ballot.

Mobil hired gangsters to break strike

By FRANK LOVELL

The Mobil Oil Corporation, one of the five largest oil companies in this country and part of the Rockefeller international oil trust, has admitted to hiring gangsters to break a strike of Mobil truck drivers in New York last May, according to an announcement by Brooklyn District Attorney Eugene Gold Dec. 9.

Officials of Mobil Oil claimed three gangsters conspired and did in fact force the corporation to hand over \$130,000 to break the strike of 1,600 drivers against Mobil and five other oil companies that began last May 1 and ended May 12. The gangsters have since been indicted on extortion charges and bail has been set at \$10,000 each.

The giant oil corporation and all of its officers and representatives, however, are not charged with violating the law. One of the reasons for District Attorney Gold's public announcement was to emphasize that the company had violated *no laws*—federal, state or city. According to the *New York Times* coverage of the D.A.'s press conference, Mobil did not violate the New York City Administrative Code, which supposedly bans

strikebreaking, because, as Gold explained, the company has not engaged in such activities "customarily and repeatedly."

The company made careful and expensive plans to break the strike of its gasoline truck drivers when it became convinced that they would strike. In 1969 it set up its own strikebreaking agency known as Mobil Oil Continued Operations (MOCO), and arranged to rent out its trucks and keep them operating in the event of a strike.

The gangsters were hired by MOCO to supply drivers who would be paid \$10 an hour for a 16-hour day during the strike. The gangsters were to get a \$100 "finder's fee" for each scab driver they could bring in, plus \$120 for every truckload of gasoline delivered.

When the strike started the gangsters had trouble finding scab drivers and delivering gasoline. According to the charges against them, they then called Mobil officials on May 6 and demanded more money. The company officials agreed to leave \$72,000 in the lobby of the Mobil office building to be picked up at 11:30 a.m. on May 7. The pickup was observed by representatives of the corporation who

knew the characters they were dealing with and what the payoff was for.

When the hoodlums demanded more money, Mobil decided to end its relations with them but agreed to pay another \$31,000 for "past services."

Company officials claimed they were frightened by threats from the gangsters that "It'll be like the thirties unless we receive money." At this point the police and other law enforcement agencies were notified by the company officials who claimed they had turned over a total of \$130,000 to the gangsters.

There is something reminiscent of the 1930s in this episode. There was considerable publicity about the labor spy racket in 1937 when the subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate, known then as the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee, investigated and exposed the extent of strikebreaking activities in this country.

The committee discovered that \$80-million a year was then spent on labor spies, that the largest corporations were footing the bill, that there was a paid spy in every union local, and that strikebreakers were shipped around the country to break every

strike. The practice of spying on strikers and hiring gunmen to break strikes was so scandalous that federal legislation was introduced against strikebreaking, some states passed anti-strikebreaking laws, and a few major cities, such as New York, banned strikebreaking.

The present-day gangsters didn't know that they were issuing idle threats against Mobil when they told the company officials, "It'll be like the thirties. . . ." As far as the giant corporations are concerned, it is like the thirties in this respect. There has never been any letup in strikebreaking activities and there is always plenty of money available for that purpose, now as in the past. They do not worry about the anti-strikebreaking laws because these never were enforced; only the laws against strikes are enforced.

There is one further aspect to this. The corporations are opposed to spending good money for nothing. When they hire strikebreakers, they expect the operation to succeed. Those who take money and fail to deliver are likely to get in trouble with the law, as happened in this case of the three gangsters from Brooklyn.

The National Picket Line

THE MOST IMPORTANT SINGLE EVENT of the past year for the union movement was the federal government's wage-freeze edict of Aug. 15. The freeze was the most significant government attack on the labor movement in a quarter century. This action has already adversely affected the living standard of 80 million working men and women and their families, the vast majority of the country's population. The unorganized workers are hit harder than the nearly 20 million union members. The consequences are more far-reaching than is generally recognized or admitted.

When the old year began, The Militant could report last Jan. 22 that the problems and perspectives of the union movement had changed from the previous year, "reflecting the steady growth in changing composition of union membership, the nation's deepening radicalization, and the current economic crisis, which combines unemployment and rising prices."

Some craft unions had temporarily put aside old jurisdictional feuds, false organizational loyalties, and some ingrained political prejudices. Eleven AFL-CIO unions had joined forces with locals of the Teamsters, United Auto Workers, and the outcast United Electrical Workers to win a 102-day strike against the arrogant General Electric Company, which had refused in the beginning to bargain seriously with any of them. The UAW had forced the auto industry to restore the cost-of-living "escalator" clause in the wage settlement after a 58-day strike. The United Steelworkers were then demanding a cost-of-living clause to combat rising prices and a shorter workday to stem the rising tide of unemployment, and were preparing for strike action to win these demands. Many union officials, responding to the rising antiwar sentiment, endorsed the April 24 demonstrations against the war in Vietnam.

At the start of the new year 1972, it is clear that the prospects of the union movement are different, altered by the fact that the employers, united behind the government attack on wages, have taken the offensive. The union officialdom is retreating all along the line, seeking defensive positions, hoping to reestablish the old union-management collaboration on a new basis.

There is little talk of strike action in the board rooms of the big unions these days. The bureaucrats are worried about how to renegotiate old wage gains in the government Pay Board, where the employers have the upper hand. They complain about rising prices but do nothing to organize consumer committees to control them. They deplore the rapid increase in unemployment but do nothing to stop layoffs in the steel mills, the auto plants, and other places of work. Their silence suggests that they have forgotten about last year's demands for a shorter work day. They refuse to muster even token defense of important sectors

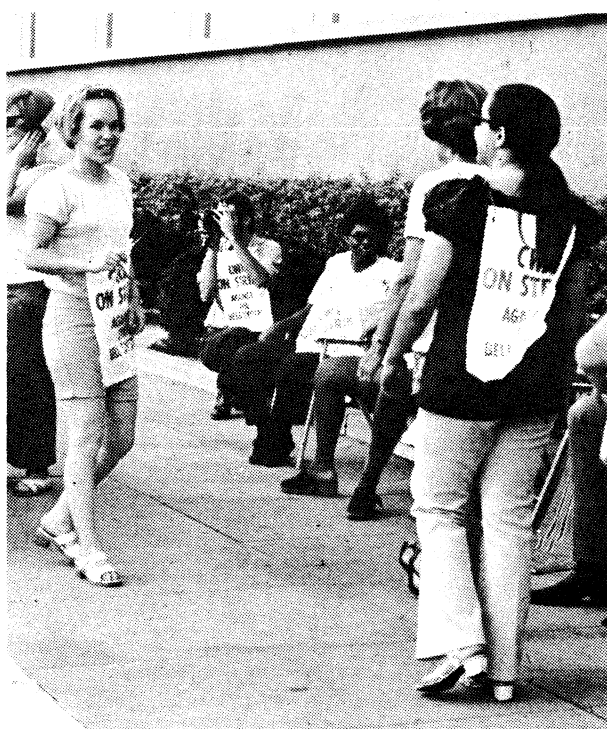


Photo by Walter Lippmann

Striking Communications Workers of America members in Los Angeles last July. New York CWA members are still out.

of the trade-union movement that have come under attack.

Consider the following developments:

At the end of 1971, 38,500 telephone workers, on strike since July 14 against the New York Telephone Company, were besieged by strikebreaking court injunctions and had their strike undermined by out-of-state strikebreakers imported in violation of the New York Administrative Code. President Joseph A. Beirne of the Communications Workers of America has not lifted a finger to force the telephone company to grant the just demands of these members of his union. Nor have other unions taken effective action against the phone company to help these strikers.

During the holidays, 112 Newark teachers were in New Jersey jails, put there because they defied antistrike injunctions of the courts during their 1970 strike. Two union officials were among those serving sentences—Carole A. Graves, Newark Teachers Union president, and Frank Fiorito, president of the state AFT. These two officials face additional sentences of six months and a year, respectively, for the 1971 teachers' strike. The union officialdom has extended sympathy, little else.

The longshoremen on both coasts have been

without a contract since Sept. 30, 1971. On the West Coast the contract expired in July and they were out for 100 days before being forced back to work under the terms of the old contract when Nixon invoked the Taft-Hartley law against them. At the end of the year they were free to resume their strike, but East Coast longshoremen were working under a Taft-Hartley injunction, and would not be free to strike again until mid-February. Meanwhile, the waterfront employers are refusing to conduct meaningful negotiations, expecting to get further help from the government against the longshoremen. In the face of these provocations and threats, the hierarchies of the AFL-CIO, the Teamsters union, and all other sectors of the union movement have done nothing to help the longshoremen. All are afraid the U.S. Congress will enact crippling antistrike legislation covering all transportation unions.

In New York City, a bill requiring binding arbitration of deadlocked labor disputes affecting 300,000 city employees was passed Dec. 29 by the City Council, 34 for and only four against. This bill was introduced months earlier by Mayor John Lindsay but not acted on by the council until local politicians were assured privately that most union leaders supported such legislation.

A new welfare bill passed by the U.S. Congress and signed by Nixon Dec. 28 requires welfare recipients to register for jobs or job training, beginning July 1. The purpose is to undercut living standards and reduce the power of unions through the enforced labor of those out of work.

Unemployment is widespread, especially in the steel industry. Buffalo, Gary and Youngstown are cities where tens of thousands of steelworkers are laid off with little prospect of returning to work in the near future. The auto industry may be next in line for big layoffs.

What the union bureaucracy thinks about these urgent problems and the tightening grip of government controls upon the unions can be gauged from Nixon's remarks when he appeared before the AFL-CIO convention. He publicly reminded the delegates there that he has become accustomed to meeting often with Meany and others "in the Cabinet Room over the past three years." This is where the union bureaucrats are told what they should think and what they must do.

There may be some surprises in store for the Democratic and Republican Party politicians, the employing class, and the union bureaucrats during this critical year of the 1972 general election. There are a growing number of union militants who have not made any trips to the Cabinet Room. They do not understand and cannot accept the old patterns of government-labor-management cooperation.

— FRANK LOVELL

By TONY THOMAS

In the past year there has been an intensification of the attacks on Black nationalism by the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League. Last July, *Political Affairs*, a "Journal of Marxist Thought & Analysis" reflecting the CP's views, printed a speech by Tony Monteiro, a CP and YWLL leader, entitled "Trotzkyism: Racist Voice in the Left." This speech was basically an attack on Black nationalism and was answered in *The Militant* by this writer in a series of articles now available in the Pathfinder Press pamphlet "In Defense of Black Nationalism."

An article in the September *Political Affairs* by José Stevens, Harlem organizer of the Communist Party, sheds light on the motivation for this attack on Black nationalism.

The article, "Party Work in Harlem," lays out the Communist Party program for Black liberation in Harlem and, by implication, in the rest of the country. High on the list of priorities is an attack on Black nationalism. It becomes clear in the course of the article that Black nationalism has had a considerable impact and become a "problem" inside the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League, where some of their Black activists are resisting or recoiling from the antinationalist campaign.

Stevens lumps together Black nationalists, Pan-Africanists, and Black CP and YWLL dissidents as "bourgeois nationalists" representing "alien ideologies" or "diversionary trends."

Some CP and YWLL members active in the Black struggle are said to "consider themselves as mass workers first and Communists second. They in fact become representatives of the mass movement in the Communist Party, not class conscious Communists in the mass movements."

Apparently some of these activists have been attracted to separatist concepts, the idea that Black people ought to fight for a separate state. Separatists are said to be "geared toward diverting Black workers from the struggle to change their immediate conditions and from fighting in unity with their white class brothers. Any careful examination will show that these ideas are being supported and financed by monopoly."

Stevens, in his anxiety to inoculate the CP and YWLL ranks against Black nationalism, even claims that Black nationalist ideologies "have something in common with the widespread problems of drug addiction and alcoholism in that they are basically escapist ideologies. They try to circumvent the mass struggle necessary to bring about change."

This, of course, is a completely erroneous view. Black nationalist demands—such as Black control of the police, schools, and other institutions in the Black community—have arisen in the course of broadly based community struggles like the 1968 fight in New York by Ocean Hill-Brownsville residents to gain community control of their schools. Such demands point toward a solution of the day-to-day problems faced by the masses of Black people and at the same time relate to their present level of consciousness.

Stevens sets himself against the revolutionary thrust of the Black liberation struggle and the demand of the Black community to have control over itself by failing to include the demand for Black control in his program.

Why does Stevens reject the demand for Black control of the Black community? Surely the oppression that Black people face daily from white control of the Black community shows that Black control is needed. Surely community actions, struggles and sentiment have shown that Black control demands can provide the axis for a mass action coalition that could carry on struggles "of a genuine, mass character," which Stevens says he favors.

Perhaps we will discover the answer to the question if we examine exactly what Stevens' strategy is, what social

forces are looked to, and what role is reserved for the Communist Party.

Stevens' strategy

Referring to the Congressional Black Caucus, Stevens states, "In the country as a whole Black representatives, the majority of whom represent the interests of the Black bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie, play a generally progressive role." But within the context of playing "a generally progressive role," these Black Democrats "tend to be a brake on the development of the people's movement" because "their reformist approach tend [sic] to lead to abstention from mass actions and struggles outside of the electoral arena." These capitalist politicians, Stevens laments, "fail to utilize their position to give leadership in the fight to change the deteriorating conditions in the community." They have even "established their niche in the parties

of who should control the community—the white capitalists or the Black masses. No! The role of this coalition, under "working class leadership" (the CP, we presume), is to put pressure on the Black Democrats so as to "neutralize the instability of the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie in the community and force them into consistent struggle against monopoly. . . ." (Emphasis added.)

What program does he recommend for this effort to "neutralize the instability" of the Black Democrats? Such a "people's coalition," says Stevens, will "be based firmly on a minimum program of unity on the major problems confronting the community." Stevens' firm rejection of Black nationalism and his failure to support demands for Black control demonstrate what this "minimum program of unity" means. It means limiting the struggle of the masses of Harlem and other

rent sentiment for independent Black political action are based on the sad experience of the Black community, which for decades has followed the strategy of supporting "progressive" white and Black Democrats.

Since the 1940s, Harlem has been represented by a Black Democrat in the U. S. Congress. For years the borough president of Manhattan has been Percy Sutton, a leader of the local Black Democratic machine.

In spite of this, no real gains have been made for Black people through this avenue. None of these politicians have made any attempts to give African-Americans in Harlem real control over their own lives. None of these politicians have given real support and resources to attempts to mobilize mass actions around the demands of the Harlem community. All of them have tried to keep Harlem stymied within the bounds set for it by the rulers of America, who control the Democratic Party.

CP opposes Black party

The CP's "people's coalition" strategy is not designed to end this situation, since it consciously subordinates the interests of the Black struggle to an alliance, to "unity" with a wing of the capitalist class through supporting Black Democrats. This is the basis for the CP's opposition to Black nationalism in general and to the idea that has been raised by some Black nationalists and revolutionary socialists of forming a Black political party. Such a party would seek to mobilize Black people in militant mass action and would run candidates for public office against those of the Democratic and Republican parties. Such a party would have the potential to become a mass party and thus break the stranglehold of the Democratic Party on the Black community.

A naive reader of Stevens' article might think the CP would support a Black party since he criticizes the Black Democrats for "keeping Blacks tied" to their "monopoly party" and since he says he is for "independent political action." But Stevens fails to mention the possibility so we must look elsewhere for a discussion of the CP's position on this question.

Ted Basset, writing in the Oct. 16, 1971, *Daily World*, a newspaper that reflects the CP's views, points out that "independent political action" for the CP does not include an independent Black political party. He attacks the call for a Black party made verbally by Roy Innis, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) leader, at the recent CORE convention. Innis, like the CP, supports liberal Democrats and has no intention of launching a Black party. Nonetheless he is sharply criticized: "On the political front, instead of joining the struggle for independent political action leading to the break-away from the two-party system, he proposes a Black political party."

Basset indicates what this gibberish means by praising the Black "independent" Democrats of the South—Charles Evers, whose Loyalist Democrats in Mississippi claim to be more "loyal" to the Democratic Party than the local Democratic machine, and John Cashin, whose Alabama National Democratic Party makes similar claims. "The Black political upsurge in the South and the nation is moving objectively in this direction [that is, within the Democratic Party], yet CORE refuses to follow this path. Instead, CORE proposes to narrow down this movement into a projected Black political party."

Clearly, what worries the Communist Party leaders about the deepening Black nationalist radicalization is that it will lead to a real mass "break-away from the two-party system" in the Black communities, and lead to massive struggles that are unacceptable to Democratic Party liberals because they challenge this system's control over every aspect of the lives of African-Americans. Their worries are not likely to diminish.

Why does the Communist Party attack Black nationalism?



Photo by Eugene J. Yzquerdo

Black Antiwar Moratorium in Detroit, April 3, 1971. Such actions are an expression of growing nationalist sentiment in the Black community.

of monopoly capitalism. Therefore they will not budge and continue to operate in the framework of keeping Blacks tied to the Democratic Party."

If you accept the "generally progressive role" of the Black Democrats, the obvious question arises: How can we "budge" them into some form of action "outside the electoral arena" so that some concessions can be won, so some degree of credibility can be maintained for this strategy, so self-respecting "Communists" can continue to hustle votes for capitalist candidates? Or as Stevens poses the problem, "Countless numbers have given up voting because replacing one representative after another in the same old monopoly party improves nothing."

Stevens offers a solution. He calls for the formation of a "fighting people's coalition." However, the role for this coalition is not to raise demands that would mobilize the community in such a way as to pose the question

Black communities to the types of "minimum" demands that are acceptable to the Black Democratic politicians he sees as being key to this coalition.

Stevens is insistent on this point. Such a coalition "cannot be based on ideological unity," such as the Black nationalist philosophy developed by Malcolm X, which Communist Party leaders have long branded as irrelevant or an obstacle to the day-to-day struggles of Black people, although it has great appeal to many, including some Black CP and YWLL activists. A central component of Malcolm's program was opposition to the capitalist parties. He said, "We won't organize any Black man to be a Democrat or a Republican, because both of them have sold us out; both parties have sold us out." (From *By Any Means Necessary*, Pathfinder Press, page 46.)

Malcolm's strong stand and the cur-

Guardian staff writer defends Padilla jailing, assails critics

By DAVID THORSTAD

NEW YORK—The title to Irwin Silber's article in the Nov. 17 *Guardian* promised to shed "new light on the Padilla affair." But no new light is shed. Old positions are restated. Innuendo and insinuation are liberally interwoven and build up to what is evidently the purpose of the article: to once again attack the Socialist Workers Party.

It is a shoddy piece of work.

"Now that the initial hysteria surrounding the 'case' of Cuban writer, Heberto Padilla, has died down," it begins, "it may be useful to look back over the developments of the past six months to see if it is possible to determine what all the extravagant rhetoric was really about." Thus, by reducing the affair to a matter of "rhetoric" at the outset, he dismisses the possibility that it represents cause for concern to any but the hysterical.

Just what Silber means by "initial hysteria" and "extravagant rhetoric" he does not say. The phrases are not really meant to be lingered upon, but to serve as stylistic devices designed to win the reader over without the need to fall back on hard facts and arguments.

It should, however, be fair to assume that since the SWP is his main target in this, as well as in a previous article last Aug. 18, he has the SWP in mind. *The Militant*, which reflects the views of the SWP, did, to be sure, run a series of articles in August and September 1971 by Harry Ring analyzing the Padilla affair in the context of the current political situation in Cuba (soon to be published as a pamphlet by Pathfinder Press). Yet those who are familiar with these articles will recall their measured, objective tone. They will recall that Ring offered evidence to show that the five-week jailing of Padilla in the spring of 1971 constituted a serious violation of the concepts of socialist democracy and a concession by the Cuban leadership to Stalinist bureaucratic methods; that it occurred in the context of mounting economic difficulties in Cuba coming on top of hardships imposed by the U.S. blockade, which has driven Cuba into economic and military dependence on the Kremlin bureaucracy; and that it was not an isolated incident but that it was followed by the First National Congress on Education and Culture (April 23-30, 1971), which not only endorsed the arrest of Padilla, but also adopted a political and cultural line that reflected a major concession to Stalinism.

Despite repeated slurs and attacks on *The Militant* and the SWP in the *Guardian*, its readers have still not been informed of what the SWP actually said in this analysis. In neither of his two articles on this case, both of which he peppers with jibes at the SWP, does Silber either quote or paraphrase *one sentence* of this analysis. The darkness in which *Guardian* readers have been kept in this respect would unquestionably seem to call for the shedding of light. Unfortunately, they don't get it from Silber.

Rather than discuss frankly the questions raised in *The Militant's* analysis, he dismisses it as "the hysterical outburst of knee-jerk anti-Stalinism," and concludes on this lofty note: "About the only ones desperately trying to keep the matter alive in the U.S. right now are the Trotskyists and considering that movement's symbiotic relationship to Stalinism over the years and its absolute dependency on the existence of a Stalinist menace to give itself ideological legitimacy, one is hardly surprised."

Before we return to the question of "symbiosis," what does Silber actually say in this article that makes it worth noting? First, he defends the arrest of Padilla. Second, he points to what he calls a "cultural revolution" in Cuba.

No counterrevolutionary acts

One of the criticisms *The Militant* has made of the Padilla case is that the poet was arrested without any evidence or even claims that he had committed counterrevolutionary acts. Padilla himself in his "confession" does not claim to have committed acts of a counterrevolutionary nature.

As we "look back over the developments of the past six months" with Silber, do we discover any "new information" that Padilla actually committed counterrevolutionary acts? No, although Silber claims to "now have the benefit of considerably more information" about "the nature of the 'acts'" for which Padilla was arrested. If so, he keeps it to himself.

Still, he argues that Padilla was not arrested for what he wrote, but his argument leaves little doubt that he would approve of it even if that were the case. "Now I happen to think that it is, at best, only a penny-ante brand of Marxism that would separate 'writing' from all other human activity and invest it with some mystique placing it outside the realm of other social activity," he writes, suggesting he makes no distinction between ideas and acts. "Writing is as honorable a craft as any other and if it has certain special social requirements for its pursuit, it also has certain special and additional social responsibilities attached to its practice (especially in a revolutionary society) because the ability to define reality through words clearly demands a fidelity to the essential revolutionary truths of the self-assertion of the popular

will through the institutions of socialism." Stripped of the gobbledygook, this means that if a writer does not toe the line, he may get into trouble.

But why, an exasperated reader may inquire, was Padilla arrested, according to Silber? "In terms of traditional notions of bourgeois liberty," we are told, "there is no 'satisfactory' explanation for Cuba's arrest of Heberto Padilla." If, however, you shed your "bourgeois notions" of liberty and look through the superior lenses of Silber's own notion of revolutionary liberty, you will easily see that "put in its simplest terms, all Padilla did was to behave irresponsibly. [!] No one action of his—cynical conversations with writers hostile to Cuba, involvements with foreign diplomats in pursuit of personal gains, an elitist view of the role of the writer and an attitude of contempt for the achievements of the revolution—none of these sound to most of us like sufficient cause for arresting someone."

"But these *are* the reasons why Padilla was taken into custody by Cuban authorities."

Where, then, does Silber stand on this arrest? The answer is that he stands just about everywhere except in opposition to it.

It says a lot about his method that having just defended the right of a revolutionary regime to arrest as criminals writers for things they may write—even though he does not believe the Cubans did this with Padilla—he at first claims to suspend judgment on whether or not the Cuban government did the right thing to arrest Padilla, and dismisses it as "relatively unimportant." He then, however, proceeds to defend the arrest: "Cuba faced up to a problem that had arisen and dealt with it in a manner they conceived to be both necessary for the defense of the revolution and respectful of the rights of individuals. It seems to me that the Cuban revolution has conducted itself in a principled fashion in this matter and that it has tried to resolve problems within the framework of the best interests of the revolution." This is only a cumbersome way of saying he agrees with the arrest.

It is cumbersome because Silber is not comfortable with the Padilla arrest. He even volunteers in the next paragraph that it may have been a "mistake" (the quotation marks are Silber's). But no matter how uncomfortable Silber is with the Padilla jailing, and no matter how insignificant he might consider it to be (he invariably refers to it as the Padilla "case," in quotes, suggesting it is nothing more than an isolated and unimportant incident), he nevertheless suggests in this article that it also represents the beginning of a new glorious stage in Cuba. He asserts that "Cuban cultural workers" are presently participating "in what can only be described as the beginnings of Cuba's own cultural revolution." He warns that the revolutionary transformations of Cuban society are producing a change in consciousness "that those of us in the bourgeois West can only dimly comprehend" (though some, no doubt, more dimly than others). And he says Cuban cultural life is "taking a revolutionary turn away from elitism and towards the mass involvement of the people."

'Cultural revolution'

One wonders how a case like Padilla's, coming as it did at the threshold of this "cultural revolution," could be relegated to the minor status Silber accords it in his two articles. What is downright astonishing, however, is that Silber is able to point glowingly to a "cultural revolution" without devoting so much as one word to the decisions of the Congress on Education and Culture, some of which represented a clear step backward for Cuban culture. But omission is an important ingredient of Silber's method.

Silber sees reality in static terms of good and evil. With this approach, it is not possible to support the Cuban revolution and at the same time voice revolutionary and constructive criticism of errors when that is called for. Within the context of the difficulties facing Cuba, he argues, Cuba's decision to arrest Padilla "must be respected."

This argument is not only sterile, it is sinister. It boils down to saying that the only way to defend a revolution is to support everything it does, including its mistakes. Its logic is to brand anyone who takes a more open-minded approach as an enemy of the revolution. While Silber stops short of explicitly stating that, he brushes off critics of the Padilla affair not with arguments but with epithets: "exploitation," "myopia," "petty-bourgeois left," "political arrogance," "colonialist world view," "hysteria," etc. This method absolves him of having to deal honestly with the ideas of those he disagrees with.

This method is not new. It was notably used by Stalin, and today is considerably discredited. That Silber is still using it says more about his own "symbiotic relationship to Stalinism" than all the innuendo he manages to squeeze into his article.

Partisans of the Cuban revolution have not only a right but a duty to discuss the implications of incidents like the Padilla affair. In doing so, they are making a far better contribution to the defense of that revolution than those who resort to these methods of Stalinism.

Navy harasses socialist sailor

By MIKE KELLY

SEATTLE—On Dec. 1, Seaman Pat Hayes was told by officers of the Naval Investigative Service (NIS) that charges of "fraudulent enlistment" would soon be placed against him. Hayes is a socialist on leave of absence from the Young Socialist Alliance while on active duty.

Hayes told this writer that the charges, which are totally without foundation, are cover for an attack on his constitutional rights as a citizen in uniform. The brass is out to get him, he said, because of his support for the Nov. 6 antiwar actions and for the 1972 Socialist Workers Party presidential election campaign.

The attack on his civil liberties came just a few days after a successful GI meeting he had helped organize for SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley at the Shelter Half Coffee House in Tacoma, Wash.

Other events leading up to the Dec. 1 charges clearly indicate the political nature of the attack on him, Hayes said. On Nov. 30, another seaman on Hayes' ship, the USS *Uhlman*, had SWP campaign literature seized from him by a "lifer."

Shortly after that, Hayes was called up before the ship's command and threatened with the loss of his security clearance. "Get that stuff off this ship!" he was told.

When Hayes made it clear he would not be harassed into giving up his rights, the brass increased the heat and called in the Naval Intelligence Service.

On Dec. 1, after the scheduled time for him to get off mess duty, Hayes was told he was restricted to the mess decks, berthing compartment and head.

The executive officer promised him the restriction would last only until liberty call, but when the time came for liberty, instead of being taken off restriction, Hayes was asked to sign a statement consenting to a search of his locker. He refused.

Hayes was then told he had to remain on board until the NIS arrived. At 5 p.m., he was finally given permission to contact an attorney. Shortly after that, the executive officer ordered him to open his locker. He did so but objected that he had seen no authorization for a search and was complying with the order under protest.

The men who searched his locker—two officers and a chief petty officer in addition to the three NIS cops—found nothing illegal. They pored over personal letters and shook out all Hayes' clothing and books.

Only after the search was completed was Hayes finally told that charges of "fraudulent enlistment" were pending against him.

According to Hayes, the initial response of other sailors has been support for his rights. Men keep asking for campaign literature, and at least one other sailor has asked to buy a subscription to *The Militant*.

Social Security increases don't help

By MARVEL SCHOLL

When the recent amendment to the Social Security Act granting a 10 percent increase to more than 25 million elderly Americans was passed, it was hailed by some pensioners as new evidence that "America takes care of its own."

Nothing could be further from the truth. With one hand the government gave pensioners raises ranging from \$10 to \$16 a month and with the other hand took away 60 cents a month in medical insurance premiums and increased by 20 percent, from \$50 to \$60, the amount Medicare patients must pay for each hospital stay.

They did something far worse than that, however, to several million of these elderly people—the ones who are the oldest and hence receive the smallest pensions. In 23 states and the District of Columbia, pensioners with minimum payments (as low as \$56 a month) were automatically eligible for either state old-age assistance or public welfare.

This state or city aid entitled the pensioners to state Medicaid, which in turn entitled them to free medicine, dental and eye care, and the right to buy food stamps.

Those whose pensions are raised above present state minimum income requirements now lose all these benefits. The piddling cash increase means little to these elderly, but the Medicaid assistance and the food stamps meant the difference in obtaining necessary medication and a more nearly adequate diet.

Florida is one state that demonstrates graphically what this 10 percent social security "raise" has meant to thousands of people.

Leah Miller, 83, is a diabetic. She lives alone in a \$100-a-month hotel room. Before the increase her income, a monthly Social Security check of \$113, was low enough to entitle her to \$6 a month in welfare benefits and state aid in medical care and other necessities.

Now her pension has gone up to \$124—just enough to make her ineligible for state aid.

Her raise costs her \$20 a month! After she pays the rent and buys med-

icine, she has just \$4 a month to live on. She is bitter.

"I begged the government not to make me take it [the raise], she said, "but they said I had to. I told them that's not fair. But they said their regulations would not allow them to take it back."

"Where will I get the \$60 if I have to go to the hospital?" she asks.

Sam Salit, 77, and his 66-year-old wife, who suffers from diabetes, also live in Florida, where many retirees migrate to cut down on expenses, especially fuel bills. He figures the increase is going to cost him \$43 a month. He lost his \$1-a-month welfare check and all the attendant Medicaid benefits.

One pensioner couple live in an unincorporated section of Dade County, Fla. They had been receiving state aid, which meant that along with Medicaid and food stamps they also got their garbage hauled away free. Now that they are no longer receiving a tiny welfare check, they have to pay \$52 a year to have their garbage

picked up, in addition to paying for all their medical care.

Leslie Comer, 76, lives in St. Petersburg, Fla., with her 51-year-old asthmatic daughter. Comer's Social Security raise was \$12 a month but it robbed her of \$35.60 in welfare medical money as well as of a wide variety of other benefits.

"I tell you what I think," she said. "Us old folks that worked hard that can't work no longer, that need the money just to stay alive and buy medicine, they is the ones that can't get no money. . . ."

How many more stories are there just like these? How many old people will die from starvation because they can't afford to buy food?

These are the people who built this country, its huge factories, its mills, railroads, sewed its clothing, dug its ditches, mined its ores.

One of the first obligations of a socialist economic system would be to take care of its elderly and its youth. Under capitalism both ends of the life span, the "nonproductive" ends, are brushed aside.

The Conference on Aging, recently concluded in Washington, D. C., made some proposals for alleviating the hardships of the elderly. The visiting capitalist politicians, especially those up for reelection or ambitious for higher office, listened with apparent good will. But that is all that will come out of this jerry-rigged conference (there have been many before).

As Max Friedson, a 72-year-old activist for improved old-age legislation, put it:

"You know why problems like this exist? . . . Because some people in government today think they'll never grow old. . . . Of course I don't think that's too unusual because I never thought I'd grow old either."

Just another thought, Mr. Friedson: Most of those people in government today are busy lining their pockets so that they will never face life with only a Social Security check to depend on. Besides, if you stay long enough in the upper ranks of the American government you get a pension that can make for very easy living indeed.



Drawing of government bureaucracy by George Tooker/LNS

Black nationalist flag stirs Newark debate

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEWARK — Strong opposition has been raised to the Nov. 30 decision of the Newark school board to display the flag of Black liberation alongside the U.S. flag in every classroom of schools with a Black majority. With a school population that is 80 percent Black, this decision in Newark applies to all but two or three schools. And implementation would require the purchase of over 2,000 red, black and green flags.

The *New York Times* ran a front-page story on the event in its Dec. 2 issue. The following day, a *Times* editorial called the decision "an unacceptable and intolerable intrusion of political symbolism into the education system." Further on, the *Times* claimed, "Its sanction by educational authorities is as subversive as the outrageous display of the Confederate flag in some recalcitrant Southern school districts."

New Jersey legislators immediately went into action by considering a hastily-drawn bill outlawing the display of any other flag but the stars and stripes in school buildings. The bill has yet to become law.

John Cervase, a white member of the school board, obtained a restraining order against implementation of the decision. This will remain in effect until the court rules on his motion demanding that the board show cause why its decision should not be reversed. A hearing is scheduled for some time in January.

These views, however, run quite con-

trary to sentiment in the Black community.

"The flag stands for determination, it stands for liberation," Derrell Fennel, president of the student body at Arts High School, told this reporter. She and other students were surprised that the flag had provoked so much heat. As they related it, the motion on displaying the flag was a spontaneous gesture. It came in the wake of a gathering of close to 400 students at the Nov. 30 board meeting and the submission to the board of a 12-page set of demands—entitled "Education for Liberation"—by the Newark Student Federation, a city-wide organization.

The capitalist press had no comment about these demands, which in the main dealt with student participation in the selection and evaluation of teachers, curriculum revision, facilities, and student and community representation on the school board.

The chief spokesman for the students is Lawrence Hamm, student body president at Arts High last spring. Hamm was appointed by Mayor Kenneth Gibson to the school board last July, becoming its youngest member at 17. Because of his activities on the board, he dropped out of Princeton University, where he was majoring in political science on a scholarship.

In addition to the students, a broad community coalition called the African Education Alliance (AEA) supports flying the liberation flag and the other student demands.

At a press conference Dec. 6, the AEA issued a statement which began, "The issue here is not whether or where a flag should or should not fly, but rather whether we as an African people have the right to KUJICHAGULIA [Swahili]—self-determination—the same as any other people. We submit, of course, that we do."

Later on it states, "The Flag of African Liberation is just that—a flag of liberation. It is not the flag of another country, it is not a flag of sedition or treason. We have not said that it is to replace the American flag, that it should fly higher or lower than or be saluted instead of or in addition to it. In fact it is only the opposition who has tried to make the American flag an issue. Those who would oppose our flag's presence in the classrooms of Black children are those who would oppose the liberation of Black people everywhere. This Red, Black, and Green flag is the one that WE have chosen to symbolize OUR UHURU, our liberation, and we represent the White Supremacist (and their lackeys') conspiracy to select our symbols for us."

On the other hand, Mayor Gibson expressed very little enthusiasm for the board's decision. He said it "has my respect," but added the disparaging remark that "a flag remains only a symbol which will not and cannot teach children to read or bring about the unity which we need in order to progress."



Photo by Candida McCollom

Red, black, and green flag of Black liberation at Sept. 18 Harlem rally in support of the Attica inmates. Awareness of the flag and what it symbolizes is growing in Black communities across the country.

In Review

Records Dylan on George Jackson



Bob Dylan at Bangladesh concert

George Jackson by Bob Dylan. Columbia Records.

One of the things I've always liked about Bob Dylan is that even expert Dylanologists can rarely tell what he'll do next. This time I think he's caught even the best of them off guard.

After much too long an absence Dylan has come back with three new albums, a TV special and an incredible stereo single release.

At this writing only *Bob Dylan's Greatest Hits, Vol. 2* is in the stores. It is a two-record set featuring 17 oldies, some in new form, and four numbers written but previously unrecorded by Dylan.

A second album, expected shortly, was made from the 1968 Carnegie Hall concert that was a memorial to one of America's greatest folksingers, Woody Guthrie.

The third album and the TV special are of the historic Bangladesh benefit in New York last summer. One side of the promised multirecord set will be entirely Dylan, backed up on at least one track by George Harrison, Ringo Starr and Leon Russell. As with the concert, the performers' share of the take is intended to go to aid Bangladesh. The total for each is expected to be around \$3-million.

The big news, however, is the release of the single *George Jackson*, a two-sided tribute to the slain Black revolutionary. It marks Dylan's return to outright political compositions after years when we were all sure he had turned his back on the protest song in favor of personal reflection, country ballads, and other genres.

Fittingly, one side has him playing by himself again with only a harmonica and guitar. The other side features the same number backed up by a chorus and a very tight country group led by Leon Russell. Sentimen-

talists might be expected to favor the former version, but Russell's fine work on guitar and piano along with very beautiful and nostalgic harmonica solos by Dylan have sold me on the band version.

The number is not a complete throwback, however. In the early sixties, young Dylan sang with anger and a desperate force. *George Jackson* is done in a melancholy way, more in mourning than in anger, though one cannot help feeling both. For an interesting comparison, contrast the anger of *The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll*, written by Dylan in 1964, with *George Jackson*.

Perhaps seven years has taught both an older Dylan and us to expect things like political murders. Dylan shows, though, that we don't have to take a loss in battle lying down. Every time those in power use force as a weapon to try to preserve their reign, more and more people learn to understand how it all works.

Lest there be a mistake, and the lesson not be learned, Dylan spells it out:

Sometimes I think this whole world
Is one big prison yard
Some of us are prisoners
Some of us are guards

While the ruling class used guns to take one person, Dylan uses a more powerful weapon: truth. Verse after verse he tells how Jackson was sent up for an alleged robbery of only \$70 and that it was his "defiance, power, and love" that scared the authorities and caused them to keep him prisoner for so many years, and finally to assassinate him.

Chorus after chorus Dylan repeats "Lord, Lord, they shot George Jackson down." These lines will engrave themselves in people's minds all over this nation and the world.

— NEIL DOBRO

Books Autobiography of Alexandra Kollontai

The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Woman by Alexandra Kollontai. Herder. New York, 1971, 137 pp. \$5.95.

Those who have been waiting for Alexandra Kollontai's autobiography to appear in English will be disappointed by this slender volume. This is the first of her writings to be available in the United States since the 1920s. It is sketchy and sandwiched in between an irrelevant foreword by Germaine Greer and an uninformative afterword by Irving Fetscher. It abruptly ends in 1926, more than a quarter century before her death. And while it fortunately also includes her excellent essay on "The New Woman," it is mutilated by her later attempts to go along with the Soviet bureaucracy in its betrayal of the 1917 revolution. Although the publisher has included the deleted sections, the extensive system of notation actually makes the book more difficult to read.

Kollontai described the process of her radicalization as one of breaking out of the stereotyped role a woman was expected to play. Although she loved her husband and child, she discovered within three years of her marriage that "the happy life of a housewife and spouse became for me a 'cage.'" Her understanding of the psychological oppression women face in class society provided the framework of her life and her writing.

Kollontai joined the Russian Marxist movement in the late 1890s, and played a role in educating the Russian socialists on the particular importance of the emancipation of women within the socialist revolution. She opposed World War I because it was an imperialist war, and joined the Bolsheviks in 1915 after observing their strong and consistent

anti-imperialist stand. In exile, she lectured throughout Europe and the U. S., agitating against the war and working to build a new international.

However, she never understood the role a vanguard party plays in a socialist revolution. Her inability to perceive the function and critical importance of the party's democratic centralist structure runs like a fatal flaw through her autobiography. Certainly she was concerned about the rise of the bureaucracy within the Soviet Union but she failed to understand the material reasons for its emergence.

Her solution to the problem of unequal distribution in the Soviet Union, torn apart by World War I and the civil war, was to let the trade unions, rather than the Bolshevik party, provide leadership for the country.

Because her autobiography stops short in 1926, one can only surmise that it was Kollontai's inability to comprehend the nature of the Leninist party that disarmed her in the struggle against Stalinism.

Kollontai's autobiography does not provide more than a few quick glimpses of those early years of the revolution. As the first woman commissar in the Bolshevik government, she worked to institute a system of maternity care and day-care centers, to organize public kitchens that would liberate women from household drudgery, to provide abortions for those who needed them, and to ensure "the still unfinished task, women's liberation." She provides firsthand testimony about the enthusiasm the leaders of the revolution felt toward implementing this essential task.

But she became disappointed and impatient that the new society could not quickly spring into being

in a technologically backward country. In 1922 she was appointed Soviet ambassador to Norway—the first woman ambassador in modern history. And so the autobiography ends—silent about the development of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the fate of the Left Oppositionists led by Leon Trotsky, silent about the role she played in helping Stalin to pressure the Norwegian government to expel Trotsky in 1937, and silent about the bureaucracy's betrayal of the revolution.

However enigmatic Kollontai the revolutionary remains after having read her autobiography, her essay "The New Woman," a chapter taken from *The New Morality and the Working Class*, is an interesting account of the "transitional woman." She stands midway between the submissive woman of the past and the new woman, who boldly accepts her freedom and organizes her life around her work. Kollontai wrote about women like herself, who find it difficult "to cast aside this capacity, internalized in the course of centuries, of millenniums, with which she tried to assimilate herself to the man who fate seemed to have singled out to be her lord and master."

Kollontai saw that the fight to become a full and independent human being was a battle women had to wage on two fronts: not only with the external world, but also with oneself, learning to overcome the "inclinations of their grandmothers dwelling in the recesses of their beings." And, looking at modern novels and their women characters, Kollontai sees the emergence of the new woman in literature. In the light of today's discussions about consciousness raising, her insights are remarkably contemporary.

— DIANNE FEELEY

Rank and file stand firm for West Coast longshore strike

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 3—There is a good chance that 1971 will see the first nationwide longshore strike since the post-World-War-II labor upsurge. Such a strike could effectively answer the government-backed offensive of the shipping industry against the longshoremen's unions on all coasts.

The Taft-Hartley 80-day injunction, which halted the 100-day West Coast strike of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union last Oct. 6, expired Dec. 25. Since then negotiations have been taking place, but no agreement is in sight. The old contract has been extended by mutual consent to Jan. 17.

On Dec. 17, as expected, ILWU longshoremen and ship clerks rejected the shipowners' "last offer" by 14 to one. This vote was required under Taft-Hartley procedures. This 93 percent vote amounts to a resounding mandate to continue the strike. Everyone understands this. But when?

Probably not until the 80-day injunction against the strike of the International Longshoremen's Association at East and Gulf ports expires in mid-February, at which time the ILWU and the ILA could join forces to tie up all shipping.

Currently the ILWU and ILA leaderships are conferring in New York in an attempt to work out joint negotiating and strike strategy. Just about every union member on the West Coast is for ILWU-ILA collaboration—but on the basis of what program? What are ILWU President Harry Bridges and ILA President Thomas Gleason going to come up with?

Little is known here about Gleason, but a great deal is known about Bridges. He is not trusted.

His policy in the strike last summer and early fall was apparently designed to give no offense to the American shipowners. Very few American ships were tied up, only foreign bottoms. Military cargoes, carried in American commercial ships, were worked, as were passenger ships and grain ships. Strike policy permitted diverted cargo to be worked by Canadian, Hawaiian and Mexican longshoremen. The strike was, in fact, so loose that about 40 percent of normal cargo moved as if there were no strike at all.

Still posted in San Francisco union hiring halls are clippings from Canadian and Mexican newspapers, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and various shipping industry publications documenting the general charge that it was a poorly run strike.

One clipping from a Dec. 7 *New York Times* editorial has the following words underlined: "The White House held off as long as it could on the West Coast, in face of insistent clamor from governors and congressmen because it feared an injunction would tip the power balance inside the striking union in favor of the ultra-militant foes of Harry Bridges—once an arch demon to all conservatives, but now an employer's favorite." Underneath this clipping someone has written: "I knew it all the time!"

Since Oct. 6, the Bridges leadership has been raked over the coals. Up and down the coast local leaderships favoring a strong strike policy have been elected.

In his column in the Dec. 7 *ILWU Dispatcher*, Bridges says that Section 9.43, the "steady man" clause, will stay in the contract, although the four major locals on the West Coast have demanded that it be eliminated. The "steady man" system desired by the employers would bypass the union

rotational hiring halls and undermine equalization of earnings by workers.

In the same column Bridges compares his critics to the union renegades who testified against him when the government was trying to deport him during the McCarthy witch-hunt period of the 1950s. "Beware of local union politicians seeking to get elected at your expense by trying to make bums and sell-out artists out of some international officials, especially the chairman of the Coast strategy committee (that's me)."

He is reminded, Bridges goes on to say, of "all those witnesses on the witness stand . . . testifying against the union program and me, and working like everything to help me get a few years in a jailhouse plus deportation."

This smear technique has further alienated the rank and file, and especially the local rank-and-file leadership.

For the first time, the old ILWU tradition that members never talk to reporters about internal union politics is being breached. Articles and TV specials regarding a "power struggle" in the ILWU have been appearing. Sources are generally not given, but local leaders are obviously feeding information to the media, in self-defense against Bridges' public attacks upon them.

In the recent negotiations, the Coast negotiating committee has scaled down the union's wage demand to a figure more agreeable to the employers, and dropped the demand for a tax on containers not handled by the ILWU. This act, coupled with the Bridges *ILWU Dispatcher* column calling for a merger with the ILA, prompted a Local 10 ILWU official in San Francisco to give an off-the-record press interview to a San Francisco *Chronicle* reporter. He declared that Bridges was stalling in the negotiations. "Harry wants things stalled until he can carry out his grand plan for us to join the ILA. He knows damn well this proposal would be eaten alive by the Coastwide caucus."

It is widely believed in the ILWU that Bridges has slipped so badly that he is afraid that the union will soon be taken over by his enemies. His present frantic talk that *only* affiliation with the ILA can win the union's demands is not believed. Most union members think it is a stall designed to evade discussion of more immediate policy questions.

In contrast to Bridges and his diminishing number of supporters, the average ILWU member considers the internal dissension good and progressive—a sign that the union is alive and healthy, and, incidentally, quite able to win a strike given a correct "tight strike" policy.

Prominent local union officials, such as chief business agent George Kekai and chief dispatcher Dave Littleton of Local 10, and President Shaun Maloney of Local 13 in Seattle, represent this point of view.

The vote that preceded the July 1 strike was 96.4 percent for striking. After 100 days on strike and 72 days under a Taft-Hartley injunction, the employers' last offer was turned down by a 93 percent vote, despite a 70 percent wage increase offer and a \$500 monthly pension offer.

This indicates that the membership has not given up its original demands—rotation of all work through the union hiring halls and a guaranteed weekly wage—and is willing to fight for them. If it turns out that the ILA has a similar fighting spirit, the shipowners and the government are in for a hard time.

The American way of life

By ARTHUR MAGLIN

Enterprising entrepreneurs have finally come up with a way to package social injustice and sell it for a tidy profit. An increasing number of new board games—allegedly for adults—with names like *Blacks & Whites*, *The Welfare Game*, *Women's Lib?* and *Smog* have been parlayed into a multi-million-dollar business.

In *Woman and Man—A Game of Confrontation*, players are instructed: "Each woman must accumulate enough status points to prove her equality to men; each man must collect enough Status Quo points to prove once and for all a woman's place is beneath his."

The explanatory blurb on the box of *Blacks & Whites* exhorts: "Experience the Ghetto. Live on Welfare. Try to buy into a white suburb . . . a role of the dice could bring you news that Mayor Daley has been reelected, whereupon you are taken directly to the police station for interrogation. Or you may get the good word that the Ford Foundation has granted you \$150,000 to study job discrimination against Alaskan Eskimos."

The rules of *Women's Lib?* state that in "bargaining sessions" players "may bribe, kick, bite, scratch, buy votes, cheat, etc." And apparently to make sure that no supporter of the women's liberation movement buys the game in error, its box cover is adorned with a picture of a naked woman.

One playing situation that you're supposed to solve in *The Welfare Game* is this one: "You are an engineer and you suddenly lose your job due to cutbacks in the aerospace industry. Unable to find a job you run out of your unemployment checks; you lose your home; you go on welfare. What do you do that makes you \$5,000,000 in six years time? See No. 10."

Under No. 10 the rule book advises that the player should start his own employment agency for people who have been laid off. Which is a pretty neat trick for someone with no money to start a business.

Class is a game about social status. The object is for social climbers to get to the top of the status ladder without losing all of their integrity as they buy their way into the country club or face a \$25,000 bribe.

The object of *He-She-Him-Her* is for the men to keep the women confined on the playing board to the kitchen, drawing such cards as "Wild Weekend" in which the male "gains a reputation and gains a turn" while the female loses both.

Ennio Racinelli, the man who makes and distributes *Blacks & Whites*, started out in 1968 with a game called *Seduction*. His company, Dynamic Design, Inc., is now a million dollar a year business. Racinelli says that he has received complaints that the game exploits racial oppression. Several department stores have refused to carry it. Racinelli says, "Bloomingdale's wouldn't carry it because two Black girls on the counter complained—if they had taken the time to play it they would have seen there was nothing wrong with the game."

All the makers of these games are liberals. They claim they are promoting "social awareness" (rather than making mere profits).

Among the other games on the market with alleged "social awareness" themes are *Dirty Water*, *Who Can Beat Nixon?*, *Feds 'N' Heads—The Game of Pot Luck*, *Ecology*, *The Cities Game*, and *Rat Race*.

Poverty, pollution, prejudice, police brutality—you name it and you can play it. And if the dice aren't rolling your way, you can always try real life.

ASSOCIATION, A.F.L.-C.I.O.



Photo from ILWU Dispatcher

ILWU president Harry Bridges, left, and ILA president Thomas Gleason

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75c per line of 56-character-wide typewritten copy. Display ad rates: \$10.00 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

Calendar

BERKELEY-OAKLAND
BANGLADESH DAY. Thurs., Jan. 13, all day in Pauley Ballroom, UC Berkeley. 10 a.m.-4 p.m.: Exhibition with films and slides; 6:30-8 p.m.: Cultural program with Bengali food. 8 p.m.: Teach-in on political situation in Bangladesh. Sponsors: American Committee for Bangladesh; Young Socialist Alliance.

INDIA, PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH. Speaker: Sharad Jhaveri, central committee member of the Socialist Workers Party of India. 8 p.m., Fri., Jan. 14, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Ausp. Militant Forum. For further information, call 654-9728.

BROOKLYN
WILHELM REICH AND THE RELATION BETWEEN MARXISM AND FREUDIANISM. Speaker: Barry Sheppard, former editor of The Militant. Fri., Jan. 14, 8 p.m. at 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Brooklyn Militant Forum.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 7 p.m. every Thursday, KPFC-FM, 90.7.

...NPAC

Continued from page 4
 as the polls put it, "a communist takeover." We can mobilize the American people around the demand of immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia.

Our differences with PCPJ on these questions are important, but they cannot stand in the way of our working together. Both NPAC and PCPJ agree on the demand of an immediate end to the war and the bombing. We can work together around that. Although NPAC will not raise the demand "Set the Date" or come out for the seven-point proposal, we have no objection to PCPJ doing so. This was certainly the case at the Nov. 6 mass demonstration in New York where both NPAC and PCPJ representatives were among a broad list of speakers, while the central slogan was agreed upon by all: "Stop the bombing now! U.S. out of Southeast Asia now!"

The period ahead requires maximum unity of the antiwar movement. It is true that many people will believe the election year promises and get off the streets. That's nothing new. It has happened before.

What is new is that more people are against the war than ever before. The Nov. 6 demonstrations and the well-attended NPAC convention showed that there is a large core of dedicated, enthusiastic antiwar activists who don't intend to be tricked off the streets. We have to mobilize these activists to educate the rest of the country about the continuation of the war in Southeast Asia and the need for independent mass action in the streets.

Let us go out, each in our own way, to educate about the war and whatever other issues we may be concerned with. But let us work *together* on actions, such as the April 22 national antiwar demonstrations, to tell Nixon and whoever wants to fill his shoes, that we're still here and we'll be out in the streets until the last bomber is brought home from Southeast Asia and the last base dismantled.

...Chicana

Continued from page 8
 She achieved her goal of putting herself through college, getting a degree and a teaching position. Then the process of broader thinking began.

"Actually, I got a break," she said. "But other students don't get those breaks. People would say to me, 'Well, you made it. You were one of 14 kids. And so can they if they want to.' And I used to think that myself. I was stupid enough to think that. But I don't any more."

Mary Lou de la Cerda is no longer seeking an individual escape from the oppression her people suffer. She is now convinced that it will take the collective struggle of La Raza to accomplish that, and she warmly welcomes the present development of nationalist consciousness among the Chicano people.

"I think it's a beautiful thing," she said, "the awakening of the Chicano people in the Southwest, in Aztlan. I see it as a must, a must that all of us become aware of what has been happening to us as Chicanos since this part of the Southwest became part of the United States. We need to look back and be proud instead of letting them make us feel ashamed. The way I begin to see it now, they have been

trying to rob us of all the things we possess—our language, principally. 'Forget your language! Speak English! Your music, your food, everything!' They robbed us of our land and they try to rob us of our language!"

Mary Lou is firmly convinced that this present rising nationalist consciousness must and will find ever greater political expression. She thinks La Raza Unida Party "is a great thing, something I personally am going to support."

...dollar

Continued from page 5
 and competitive depreciations."

In the ferocious battle for world markets between international capitalist combines there can be no other end result but the saturation of markets with overproduced goods, an increasing spiral of trade restrictions and monetary warfare, and recessions in a series of nations, with the ultimate danger of an international monetary collapse. Aug. 15 signaled that this phase of postwar world imperialist development has already begun.

...YSA

Continued from page 13
 cluding 35 full members and 31 alternates. The average age of the total committee is less than 22, and 23 percent of the full members are Black.

Andy Rose, 21, was elected national chairman. Rose joined the YSA in 1969 at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. YSA Chicano Work Director Mirta Vidal, 23, was elected national secretary. Vidal joined the YSA in 1968 when she was a student at Queens College in New York. Laura Miller, 20, a national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, was elected national organizational secretary. The youngest national officer, Miller joined the YSA at 17 at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb.

The convention set another precedent for the right of socialists to organize openly and legally in Houston, where radical organizations have long been the target of attacks from the Ku Klux Klan.

The convention site was the Music Hall, a large public auditorium in

the center of the city. Outside the hall a large lighted sign welcomed people to the convention. The gathering was open to the public and the press, and attracted 305 people from the state of Texas alone.

The YSA emerged from the convention stronger and more united, with concrete plans for building the revolutionary-socialist movement in the next year. The discussion at all the sessions centered on the specific ways the YSA is preparing itself for rapid growth in the next year through its support to the SWP 1972 election campaign.

Abortion conference

The second national conference of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition will be held Feb. 11-13 at Boston University. For further information, contact WONAAC, 150 Fifth Avenue, Suite 843, New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: (212) 741-0450.



Photo by Howard Petrick

Socialist Directory

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

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

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

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.

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THE MILITANT

Indochina war escalation spurs protests

By LEE SMITH

JAN. 4—Washington's savage intensification of the air attack on the people of Indochina with five days of massive, continuous bombing raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam during the holiday period of Christmas and New Year provoked an immediate and angry response from antiwar forces in the U.S.

Hastily called actions were held in New York, Washington, D.C., and a number of other cities. In a dramatic gesture aimed at focusing publicity on the renewed bombing, 15 members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War seized and occupied the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor for a day and a half from late Dec. 26 until early Dec. 28.

In another VVAW action Dec. 27, 25 demonstrators occupied the Betsy Ross House in Philadelphia for an hour until police broke in and removed them.

The National Peace Action Coalition released the text of a telegram from NPAC coordinator Stephanie Coontz to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The telegram said, in part, "No matter how hard Nixon tries for victory, we are confident that the majority of the people of all Indochina will continue the fight for self-determination and national liberation. . . . The current escalation will not go unchallenged. NPAC expresses total solidarity with the Vietnamese people in this time of crisis and demands Stop the Bombing! U.S. Out of Southeast Asia Now!"

NPAC joined other antiwar groups, including the People's Coalition for

Peace and Justice, Women Strike for Peace and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, in urging pickets and vigils in New York, Washington and elsewhere.

The Young Socialist Alliance, convened in its 11th national convention in Houston, Texas, sent a telegram of support to NPAC expressing solidarity with the emergency actions on the East Coast.

The VVAW staged protests in Washington Dec. 28, pouring blood on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial and locking arms to block the entrance to the monument in an action that led to the arrest of 86 veterans on misdemeanor charges.

One hundred pickets marched in the rain for an hour at noon in Times Square in New York Dec. 30. An antiwar vigil was held in New Haven, Conn., the same day by about 100 people.

The following day, Dec. 31, was marked by actions in both New York and Philadelphia. When William P. Bundy, a top architect of U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia, tried to address a session of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in Philadelphia, he was confronted by about two dozen antiwar members of a group called Science for People. They refused to let him speak until he answered a series of questions about his views on the war. Bundy and another speaker were escorted from the meeting by cops.

In New York on Dec. 31, NPAC, VVAW, PCPJ and other antiwar groups demonstrated at the traditional New Year's Eve gathering in Times Square.

A picket line of 1,000 marched



Vietnam Veterans Against the War flew upside-down U.S. flag from Statue of Liberty during occupation.

around the White House in Washington, D.C., on New Year's Day and a group of about 150 stood along the route of the Rose Bowl Parade in Los Angeles, holding banners denouncing the bombings.

The Student Mobilization Committee, which actively supported the New York and Washington pickets, is putting itself on a campaign footing to

build the National Student Antiwar Conference Feb. 25-27 at Washington Irving High School in New York. Plans will be made at the conference for a massive response to the stepped-up U.S. aggression. The central focus of discussion at the conference is expected to be the SMC's role in mobilizing support for the April 22 antiwar demonstrations in New York and on the West Coast.

300 rally for Davis at jail

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

PALO ALTO, Calif.—Speakers for the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis called for continued demonstrations as they addressed more than 300 persons on Dec. 18 in front of the jail here where Davis is imprisoned.

Fania Jordan, Angela's sister, encouraged the demonstration by describing her recent speech at a Free Angela rally in Paris attended, she estimated, by 60,000 people. "If they can turn out numbers like that in Paris," Jordan declared, "you know what we can do here!"

Davis gave a message to Jordan to read to the many defense supporters who ringed the jailhouse chanting "Free Angela!" The message began, "Sisters and Brothers: For the first time in many seasons I can actually hear you. . . . I can feel your strength and love and determination to set me free. . . . It's just a matter of time." Davis urged actions in behalf of Ruchell Magee, the Soledad Brothers, and the San Quentin Six.

The Palo Alto action, involving people from a spectrum of groups, was organized to call attention to the punitive jail conditions to which Davis is subjected. She has been refused her right to bail, which legally must be granted in capital cases except where guilt can "be assumed." The evidence the state has revealed in its case of murder-kidnap-conspiracy is purely circumstantial. It includes the alleged purchase of guns, the language in some letters to George Jackson, and Davis' possession of certain pamphlets, newspapers, and speech notes.

Thus, the state is banking its case on whatever prejudice it can build against her ideas, her membership in the Communist Party, and her political association with supposed "criminals" like George Jackson.

In other recent developments, the California State Court of Appeals rejected Davis' petition to move her trial site from San Jose to San Francisco. This decision, which enhances the chances for a highly prejudiced jury, demonstrates the collusion of many branches of the state and federal courts and governmental departments to convict Angela Davis.

If the state of California succeeds in continuing to deny Davis the right to bail, a jury of her peers, and freedom from undue punishment, it will be that much better armed against all political prisoners. The frame-up case against Davis is aimed at rolling back the entire radical movement and undermining the rights of all Americans. A broad-based defense effort and nationwide demonstrations can force the state to retreat from these reactionary plans.

State smears Jackson in trial

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 4—In the trial that opened Dec. 21, exactly four months after his murder, George Jackson is being portrayed as the "deadliest" of the three Soledad Brothers. Prosecuting attorney William Curtis charged in his opening statements that on Jan. 16, 1970, George Jackson beat Soledad prison guard John Mills while John Cluchette held him from behind. Jackson then allegedly held Mills while Fleeta Drumgo inflicted more beatings.

According to the prosecution, Jackson also whipped Mills with a metal flashlight and threw Mills' limp body from the third-floor tier to the first tier of Soledad prison's "Y" wing.

On Dec. 29 Curtis submitted to the all-white jury photographs showing callouses on the edges of both of George Jackson's hands and on his knuckles. These callouses, Curtis maintained, indicate that Jackson was a practitioner of karate, which the state "will prove" was used against Mills.

Defense attorneys Floyd Silliman and Richard Silver have argued continually during the two weeks of the Soledad trial that testimony against George Jackson cannot be admitted as evidence because Jackson is unable to defend himself in death, and is thus presumed innocent.

When the prosecution objected that "presumption of innocence is not a final matter," Silver requested permission to call witnesses who had been interviewed by George Jackson's former attorneys in order to prove Jackson's innocence in court. This request was rejected on Jan. 4. Judge Spiro Lee Vavuris ruled that evidence implicating Jackson in the murder may be submitted by the prosecution in order to "set the scene," but that witnesses who may absolve Jackson of guilt cannot be examined by the defense.

Defense attorney Silliman has charged that two-thirds of the prosecution witnesses are now on parole as a reward for their testimony. Silliman said that one prisoner who had not at first satisfied Soledad investigator Charles Moody with his testimony was threatened with exposure for being a "snitch."

"He came around," Silliman bitterly told the jury. "He gave a statement that qualified him to become a witness for the prosecution."