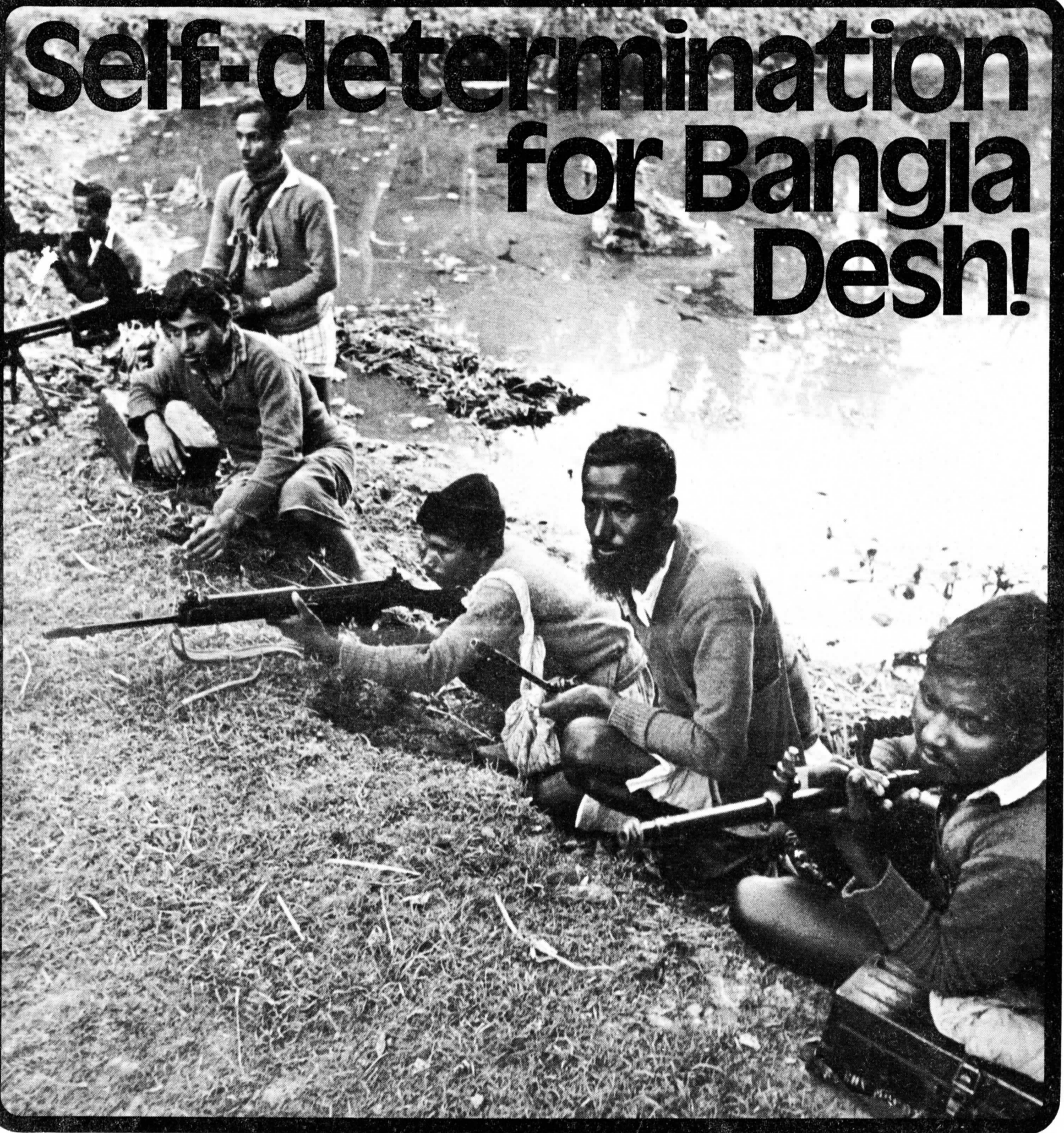


# THE MILITANT

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

## Self-determination for Bangla Desh!



Tens of thousands of Bangla Desh rebels are fighting for self-determination in struggle against Pakistan. Above, guerrillas take positions in Satkhira, East Bengal, Nov. 26. For stories and editorial, see pp. 4-6.

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## THE MILITANT

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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

**MANDEL SPEAKS ON TROTSKYISM IN YUGOSLAVIA:** In the first public lecture on Trotskyism by a Trotskyist spokesman in a workers state since Stalin crushed the Trotskyist opposition in the USSR, Ernest Mandel spoke to an audience of 200 Nov. 22 at a Belgrade meeting sponsored by the Student Cultural Center. Mandel, author of the two-volume work **Marxist Economic Theory**, and editor of the Belgian revolutionary-socialist weekly **La Gauche**, spoke on "The Role of Trotskyism in the Contemporary Worldwide Liberation Movement." His talk was well-received and provoked a lively discussion. Mandel recently completed an extensive tour of Canadian universities. Unfortunately, U. S. audiences are presently unable to hear Mandel because of a travel ban imposed by Attorney General John Mitchell under a provision of the notorious McCarran Act. Although the ban has been struck down by a federal court, the government is appealing the decision and Washington refuses to allow Mandel to visit until the appeal is settled.

**TAKE A GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL TO LUNCH:** If you pay taxes, you do just that every day according to an item in the Dec. 9 **New York Times**. Executives in various administration departments eat lunches in special executive lunchrooms that are priced at a fraction of the actual cost. For example, Department of Transportation executives pay an average of \$1.51 per lunch for meals that cost an average of \$16.06 apiece to prepare.

## Last issue in 1971

*This week's issue of The Militant is the last one to appear in 1971. We will suspend publication for two weeks. The next issue, dated Jan. 14, will come off the press Jan. 7.*

**SAN DIEGO STATE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS BACK BELEAGUERED PROFESSOR:** Using the fabricated charges of two of his students as a pretext, the administration at San Diego State University is trying to fire Peter Bohmer, a radical economics professor. He is charged with "unprofessional conduct" because the two students have alleged they were publicly ridiculed and graded down for their right-wing views. The Committee to Stop the San Diego State Railroad has mobilized wide support for Bohmer, including the endorsement of the Associated Students Council.

**AN "AFFAIR OF HONOR" IN URUGUAY:** After the recent elections in Uruguay, General Juan P. Ribas, the 76-year-old unsuccessful candidate for president of a right-wing faction of the ruling Colorado Party, said some nasty things about General Liber Seregni, the 54-year-old defeated presidential candidate of the Broad Front. Ribas said Seregni was a traitor and a coward because he had run on the ticket of the Broad Front, which includes the Socialist and Communist Parties. The two then had it out in a pistol duel Dec. 7. Each man fired twice and missed the other both times.

**CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS:** Two years ago, Nixon made a grandstand renunciation of germ warfare. But Flora Lewis reports in the Dec. 6 **Washington Post** that the 1972 budget for chemical and gas warfare procurement is \$50.8-million, up \$25.5-million from the 1971 budget of \$25.3-million. She writes that while some "obsolete stock" has been destroyed, "programs for development of new and more effective weapons in this field are barreling ahead at full speed." Lewis reports that courses continue at Ft. McClellan's Chemical Center "on how best to spread germ warfare, and the best strategy for combining it with conventional and nuclear attack."

**LIEBERMAN CASE:** The case of "Radical Jack" Lieberman, the Florida Young Socialist leader who was arbitrarily dismissed from Florida State University in Tallahassee for discussing his revolutionary ideas at the "wrong time," went to court Dec. 13. Lieberman and his supporters had sought an injunction to restrain the FSU administration from dismissing him until the merits of the case were fully decided. Federal Judge David K. Middlebrooks, although he failed to reinstate him, did rule that Lieberman would be eligible for credit for the fall semester should he win a favorable decision when the case is argued on its merits. He set the date for the trial on Jan. 3, the first day of winter quarter classes.

**FRENCH PRISONERS WIN TWO DEMANDS:** A French prison rebellion was quelled Dec. 9 after the two major

demands of the youthful rebels were granted in Toul, France, according to the Dec. 10 **New York Times**. The two demands were the removal of the chief warden and the prison director. The rebellion was one of a series, according to the **Times**, all set off by a Justice Ministry ban on Christmas parcels for inmates.

**NATIVE AMERICAN PAPER REPRINTS FROM THE MILITANT:** The Late Autumn issue of **Akwesasne Notes** reprints a portion of an item from Antonio Camejo's **La Raza en Accion** column in the Oct. 15 **Militant** concerning the Oct. 12 holiday, **El Dia de La Raza**, celebrated in the English-speaking parts of America as Columbus Day. Camejo's item referred to George Novack's **Genocide Against the Indians** and was accompanied by a cartoon from the Pathfinder Press book **Cuba for Beginners** by Rius. **Akwesasne Notes** credits Camejo, Novack, Rius, Pathfinder Press and **The Militant** for the material used. The Native American newspaper can be ordered from **Akwesasne Notes**, Roosevelt, N.Y. 13683. There is no fixed rate for subscriptions, but printing and postage cost the Mohawk Nation publishers about \$2,000 per issue. The paper comes out monthly except during February, August, and November.

**MARTHA MITCHELL THE ECOLOGY ACTIVIST:** According to a Dec. 10 **Washington Post** report of a Dec. 9 telephone conversation with Martha Mitchell, she didn't know last January that the black smoke she complained to the city about came from the heating plant for the White House and the Justice Department. Her complaint led to a formal violation notice against the federal plant. "It doesn't make any difference," she told the **Post**. "It's such a shame these people violate this, especially if the government does it."

**JOHN SINCLAIR FREED:** John Sinclair, Michigan radical who had served 28 months of his 10-year sentence for possession of two marijuana cigarettes, was released from prison late Dec. 13. Two days earlier, 15,000 persons had jammed a University of Michigan auditorium to demand his release. Attending the Ann Arbor rally were John Lennon and Yoko Ono, who sang a song dedicated to Sinclair.

**"WITCH" WINS BACK ARIZONA TEACHING POST:** A superior court judge ordered Flowing Wells school Dec. 3 to reinstate Ann Stewart, a teacher dismissed a year ago for talking to her students about witchcraft. The school board contended she had told her students she was a witch, but she said "I never told anyone I was a witch. I told my kids I had all the physical characteristics of a witch, and they chose to believe I was one. It was more fun for them that way."

**PUBLIC ATTITUDES ON NIXON'S GAME PLAN:** Harris Survey results reported Dec. 12 show 72 percent of the public favoring the Price Commission and 61 percent for the Pay Board. However, the same survey shows that only 46 percent think Nixon's controls will stop inflation and only 32 percent expect to benefit personally from Phase Two.

**TRIAL OF 37 IRANIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS:** In line with the agreement of the Shah's regime to allow international observers at the trial of the 37 political prisoners arrested around the time of the 2,500th birthday celebration, the Iranian Students Association of Northern California reports that Catherine Roraback, president of the National Lawyers Guild, is attending from the U. S. "All democratic and progressive individuals," the association's newsletter states, "are urged to donate to the defense of the 37 by buying 'Defense Bonds.'" For more information, write ISANC, P. O. Box 808, Berkeley, Calif.

**LOS ANGELES CITY COLLEGE TWO:** Thirty persons were on hand for the opening of the trial of Larry Mitchell and Richard Spear at the L. A. County Courthouse Dec. 9. The two face misdemeanor charges for their role in a peaceful demonstration against Marine recruiters on the LACC campus Oct. 6. Students at LACC voted overwhelmingly last semester to ban all military recruiters from the campus.

**EIGHT SAILORS GET DISCHARGES:** Eight of the nine **Constellation** crew members who sought sanctuary in a San Diego church when the ship sailed for Vietnam were given general discharges under honorable conditions Dec. 6. The nine were flown to the ship after it had sailed. One chose to stay and the others were flown to San Francisco and discharged.

— LEE SMITH

# What record Militant sub drive showed

By BARRY SHEPPARD

Last week *The Militant* reported that its drive to win 30,000 new readers this fall went over the top, with *Militant* supporters selling a total of 32,580 introductory subscriptions. This was the largest subscription drive in the 43-year history of *The Militant* and the single biggest step forward ever taken in the circulation of the revolutionary-socialist weekly.

The drive began on Sept. 15 and continued through Dec. 1. During this 11-week period, *Militant* supporters were not only selling subscriptions and single copies of the paper in record numbers, but were also playing key roles in building the Nov. 6 anti-war actions and the Nov. 20 demonstrations for the repeal of all abortion laws, and in launching the 1972 presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. Activists in the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance, who formed the core of *Militant* sellers, were also engaged in other work to build the revolutionary-socialist movement. These facts make the achievement of this subscription drive all the more impressive. In the United States today, there are no other organizations claiming to be socialist that could have carried through such a "fall offensive."

Besides reflecting the growth and development of the SWP and YSA, and of the influence of *The Militant*, the success of the subscription drive is an indicator of the developing radicalization occurring in the United States. Although still a small vanguard in the country as a whole, growing numbers of people are being attracted to the ideas of revolutionary socialism and to the paper that defends those ideas.

*The Militant* plays a unique role in the United States. It projects a program for the struggle against the wage controls imposed by the ruling class, a program that will lay the foundation for a class-struggle left wing in the union movement. It champions the struggles for self-determina-

tion of the Black and Chicano peoples and all the oppressed nationalities in the United States, and helps chart the way forward for the success of those struggles. It is an organizer of the antiwar and women's movements. It helps bring an internationalist perspective to the movements for social change in this country and helps create links with the world-wide struggles of the oppressed. On a national and international scale, it champions the fight of all the oppressed for democracy and socialism. And above all, it is the educator and organizer of the revolutionary-socialist movement.

In the coming year, *The Militant* will be the voice of the most dynamic election campaign for revolutionary-socialism in this country since the days of E. V. Debs. It will reach hundreds of thousands with the campaign of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley on the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket. The increase in the circulation of *The Militant* is part and parcel of the 1972 socialist campaign effort, and seen in this light, the just-completed subscription drive is a big first step in further building up the circulation of the paper during the election year.

The objective *The Militant* has set for itself is to become the mass-circulation socialist weekly in this country. While it now has the largest circulation of all the newspapers claiming to be socialist, it still has a way to go to achieve this goal. Why should our sights be set on this objective—rather than, for example, on a daily paper with, perhaps, fewer pages?

James P. Cannon, the founding leader of American Trotskyism, pointed out that the art of politics consists of knowing what to do next. In considering what is the best way to build *The Militant's* circulation and political impact, we have to start with the reality of where we are and project steps that will lead us where we want to go and actually get us there. At the present time, no socialist organi-

zation in the United States has the forces to adequately circulate a daily paper. The attempt to do so would actually harm circulation. This is one of the reasons for the poor actual circulation of the Communist Party's *Daily World*, which is much below that of *The Militant*.

It is also true that no socialist organization is yet a mass organization with mass influence. None of them can yet significantly affect the day-to-day politics of the country. If they did, they would need a daily voice. (We leave out of discussion here other factors, like the question of whether a single daily can ever hope to serve the entire country.)

The central task before us in build-

of its coverage and its circulation. In the past two years we have made important progress. In the fall of 1969, with the paper at 12 pages, 6,000 new subscriptions were obtained in what was then the paper's largest subscription drive since the 1945 labor upsurge, when over 22,000 subs were sold.

A drive in the spring of 1970 brought in 7,444 new subs. Last fall, more than 16,000 new subs were sold, and this was followed up by another 8,653 in the spring of 1971. Now we have gone over the top on this fall's campaign.

The staff of the paper has been increased. A Southwest bureau has been established. The number of pages now

Last week we listed the persons who sold over 200 subscriptions during the *Militant* subscription drive. After we went to press, we learned that Sally Moore of the Mid-Atlantic team sold 602 *Militant* subs.

Although we may not have heard about everyone yet, the following people each sold 100 subs or more: Kirk Fowler, Floyd Fowler, and Lee Artz of Detroit; Diane Grove of Twin Cities; Bruce Kaufman and Lea Tammi of Philadelphia; Marty Rothman and Natalie Harary of Los Angeles; Craig Honts of Seattle; Gary Meshe and Norton Sandler of San Francisco; Syd Stapleton of Upper West Side, N. Y.; Lane Satterblom and Dave Saperstan of Chicago; Nolin Flander of Boston; John Norbert and Rich Hill of Oakland-Berkeley; Bernie Senter of Cleveland; Jean Lawrence of Lower Manhattan; Nat London of the Southern team.

ing the revolutionary-socialist movement is the recruitment, education and training of cadres, the indispensable prerequisite for constructing the mass revolutionary-socialist party in the future. A large revolutionary-socialist weekly, which can go into depth on the central questions of U.S. and world politics, is the most important instrument for building such cadres. And, we can realistically expect to continue rapidly increasing the circulation of a weekly with our present relatively limited forces—relative, that is, to the future mass movement we intend to become.

Thus *The Militant* has been consciously increasing its size, the scope

stands at 24. In the months ahead, the staff will be further increased, and we hope to increase the number of pages as soon as feasible.

*Militant* supporters now have an important new opportunity and task before them. *The Militant* plans to launch an intensive drive in the next few months to win permanently as many of the 32,580 new readers as it can. This is important to make solid steps forward in the paper's circulation, and will help lay the basis for a truly massive subscription campaign next fall as part of the wind-up of the 1972 socialist election campaign.



## A special gift...

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

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

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

**PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION** by Evelyn Reed. This is the only contemporary work that examines the roots of women's oppression from a Marxist and feminist viewpoint.

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# New stage in Bangla Desh freedom struggle

By TONY THOMAS

DEC. 14 — Well into the second week of the Indo-Pakistan war, Pakistan's reactionary occupation troops are being routed in Bangla Desh by the combined strength of the Indian armed forces and the Bengali freedom fighters. As Indian troops and Bengali guerrillas take town after town, they are cheered by the Bengali masses, who hope this will mean an end to the bloody terror, which in the last nine months has left one million Bengalis dead and about 10 million as refugees.

The Pakistani forces, weakened during the past months by the growing strength of the Bengali resistance struggle, are now confronting India's superior military machine. As many as 100,000 Bangla Desh freedom

dictator Yahya Khan, who claims Pakistani forces will fight "to the last."

According to the Dec. 12 *Washington Post*, the conditions under which Malik offered to surrender included, among others, the following stipulations:

"Pakistan's army would surrender only to the Indian army. . . .

"East Pakistani officials would not deal with the Bangla Desh guerrillas or officials claiming to represent an independent state in Pakistan. . . .

"The administration of East Pakistan would be turned over to the representatives of the Awami League who were elected to the National Assembly a year ago but never took their seats."

Indian troops have broadcast pleas asking the Pakistanis to surrender to them rather than face the judgment

religious minorities within India. In the past, Kolpe said, these laws were used against the Tamil-speaking people in southern India, who demanded an independent Tamil state.

India's denial of self-determination to Kashmir has been one of its most flagrant cases of national oppression. When India and Pakistan were divided in 1947, Kashmir was seized by India despite the opposition of the overwhelmingly Moslem Kashmiris. Only the ruling Hindu aristocracy led by the Maharajah of Kashmir favored India.

India has consistently rejected demands by Pakistan, the United Nations and the Kashmiri people that a referendum be held to determine whether Kashmir should be part of India or Pakistan. Advocates of Kashmiri self-determination have been jailed, shot and deported. The forced retention of Kashmir as a part of India is also one of the Indian capitalists' aims in the current war.

Despite India's reactionary record on self-determination, some who claim they support Bangla Desh have refused to separate support to the just struggle of the Bangla Desh freedom fighters from support to India's war aims against Pakistan.

High on the list are the government of the Soviet Union and the Communist parties that support it. The *Daily World* (a newspaper reflecting the views of the U.S. Communist Party), for example, has hailed the Indians as "liberators," and given uncritical support to the Indian-dominated "Provisional Government of Bangla Desh." With this backing from the USSR, it is no wonder that the Indian government has demanded that the pro-Moscow Communists in East Bengal be placed in the "Provisional Government," regardless of the wishes of the East Bengali people.

## India's aims

India is moving to gain control of the civil, police and military functions of Bangla Desh. A dispatch from Calcutta in the Dec. 11 *Washington Post* reported that the Indian government is "preparing to send civilian administrators, including police, into occupied areas of East Pakistan to ensure the New Delhi-supported Bangla Desh government is installed in the seat of power."

The same article also reported that Lt. Gen. Jagjit Singh Aurora, the commander of India's forces on the East Bengal front, announced he had been appointed by the Mukti Bahini (Bengali guerrillas identified with the Awami League) as "their over-all commander." He did not indicate whether the rank-and-file of the Bangla Desh liberation movement approved this "appointment."

Aurora indicated that one of his goals was to prevent "summary" punishment of West Pakistani and Bhari war criminals by the Bengali masses. He told the *Washington Post* that he was not giving large amounts of captured Pakistani weapons to the Bengali freedom fighters. "You don't want to give them too much," he said. "You have to keep some kind of control of weapons."

The attempt by India to impose on Bangla Desh a non-elected "Provisional Government" dominated by the Awami League has been an important source of friction between the Indian government and the desires of the Bengali masses.

The "Provisional Government" bases its claim to legitimacy on the Awami League's overwhelming victory in East Bengal in the December 1970 Pakistan elections. This, however, may not indicate the current views of the masses of Bengalis. For one thing,

the electoral victory was not an adequate reflection of Bengali sentiment at that time, because most of the parties to the left of the reformist Awami League boycotted the elections.

Secondly, the Awami League lost considerable confidence among the Bengali masses during the period between the elections and the March 1971 Pakistani invasion. The Awami League refused to call for national independence until after the Pakistani invasion, despite massive demonstrations and a general strike in which the Bengali masses raised that demand. Furthermore, while it had effective control of the Bengali local administration, it did nothing to prepare the Bengali people for a prolonged national liberation struggle. Instead, it allowed Yahya Khan to ship in the tens of thousands of troops he then used to slaughter the Bengalis.

Since the invasion, the Awami League has been fractured. Some of its leaders, including Sheik Mujibur Rahman, have been jailed. Others have been killed. An entire section of the Awami League has defected to the Pakistanis, including 30 of its 167 delegates to the Pakistan National Assembly. Another section operates mainly from India.

## Bengali militants

Since the invasion in March, the politics of Bangla Desh have shifted into what the Dec. 10 *Washington Post* termed "rapid flux."

The *Post* states, "In the confusion of the immediate times, even the Bengali leaders confess they are not in touch with the political currents coursing through the guerrilla partisans and especially the young students who played a large role in the fighting against the Pakistani army."

"There is, however, some point of consensus. The young Bengali activists have moved wide to the left of the Awami League leadership. It is doubtful that when the shooting stops the old leadership will still be in tune with the young insurgents who have done the greater part of the fighting."

"The war may have strengthened the active Communist movements in East Bengal, one Soviet-oriented and the other roughly classified as Maoist—although neither seems to have clearly defined foreign associations."

Thus, Bengali militants may take the Bangla Desh struggle beyond the limits proscribed for it by the Awami League and the Indian capitalists. The arms in the hands of these militants pose an especially important question.

A dispatch from Jessore, Bangla Desh, in the Dec. 13 *Christian Science Monitor* pointed out that in Jessore, "One hears that some of the Mukti Bahinis who did the fighting against East Pakistan's military regime since last May may prove reluctant to turn in their weapons and revert to passive role[s] while leaders who spent much of their time in Calcutta or New Delhi take over everything." The *Monitor* also says that a number of Awami League leaders "beat it into the field to join the Mukti Bahini when the war started"—to dispel their "arm-chair general" image, no doubt.

The clash between these forces and opposition to Indian control of Bangla Desh may dominate the next stage of the struggle for Bengali national liberation. This is an important reason why supporters of the Bengali struggle must realize the dangers of India's role. Only a government reflecting the wishes of the Bengali people, not one imposed and imported from Calcutta, can reflect self-determination.

Continued on page 22



Bengalis cheer arrival of Indian and Bangla Desh troops in Jessore

fighters, according to an estimate in the Dec. 6 issue of *Time* magazine, are participating in the offensive against the Pakistani forces.

At this writing Indian forces have captured nearly all of East Bengal. India is expected to complete its conquest of the Pakistani forces within the next few weeks, barring outside intervention.

U.S. and other foreign refugees from Dacca and other parts of Pakistani-held Bengal report that the Pakistani army and supporters of the Yahya Khan regime have continued atrocities against the Bengali people as the Indians approach Dacca. The Dec. 13 *Times* reported that "the Bengali population was fleeing the East Pakistani capital in droves as Indian troops moved in on the city."

"As the Bengalis pour out of Dacca . . . Biharis and other non-Bengalis—the minority groups who have collaborated with the Pakistani Army during its eight-and-a-half month repression of the Bengalis—are pouring in, carrying the arms given them by the army."

According to the *Times*, the Biharis—an aggregate name used by Bengalis for Moslems who migrated from what is now India to Pakistan, most of whom have middle class positions in East Bengal—were roaming Dacca, firing at windows showing the slightest crack of light in the blacked-out city.

One Western evacuee from Dacca told *Times* correspondent Sydney Schanberg Dec. 12 that "even with the Indian troops advancing, Pakistan soldiers as of a few days ago were still burning villages and killing the residents in some areas."

High Pakistani military officials, as well as Dr. A.M. Malik, governor of Pakistani-occupied East Bengal, have proposed surrendering to the Indian forces and representatives of the Awami League, the most prominent Bengali nationalist party. So far this proposal has been vetoed by Pakistani

of the Bengali guerrillas.

The question of how the Pakistani butchers of the Bengali people will be dealt with—by the Indian government or by the Bengali people—raises the broader question of what role India will play in relation to Bangla Desh once the yoke of oppressive Pakistani rule is removed.

The war between India and Pakistan, a war in which both sides are fighting for their predatory interests, has nonetheless provided an opening for the Bangla Desh national liberation struggle to receive important assistance in ridding Bangla Desh of the tyranny that has forcibly kept it part of Pakistan.

Although the objective situation created by India's conflict with Pakistan has had the progressive effect of helping to liberate Bangla Desh from Pakistani domination, capitalist India has intervened for its own interests—interests that evidence shows are not the same as those of the Bangla Desh struggle for self-determination. It intends to impose a moderate government subservient to India and will use its military presence to attempt to accomplish that objective.

## India's record

India's relations with other oppressed nationalities on the subcontinent over the last 25 years are one example of what can be expected. In an interview last month with a *Militant* correspondent in Europe, Sitaram B. Kolpe, an Indian revolutionary-socialist, scored India's reactionary course on the national question. Kolpe is president of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party of India, the Indian section of the Fourth International.

Kolpe pointed out that the right of full self-determination is denied to all oppressed nationalities within capitalist India. There are even laws against advocating self-determination for any of the large national, linguistic and

# National oppression of Bangla Desh key issue in war

By TONY THOMAS

The struggle of Bangla Desh for self-determination is at the heart of the war between India and Pakistan. The origins of this struggle lie in the national oppression of the people of East Bengal by the capitalist rulers of West Pakistan, and the rebellion of the Bengali people against that oppression.

The Muslim religion is the only tie between East Bengal and West Pakistan. Racially, culturally and linguistically, the Bengalis have little in common with the people of West Pakistan. In 1947, when the British imperialists partitioned the subcontinent into two countries — India and Pakistan — "Islamic unity" provided a convenient means to maintain the oppression of East Bengal by the "22 families" that control West Pakistan.

While 75 million people inhabit the 55,126 square miles of Bangla Desh (at the same density the U. S. population would be 4.5 billion), 55 million people occupy over 310,000 square miles in West Pakistan. Yet since the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, the Bengali majority has been oppressed and exploited by the West Pakistani minority.

When the Pakistani occupation forces were sent into East Bengal last March, wheat and rice were twice as expensive in East Bengal as in West Pakistan. Despite the fact that the majority of the people lived in Bangla Desh and that most of Pakistan's foreign exchange came from sales of Bengali burlap and jute, most services and resources were directed to West Pakistan.

Six times as much electricity, four times as much foreign aid, three times as many imports, and twice as much in development funds were spent in West Pakistan than in East Bengal. The Bengali majority had only 13 percent of the electrical power, 25 percent of the telephones, 20 percent of the motor vehicles, and 15 percent of the teachers of Pakistan.

Urdu, a tongue spoken in 1951 by less than five percent of the population of both nations, was declared the official language of Pakistan. Bengali attempts to have their language and culture given equality were constantly crushed by the Pakistani rulers.

From the early 1950s the struggle of the East Bengalis against Pakistani oppression has played a central role in Pakistan's political life, forcing the Pakistani rulers to proclaim a military dictatorship in 1958. Bengali youth and workers played a major role in the mobilizations that forced President Ayub Khan out of office in 1969.

In December 1970, national elections were held to re-establish a "national" civilian government in Pakistan. These elections resulted in the Awami League, a Bengali-based bourgeois nationalist party, winning 167 of the 313 seats in the National Assembly. Key to the Awami League's program was a call for Bengali autonomy on economic matters and in local government.

Yahya Khan, the present dictator of Pakistan, postponed the meeting of the National Assembly because of the threat that an Awami League-dominated assembly would permit greater autonomy for Bangla Desh. Between December and March, Sheik Mujibur Rahman, the principal leader of the Awami League, and representatives of the Pakistani regime, including Yahya himself, held negotiations on the fate of East Bengal.

## Independence demonstrations

During this period, intense mass mobilizations were held raising demands that went beyond the Awami League's program for autonomy and called for full independence from Pakistan. A general strike was launched in Dacca on March 2. Huge demonstrations — ranging in size from several hundred thousand to one million — demanded total independence for Bangla Desh.

While Awami League leaders paid lip service to independence in March, they based their strategy on negotiations with Yahya, seeking a compromise around their six-point program for autonomy. Although the Awami League had effective control of the local administration of East Bengal, it refused to arm the Bengali masses or prepare them for a possible struggle with Pakistan. It also allowed tens of thousands of loyal Pakistani troops to enter Bangla Desh.

Thousands of Bengalis were killed when the Pakistanis launched a genocidal campaign to crush the Bengali nationalist mass mobilizations and the Awami League. Leaders of the Awami League, including Sheik Mujibur, were imprisoned; others were shot.

Despite this savage repression — equalled in recent history only by the U. S. assault on Vietnam — the Bengali people maintained their demand for national independence and stepped up their resistance. Bengali guerrilla organizations, some supporting the Awami League and others independent of it, took up the fight within Pakistani-occupied Bangla Desh. A "Provisional People's Republic of Bangla Desh" was proclaimed April 13, 1971, by Awami League supporters exiled in India. It was endorsed, at first behind the scenes, by the Indian government.

The struggle by the oppressed workers and peasants of Bangla Desh for separation from Pakistan — a country that has forcefully retained them within its political boundaries — is a progressive development. It has served to inspire all oppressed peoples, both on the Indian subcontinent and throughout the world.

The significant degree of mass participation in the armed struggle against the capitalist rulers of Pakistan and the independence of the struggle has given it a revolutionary

character surpassing anything seen on the subcontinent since the independence struggle against British imperialism. It therefore merits the unconditional support of all who call themselves socialist.

However, some who claim to be Marxists equivocate or totally refuse to support the Bangla Desh liberation struggle.

## Maoists support Yahya

High on this list is the Maoist regime in China, which has supplied the Yahya dictatorship with considerable military aid. After Yahya Khan launched his brutal attack on the Bengali people, Chou En-lai, the Chinese premier, sent a note to him. The note, publicly released April 12, 1971, thanked Yahya for the "useful work" he had done "to uphold the unification of Pakistan and prevent it from moving toward a split. . . ." This useful work included the murder of more than one million Bengali workers, peasants and students; the destruction of villages, towns and cities; and the driving of more than 10 million people into miserable exile in India. Today China uncritically supports the Pakistani dictatorship, not only in its war with India, but in its war against the Bangla Desh freedom fighters as well.

This policy flows from China's military and diplomatic alliance with Pakistan. While it is sometimes in the interest of a workers state like China to make agreements with capitalist states, it is unprincipled to extend such alliances to full endorsement of reactionary foreign and domestic policies.

While the position of the Chinese bureaucracy has few supporters in this country, the *Guardian*, a New York-based radical weekly, has taken a position that in many respects coincides with Peking's.

Although the *Guardian* criticizes the repression and brutality of Pakistan's troops in Bangla Desh, the implication of its editorials in the Dec. 1 and Dec. 15 issues is support to Pakistan against India and the Bangla Desh rebels.

The *Guardian* brands India as "the obvious aggressor," which "must be sternly condemned." The Dec. 15 editorial stated, "The only just solution is an immediate ceasefire, withdrawal of troops a safe distance behind respective borders, and negotiations to seek a peaceful settlement."

This solution would leave the Pakistani occupation forces in Bangla Desh, thus recognizing the right of the Pakistani capitalist rulers to forcibly retain the Bengali people within Pakistan. This would be in spite of the fact that almost a year of heroic struggle by the Bengalis has proved beyond a doubt that the Bengali masses want complete independence.

## Separation or autonomy

Although the *Guardian* concedes that the Bengali people have the right to self-determination, including the right to separate, it feels that the Bengali masses have not yet decided between separation or a form of autonomy within Pakistan.

"At this point," the editors write in the Dec. 15 issue, "the East Pakistani masses have had the issue decided for them by the Indian government, which has seized on the situation to dismember the only obstacle in its way to total hegemony over the subcontinent and greater influence in Asia — a unified Pakistan."

The *Guardian* also attempts to denigrate the independence struggle by criticizing the reformist Awami League as "separatist." This is ironic because in reality it was Awami League leaders who last winter attempted to curb the separatism of the Bengali masses and substitute the demand for autonomy. To the extent that the Awami League demands full independence, it reflects the pressure of the national liberation struggle of the Bengali workers, peasants and students.

The *Guardian* closes its eyes to the struggles that have taken place in the last year for Bengali independence — struggles that were not imposed by India. Their only comment on these struggles is the following: "Precisely what happened in the nearly three months between the elections and the scheduled convening of the National Assembly is not entirely clear." This is stated as fact even though reports of mass mobilizations in Bangla Desh for independence reached the entire world.

Although India did not impose the demand for separation on the Bengali masses, it is true that its war with Pakistan helped bring that separation about. The Bengali freedom fighters correctly utilized this objective situation to help get the Pakistani tyrants off their backs. The *Guardian*, which isn't ready to accept separation, doesn't see it this way. "The 'liberation' brought by Indian tanks and planes to the Bengali people of East Pakistan is in fact a setback for national liberation, not an advance."

This is totally false. It is a tremendous advance and inspiration for all national liberation struggles.

To recognize this in no way minimizes the very real danger that capitalist India will attempt to dominate Bangla Desh. The war aims of India and the struggle for Bengali self-determination are not the same. However, the *Guardian* fatalists assume that a Bangla Desh regime "beholden lock, stock, and barrel, to India" is an accomplished fact. They apparently fail to recognize that a mass movement independent of both India and Pakistan has emerged from nearly nine months of civil war. This movement will not take kindly to domination by another master.

Continued on page 22

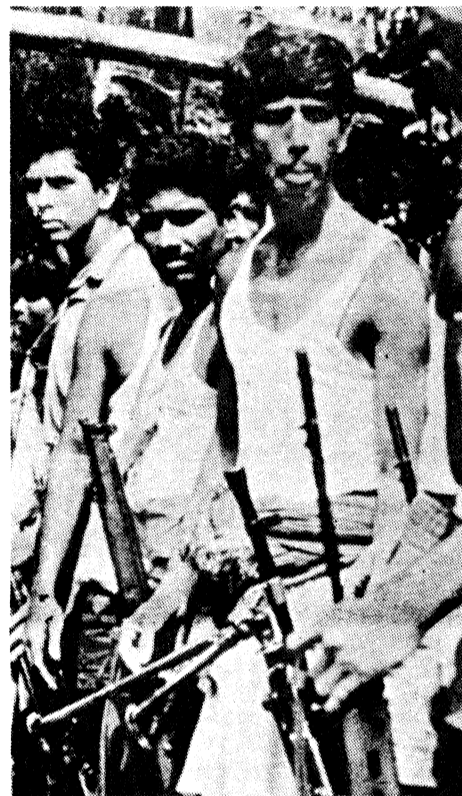


Photo by Ed Weaver

Above, Bangla Desh guerrilla fighters; below, demonstration June 1 in New York City.

# In Our Opinion:

## Hands off Bangla Desh!

An ominous note was added to the Indo-Pakistan war Dec. 12 when President Nixon ordered several warships, including the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Enterprise*, from the Tonkin Gulf to the Bay of Bengal. The naval task force is transporting 2,000 U.S. marines.

The *Enterprise*—the largest warship in human history—carries about a hundred fighter-bombers, bombers, fighters, reconnaissance aircraft, helicopters and small cargo planes. Its ordnance stores include nuclear bombs.

In the first announcement of the naval movement, U.S. naval officials claimed the reason the ships are being sent to the coast of East Bengal is to evacuate U.S. citizens from Dacca and other cities in Bangla Desh.

This is an obvious lie. During the weekend of Dec. 10-12, most foreigners who wished to leave Dacca were evacuated during a temporary truce in the air war. In fact, most Americans were evacuated from Bangla Desh before the Indo-Pakistan war began. There are conflicting reports as to how many Americans are still in East Bengal and how many of them actually want to leave. The highest figure claimed by the State Department is 182.

Even if they all wanted to leave, the job of evacuating them scarcely requires the 90,000-ton *Enterprise* and its escorts.

To be sure, the U.S. has no right to intervene in East Bengal, no matter how many Americans are there. The U.S. is using this as an excuse to threaten the Bangla Desh liberation fighters, India and the Soviet Union. The U.S. imperialists used the same phony pretext to send 25,000 troops into Santo Domingo in 1965.

On Dec. 16, the *New York Times* reported that the State Department officials described another purpose of the mission "as a show of force" for the benefit of India and the Soviet Union. Washington fears that now that India has defeated Pakistani troops in East Bengal, it will attack West Pakistan. It is also concerned that the Pakistani defeat will reduce one of its main allies in Asia to second-class status in relation to India, which a couple of months ago signed a military pact with the Soviet Union.

Since the early 1950s, the U.S. has poured billions of dollars in military and economic aid into Pakistan, which is a member of both the SEATO and CENTO anti-Communist military alliances. Pakistan's Yahya Khan personally made the arrangements for Nixon's trip to China, at Nixon's request. Since the invasion of Bangla Desh last March, the U.S. has continued behind-the-scenes military assistance to Pakistan, despite public disclaimers.

The U.S. also fears the revolutionary thrust of the Bengali struggle for self-determination. Before the Indo-Pakistan war began, the U.S. attempted to put pressure on India and the Bangla Desh leaders to accept "autonomy" for East Bengal within Pakistan.

Since the war began, the U.S., along with China, has tried to bring about United Nations intervention to save Pakistan from losing East Bengal.

Now the Nixon administration has sent the nuclear-armed *Enterprise* to apply pressure to India and the Soviet Union. They want to force them to stop the war before India takes more territory from Pakistan and to make sure the Bengali masses are demobilized and brought under control.

As Indian troops moved into city after city in Bangla Desh, they already began taking steps to establish a Bangla Desh government subservient to India. However, the Bengali masses are mobilized and will resist Indian attempts to dominate them. The logic of such a conflict could lead to the deepening of the revolutionary struggle in Bangla Desh. It could lead to the national liberation struggle growing over into a struggle to end capitalism. Furthermore, Washington fears that the example of an independent Bangla Desh where the masses are mobilized and are engaged in armed struggle could touch off struggles by the workers and peasants in India and Pakistan.

The U.S. seeks to intimidate the Bangla Desh fighters and serve warning that it will intervene if the revolution gets out of hand.

The American people have seen what U.S. intervention means in Vietnam and Santo Domingo—the bloody suppression of the right of oppressed peoples to control their own affairs. The U.S. has no more business in sending the *Enterprise* to threaten the Bengali revolution than it did sending it to Indochina.

The threat of U.S. intervention in Bangla Desh raises the danger of a war that could involve the U.S., the Soviet Union and China.

The U.S., Russia, India, Pakistan and China have no right to impose their will on the 75 million people who live in Bangla Desh. A United Nations intervention would only mask an imperialist-imposed settlement. Only the Bengali people have the right to control their affairs. Hands off Bangla Desh!

# Letters

## A suggestion

I have a suggestion for your newspaper. On the front page under the name of your newspaper is written: "a socialist newsweekly/ published in the interests of the working people."

Let's face it, your newspaper is not just for working people. What about youth, Blacks, women, students, GIs and the unemployed and those on welfare? Especially the latter two. They make up a sizable minority of the population and their numbers are expected to grow, due to the worsening economic crisis within capitalism. So why not change it to: "a socialist newsweekly/ published in the interests of the MASSES?" After all the masses encompass *all* segments of the population.

Tom LoBello  
Bronx, N. Y.

*Editor's reply*—As Marxists, we believe that the most fundamental division in society is a class division. Capitalist society is divided into those who own the major wealth and those who are essentially propertyless; into those who live from the labor of others, and those who must sell their labor power in order to survive.

The categories you mention—youth, Blacks, women, students, GIs, unemployed, and welfare recipients—are all predominantly from the working class. Even if they are not working during a specific period of their lives, or do not work but are dependent for support on someone who does (as in the case of a housewife, for example), this fact does not change.

Taking the side of the working class in this fundamental social conflict means also taking the side of youth, oppressed nationalities, women, GIs and all those oppressed under capitalism. It is in the interests of the working class to abolish all forms of oppression and to fight for a new, humane, rational organization of society: a socialist system. Thus, in a broad sense, what is in the interests of the working class is also in the interests of humanity as a whole.

Since *The Militant* is a tool in the fight for a better world, a weapon in the struggle between two great adversaries, we want to identify which side we are on and identify ourselves with the whole history and tradition of the international struggles of the working class and its allies. A vague statement like "published in the interests of the masses" does not do this.

## Padilla debate

I have been out of the country for the past two weeks and so have just seen the report on the debacle at the Militant Labor Forum as reported by Louise Armstrong in your Nov. 29th issue.

I suppose that your thesis that Sandra Levinson and I "ducked" out of the discussion on the Padilla affair was thoroughly predictable. It's easily the most convenient stance for you to take. But I think that neither this assertion nor the soft-pedaling ingenuousness with which the outrageous circumstances of the meeting were described really explains anything.

Here are some of the questions which require a response: 1) Why were Levinson and I told that Susan Sontag was participating when she had never agreed to? 2) Why

was she advertised as appearing on a specific date when she had never agreed? (Incidentally, she claims that from the beginning she had said that she would not speak at such a discussion.) 3) Why were neither Levinson or myself ever notified that Sontag would not be there?

Why were we not told that Juan Goytisolo was being invited? (His name was used in leaflets advertising the event, but we had never heard his name mentioned by anyone from the Militant Labor Forum until a half hour before the meeting we were informed that he would not be there.)

Surely it must have been clear that Levinson and I were prepared to speak on the Padilla affair? Otherwise we would simply have made our statement and left? *We were waiting for a response.* I honestly felt that it would have cleared the atmosphere if my suggestion for electing a chairman from the floor had been adopted. But I didn't have too much hope of that.

All any of you had to do was to make an apology—a perfunctory one would have done it, I imagine—and then the onus would have been on us if we didn't want to continue. But the absolute refusal of the Militant Labor Forum to even consider what we had brought up really left us no alternative and so we left.

There are important questions involved—the meaning of artistic "freedom" in a socialist society is a very important question, although, frankly, I think it has nothing to do with the Padilla matter.

The role of the artist in a socialist society is a thorny question about which we are now beginning to accumulate some knowledge based not on theory but practice, and a whole new world of ideas flows therefrom.

There's the question of what's really happening in Cuba these days. Is it some kind of calcification of the socialist process as Harry Ring seems to imply? Or is it the emergence of the next level of socialist development—as many Cuban communists now assert?

But the idea that such questions could have been seriously discussed in an atmosphere that had been so outrageously manipulated and misrepresented is ludicrous.

Critically—but fraternally,  
Irwin Silber  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

## Cleveland, Nov. 6

In response to Alan Roth (see Dec. 17 letters column), who belittles the participation of labor in the Nov. 6 Cleveland antiwar demonstration, I would like to quote an article I noticed in the November issue of the *Federation Bulletin*, publication of the Cleveland AFL-CIO Federation of Labor. The article, by Marge Cramer, says:

"My first antiwar march . . . marching along behind the Vietnam Veterans with the American flag waving to the right of the Veterans for Peace flag . . . the chants of the veterans against the war (some were quite strong) . . . the disabled vet in the wheel chair leading the parade . . . the cars honking their horns in support . . . people joining in the march from the sidewalk . . . the hard work of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Coalition, the Student Mobilization Committee and the vigilance of the marshals . . . the speeches at the square (people like

# The Great Society

Auda Romine, Meat Cutters DU 427, who has been speaking against the war for a long, long time) in the cold, wet rain . . . the people standing there listening and cheering . . . trying to ignore the wet and the cold.

"And there are some who think that the antiwar movement has become passive."

F. L.

New York, N. Y.

## Prisoner's view

You may have heard how prisoners are nothing but animals—vicious, violent, savage animals, caged for their own protection as well as for the protection of society. To back up this assumption it is pointed out that the convict will fight and even kill a fellow prisoner for as little a reason as receiving a dirty look from a con, or for a pack of cigarettes.

Well, these things do happen, but rather than indicting the imprisoned people as a class, they indict the social system from which the prisoner came, along with the correctional system under which he or she is serving time.

The prisoner is constantly subjected to unbelievable tension; they are oppressed in every conceivable manner. Their food and drink are polluted with roaches and maggots. Their mail—their wives' and husbands' most precious words—are censored or often destroyed or returned to the sender as being unfit for the prisoner to receive.

The prisoner is a complete stranger to privacy; he is constantly in sight of the guards or his fellow prisoners, and even his most private bodily functions are under constant observation. Every effort the prisoner makes to improve himself or his environment is met with hostility and suspicion.

So in light of all this, is it any wonder that the prisoner overreacts at the slightest real or imagined provocation? It should be remembered also that in general the prisoner committed crimes in a social system that, to say the least, is contrary to natural evolutionary development—a system that puts profit and wealth before human need, tradition and law before justice.

So the next time you hear prisoners referred to as animals, or someone mentions a killing in prison, or you hear about how awful the cons treated the hostages at Attica, just remember, we prisoners are people too and are existing under some pretty rough oppression. We cannot help but reflect this oppression as long as it exists.

T. Victor Franzen

Correctional Institution  
Norfolk, Mass.

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.

**Comedy in high places**—Racism aside, Supreme Court Justice Rehnquist does have a keen sense of humor. At least the *Los Angeles Times* thinks so. At his post-confirmation press conference, the paper said, he "displayed some of the wit that has made him a popular figure at the Justice Department." Sample: Asked if he would keep the Justice Department press office advised of his immediate plans, he responded with a grin, "I feel I no longer have the same obligation." They better put safety belts on the bench so the other judges don't roll off.

**Politically skizoid**—The ski outfit that last year plugged its product as so revolutionary "that we almost called it the 'Trotski'" has settled for dubbing it "Numero Uno."

**Proudly self-reliant**—There's little grist for the antiestablishment propaganda mill in the decision of the inflation-conscious British Parliament to double the Queen's allowance to \$2.4-million a year. While some others on welfare may not be willing to help themselves, the Queen is apparently motivated by the tradition of America's Great Depression. Britishers are being urged to visit her 20,000-acre Sandringham estate, where 30-pound boxes of apples are being offered for \$3.75.

**Self-realization program**—A "mobile grooming clinic" is touring the New

York branches of the National Bank of North America, offering free "beauty treatments" to women employees. One is called "Chinese porcelain beauty" and includes bamboo green pressed eyelid shadow. Why is the company doing this? "Well, we ask ourselves," a bank spokeswoman explained, "how can we make the women feel their role is very important—from tellers to file clerks and those who work in the computer room? This is part of our answer. If a woman looks well and feels well, she performs best."

**Music to exit by**—The managers of America's bomb shelters have taken steps to help future occupants avoid an identity crisis. One measure will be to pipe in familiar music. Selections on the shelter hit parade include Marian Anderson's "He's Got the Whole World in His Hands" and a performance by the Mormon Tabernacle Choir of the folk tune "This Land is Your Land." ("Is" or "Was?")

**Wrinkleweed they call it**—A medical researcher reports in *The Annals of Internal Medicine* that an extensive survey shows a definite link between tobacco and facial wrinkles. He finds smoking a much bigger factor in causing wrinkles than either age or outdoor activity. Maybe American Tobacco and Revlon will work up a

combination offer on coffin nails and wrinkle remover.

**Losing their appetite**—Dr. Ogden Johnson, a spokesman for the Food and Drug Administration, says, "We have been quite frankly appalled at the degree to which the consumer does not trust the manufacturer."

**Dual paternity**—Recent news item about the Catholic scholar Raymond Brown were incomplete. Brown did say that doubts were stirring among scripture experts about the virgin birth of Christ. But, he added, even a negative finding on this point would not alter the fact that Jesus was "God's unique son." "Human fatherhood," he explained, "does not exclude divine fatherhood."

**Dreams of glory**—Apparently smitten with the blood-and-guts image, President Nixon has seen Patton so many times that the producer has given him a 16mm print of the film.

**The sacred institution**—One of Reno's posher marriage parlors offers a free corsage, color photos, and a dressing room for quick-change monogamists. A huge sign advises, "We accept all major credit cards." The brooding reader who forwarded this piece of intelligence ponders the legal status of a computer snarled credit-card billing that arrives after the divorce.

— HARRY RING

## ¡La Raza en Acción!



**MIGRANT WORKERS: WORST-HOUSED GROUP IN THE NATION:** An article in the Nov. 27 *New York Times* reported on the living conditions in migrant camps around the country. The article described one living unit in Michigan, which, although incredible, is not uncommon.

"The cherries and apples have all been picked, so the people have moved out of the barn and it is time to move the cattle back in.

"Oliver M. Tompkins keeps up to 100 head in his century-old red barn during the winter, using the manure they produce there as fertilizer for his orchards. During the picking season, he keeps migrant farm workers in the same red barn."

Ricardo López, a migrant from Texas, and Michigan State Inspector Jack E. Rudd reported cattle feces on barn walls used as living units. The López family was forced to live in a "10-by-12 foot space on the barn floor with no cooking facilities, overflowing garbage cans that attracted swarms of insects, unscreened windows, ill-fitting doors, broken furniture and unprotected electric wires."

The *Times* further described the basement of the barn, also used for housing. "The damp, dark barn basement resembles a medieval dungeon except for the wooden feeding troughs that line the walls." In addition, there are no bathing facilities, "not even a communal shower," for workers after a day of hard sweaty work in trees sprayed with pesticides.

Tompkins denies state charges that his barn is unfit for human habitation. Once the cattle have departed in the spring, he says, "We fix it up as homey as can be. The Mexicans never complain, just the do-gooders."

**GROWERS SUED FOR VIOLATION OF HOUSING CODES:** The Colorado Migrant Council and Colorado Legal Services sued 65 growers in October for "gross violations of that state's housing code," according to the same issue of the *New York Times*. In Michigan, the United Migrants for Opportunity charged the State Health Department with failure to inspect some 2,000 camps housing 80,000 migrants who "endure conditions . . . unfit for human habitation."

According to the *Times*, the Michigan migrant group's allegations "include a single sink on one wall of a barn as the water supply for 15 families; one bed for a family of six; a single room with no partition for two families, and the drowning of a nine-year-old girl while she was trying to bathe in a drainage ditch because the shower did not work."

A suit against the New York State Health Department not only charges violations in 49 camps in Wayne County, but also that officials "maliciously and willfully conspired

with growers . . . in a scheme to circumvent" the law by passing ownership of the shacks to the migrant workers for the duration of the harvest for a token sum, and then reclaiming them later.

**AUSTIN MAYO DEMONSTRATES IN SUPPORT OF ARRESTED EL PASO STUDENTS:** On Dec. 6 the Austin chapter of MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization) sponsored a march and rally on the University of Texas campus in support of 25 arrested students at UT at El Paso (UTEP). The UTEP students were arrested for protesting the refusal of the UT administration to appoint Lydia Aguirre assistant dean of students.

The appointment had been previously agreed to by campus officials, but rather than appoint a Chicana to the post, they dissolved the position, created a new one with a different name (vice-president of student affairs), and appointed Dr. Gary Brooks instead. A MAYO leaflet distributed at the rally stated that "Because of the high percentage of Chicanos at UTEP there should be top priority given to Chicanos in considering personnel for all administrative posts until the percentage is correlated. . . ."

**CHICANO STUDENTS AT CAL STATE HAYWARD CONFRONT FEDERAL OFFICIAL:** Stanley Pottinger, 31-year-old director of the Office of Civil Rights, "ran into a fusillade of angry criticism" when he met with Chicano students at California State College in Hayward, Calif., according to the Nov. 11 *San Francisco Chronicle*.

The students read a formal complaint against the college demanding that the "Chicano students, faculty and staff be increased to 15 percent of the school total," since Chicanos make up at least 15 percent of the state's population. According to the *Chronicle*, only 2 percent of the student body and 2.5 percent of the present faculty is Chicano.

A student leader, Fernando Rios, was quoted as saying, "These figures and the treatment that the administration gives us amounts to out-and-out racism."

When students pressed Pottinger with questions about what action he planned to take, he promised a "progress report in 30 days." This brought an angry reply from Froben Lozada, director of Chicano Studies at Merritt College in Oakland. "That's all we ever hear from the gringos in Washington and Sacramento. The Chicano is tired of being treated like a faithful dog."

The article concluded with the observation that "If the college is found in violation of federal civil rights laws . . . it might lose all federal funds."

— ANTONIO CAMEJO

# Right wing launches offensive in Chile

By DAVID THORSTAD

DEC. 12—The conservative and right-wing opposition to the Allende regime in Chile appears to have reached a new pitch. The first sign of the new offensive against the Popular Unity government was what the U. S. press refers to as the "March of the Empty Pots" Dec. 2. This was a demonstration of women—estimated by Pierre Kalfon in the Dec. 4 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* as at least 25,000—who marched through the center of Santiago banging on empty kitchen pots and chanting "In Chile there is hunger! We do not want Castro here!" (Cuban Premier Fidel Castro was to end his 25-day tour of Chile the following day.) The women, Kalfon reports, came largely from the affluent sections of the city, and were "encircled by numerous activists of the far right, who very quickly engaged in battles" with leftist bystanders. One, Amédée Ambrosio, the secretary of the Movement of United People's Action (MAPU), one of the parties participating in Allende's Popular Unity coalition, was viciously assaulted by the rightist goons. More than 100 persons were injured and more than 150 arrested in the skirmishes sparked by the demonstration.

According to the Dec. 7 *Le Monde*, the women of the "Che Guevara" lower-class neighborhood in Santiago responded to this march by preparing a "popular soup," which they symbolically offered to the "'ladies of high society' whose refrigerators are well-stocked but who latch onto the food-supply difficulties as a pretext for attacking the government."

It is clear from Kalfon's report that the women's demonstration, jointly sponsored by the two major opposition parties, the Christian Democratic Party and the right-wing National Party, signaled a stepping up of the right-wing opposition to the Allende regime. On the evening of the march, the headquarters of the central committee of the Young Communists and a branch of the Radical Party were both sacked. During the night, the home of the minister of health was attacked and set on fire. "There were

even gunshots around the personal residence of President Allende," Kalfon reported.

Despite all this, the *New York Times*, in an insolent editorial Dec. 4, accused Allende of "overreacting" when he declared a state of emergency and placed Santiago under army control in the wake of the violence. The state of emergency was lifted Dec. 9.

The opposition has decided to focus its offensive on what it considers the Popular Unity's three "weak" points. First, the food shortage, which is partly caused by the imperialist squeeze on credit and by landlords who register their hostility to the land expropriations by cutting back on agricultural production.

Second, the conflict at the University of Chile, which has been going on for weeks over a proposal by the leftist-controlled University Council to restructure the university's departments and to oust the anti-Marxist rector, Dr. Edgardo Boeninger. On Nov. 22, the day the opposition denounced Allende's proposal to replace the opposition-dominated legislature with a unicameral "People's Assembly," more than 1,000 students from the University of Chile and the Catholic University demonstrated in support of Boeninger.

The law students, who are traditionally of bourgeois origin, occupied the law school in October and have since turned it into a center for the extreme right wing, including the ultra-rightist group "Fatherland and Liberty." Opposition newspapers have been giving extensive daily coverage to this struggle, which they describe as one between "freedom and tyranny."

The third prong of the antigovernment offensive is aimed at the decision to place under state control the "Papelera" chain of newsprint factories, whose main stockholder is, not coincidentally, conservative former president Jorge Alessandri.

A related aspect of the current offensive is the fact that it was launched at the same time as the U. S. copper companies whose properties were nationalized in July filed briefs appealing

the government's decision to nationalize them. Kennecott filed its brief Dec. 1, Anaconda Dec. 3, and Cerro—despite the fact it had been granted compensation—planned to appeal before the week was out.

In addition, on Nov. 30, two days before the women's march, two top White House aides, Herbert Klein and Robert Finch, who had just completed a two-week tour of Latin America, made an unusual public statement about their "feeling" that the Allende regime "won't last long." They made this thinly veiled allusion to a possible overthrow of Allende despite the fact that Chile had not even been on their itinerary.

The imperialists have not limited their hostility to the Allende regime to words, however. On Dec. 9, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, a U. S. government agency, reported that since Allende nationalized the copper holdings of U. S. corporations, private capital investments to all of Latin America in the second quarter of 1971 had plummeted to only \$8-million "against an average level of \$100-million for each quarter of the preceding four years." This represents a concerted effort by the imperialists to strangle and isolate Allende.

A sign that the imperialist campaign against Chile is having effects came on Dec. 10 when the Allende government devalued the escudo by close to 30 percent in an effort to offset a decline in exports during the past year.

Addressing a send-off rally of 60,000 in the National Stadium the same day as the women's march, Castro took note of the rising tide of conservative opposition to the Allende regime. Although unfortunately one of the central aims of his tour was to use his prestige as a revolutionary leader to bolster Chile's class-collaborationist government, Castro also criticized the Popular Unity's failure to mobilize the masses in struggle.

"I see weaknesses in the Chilean revolutionary process," he said. "Weaknesses in the ideological battle, in the

struggle of the masses, weaknesses in the fact of the adversary. I see weaknesses in the union and breadth of the forces who live in this process, and to whom the class struggle is not new. The fascists are trying to gain the streets, to gain the middle sector of the population, and to demoralize the revolutionaries. The success or failure of the process depends on the ideological battle and the struggle of the masses."

The Allende government, Kalfon observed in *Le Monde* Dec. 4, is "prisoner of the rules of the game it accepted, believing it could control them. . . ." It is attempting to keep going a bourgeois democracy with an uncooperative bourgeoisie. It is forced to rely on the "neutrality" of a police and military that it does not completely control. For example, Juan de Onis, writing in the Dec. 3 *New York Times*, reported that a Christian Democratic woman was stopped by a carabineer carrying a submachine gun who asked if she had taken part in the Dec. 2 demonstration. "She said that when she replied that she had, the carabineer said: 'Keep it up, we are with you.'"

The *Christian Science Monitor* reported from Santiago Nov. 29 that "there is a school of thought here that holds the army will move against Dr. Allende if it feels the situation is getting too bad."

Kalfon put his finger on the contradiction in which Allende finds himself. Just shortly before the current anti-government offensive, he said in the Dec. 4 *Le Monde*, Allende had personally told him that "he was convinced that a violent confrontation could be avoided and that it would be possible for him to 'legally' move toward socialism." In reality, however, the moment appears to be approaching when this confrontation is bound to occur. And when it does, Allende's reliance on the capitalist state—that is, the army, police and functionaries—will leave the workers and peasants politically unprepared and immobilized in the face of this right-wing threat.

# Texas Chicanos protest police brutality

By BUCKY KAHN

SAN ANTONIO, Texas—Over 1,200 Chicanos marched and rallied here Nov. 20 to protest the almost daily beatings Chicanos have been suffering at the hands of police. The march also protested the fact that 10 Chicanos have been murdered by police in 1971 alone.

The marchers, starting out about 500 strong, gathered strength as they marched five miles through the predominantly Chicano West Side of San Antonio to the Alamo. Organized by Mario Cantú, (a Raza Unida Party supporter and owner of Mario's Restaurant in San Antonio), Father Edmundo Rodríguez of Guadalupe Parish, and the Brown Berets, the demonstration attracted support from other areas, including Crystal City, Houston, Dallas, and the Rio Grande Valley.

The Dallas contingent, led by Roberto Medrano of the Brown Berets and Pancho Medrano, international representative of the United Auto Workers, formed the leading ranks of the march. Also marching were members of MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization); José Angel Gutiérrez, president of the Crystal City School Board; the United Farm Workers; Chicano students from Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio College, St. Mary's University, and the University of Texas at Austin.



Photo by Stephen Ráse

San Antonio rally against police brutality Nov. 20

The demonstration had a great impact on Chicano bystanders. Hundreds joined as the march progressed, including a number of GIs, who heard the shouts of "Raza Si, Guerra No!" and "Raza Si, Gringo No!" and joined the rally at the Alamo.

Chicanos were not the only ones affected by the march, however. G. L. Duarte, writing in the Nov. 26 *El Sol de Texas*, observed that "A little old Anglo lady with tennis shoes was overheard to shout as the marchers arrived [at the Alamo]: 'Good heavens! They're coming to take the Alamo!'"

The rally, which was held in Span-

ish and chaired by Mario Cantú, included as speakers Gregoria McCumber; Dr. Jorge Lara Braud, a priest and professor at Our Lady of the Lake College; José Morales, leader of the San Antonio Brown Berets; and Mario Obledo, director of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) in California.

McCumber stated that the police had to be accountable for the actions they take, "otherwise we have no need for courts, judges and the Bill of Rights." Dr. Lara warned San Antonio city officials that the Chicano people would

not allow themselves to be attacked by police any longer. Obledo pointed out there are scores of cases of police brutality in San Antonio that cannot be filed because the citizens involved fear police reprisals.

The demonstration was well marshaled by the San Antonio Brown Berets, members of St. Mary's Law School, and young Chicano lawyers. Sales of *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review* were very good and hundreds of leaflets were distributed announcing the Young Socialist Alliance national convention to be held later this month in Houston.



The following interview with Tomas Mac Giolla, president of Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Official Irish Republican Army, was obtained in New York Dec. 4 by David Thorstad. The next day, Mac Giolla returned to Ireland after having completed a highly successful three-week tour of nearly a dozen American cities. The tour was sponsored by the Irish Republican Clubs in the USA and Canada.

Most of the cities on Mac Giolla's itinerary were on the East Coast. They included New York, Washington, D.C., Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

Mac Giolla's tour also brought him and Sean Kenny, coordinator of the Irish Republican Clubs in the United States and Canada, to Chicago for two days. There Mac Giolla spoke to large and enthusiastic audiences at the University of Chicago, Roosevelt University and Northeastern Illinois State University. On the popular WBBM-FM talk show Nightline, Mac Giolla and Michael O'Sullivan, a free-lance photojournalist who spent seven months in Ulster photographing the nationalist movement, debated two representatives from the British consulate in Chicago.

**Q: What is the purpose of your tour?**

**A:** The purpose is threefold, really. First, to build and strengthen our support organization, the Irish Republican Clubs, in the USA and Canada.

Second, to try to break through to the Irish-American community here on what the real issues involved in the struggle in Ireland are. My job wasn't just to try to overcome British propaganda. My job was to try to get through background to the whole struggle so that they would know why things are happening in the future. I also tried to give them a picture that it's not just the North of Ireland, but the Irish people as a whole struggling against British imperialism.

Thirdly, of course, to get funds.

**Q: What kind of response have you received?**

**A:** I've spoken on college campuses in every city I've been in. Also, there have been meetings with the Irish clubs in the area (as in Boston and Baltimore), which are clubs of a social, community nature for the Irish community. In such meetings, the Irish audiences were very conservative, middle-class people who were interested in the struggle in Ireland because they're Irish, but they had very little concept of what the basic issues in the struggle were, except that Britain is still in Ireland, that she shouldn't be there, and that she should get out.

I found a surprising response amongst them on issues which they basically would not have been in agreement with bringing into the struggle in the beginning (social, economic issues and the whole basis of imperialism in Ireland). Here I am speaking of the conservative Irish community. I also met others at meetings organized by the Irish Republican Clubs here. This is a much more aware group. But in cities where I went to speak to the Irish community which has existed there for the past 40, 50 or 60 years, and has its own clubs and everything, people were very conservative. In American society they're exceptionally conservative. I've got a reaction from these people, for instance, of 'All right, having heard you, I understand that there probably is a need for socialism in Ireland, but it would be better if you don't emphasize that here. We don't want it here.' So there is basic sympathy, but an almost total lack of understanding of the basic issues involved.

**Q: What was the reaction on the college campuses? Would you say that the students relate to the struggle in Ireland?**

**A:** They relate to it very much in a general fashion. They know that it is part of the general struggle throughout the world against imperialist powers. And they relate to it in particular through the consciousness which they have developed over the past few years due to the antiwar movement. This, I have found on most of the campuses, has got through a consciousness of what imperialism is. They know that America is wrong in Vietnam, but they can see from that immediately what the division is in Ireland. So they're able to understand when I give this background, and particularly when I speak of neo-colonialism in the South, which the Irish audiences to which I referred believe is some concept which somebody introduced about savages in Africa; they don't understand what neo-colonialism is at all.

But on the campuses, when I point out that in fact Ireland was the first nation in which partition was used

**Q: What other kinds of activities are you asking Americans who support the struggle in Northern Ireland to carry out?**

**A:** I impress on American audiences the human rights aspect. I point out that I don't know what pressures they can exert on their congressman or their senator, but one way is through letters, write-ins, etc.

I have also been pointing out to them that Americans are involved in the North of Ireland by virtue of the fact that there are two American bases there. One has been there since the Second World War, and one was set up only about five years ago. It's a very important NATO communications base in the Sperrin Mountains.

By virtue of the fact that America has two bases there, they have given tacit recognition to British claim to jurisdiction over this area. In other words, they have set up their bases by permission of the UK government, not by permission of the Irish peo-

ple—D. T.) is surrounded and everybody is held indoors for at least two days until every house has been thoroughly searched. They've made as many as 120 arrests in one area, they've put them through a screening process for four or five days and maybe a week; substantial numbers of them are released, and then 20 or 30 are interned.

Meantime, of course, every time people are interned, the headlines on the British papers are "30 Terrorists Arrested," "Leading IRA Man Arrested," "Leader of the IRA Arrested," "Well-Known Leader of the IRA Arrested," "Much Wanted Man Arrested in the North of Ireland." No names are given on any of these occasions. No list of those who are interned has ever been given by the government. Relatives have to find out by themselves—and it might take them a week or a fortnight—where their husband, son or father is.

The detainees are put through what is called "interrogation in-depth." This is the torture treatment. The story began to come out about this toward the middle or end of August. Notes were smuggled out from the detention centers, the jails, and pressure was exerted on the British government to investigate. So they set up the Compton tribunal.

Now, the Compton tribunal was circumscribed in various ways on the methods it could use for investigation, which had to be held in secret. It could not investigate any cases of detainees arrested after Aug. the 9th, although hundreds have been arrested since then. It was so limited and circumscribed that it was condemned out of hand by practically all political groups in the North and by many members of the British Labour Party. All detainees refused to go before the Compton tribunal because it was obviously set up to do a whitewashing job on the British army.

Nevertheless, they issued their report about two weeks ago. In their report they have admitted to 11 cases in which they have proved that there was ill-treatment of prisoners. And their description of the ill-treatment shows that in fact there was gross ill-treatment and that it amounted to very sophisticated psychological methods of torture, learned by the British both in Aden and Cyprus, from the French in Algeria and from the American Green Berets in Vietnam.

A week before, Amnesty International had issued their report. They had carried out an investigation over a period of two months on 26 cases, and they found that in 21 of these there was clear-cut prima facie evidence to prove the allegations of torture.

One of the cases the Compton tribunal had was a man held for 43.5 hours without food or drink, with a hood over his head, standing against the wall in the search position with the noise treatment going on for two days and two nights. This was noise of various intensities of sound, high pitch and changing continuously. This is known as the disorientation process. He was then brought in for "interrogation in-depth."

Yet, although they admitted ill-treatment, they said they wouldn't describe it as brutality because, in their dictionary definition, brutality was "the inflicting of cruelty with a disposition to take pleasure in it." So, if they didn't take pleasure in it, it wasn't brutality.

**Q: How could they prove that they didn't take pleasure in it?**

**A:** They obviously felt that they didn't particularly enjoy it. So the British press came out the following day with the headlines "No Brutality, Says Compton," "British Troops Cleared of Allegations." This satisfied the British public. However, it is still the subject of debate in Westminster. Whether or not anything will come of it, I'm not sure.

## A Militant Interview

# HEAD OF SINN FEIN DISCUSSES INTERNMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND

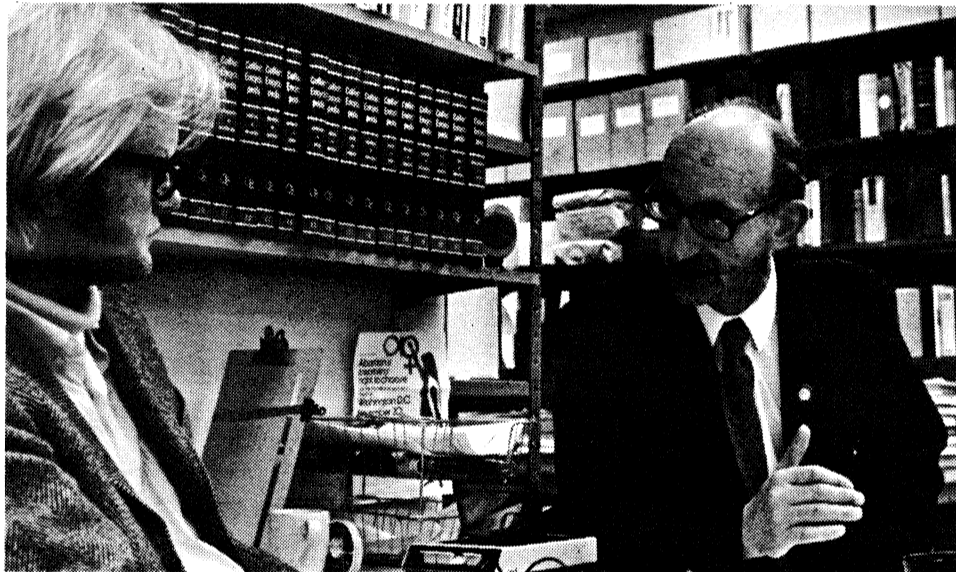


Photo by Flax Hermes

Tomas Mac Giolla (right) talking to Militant staff writer David Thorstad

as a solution to an international problem and the first country in which this neo-colonial system was developed when the imperial power was forced out of her colonies, and that the Irish people are only now beginning to understand that, I can get through on this issue. And also amongst some of the more radical Irish groups whom I have met organized by the Irish working class.

**Q: What kind of defense movement of the prisoners in the North would you like to see here?**

**A:** I am referring to a broad pressure group, something like the antiwar movement—a purely human rights pressure group.

On the torture issue, there are suggestions, which are still in the discussion stage, of setting up an investigating commission of some highly respectable, well-known figures. This could not be done in Ireland or in Britain, but could be done in some foreign country. America might be the place to do it. It should be people of standing in the general American community who would establish this tribunal, or commission, or whatever you'd like to call it, which would hear evidence of people we could send over in regard to the tortures, and thus bring international pressure to bear on the subject. This tribunal could also issue a "Green Book" (white paper—D. T.) on the tortures.

ple. They have already taken sides in the struggle in this way. If Americans want to show solidarity with the Irish people, the Irish claim should be recognized. Therefore, Americans can press for withdrawal of American bases from Ireland until such time as an independent Irish nation can give or refuse permission, as the case may be.

I have laid a lot of emphasis on the presence of American bases in the North of Ireland as an indication of American support for Britain in the struggle.

**Q: Could you describe the situation of the prisoners interned in Northern Ireland?**

**A:** The internees have been, and still are, mainly political activists. The arrests are continuing every day. People have been arrested on the basis that their pictures have been seen in crowds in more than one or two demonstrations over the past four or five years. The people involved in the civil rights movement, in socialist movements—People's Democracy and the Republican Clubs—and those who are now organizing the street committees, regional area committees and the civil disobedience campaign are being arrested every day. I don't know how many are interned at the moment, but it's certainly past the 500 figure.

Then there are the saturation searches, where a housing estate (proj-

By FRANK BOEHM

National Chairman, Young Socialist Alliance

"The great youth trip, that heady, sometimes breathtaking, sometimes frightening, roller coaster ride that careened through the last years of the nineteen-sixties and plunged headlong into this decade, is slowing down and may be altogether almost over."

Thus began a lengthy front-page article in the Oct. 24 *New York Times* entitled "Youth Rebellion of Sixties Waning." This article typified this fall's ambitious attempt by the capitalist press to define and interpret the "new mood" and the mysterious "lull" they all claim pervades American campuses today.

"Energy levels are low," a "mellowing process" is sweeping college dormitories, "disillusionment" reigns among former student activists. Students are now "more skeptical, more cynical, more apathetic, more subdued."

And it's near the end of the article that the "return to the fifties" theme is introduced ("when another

Nixon." It is a campaign designed to lead students and other youth activists into the waiting arms of the Democratic Party. Thus an observer at a speech by Rennie Davis could comment, according to a report on the "Status of the Movement" in the Nov. 7 *New York Times Magazine*, "Rennie sounded revolutionary as hell. But if you listened to what he was really saying, he was only slightly to the left of Hubert Humphrey."

Because of the campaign that has been mounted around the theme that the student movement is dead, because of the repercussions it has had on the left and to a certain extent in the student movement itself, and because this assertion will be cited as a prime reason by reformists and ultralefts alike for the necessity of students to break through the "lull" by combining in a last-ditch effort to "Evict Nixon," it is necessary to pose and answer the question: What is the state of the radicalization and of the student movement today?

There is no evidence that the very basis of the current radicalization—the increasingly obvious contradictions of capitalist society—is dissipating. On the contrary, the contradictions are deepening

Puerto Rican communities that followed, to the development of an overwhelming popular antiwar sentiment reaching deep into the Army and Navy—are certainly not indicators of a slowdown of the radicalization. Rather, they are signs that this process is deepening, affecting new sectors of the population, and bringing new issues to the fore.

There are other developments that underscore this fact as well that should be taken note of. The continued spread of feminist consciousness and the beginning of a national campaign aimed at forcing the repeal of restrictive abortion laws has resulted in one of the most significant new expressions of the radicalization. Another example is the emergence of the struggle by homosexuals against the oppression they face in our society. The development of the Chicano liberation struggle, particularly the Raza Unida parties in the Southwest, and the spread of radical sentiment and action in the high schools are other examples.

The very fact that these movements—in addition to the earlier ones that have already affected the consciousness of masses of people, such as the Black liberation, student and antiwar movements—have arisen is proof of the profound changes occurring in the consciousness of masses of people.

Each of the developing social movements strongly influence students and finds many of the most politically conscious supporters and organizers on the campus and in the high schools.

In addition to refuting the proposition inherent in the "lull" theory—that the radicalization is subsiding or reversing—it is necessary to correct the theory of the "lull" itself with some facts about developments on the campus.

### 'Tinder of discontent'

Less than one month after the Oct. 24 article appeared in the *New York Times*, the Nov. 15 issue ran a news item, without comment or apparent embarrassment, based on a report prepared by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. The commission had been asked to make a number of studies of the situation on the campuses since the May 1970 upsurge. The title of the article in the *Times* was "Discontent Found High on the Campuses." It is worth quoting from the article: "A report on the campus turmoil of May 1970 warned yesterday that similar widespread student protests and disruption of higher education could easily occur again.

"The tinder of discontent of the campuses remains dry," said the 177-page report. . . . All that is needed to spark new campus turmoil, the authors maintained, is 'a calculated governmental action, or more tragically, an unintended [sic] consequence of an action,' such as the shooting deaths of four Kent State University students by National Guardsmen during an antiwar demonstration at the Ohio school on May 4, 1970."

The report went on to warn that any new mass reaction of students could "escalate into a conflict that could leave both the university and society in extremely serious disarray." Hardly a return to the fifties, wishful thinking to the contrary!

Another study, issued by the American Council on Education (ACE) in late September and reported on in the Oct. 4 issue of *Time* magazine, revealed that campuses last year were quite different from the picture of them peddled by the capitalist press at the time.

The ACE study reported a survey it conducted revealed that the amount of student activism on the campuses in the last school year was very nearly equivalent to the 1968-1969 upsurge—the academic year that saw the most widespread, sustained student actions prior to May 1970. According to their survey, nearly half (approximately 1,250) of the country's campuses experienced student actions and 20 percent experienced "at least one 'severe' protest." The real reason, states the report, that it seemed a year of "eerie tranquility" was because only 10 percent of the actions received national coverage, whereas in 1968-1969, over 40 percent of similar actions hit the national press.

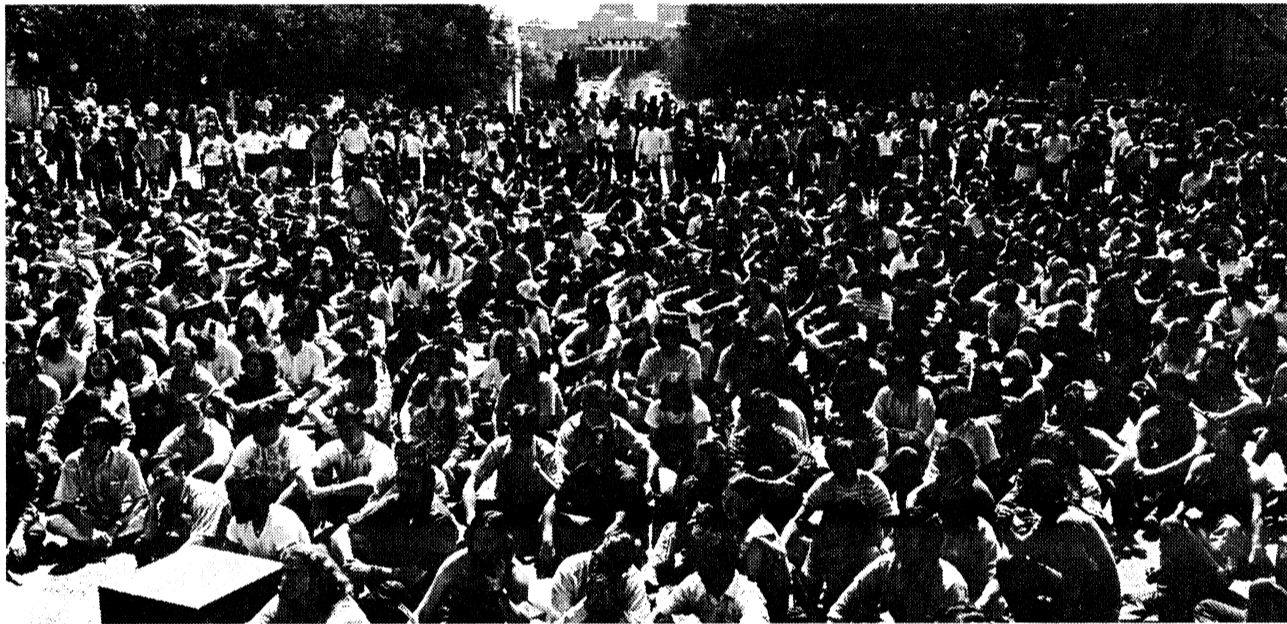
It is safe to assume that it was no mere coincidence that while none of the major national papers ran stories on the student actions of the last year, they were trying to outdo each other with fantasy stories "proving" that an "eerie tranquility" had mysteriously gripped the campuses.

An interesting point made in the study was that student actions were permeating campuses that had never experienced them before. In fact, a greater proportion of last year's student actions occurred on these campuses than ever before. They included mostly public four-year schools (which are attended by 70 percent of the 8.5 million college students), Roman Catholic schools, and two-year private schools.

Although there was a breathing spell on some campuses that had had considerable radical ac-

Continued on page 22

# Is youth rebellion of the '60s waning?



U of Texas students at rally in Austin March 12 to protest tuition hike. Apparently these students hadn't heard that the campuses have become conservative.

Photo by Howard Petrick

generation felt the need for respite from years of war and personal displacement"). Since this is the most difficult part of the "lull" theory to swallow (yet integral to it), the author concedes that there are many who would disagree that there has been a return to the mood of the fifties.

The unusually heavy onslaught of articles in the capitalist media this fall proclaiming the demise of the student movement is actually nothing new. It differs perhaps only in intensity from similar articles that have appeared every fall and spring since the first major student offensive in 1968 and 1969.

Some may remember those that appeared following Earth Day in April 1970, when it was reported that the new thing on campuses was to turn away from politics in order to seek inner peace, commune with nature, and become one with the universe. The theme of these articles was repudiated in a most appropriate manner when the campuses responded to Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the killings at Kent and Jackson State with the most massive student strike in history, involving more than half of the country's 2,500 campuses.

These pseudoanalytical articles have disoriented many student militants—which is the intended affect. In fact, partially because there have been no campus upheavals equivalent to those of May 1970, there seems to be a certain uneasiness as to the possible validity of the propositions put forward by the "student watchers" of the capitalist press.

### 'Rennie sounded revolutionary'

Many ultraleft former student leaders have reacted to the "lull" theory like wind-up toys that make 180-degree turns upon hitting any obstacle in their path. Some including Rennie Davis, have issued a call for a "new" movement for 1972 that can build up the "energy levels" and break through the "lull" by relating to everyone. The catch, of course, is that it must be based on the lowest-common-denominator brand of politics.

The lowest common denominator in 1972? "Evict

in this society—a society that boasts the achievement of atomic power but lives in fear of annihilation, that boasts unequalled affluence and can go to the moon but cannot solve problems of unemployment and poverty, cannot provide free or adequate education and medical care, cannot keep the air breathable, and that claims to be the defender of freedom and justice but denies them to most people on the basis of class, sex or nationality. These contradictions are today so evident that increasing millions of Americans are becoming angered and repelled by them though they may not be sure exactly what it is that's wrong or precisely what to do about it.

### Wage Freeze and Phase Two

The problems facing the rulers are forcing them to take new steps that will drive increasing numbers to develop more radical ideas. The imposition of the wage freeze on Aug. 15 followed by "Phase Two" of the new economic controls were steps taken in an attempt to strengthen the position of the U.S. imperialists in the international capitalist economy. But Nixon's Aug. 15 message was the initial signal that the period of relative class peace that predominated in this country following World War II had ended. The government's wage freeze and "Phase Two" make it clear to growing numbers of workers that the government is now trying to drive down their standard of living so that the employing class can reap even greater profits.

As the real intent of the government-imposed wage controls becomes clear and the developing social movements continue to affect their consciousness, the mass of the working class will enter the arena of struggle, propelling the entire radicalization forward to a qualitatively new stage.

The fact that there is no objective basis for the slowdown or reversal of the radicalization is also reflected in the increasing number and the unique forms in which it is expressed. The events of this fall alone—from the rebellion of the Attica prisoners and the wave of solidarity actions on campuses, in other prisons, and in the Black and

# High court considers abortion laws

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 13—Scores of women packed the U. S. Supreme Court today to hear arguments concerning the constitutionality of the Texas and Georgia anti-abortion laws.

The Supreme Court was asked to sweep away the states' anti-abortion statutes by ruling that it is unconstitutional for the government to interfere with a woman's right to control her own body.

Attorney Sarah Weddington from Austin argued against the Texas law on the grounds that it violated a woman's right to choose whether or not to bear a child, which is assured by the Ninth Amendment. Although the Supreme Court has not yet ruled or struck down an abortion law on the basis of the Ninth Amendment, a federal district court invalidated the Texas law on this ground last year.

Texas Assistant Attorney General Jay Floyd tried to argue that the abortion statute could not legally be challenged in civil action, and insisted that the case was moot because the plaintiff Mary Roe's pregnancy had by now terminated in childbirth.

Justice Potter Stewart reminded him that the case was a class action, and asked, "Can't we take judicial notice that at any given time there are a number of unmarried pregnant females in the state of Texas?"

When asked whether he thought a woman had the right to choose whether to bear a child, Floyd said, "I think she makes her choice prior to the time she becomes pregnant."

Justice Stewart responded: "Maybe she makes her choice when she decides to live in Texas."

Floyd's first sentence showed such utter lack of respect for women that even the judges seemed shocked. He said: "I don't suppose a man can hope to win an argument against two such beautiful ladies."

The Georgia case, like the Texas suit, was argued by a woman, Marjorie Pitts Hames. In this case, a lower court struck out certain sections of the abortion statute last year as unconstitutional. It ruled, however, that "the decision to abort a pregnancy affects other interests than those of the woman alone, even the husband and wife alone."

In order to protect these "other interests," and guard against "unnecessary abortions," the court established semijudicial hospital boards and other restrictions on the right to abortion. The Georgia boards are permitting very few abortions. Neither the pregnant woman nor her doctor has the right to appear before the board or to know the reasons for its decision.

Hames argued that the existing restrictions are cumbersome and unusual in terms of medical procedure and violate a woman's civil rights to privacy and equal protection under the Ninth and Fourteenth Amendments.

Dorothy Beasley argued on behalf of the Georgia Attorney General that the state has a compelling interest in protecting fetal life. The arguments were completed for both cases, but it may be some time before the court reaches its decision.

The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition brought many supporters to the hearing and held a press conference on the Supreme Court steps immediately afterwards. It announced plans for a second national women's abortion conference Feb. 11-13 at Boston University.

## Child care veto assailed by Jenness

The following statement was released by Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness on Dec. 13.

On Dec. 9 President Nixon vetoed a bill that would have established a network of day-care centers providing health, nutritional and educational services for children. The bill provided for federally subsidized centers that would be free to children from families making \$4,320 or less, and subsidized on a sliding scale for families with higher incomes.

The major reason given by Nixon for his veto was the "family-weakening implications" of the child development program. He stated: ". . . good public policy requires that we enhance rather than diminish both parental authority and parental involvement with children—particularly in those decisive early years when social attitudes and a conscience are formed and religious and moral principles are first inculcated."

I can assure Nixon that most young people would disagree that what they need most is greater parental authority, more religion and more of Nixon's "morals." What young people *are* in great need of, however, is the security of being assured quality care and education, so that their minds and bodies are not stunted and distorted by lack of nutritious food, lack of preschool educational opportunities, lack of privacy, and lack of a place to go if they find it intolerable to stay with their parents.

Under the guise of not "weakening the family" Nixon's veto is a denial of the right of children to good care if their families are unable to provide that care. There are 11.6 million working mothers in this country, 4 million of whom have children under six. Yet there are only 640,000 places for these children in licensed day care centers

— one third of which are privately owned and therefore expensive.

Does Nixon think it "strengthens the family" for these children to be on their own after school, with no place to go and no one who cares about them? Does he think it strengthens families for preschool children to be left with a relative or a neighbor whose only concern is that they don't cause trouble? What Nixon means by "strengthening the family" is not aiding families to get along. What he means by this high-sounding phrase is that families must go it alone on whatever resources they can scrounge up in this dog-eat-dog society. He means that children who happen to be born into poor families deserve to get poor care.

Nixon also said he didn't want to commit the government to "communal approaches to child-rearing" without first having a wide national debate on this question. While I would welcome a national debate on this issue, there is already sufficient evidence to show that there is a deep need and widespread support for publicly run child-care centers. To talk of "communal child rearing" when the proposed bill allotted only a meager \$2-billion—a fraction of what's needed for adequate child-care services—is absurd.

The demand of millions of people in this country for child-care centers was raised loud and clear in Cambridge in last November's elections, if Nixon had cared to notice. More than 54 percent of Cambridge voters approved the policy of establishing free, 24-hour, community-controlled child-care centers for all Cambridge residents who wished to use them.

Nixon says he is not against child-care services for one segment of the population: welfare mothers. In vetoing the child development bill, he noted that his welfare "reform" bill already contained provision for \$750-million to be spent on day-care facilities for welfare mothers. This racist and class-biased proposal is not intended to provide quality care for all children who need it. Its purpose is only to get welfare mothers off the welfare rolls, and to create a cheap source of forced labor.

If a welfare mother put her children in a day-care center and then succeeded in finding a well-paying job, then under Nixon's welfare "reform" program, her children would be kicked out of the day-care program.

The onus is not just on Nixon, however, for vetoing the child development bill; the Democrats and Republicans in Congress used his veto as an excuse to dump the bill. They refused to override Nixon's veto.

The Socialist Workers Party supports the establishment of a network of free, 24-hour child-care centers, controlled by the communities that use them. We believe that the very young—and also the very old—should not be left dependent upon the resources or lack of resources of the families they happen to have been born into. Both young and old should be entitled to the best care that this rich country can provide—and not just custodial care, but care that includes stimulating, educational opportunities that will enable them to fulfill their potential to the greatest degree possible.

# Women: The Insurgent Majority

**CONFERENCE ON PROSTITUTION**—An educational conference on prostitution held in New York Dec. 11-12 was ended abruptly by a walk-out led by five prostitutes. The conference, which was attended by over 300 women, was sponsored by The Feminists, New York Radical Feminists, New Women Lawyers, and the New Democratic Coalition Women's Rights Committee.

In the panels and workshops of the conference, participants discussed the barely concealed misogyny of a society in which a woman is arrested for solicitation if she approaches a man on the street, while a man can harass female passers-by—both verbally and physically—with impunity.

Everyone seemed to agree that prostitution laws are one of the clearest examples in this society of making the victim into the criminal. While prostitution is an institution controlled by men and for men's pleasures, it is the women who are punished.

Disagreements developed, however, between organizers of the conference and the five women who identified themselves as working prostitutes. The position of The Feminists was put forth most clearly by Lyn Vincent. "Just as women must destroy marriage by leaving that institution, so prostitutes must leave their trade. As long as we remain wives and prostitutes," Vincent insisted, "we perpetuate our own oppression."

The response to this position from the prostitutes in attendance was immediate. "You're talking about the employment, the only livelihood, of at least 50,000—and maybe even 100,000—

women in New York City. And you cannot sit here and make decrees about how 50,000 women should change their lives!" A former prostitute, now a member of New York Radical Feminists, pointed to the concrete economic reasons that cause women to enter prostitution.

It was this tendency on the part of The Feminists to make demands on the prostitutes themselves rather than on this sexist society, and to imply that women who work as prostitutes are somehow oppressing other women, that led the few prostitutes present to walk out of the conference in anger.

Before leaving, one of the prostitutes attempted to once more clarify The Feminists' position. "You mean," she asked, "you're going to tell every married woman with children and no job to walk out?"

"Yes," responded a member of New York Radical Feminists who worked as a high fashion model until her involvement in the feminist movement, "I've just done it."

"Well I care about the women who haven't done it yet, the women who can't do it," responded the prostitute.

In a discussion that took place outside the auditorium after the walk-out, one of the prostitutes accused the women of indirectly accepting the Judeo-Christian ethic, which says prostitutes are evil. "We are not ashamed of ourselves," she said. "I'm afraid it is you who are ashamed of us."

A weakness of the conference was the absence of Black or Latina streetwalkers, or prostitutes

forced to hustle to support a heroin addiction. This was despite the efforts of the conference organizers to reach these women with leaflets.

All the prostitutes who spoke were call girls. The majority of them had attended college and had some previous involvement with radical politics.

Another area of discussion dealt with whether the women's liberation movement should call for the legalization of prostitution or the repeal of all anti-prostitution laws. After a case was made by several panelists against legalization, most seemed convinced that this would not be a step forward.

The main argument against such a move is that it would require prostitutes to be licensed—photographed, fingerprinted and identified for life as members of that trade. It would further subject prostitutes to state control, forced medical examinations, and inspections by public authorities. Economically, legalization would subject prostitutes' earnings to taxation and would threaten to lower their fees.

Members of The Feminists plan to campaign actively against a bill coming up in the New York legislature for the legalization of prostitution.

No decisions were reached at the conference, although its organizers are making plans for further meetings and actions. One thing is clear, however. There must be more dialogue with working prostitutes themselves before any decisions or a strategy for long-term action can be reached.

—DEBBY WOODROOFE

Harry Ring, head of the Militant's Southwest Bureau, was in Houston during the week just prior to the Nov. 20 municipal elections. The following account is based on his observations there.

By HARRY RING

Experience has demonstrated that positive, vigorous participation in electoral politics is an essential part of building a mass-based revolutionary-socialist party. This is particularly true in the United States, where, despite widespread cynicism as to the worth of the electoral process, there is still a deep-rooted popular illusion that it is the only available vehicle for achieving social gains.

Although today growing numbers of people are subjecting the Republican and Democratic parties to increased scrutiny, the fact remains that these two agencies of capitalist rule are still able to dupe the overwhelming majority of those who do go to the polls into believing that the only practical course is to choose between the two of them, either as a positive choice, or, more often, as a "lesser evil."

Recognition of the reality that the majority of Americans—including many who are radical in their outlook—are still entrapped in capitalist electoral politics does not diminish the need for revolutionary socialists to compete with the capitalist parties in this arena. It only makes it more imperative to do so.

Because most people are still taken in by the argument that the only way to "make your vote count" is to give it to a candidate who "has a chance of winning," it is unrealistic for candidates of a still small socialist movement to expect big votes at the present time.

But despite small vote returns, socialists can make a significant impact in election contests and utilize them to register meaningful gains for the movement.

The recently concluded Houston elections are an outstanding example of this.

The Houston Socialist Workers Party, which was only established in July 1970, emerged from this fall's municipal elections as the principal radical force in the city. The Young Socialist Alliance, which actively supported the campaign, gained correspondingly. The SWP ticket, headed by mayoral candidate Debby Leonard, played a unique role in what is in many respects a unique American city.

In terms of social issues, there was assuredly every basis for a socialist campaign. But among the blights affecting Houston was a strong, well-protected right-wing movement, including a gang of night-riding Ku Klux Klan thugs.

The SWP, in the course of the campaign, won a hearing for its answers to the social problems besetting the city. It also dealt some heavy blows to the Klan, whose friends in the police department and other high places had long provided it immunity from the law.

Principally as a result of SWP efforts, several Klansmen have now

been convicted for some of their crimes and others are under indictment. Their night-riding activity has abated.

The SWP campaigners also won a significant victory on the issue of restrictive requirements imposed on candidates for public office. A successful court action eliminated exorbitant filing fees, a stipulation that a candidate must be a property owner, and a mandatory "loyalty" oath.

### The real 'Space City'

A visitor to Houston is struck by the city's social contradictions—contradictions that are extreme even by capitalist norms.

With a population of 1.2 million, Houston is the country's fastest-growing major city. The unemployment rate is relatively low. Long a major oil-refining center, it has enjoyed a big industrial growth, principally in the petrochemical field. It is a growing Southern financial center and enjoys the various economic benefits of the federal Manned Spacecraft Center, which has given it the nickname "Space City." Its giant Astrodome sports arena is a major tourist attraction.

All of this, properly put together in a Chamber of Commerce brochure, would suggest a reasonably habitable, relatively forward-looking city. The reality is astonishingly different.

Houston is like a small Southern town run by a gang of thieving, reactionary racists, but vastly swollen in size and opportunity for exploitation.

The political attitude of the administration is summarized by Mayor Louie Welch, who just won his fifth term in office. A prosperous real estate operator, Mayor Welch says he sees "no contradiction" between membership in the Ku Klux Klan and membership in the Houston police department. This view is apparently not unique, since speakers at cross-burning Klan rallies have boasted of their influence with ranking members of the department.

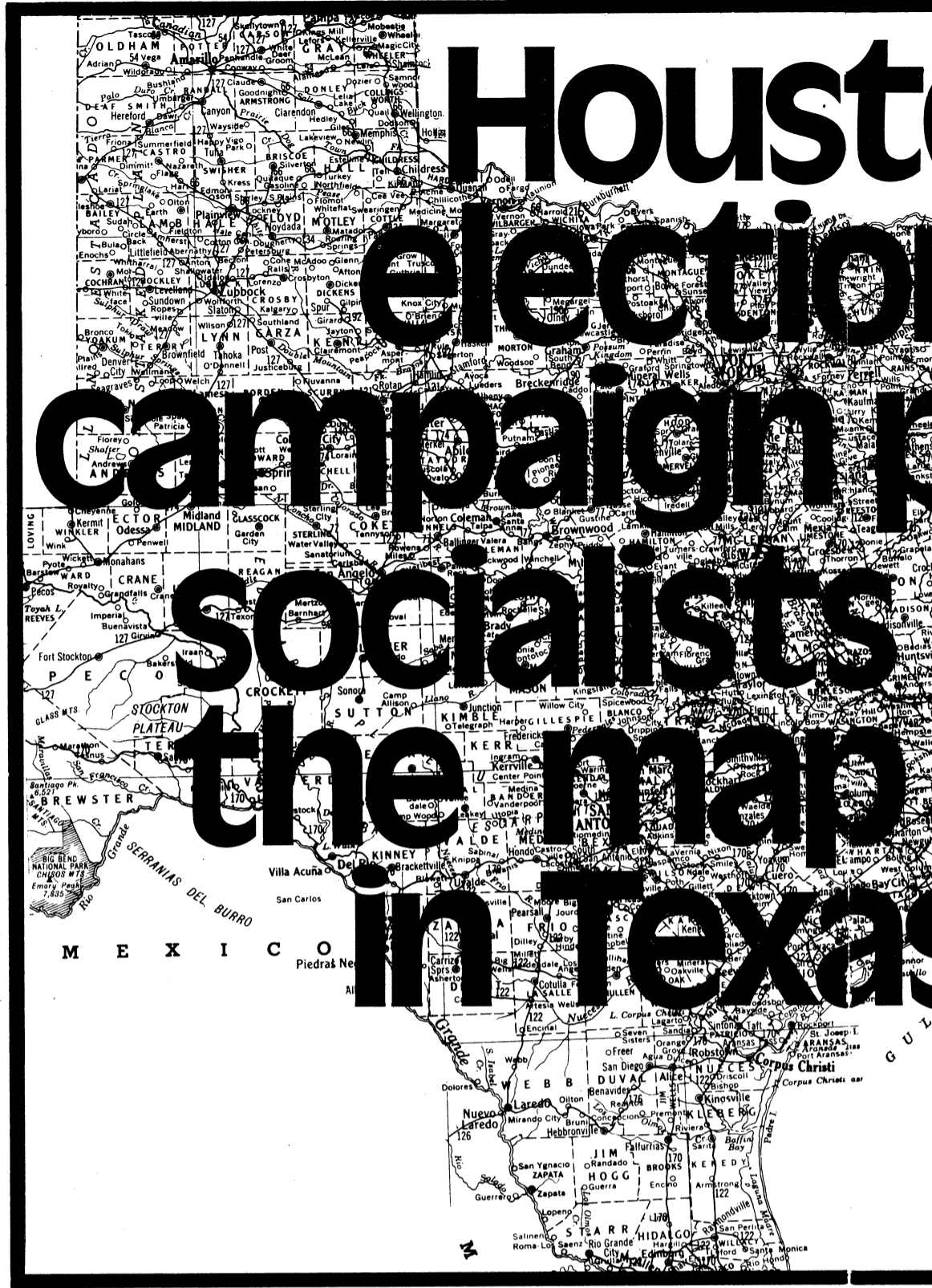
No one has established that Police Chief Herman Short, the mayor's appointee, is, as some contend, a member of the Klan or the John Birch Society. But the city's Blacks and Chicanos, who comprise 45 percent of the population, know that the Houston police are utterly brutal, and that complaints about their behavior are given short shrift by Chief Short and the city administration.

The town is set up as one vast rip-off for industry. A Nader task force estimated that industry pays taxes on the basis of 17 percent of actual value of holdings, while small homeowners pay on the basis of 34 percent.

There are no industrial zoning regulations and factories sprout where convenient among the homes of the poor. Air and water pollution are particularly acute, and suggestions that something be done about it are regarded as a variety of un-Americanism.

Many of the streets in the poor sections are unpaved and large numbers of Blacks and Chicanos live in hovels. About a third of the population qualify by federal definition as impoverished.

Despite the concentration of indus-



try, the union movement is quite weak and wages are low—particularly, of course, for Blacks and Chicanos.

Young people have to fight for the smallest freedoms. Student organizations, such as the Student Mobilization Committee, are banned from the high schools.

Leaflet distribution and the sale of underground papers are also forbidden in the high schools. Paddling is still legal, and dress codes are so vigorous that many students are compelled to wear wigs to school to avoid shearing their hair.

Although a majority of the city's population are women and a near-majority Black and Chicano, the City Council remains exclusively male, exclusively white and virulently sexist and racist.

Until the SWP sparked a movement to fight back, the Klan felt free to bomb KPFT, the local listener-sponsored radio station, off the air twice, as well as to bomb the office of the local underground paper *Space City!* and the business places of its advertisers.

The homes of pro-civil-liberties attorneys and professors have been attacked, and local antiwar leader Fred Brode was compelled to wall off the front of his home with sandbags.

In total, the situation is such that apparently even a sector of the local ruling circles seems to feel that some modifications, some token nods to progress, are necessary. This was evident when Mayor Louie Welch was challenged in his reelection bid by Fred Hofheinz, a young member of one of Houston's most powerful families. The Astrodome is but one of the Hofheinz family holdings.

In the elections, Hofheinz came on as a liberal in the image of New York Mayor Lindsay, although his politics could be classified as liberal only by

traditional Houston standards. But his campaign did suggest that at least some of the people who run the city are becoming aware that they are sitting on a rather large tinderbox.

In this setting, the announcement of the Socialist Workers Party ticket was regarded as news in Houston and treated that way by the media.

The SWP nomination of Debby Leonard for mayor constituted two "firsts"—the first time a woman ran for mayor of Houston and the first time a socialist ran.

Her running mates were Jeannette Tracy, Paul McKnight and Mareen Jasin for City Council, and Manuel "Tank" Barrera for School Board.

### Fight election laws, Klan

The campaign was launched in mid-February 1971 and opened with a legal challenge, backed by the American Civil Liberties Union, to the \$1,250 filing fee required of mayoral nominees and \$500 of candidates for other offices. Also challenged were a required five-year residency and ownership of real estate for two years prior to the election. A further challenge was made against the "loyalty" oath proviso.

The residency requirement was reduced to one year by the state legislature shortly afterward. Subsequent federal court victories eliminated the other requirements. This put the SWP on the ballot, as well as several independent nominees who would not have otherwise qualified.

Announcement of the slated court challenges, plus the public activities of the candidates, drew media publicity and the attention of the Klan as well.

In the early morning hours of March 12, a month after the campaign began, a pipe bomb was hurled through the window of the SWP cam-



Photo by Howard Petrick

Debby Leonard was the first woman and the first socialist ever to run for Houston mayor.

# Houston election campaign puts socialists on the map in Texas

# Houston Klan inputs on Klan

campaign headquarters, caving in the ceiling and blowing out the windows and door. Damage totaled about \$3,000.

The bombing was one of about 18 acts of right-wing violence that had occurred in Houston over an 18-month period. In a number of cases, publicly identified Klansmen were clearly linked to the attacks but there had not been a single prosecution.

While previous victims demonstrated a resolute determination not to be driven out by these attacks, they seemed to feel it was impossible to compel the authorities to do anything about it.

The SWP took a different view, even though their initial experience seemed to confirm the pessimistic view of others. The initial police response to the attack on the SWP headquarters was to suggest to the media that it was a self-attack to secure campaign publicity. They went so far as to propose that Debby Leonard take a lie-detector test.

When this ploy failed to gain any public credence, local officials joined with Treasury agents, now on the scene, in suggesting that for some unknown reason "Black militants" had committed the bombing. This was finally dropped in the face of vigorous SWP protest.

Immediately after the bomb attack, the SWP campaigners had proposed to previous Klan victims and to other concerned citizens that a committee be established with the aim of compelling the authorities to stop looking the other way while the Klan carried on its terror campaign.

There was agreement to do so, and the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston was established.

Then, two months later, on May 14, came a second Klan attack on the SWP campaign headquarters. This

time, at 4 a.m., night riders fired some two dozen machine-gun bullets through the front window.

This attack resulted in the cancellation of insurance on the hall, giving the landlord a legal excuse for evicting the SWP. It was several months before a new headquarters was obtained.

Meanwhile, the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights pressed vigorously for action and began to evoke an encouraging public response. A number of prominent figures issued public statements condemning the attacks. An editorial in the principal daily, the *Houston Chronicle*, deplored the right-wing violence.

As a result of the committee's persistent efforts, the national media began to focus on the issue. *Newsweek* did a major piece on the role of the Klan in Houston politics. The *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, UPI, AP and several European publications picked up on the issue. The "image" of the nation's fastest-growing city clearly was not faring well.

Then a change began to occur. The U.S. Treasury probers started to seriously check out the Klan.

Two Klansmen were convicted by the federal government of conspiring to bomb the Pacific stations in California.

Then, two days after federal agents advised Leonard of a pending Klan attack on her home and offered to intercept and arrest the attackers, the city of Houston decided it was time to act. Several Klansmen were indicted on charges of participating in the attacks on the SWP and others. Frank Converse, grand dragon of the United Klans of America and the city's leading Klansman, was indicted for illegal possession of weapons.

## Deep impact

All of this had a deep impact on the city. With the indictments, the Klan attacks were suspended. Individuals and groupings previously reluctant to express dissident views began to comprehend that it was possible to effectively challenge the forces of reaction in the city. The SWP was seen as having played a central role in this and its election campaign gained further momentum.

One of the results of the SWP's militant response to the Klan attacks was substantial added publicity, both in terms of news coverage in the press as well as radio and TV appearances. Invitations to speak at schools and elsewhere began coming in unsolicited.

A high point of this process came when a TV station arranged a televised confrontation between Leonard and Grand Dragon Converse. The debate evoked such public interest that a second one was arranged, with the station allocating several thousand dollars to publicize it. In both debates with Leonard, Converse clearly emerged second best.

While the Klan attacks provided the basis for the initial SWP breakthrough in the campaign, the party candidates continued to hammer at other issues as well. These included such things as the need to end the war to obtain funds for necessary city projects; the need for community control by the Black and Chicano peoples; the problems of Houston's working people; the needs of the women of Houston; and the demands of high school students for their elementary rights.

The issue of police brutality was emphasized by the SWP nominees and their demand for the firing of Police Chief Short became a controversial issue in the campaign, with Mayor Welch going all out in support of his appointee while his liberal opponent, Hofheinz, tried to duck the issue.

Speaking invitations for Leonard and the other SWP nominees increased even further. Leonard spoke at most of the city's high schools and apparently was the first socialist candidate ever to be heard in the local schools.

She was interviewed by 15 high school papers and spoke on virtually all of the area college campuses.

The high school engagements were given added interest in that those who extended the invitations felt the need to "balance" them, giving Leonard the opportunity to debate a number of right wingers before the students. At one large meeting, she debated the national chairman of Young Americans for Freedom.

Throughout the campaign, Leonard appeared on TV and radio several times a week and, in the closing period of the campaign, several times a day. Speaking engagements increased from several a week to up to five a day. There was almost daily newspaper coverage.

Throughout the campaign, Leonard and her running mates addressed themselves to the "lesser evil" argument, which clearly was an influential one in this particular election. Mayor Welch ran a right-wing "law and order" campaign buttressed by red-baiting attacks on the SWP and his liberal opponent Hofheinz. Those who were disgusted by this—including many who regarded themselves as sympathetic to the SWP campaign—were persuaded to vote for Hofheinz as a means of getting rid of Welch.

The extent to which this "lesser evil" approach prevailed was indicated by the vote returns in the Nov. 20 election. In the race for City Council, where there was no "conservative-liberal" choice, the SWP candidates won votes ranging from 7,000 to 10,500. But in the mayoral race, Leonard obtained 3,245 votes (1.5 percent of the total). The difference between her vote and that of the SWP City Council candidates is one indicator of the extent of "lesser evil" voting for mayor.

In the original election, Welch came in first but failed to get a majority. In a Dec. 7 runoff with Hofheinz, he won reelection by 12,000 votes.

While the SWP mayoral vote was modest, the gains made in the campaign were significant.

The blows dealt the Klan and their protectors immediately eased the pressure on all sectors of the population. Blacks, Chicanos and others are in a far better position to press their demands.

Despite the Klan, and despite the administration's red-baiting attacks, socialism is now accepted as a legitimate and significant factor in Houston politics.

Both the SWP and YSA won new supporters as a result of the campaign. A number have already joined the YSA and some have applied for membership in the SWP.

The Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley gained a whole number of active supporters from the campaign.

The SWP in Houston and Austin are now launching a statewide election campaign and they enter the race significantly stronger than they did the 1971 elections. A number of people who first heard about the SWP during the local contest in Houston are already actively supporting the SWP gubernatorial ticket. The media, from the outset, is giving serious coverage to the new campaign, and Debby Leonard has already had several TV and radio engagements as candidate for governor.

During the mayoral campaign, I was riding in a car with Debby Leonard. As we stopped for a red light, a *Space City!* salesman stepped from the curb to offer us a copy of the paper. When he approached the car, he recognized Leonard. He greeted her warmly and explained that while he related to the counterculture rather than to socialist politics, she had his support.

I think that even though contradictory his response was a small reflection of a developing consciousness in Houston that the SWP campaign contributed significantly to advancing.

# 'A real threat'

As part of his campaign to bring out a maximum right-wing vote, incumbent Louie Welch engaged in a virulent red-baiting campaign aimed at smearing both the SWP ticket and his liberal opponent, Fred Hofheinz. One part of the red-baiting was a series of radio commercials from which the following is excerpted. The references to a candidate who would "fight for Russia" against the U.S. is a falsified version of a reply to such a question by SWP nominee Paul McKnight. McKnight said in essence that he would not give *political support* to the present capitalist government, without regard to what country or people it was fighting.

*Radio voice:* "Boy, I'm boiling mad that the courts have ruled that candidates for city office don't have to own property or even pay a filing fee. But on top of that, some candidates won't even take an oath to uphold the Constitution as required by law. . . . It even goes farther than that. At least one candidate says he'd bear arms for Russia if Russia and the U.S. ever got into a war. Well, if these developments don't point up the need for maintaining a top-flight police department, I don't know what it would take. . . ."

*Radio voice:* I believe Mayor Welch is absolutely right in asking that a law suit be brought requiring that candidates take the oath of loyalty required by the Houston city charter.

"It's bad enough for the city to be forced to appeal the decision that does away with the property ownership requirement and the filing fee requirement. But when candidates in our city say they won't bear arms for the United States, it's an appalling situation. . . ."

"I think the actions of some of these far-out candidates make it vital to have a strong police department. I think the present situation underscores that we should elect Louie Welch as mayor. . . ."

*First voice:* "I thought I'd never see the day."

*Second voice:* "What day?"

*First voice:* "The day when they have candidates for office who, by gosh, just aren't on our side."

*Second voice:* "Wha'd ya mean?"

*First voice:* "Just that! They got folks on the ballot here in Houston who say in advance that they won't take a loyalty oath if they're elected. One of them is even more specific. He says that if there were war between the United States and Russia, he'd fight for the reds."

*Second voice:* "Oh, you're talking about that woman and those guys who call themselves socialists. Well, I don't know how much of a threat they are. I'm more worried about Freddie, who beats around the bush when you ask him if he's going to keep Police Chief Short on the job."

*First voice:* "Seems to me there's a real threat whichever way you look at it. Whether you're a Marxist, or soft on law enforcement, it adds up to trouble. There's no security for the citizens if you turn

Continued on page 22

# '72 Socialist Campaign

The impact that the Jenness-Pulley campaign is having on American politics is indicated by a Dec. 4 column by Boston Globe staff writer David Deitch entitled "Two-Party System Breaking Up?"

Deitch writes, "We have today a situation in which different sectors of the society have already left the Democratic coalition, such as the Chicanos, or are still vying for power within the party, such as blacks, women, youth and organized labor. . . ."

"In this context, the political campaign of Linda Jenness, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, takes on relevance that it didn't have four years ago when the economic crisis was less apparent, when the women's movement was barely visible, when the youth vote didn't exist, when the Chicanos still thought that Humphrey could do it for them. . . ."

Deitch quotes Jenness as saying, "People can no longer be blind to the fact that the Democratic Party is controlled from the top by big business, big bankers and millionaires. There is no way for ordinary people who vote to get in there and reform it. This learning process won't take forever."

Wherever Democratic presidential hopeful Senator George McGovern goes, he runs into Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley.

On Nov. 30, over 2,000 Southern Illinois University students heard McGovern speak in Carbondale, Ill. During the question and answer period, YSJers and others questioned the liberal Democrat on the wage freeze, women's liberation, the oppression of Blacks and Native Americans, and his refusal to debate Linda Jenness.

The Dec. 1 Daily Egyptian, the SIU student newspaper, reports:

"One student challenged McGovern to explain why he had refused to debate Linda Jenness, 30-year-old presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

"McGovern said he was unaware he had been challenged to debate Ms. Jenness. 'If she is the nominee of the Socialist party (sic—S. B.), she should wait until the other parties have made their nominations before she challenges other candidates to debate,' McGovern said.

"McGovern added that he is not interested in wasting his time debating candidates not qualified to be president under the Constitution, which set 35 as the minimum age for president."

A woman who attended McGovern's SIU meeting wrote the following letter to the SWP national campaign office shortly afterward:

"Today I was introduced to the SWP at a public appearance of George McGovern. This may sound strange, but literature was being handed out concerning the SWP. After reading the literature and hearing McGovern speak, I have become quite interested in learning more about the SWP. I have no bread to donate to the SWP at this time, but I would appreciate you sending me any/all information about the party."

Twenty persons from seven states endorsed the Jenness-Pulley ticket and many others signed up for more information on the SWP campaign at the Dec. 3-5 national antiwar conference in Cleveland, Ohio.

The YSJP table did a brisk business, especially after Linda Jenness took the floor at the Sunday plenary session. She voiced her support for the proposal calling for mass demonstrations in New York and California on April 22 around the slogan of immediate withdrawal.

The first issue of the monthly Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley Newsletter, a regular campaign handbook for active supporters of the Jenness-Pulley ticket, is off the press. To get a free copy (one cent each on bulk orders), write to: YSJP Newsletter, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

"Linda Jenness for President" T-shirts, embossed with a women's liberation symbol, are now available in red, green, gold, aqua and pale blue from the SWP '72 Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10003. The shirts are \$3 each, plus 50c postage and handling.

L. S. Nelson, warden at the California state prison at San Quentin, in a letter to the San Francisco Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, had a terse response to a written request that SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrew Pulley be allowed to visit the prison:

"Since San Quentin inmates do not vote during incarceration, it seems pointless to permit Mr. Pulley to visit. It would appear his time would be better spent in other hustings. Your request is not approved."

Upon hearing that his request to visit the prisoners had been denied, Pulley reaffirmed the SWP campaign's support for the struggles of prisoners, "Unlike the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties, our campaign does not choose to ignore prisoners for 'other hustings.' I am campaigning for the democratic rights of prisoners, including their right to vote, and I intend to continue my efforts to speak to prisoners in every state of the union."

Barbara Winkler writes in the Dec. 2 issue of the Barnard Bulletin (student paper at Barnard College, a women's college affiliated with Columbia University):

"I first heard Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, speak at the Nov. 20th . . . march in Washington, D. C. . . . I was highly impressed with this straight-talking feminist. (She is a bona fide feminist, not merely a candidate trying to cash in on the women's issue.) . . . I made a point of attending her appearance at Columbia University on Nov. 22. Once again I found her presentation thoughtful and forceful. . . . I believe (she) should be taken very seriously as a presidential hopeful."

—STEVE BEREN

## YSJP confronts Bella Abzug

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Representative Bella Abzug (D-N. Y.) was confronted by John Hawkins, national coordinator of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, at an American University meeting Dec. 12 where Abzug was speaking. Before the 200 persons present, Hawkins introduced himself and questioned Abzug from the floor microphone. Outlining some of the basic planks in the Socialist Workers Party platform and stating that he agreed with many of Abzug's criticisms of our present system, Hawkins proceeded to ask her why she belongs to one of the two parties that are responsible for and help perpetuate that same system.

Abzug replied that she wanted to give the Democratic Party one more chance, and urged the youth in attendance to be conscious of the fact that they have "one foot in the door."

Literature from the SWP Campaign table quickly disappeared as those present eagerly accepted brochures to find out more about the SWP 1972 campaign. Several signed up to endorse the Jenness-Pulley ticket.

When Hawkins offered Abzug SWP campaign material, Abzug stated she was already familiar with the SWP campaign, as Jenness-Pulley supporters around the country had been present at her various campus meetings.

While in Washington, D. C., Hawkins also addressed several classes of predominantly Black students at Howard University and spoke at Woodrow Wilson High School. He also spoke before 75 people at the opening session of the Washington, D. C., Socialist Educational Conference.

## Petition campaign goes well in Fla.

TAMPA, Fla., Dec. 13—In the first week of the drive to put the Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential ticket on the Florida ballot, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley have collected 18,445 signatures of registered voters. This figure is more than half the 27,000 required by Florida law.

Buoyed by sunny days with temperatures in the 80s and the excellent response they have received from voters, campaign supporters predict they will obtain the rest of the necessary signatures this week.

In the first week petitioners collected over 6,500 signatures from University of Florida students in Gainesville, 2,000 in Tallahassee, 1,600 in Miami, 3,500 in Jacksonville, and 5,000 in Tampa.

"We've run into some Muskie, McCarthy and Chisholm supporters, and usually they admit our program is better than anyone else's," one petitioner reported.

The youthfulness of the SWP candidates is an asset, petitioners agreed. A substantial number of retired people, who make up a large percentage of Florida's year-round population, are delighted by the idea of young candidates running for office. On that basis, they are happy to sign the

nominating petitions to help get Jenness and Pulley on the ballot.

The program of the candidates is the reason most people are eager to sign. Each petitioner has a sheet outlining the principal planks of the SWP platform. Bringing the GIs home from Indochina now and ending the wage controls are the sections that invariably evoke favorable comment. One former labor organizer was so happy to see a meaningful political alternative that he insisted on taking six petitioners from Tampa's downtown area out to lunch.

Not since 1948 has a socialist candidate achieved ballot status in Florida. Along with many other states at that time, Florida revised its election laws, making it virtually impossible for any third-party candidate to comply. By increasing the necessary number of signatures and requiring that they be collected in every county in the state, the Florida legislature effectively left the ballot to the Democrats and Republicans. Only after similar distribution requirements were invalidated by SWP and New Party challenges in several other states, did the Florida legislature eliminate their distribution requirement.

Petitioners are currently shooting for a safe margin by obtaining 45,000 signatures by Dec. 24. The results of the drive will be announced at the national campaign rally Dec. 30, which will be held as part of the young socialist national convention in Houston.

## Campaign endorser drive picks up

By LAURA MILLER

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party 1972 campaign have collected hundreds of new campaign endorsers in the past week toward the goal of 5,000 before the Dec. 28-Jan. 1 young socialist national convention in Houston.

The Texas Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley obtained the most endorsers this week with 120, which brings their total to 164. They now stand in second place to California campaign supporters, who have collected 224, while Massachusetts supporters are running a close third with 163.

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley in many areas are recruiting campaign supporters through special endorser drive activities. For example, YSJers in Los Angeles are planning to send campaign teams to solicit endorsers and publicize the YSA convention at Los Angeles International Airport as youth-fare travelers head home for Christmas. New York YSJers are setting up campaign tables, seeking endorsements, and selling *Militants* at the large Port Authority bus terminal in Manhattan.

Many areas are sending YSJP teams to campus dormitories in the remaining days before the Christmas break. YSJP activists on these teams not only are talking to thousands of college students about the campaign but are also using the opportunity to distribute massive quantities of campaign literature.

A number of campaign committees have organized successful "blitz" teams to campuses throughout their regions. The impact such expeditions are having is demonstrated by the large numbers of students from these campuses who are writing to the national campaign committee to endorse the SWP ticket and request more information.

After meeting a member of one of these teams, a student in Warrensburg,

Md., wrote:

"Today, while sitting in our college union, a sister came up and asked if she could rap to me for awhile. She was a member of your party. We talked for a long while, and reading her leaflets and listening to her logic, I've decided to write you. I would like to join your campaign. . . .

"I am sure there are many people here at school who feel the same as I do. Unfortunately, not all of them will meet this sister. I would like to carry out her job since she is only here for one day. . . . I feel confident that yours and now mine is not a futile struggle. We can win but we must have support."

Aside from the college students who have endorsed the campaign, support has come from women, working people, Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican youths, professors, GIs, and other sectors of the population. Many YSJP chapters are planning to devote special attention to obtaining endorsers in the high schools.

All campaign endorsers are invited to participate in the endorser drive. For a free packet of endorser cards and other campaign materials, contact: Socialist Workers 1972 Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-4150.

## Jenness meetings big in New England

By GEORGE BASLEY

BOSTON, Dec. 12—The New England tour of SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness climaxed 12 weeks of active campaigning in cities throughout the Midwest and East Coast. At the end of her second week in New England she had traveled over 1,000 miles and spoken to more than 2,000 students.

One of the most successful meetings took place Dec. 9 at the University of Rhode Island, where 300 students heard Jenness talk about the need for youth to break with the concept that supporting Democratic Party candidates is the lesser of two evils. Jenness told the students, "Supporting a Democratic Party peace candidate would be like supporting a pro-slavery liberal in the 1850s. I'm sure you would have voted for the abolitionists before the Civil War, even when their votes were few. I urge you to vote for the SWP in 1972." After the meeting, over 75 students signed up to endorse the SWP campaign.

At the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, Jenness spoke to an enthusiastic crowd of 225. She also spoke to large audiences at Brown University in Providence, R. I., Northern Essex Community College in Haverhill, Mass., and Clark University in Worcester, Mass. Jenness' Massachusetts campus tour also included Mount Holyoke in South Hadley and College of the Holy Cross in Worcester. More than 150 endorsers were obtained during this week of New England campaigning.

Press coverage of the Jenness tour was extensive, including two columns in the Boston *Globe* and articles in at least a dozen regional newspapers. An Associated Press wire dispatch from Jenness' Boston press conference appeared in newspapers as far away as Austin, Texas; Halifax, Nova Scotia; and Miami, Fla. A United Press International dispatch was carried in such papers as the Bangor, Maine, *News*, the Portland, Maine, *Press-Herald* and the Worcester, Mass., *Telegram*.

Another highlight of Jenness' tour was her meeting Dec. 10 with 30 pris-

**BOSTON**—On Dec. 10 the Socialist Workers Party announced that its candidates for the 1972 elections in Massachusetts are: Don Gurewitz, U.S. Senate; Jeanne Lafferty, U.S. Congress (9th C.D.); John E. Powers Jr., U.S. Congress (18th C.D.). Gurewitz is a former national executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee and one of the five founding coordinators of the National Peace Action Coalition. Lafferty, who ran this fall for City Council in Cambridge and is a founder of Boston Female Liberation, is running for the seat now held by right-wing Democrat Louise Day Hicks. Powers was the SWP candidate for mayor of Boston in 1971.

oners at Massachusetts Correctional Institute at Norfolk, Mass.

A two-and-a-half hour session took place, with discussion centering around the current radicalization and the plight of prisoners under capitalist society. Many of the inmates at Norfolk subscribe to *The Militant*, and they offered their opinion of the paper.

Jenness' appearance at the Boston campaign kick-off rally of 120 on Dec. 10 was a successful wind-up to her New England tour. She was the keynote speaker, sharing the platform with John E. Powers Jr., Jeanne Lafferty and Don Gurewitz, the Massachusetts SWP candidates for U.S. Senate and House of Representatives.

**PHILADELPHIA**—Linda Jenness arrived here Dec. 11 for a short series of speaking engagements closing her 1971 fall tour.

Jenness was the featured speaker at the Philadelphia campaign banquet, where over \$750 was raised from the 75 persons present. She had a busy schedule of campus and high school meetings in the Pennsylvania-New Jersey region, including a tour of the Philadelphia Women's House of Correction and a formal meeting at the request of inmates at Pennsylvania's Graterford prison.

## Pulley visits jails on tour in Missouri

By RICHARD GORDON and HELEN SAVIO

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Dec. 13—Andrew Pulley, 1972 vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, who has been stumping the South and the West Coast during 12 weeks of active campaigning, concluded his fall tour this week in Kansas City and St. Louis.

While in Kansas City, Pulley made fact-finding visits to the Fort Leavenworth Disciplinary Barracks and the Jackson County jail. The original request by the Kansas City Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley for permission for Pulley to tour the jail

was denied in a letter from Sheriff W. Kenneth Carnes.

The letter stated, in part, "The news media has certainly documented what conditions are like in the jail, and it seems a bit repetitious to keep bringing groups of people into the jail, disrupting routine as they do, just to further emphasize that we have an antiquated facility which is understaffed." After an active publicity campaign including press releases to the local media, the request was reconsidered and Pulley won the right to tour the jail.

On Dec. 9, Pulley participated in a panel discussion, sponsored by the Citizens Lobby for Penal Reform, along with James Baker, member of the Missouri House of Representatives. The other member of the panel, Judge Timothy O'Leary, canceled out at the last moment when he saw the Jenness-Pulley campaign table, stating that the panel would become too political.

Pulley scored the entire penal system, relating his own prison experiences and his fact-finding tours of the various prisons he had visited during his campaign tour.

Pulley also spoke before audiences at the University of Missouri at Kansas City and at Penn Valley Community College, and held a news conference that was attended by the local news media.

In St. Louis, Pulley was the guest of honor at a buffet and cocktail reception Dec. 10 attended by members of the Progressive Black Workers Party, local feminists and antiwar activists, Black high school students, and members of the Free Angela Davis Committee.

On Dec. 12, Pulley was a guest at a fund-raising benefit in defense of a member of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee who was arrested for "disturbing the peace" when she entered a store to inquire if the lettuce being sold contained a union label. Pulley gave a short talk on her behalf.

He will be appearing at a Washington, D.C., news conference Dec. 21 along with Laura Miller, recently named national coordinator of the Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, to announce plans for the upcoming young socialist national convention to be held in Houston.

## Starsky suit demands right to teach

By KATHLEEN O'NAN

LOS ANGELES—Dr. Morris J. Starsky has asked the Superior Court here to order the chancellor of the state college system and the president of California State College at Dominguez Hills (CSDH) to allow him to carry out his duties as associate professor of philosophy and chairman of the philosophy department.

Starsky, a socialist activist currently on the staff of the Out Now antiwar coalition, accepted the position last August but was never allowed to perform his duties and was stricken from the payroll on the grounds that he had falsely answered a question on the appointment document.

CSDH President Leo Cain maintains that Starsky was discharged from his teaching post at Arizona State University (ASU) in 1970, and thus lied when he said he had never been discharged from previous employment.

In 1970, the Arizona Board of Regents unsuccessfully attempted to discharge Starsky from the ASU faculty, where he had been teaching for six years. In January of that year, Starsky canceled a class in order to speak at a mass student rally at the University of Arizona in Tucson. After a vicious red-baiting attack, the Regents ordered the president of the university to investigate Starsky for possible charges of misconduct.

The president appointed an ad hoc faculty committee, which met secretly. The committee reported there was insufficient evidence of misconduct to warrant initiating dismissal proceedings against Starsky. The Regents disregarded this report and ordered the president to begin such proceedings.

Starsky was supported by ASU faculty, students, and a broad defense committee. He won the right to a public hearing with sworn testimony.

The dismissal hearing, which lasted two months and was front-page news almost daily throughout the state, was conducted by the Faculty Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure. After hearing the "evidence" against Starsky, the committee unanimously recommended that he not be discharged. The president accepted this recommendation but on June 10, 1970, the Regents announced Starsky's contract would not be renewed. This decision is being challenged in federal court.

The suit in the Dominguez Hills case includes a petition for back salary from the start of the current academic year, plus \$50,000 in damages. The suit was filed Nov. 22 by attorney Ronald Merlino. A hearing is scheduled Jan. 6.

A defense committee is being formed to publicize this attack on the right of a socialist to teach, and to raise money for the defense effort. Protest letters should be sent to President Leo Cain, California State College at Dominguez Hills, Dominguez Hills, Calif. 90247. Funds for the defense campaign are urgently needed and should be sent to Starsky Defense, 1460 Ridge Way, Los Angeles, Calif. 90026.

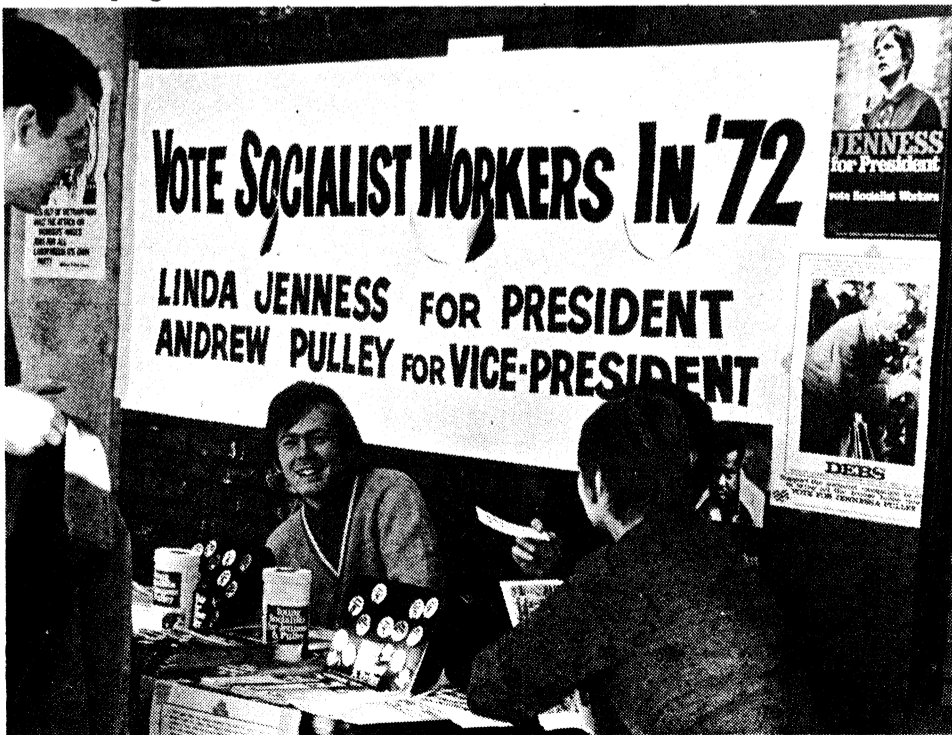


Photo by Ellen Lemisch

Campaign table at national antiwar conference Dec. 5



# Bureaucrats help govt. scalp workers

By FRANK LOVELL

Much of the steam has gone out of the high-pressure talk by the union bureaucrats about how "labor will not stand still and see our contracts abrogated, our work standards destroyed, our earnings drastically diminished, while all around us other sectors of the economy are doing business as usual."

They are, in fact, helping the government wage control machinery keep wage increases down, a process that has been aided by the additional pressure of rising unemployment. This squeeze upon the standard of living of the working class is recognized and accepted by the trade-union bureaucracy as a new fact of life, something they now say they must adjust to and learn to live with "for many years to come." They are advising union members to do the best they can under the new situation, but not to expect much before the 1972 general election.

Two recent union contract adjustments and one strike settlement illustrate the complacent attitude and policy of retreat characteristic of the union officialdom.

In Cincinnati, Ohio, the Carpenters union took a 50 percent cut in a wage increase due on Dec. 1 under terms of a contract negotiated in 1969.

In Dayton, Ohio, a local of the International Union of Electrical Workers agreed on Nov. 22 to waive a 3 percent increase in wages that was due, to forego another 3 percent raise next year, to cancel a 14 cent an hour cost-of-living raise due in December, and to eliminate the wage escalator clause from their contract.

In Washington, D. C., three major unions—the United Auto Workers, the United Steelworkers, and the International Association of Machinists—agreed Dec. 2 to settle a five-day strike against the Anaconda American Brass Company for about 20 cents an hour less than the pattern set last August in the basic steel settlement.

The circumstances in each of these cases were different but they all reflect the economic and political pressures the government is now bringing to bear on the workers.

In the case of the Carpenters union, Business Agent Joseph Wear, who is also president of the AFL-CIO Cincinnati Building and Construction Trades Council, announced that the union had decided to take a 5.5 percent raise instead of the 11 percent due on Dec. 1 under the terms of a three-year contract. According to Wear, the decision was intended to show that the carpenters union will abide by government wage controls. He admitted the action was "unprecedented," but said he had "handed the responsibility for success or

failure of the Phase Two program back to the federal government and Allied Construction Industries."

Wear emphasized, "We are not against the freeze. We say if it is done right, we're for it. Somehow the public has it in its mind that we unions are the bad cats and everybody else is good. We're going to reverse that even if we have to take another cut."

This is above and beyond the call of duty even for a Carpenters union business agent. The current wage scale for carpenters in Cincinnati before the raise was \$8.20 per hour. Millwrights got \$8.79. This is less than the union business agent gets,



and carpenters have no guaranteed annual wage. They get paid only when they work and produce. Their average annual earnings are less than \$10,000, with take-home pay actually closer to \$8,000.

The wage cut agreed to by the Electrical Workers union in Dayton was forced upon them by the General Motors Corporation, which threatened to close its Frigidaire plant in that city.

Last summer GM laid off more than 3,000 of the 5,000 workers in the plant. Their contract was based on the standard contract in the auto

industry, which is estimated to be as much as \$2 per hour higher than the base wage in electrical and appliance manufacturing.

In exchange for accepting lower wages, the workers were promised that some of those who had been laid off would be rehired. It was agreed, however, that those rehired would come back at 25 cents below the current starting rate of \$4.34 per hour.

The agreement was negotiated in Detroit between officials of the AFL-CIO International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) and representatives of GM.

The retail sales volume of GM's Frigidaire division is estimated at between \$700- and \$800-million annually. Although GM claims to be losing money on this operation, the IUE has never demanded to see the books. In any event, the workers in Dayton should not be expected to subsidize General Motors. Some of those workers have registered a protest, others are expected to.

The workers in the brass mills of Anaconda American Brass Company got a similar raw deal. This is a subsidiary of Anaconda Copper, but the company claimed that brass mills are not a part of the copper industry and that therefore millworkers are not entitled to parity wages with primary copper workers.

The company also said it strongly supported government wage controls and would not agree to any wage increase beyond 5.5 percent.

Millworkers in Waterbury, Conn., disagreed and 2,900 of them walked out of five brass mills there Nov. 27. The average wage in these mills is about \$3 per hour. The strikers were asking for a 30 percent raise over three years, which would bring their wages to \$4 an hour in 1974—barely a living wage today.

Officials of the Auto union, the Steelworkers and the Machinists agreed to Anaconda's offer, which gives the 4,500 workers in brass mills only a 75-cent increase over three years. Announcement of the settlement was made by J. Curtis Counts, director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

These examples illustrate the inability and unwillingness of the union officialdom to organize or support any serious movement by the organized workers against the wage controls.

Such a movement must come from the union ranks, where demands to free the unions of all government controls and for the independent political struggle of the working class against unemployment and inflation are sure to get a sympathetic hearing from the new generation of young worker militants.

## The National Picket Line

A **DOUBLE VICTORY** has been won by the Gulf-coast Pulpwood Association for 2,500 Black and white woodcutters who were on strike in Mississippi for more than three months. They were striking against a 20 to 25 percent cut in their income imposed by the Masonite Corporation on Sept. 1.

What makes this strike so significant is the fact that this union is approximately half white and half Black. Vicious antistrike, racist news media and capitalist politicians did their best to divide the workers along racial lines, but their efforts were in vain.

The strike began Sept. 1 when 200 woodcutters in Laurel, Miss., struck Masonite after it instituted new weighing measures that had the effect of cutting their incomes by nearly a quarter. The original 200 strikers in Laurel soon grew to over 2,500 throughout the pine belt of Mississippi, all of whom are covered by the new agreement.

There are still 1,200 woodcutters boycotting 15 wood dealers who have refused to pass on the raises (about \$2 a load) given by the big mills and Masonite.

In the settlement, Masonite and the other paper mills have agreed to measure wood by the cord weight of 5,400 pounds, or, if the men choose, by a unit weighing 7,100 pounds.

The strike begun by the Masonite workers has done more than just raise their own wages back to what they were before the company arbitrarily changed its load payment fee. It has also raised other woodcutters' earnings up to the same level as those who work for the Masonite hardboard plant in Laurel.

James Simmons, president of the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, stressed, however, that although the strike is over for most of the workers, hard

times still face the victorious strikers, as well as the 1,200 woodcutters who are still out.

A three-month strike among these low-paid workers is a hardship not easily overcome. The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), which has backed the strike with physical as well as financial aid, and helped these workers organize in the first place, says financial contributions are still needed.

Many unions, as well as some ambitious capitalist politicians (like Senators Muskie, Kennedy and McGovern) have given token support to the strike. Mayor Charles Evers of Fayette, Miss., the Delta Ministry, the Selma Project, the NAACP and SCEF have all sent money, food and clothing. The Appalachian Relief Committee sent loads of clothing and shoes.

Our readers can help too by getting resolutions passed in their own local unions for financial support. Contributions can be sent to the Gulf-coast Pulpwood Association, P. O. Box 754, Laurel, Miss. 39440.

**THE NEW YORK UNIFORMED FIREFIGHTERS ASSOCIATION**, after almost a full year since the expiration of their last contract, have at last arrived at an agreement with the city. The firemen have been carrying out a very effective job action for the past several weeks—reporting sick after each fire where they suffered any smoke inhalation.

The new agreement, not yet ratified, gives the firefighters an annual increase of \$2,150 in three stages over the next 30 months. In addition, it includes a pay differential of 10 percent for night work, retroactive to last Jan. 1.

The agreement, however, does not even go into the question of pensions or retirement ages. That

question is still before a state-appointed commission Governor Rockefeller has just named, although it was authorized in early 1971 after the state legislature vetoed a pension clause negotiated by District 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

**THERE IS MORE THAN A BIT OF IRONY** in a news announcement that the Price Commission is granting hospitals the right to increase their prices by 5 percent—double the 2.5 percent "rigid" limits the commission originally set on requests by business to increase prices.

Over the last 10 years hospital rates have been the fastest rising component in the cost of living, nearly trebling in the 1960s and going up another 15 percent last year. The American Hospital Association and the American Medical Association say higher wages are the reason for increased hospital costs. Seventy percent of hospital income, they say, goes for wages. In fact, however, this industry has been hard hit by the imposition of the government's minimum wage of \$1.60 per hour! And some of the maids, orderlies, attendants and nurse's aides actually earn as much as \$2 an hour.

The hospital spokesmen are probably right, however, about that 70 percent figure they base their claims on. But if their books were opened, you would see where most of that goes—to administrators, department heads, public relations directors and fund raisers.

Meanwhile, as expected, the Blue Shield and Blue Cross insurance companies, which number about 50 across the country, are asking for rate increases.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

# Why Mayday activist joined the Young Socialist Alliance



Photo by Dave Wulp

Carol Henderson Evans at Boston Nov. 6 antiwar demonstration.

By CAROLINE LUND

BOSTON—Carol Henderson Evans was one of the original members of the Mayday Collective and a national coordinator of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. During the Nov. 6 antiwar action in Boston she headed the organization of the United Women's Contingent and is now a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

I was able to talk with Carol Evans here Dec. 11, only three days after she joined the YSA. Her explanation of the evolution of her political views—regarding strategy for the antiwar movement as well as on the need for a revolutionary socialist organization—is probably reflective of the evolution of many serious antiwar activists who have been thinking out the relationship between ending the war and changing society as a whole.

Like many people, Carol Henderson Evans was drawn into antiwar activity through the inspiration of seeing the Nov. 15, 1969, Moratorium demonstration in Washington, D. C.

She decided to get involved in the movement, and after working for a year with the National Student Association she helped form the Mayday Collective in December 1970. The Mayday group projected an antiwar campaign of mass civil disobedience in Washington in May 1971 to "stop the government" by tying up traffic.

What was so attractive to her about the Mayday perspective? "It was the strong commitment,"

she answered. "I liked the idea of tens of thousands of people converging on Washington to 'lay their bodies on the line.' I was convinced that somehow this would have a tremendous impact on ending the war.

"The feeling was that I—or a few thousand like me—could end the war through doing something dramatic enough to express our tremendous dedication. That if we were committed enough, the government couldn't possibly ignore us."

She laughed and continued: "When I look back, I'm amazed that I could have had this terribly idealistic view. But the situation at that time was that everybody had just come out of the May 1970 student strike with the feeling that we had done something really powerful. We had *made* them get out of Cambodia. And many people thought, maybe we can do it again with a really strong action in Washington. Maybe we can make them get out of Vietnam this time.

"Now it's become clear to me that there is a lot more to ending the war than just your personal commitment; you can't end the war by yourself."

## PCPJ coordinator

In early 1971, Evans was asked to become a national coordinator of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. She accepted the offer, partly because she was disturbed by the "yippie" influence and image that began to characterize Mayday. She remained, however, a member of the Mayday Collective.

Evans worked as staff coordinator for PCPJ during the period leading up to the April 24 action and then for the week of the Mayday actions. The PCPJ was organized around a series of demands—end the war, end racism, free political prisoners, and a \$6,500 guaranteed annual income for all Americans.

Her experiences in PCPJ led Evans to begin to question this perspective of building a multi-issue coalition and also the perspective of civil disobedience as a strategy to end the war. "The relationship between all these issues seemed obvious to me, and at first I thought that it must be obvious to everyone. I thought you couldn't really be against the war without being for the other demands also.

"But I realize now that I was beginning from the wrong premise. To the majority of Americans at this point in time, it's not clear, for instance, why everybody should get a guaranteed annual income. Most people are still immersed in the whole capitalist ideology that you have to go out and get a job and get ahead and make your mark in the world, otherwise you don't deserve to have economic security.

"But the majority of people in this country *are* against the war, even though many do not support the other issues. And the way to help people see the connection between the war, racism, sexism and repression is by mobilizing the tremendously powerful sentiment against the war. This is how the radicalization process starts.

"The problem with most of the people in Mayday and PCPJ," Evans continued, "is that they forget how they themselves became radical. They didn't wake up one day and suddenly realize that all the issues are interrelated and that we need a complete revolution. It's a *process*, and most of us started out like I did, simply wanting to stop the war."

Carol Evans pointed out another problem with trying to build a multi-issue coalition. "Unless you have totally unlimited resources, you end up spreading yourself too thin and not accomplishing anything on any of the issues.

"Rather than focusing on one demonstration, PCPJ completely scattered its energies. First we had to mobilize people for the April 5 march on Wall Street; then we had the sit-in in the A & P headquarters; then we mobilized for April 24; and finally we mobilized for Mayday.

"Everything was so disjointed. And then someone started complaining that we hadn't done anything on the issue of political prisoners!

"The multi-issue perspective," she summarized, "is basically just a liberal guilt perspective. It's tokenism, because PCPJ did not really deal with all the demands that it raised, and didn't deal with any of them effectively."

Carol Evans finally came to the conclusion that the perspective of the National Peace Action Coalition—organizing mass support for the single demand of immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia—was the correct one. She also decided that the type of multi-issue organization that was needed was a revolutionary-socialist organization like the YSA.

"Through the YSA I feel that even if I'm working mostly to build the antiwar movement at a particular time, I'm not just working to end the war. I'm also helping the women's liberation struggle, the Black liberation struggle, and all the other movements, in addition to building a movement against the capitalist system. And, unlike in PCPJ,

I feel that I'm accomplishing something.

"In the YSA you feel you are part of something that is very important and that is right. It's changed the entire course of my life."

## Mass power

One of the things Carol Henderson Evans liked most about the YSA was its perspective of achieving change through the power of the masses of American people. "Mayday supporters for the most part had no faith that the majority of Americans will ever move against the war. We saw Mayday not as a way to reach and involve the 'average American,' but as a way of disassociating ourselves from the masses of people.

"I think that much of what motivated people to get involved in Mayday is the whole concept of individualism that is pounded into us in very subtle ways from the time we are born. Capitalist society tells you, 'You're not like all the rest; you can be a little bit better than them; don't identify with the masses of people.'

"Mayday was something that you could do as an individual; it was not something you could do as part of a mass movement."

I asked Carol Evans what she and other Mayday activists felt about the results of Mayday. "The overwhelming majority of people that I talked to," she began, "became totally demoralized after the action. All we accomplished was to hold up traffic a little.

"And then there was the repression that came down—the 12,000 arrests, the arrests of Rennie Davis and John Froines. Then the case of Leslie Bacon. We knew she didn't have anything to do with blowing up the capitol or with the New York fire-bombing conspiracy, and yet they took her off to Seattle and she faced something like 70 years in prison. Then I and two others were called before the grand jury that was investigating the Mayday activities." [Carol Evans refused to testify at a grand jury hearing in Washington, D. C., and will soon be challenging the grand jury proceedings before the U. S. Supreme Court.]

"The people who had actually worked on Mayday were completely demoralized, and almost everybody disappeared."

Evans said that Mayday's whole emphasis on personal commitment and understanding rather than on politics determined its approach to other activities as well, such as legal defense of the people victimized during Mayday, and the women's liberation movement.

She said Mayday did hardly anything to help build support for the legal rights of those who were arrested in relation to Mayday. "Their whole approach to Leslie Bacon's case, for example, was: 'She was not guilty of bombing the capitol, but that's not the main issue. We think the capitol should have been bombed anyway, so we are all guilty.' The idea was that in order to be in 'the vanguard' you've got to be guilty in the eyes of the government.

"They didn't care that this approach made it next to impossible to win support from masses of people for your legal rights. They didn't see the importance of challenging the right of the government to attack the movement in this way."

This was another reason Carol Evans decided to join the YSA. She liked the YSA's policy of defending its members—of going on an offensive to mobilize as much support as possible against the government and in defense of democratic rights.

"This personal approach also affected the way Mayday looked at women's liberation," Evans continued. "The Mayday Collective women's meetings were consciousness-raising sessions, but of a very bad type. A lot of the women simply used them to get out their personal grievances against other women or men in the collective.

"It was all so much on a personal level, with the underlying assumption being that if I can deal with my own sexism, racism, aggression, etc., then everything is solved. We didn't discuss how to eliminate the oppression of women. This question was always dealt with the same way PCPJ does it—by tacking on a demand for women, or by pushing women into the leadership."

It was on the question of women's liberation that Carol Henderson Evans earlier this fall decided to become an endorser of the Socialist Workers Party presidential and vice-presidential candidates Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. "I saw this was the only presidential ticket that really aimed to do something about the oppression of women in a fundamental sense, whose program supported the women's movement, and not just on a token basis.

"Then," she continued, "I saw the SWP campaign poster with the statement by Eugene V. Debs. He said it was better to vote for what you want and not get it than to vote for what you don't want and get it. This suddenly made it so clear to me why I should support Linda Jenness. It put into words what I had been thinking all along and why I had never voted for anybody before this election, although I'm 26."

# Attica officials tortured inmates

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—To the dismay of New York State prison officials, a Dec. 1 appellate court ruling, charging prison authorities with having subjected the Attica inmates to "barbarous abuse and mistreatment," issued a preliminary injunction against "further physical abuse, tortures, beatings, or similar conduct" at Attica.

The suit requesting an injunction was originally filed in Buffalo in early October before federal Judge John T. Curtin. Judge Curtin refused to grant the injunction and the case was ap-

pealed to a three-judge federal panel. Walter R. Mansfield, one of the judges who heard the appeal, made the following remarks concerning the initial suit:



Attica prison courtyard

pealed to a three-judge federal panel. Walter R. Mansfield, one of the judges who heard the appeal, made the following remarks concerning the initial suit:

"... detailed evidence was furnished by plaintiffs [Attica inmates] to the effect that beginning immediately after the State's recapture of Attica on the morning of Sept. 13 and continuing at least until Sept. 16, guards, State Troopers and correctional personnel had engaged in cruel and inhuman abuse of numerous inmates. Injured prisoners, some on stretchers, were struck, prodded or beaten with sticks, belts, bats or other weapons. Others were forced to strip and run naked through gauntlets of guards armed with clubs, which they used to strike

the bodies of the inmates as they passed. Some were dragged on the ground, some marked with an 'X' on their backs, some spat upon or burned with matches, and others poked in the genitals or arms with sticks. According to the testimony of the inmates, bloody or wounded inmates were apparently not spared in this orgy of brutality.

"There was testimony that hand in hand with the physical violence upon the inmates went threats of death or further brutality. Correctional officers, addressing inmates as 'niggers' or 'coons,' threatened to 'get rid of them or shoot or kill them. In at least one instance, the testimony ran, a guard pointed a gun at an inmate's head, telling him that he was going to die, and started clicking the trigger, following which the inmate was kicked and beaten. On some nights a group of guards visited the cell area and threatened inmates with death, pointing guns or sticks into cells."

Mansfield goes on to state that despite acceptance of these allegations as fact by Judge Curtin, no injunction was issued. He concluded by di-

recting the judge to issue an injunction against such abuses, which would mean that guards or prison officials found guilty of brutality against the inmates would be held in contempt of court. To ensure that misconduct by the officials ceases, it is suggested that Curtin appoint federal monitors to serve at Attica.

This, however, is a weak point of the ruling. Given the complicity of the federal government in the Attica massacre, it is doubtful that federal monitors could offer any relief to the inmates. The three-judge panel, in effect, admitted the inadequacy of the three state-appointed monitors who have occupied Attica during the daytime since Oct. 5.

The only monitors capable of do-

ing justice to the job would be those selected from the communities from which the majority of inmates come—the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

The ruling also failed to grant the inmates' request for a halt to the interrogations at the prison by New York State Deputy Attorney General Robert Fischer and the criminal investigation unit he heads. The inmates demanded the presence of counsel when confronted by this unit, which, while claiming to be conducting an impartial investigation, has as members the very state police involved in the Attica massacre.

The Attica inmates acting as plaintiffs in this suit were Mariano Gonzales, Peter Butler, Herbert X. Blyden, Richard Clark, Roger Champen, William Jackson, and Ernest Holley. The accused were New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Commissioner of Corrections Russell Oswald, Attica Superintendent Vincent Mancusi, and Deputy Attorney General Fischer. The lawyers heading up the legal team for the inmates were William E. Hellerstein and Phylis S. Bamberger of the

Richard Clark, the Attica inmate selected as a witness, to speak. This decision was made on the very night Clark was to be taken from his cell to the Capitol.

Rangel called it "ridiculous to investigate a prison situation without talking to prisoners." This was the day after Mancusi, in response to questioning by Rangel, had asserted that the cause of the Attica rebellion lay not in deplorable conditions but in a purported "Communist conspiracy."

Representative Herman Badillo (D-N. Y.), a member of the observer committee during the rebellion, testified in Clark's place. He pointed to state inaction on the 28 demands of the inmates that had been agreed to by Oswald in the course of the rebellion.

Pepper said the committee would go to the New York area to hear from Clark.

# Suit seeks access to reading materials

By TYDIE MARTIN

LOS ANGELES—The Harriet Tubman Book Center and the National Lawyers Guild announced at a press conference Dec. 1 that they are filing a suit in federal court against the Los Angeles County Jail. The suit will demand free access to all reading materials, regardless of content or point of view, for the prisoners held in the jail.

At present, this basic constitutional right is denied to these pretrial prisoners, who are usually held for an indefinite period before trial because they are unable to raise money for bail. The prohibition of all newspapers, magazines, books and other literature except for those materials approved by the Sheriff's Department is political censorship of a dangerous nature.

Rella Brown of the Harriet Tubman Prisoners Movement, Darlene Dyer, an ex-prisoner, and Earl Tockman of the National Lawyers Guild all expressed the hope that the suit would call attention to the forgotten men and women in the nation's prisons and jails and publicize the inhuman and unjust conditions that exist there.

Legal Aid Society in New York.

In a telephone interview with *The Militant*, Hellerstein reported mailing 200 copies of the 27-page appellate court ruling to the Attica inmates.

Other developments on Attica include a three-day hearing by the U. S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Crime that began Nov. 29. The committee, chaired by Representative Claude Pepper (D-Fla.) and including Representative Charles Rangel (R-N. Y.) from Harlem, had visited Attica for one day back in September. The committee had planned to hear from Attica inmates as well as Attica prison officials during the hearing.

However, on advice from Oswald and Fischer, Pepper refused to allow

# Woman welder: 'Two paychecks not enough'

By CAROLINE LUND

"We don't live, we just exist," says Kathy Garay, a young working mother of five children who was interviewed in the Nov. 1 *UE News*, newspaper of the United Electrical Workers union.

Although Kathy Garay and her husband Luis both work, they bring home only about \$183 a week. In the interview, Kathy Garay explains how difficult it is for a family to get along in these days of inflation and wage controls—even with two pay checks coming in.

The Garays live in Bridgeport, Conn. Kathy works as a welder on the second shift in a Westinghouse plant, and Luis works a night shift at the Dictaphone plant.

"We can never take a trip or anything like that," Kathy explained. "We do something with the kids once a week. . . . Any one of my friends are just about the same. They visit my kids—cause where can you go?"

"Because we never go anywhere, I don't have to buy dresses. We buy pants and sports clothes. . . ." Clothes for the children are a larger expense, however. "I picked up four dresses the other day," Kathy recalled. "They cost \$40."

Then there are sales taxes. "There's supposed to be no tax on clothes for children under 12, but you have to fill out a form and sign it. If

you buy baby shoes, you have to sign that the baby is under 12. Sometimes you get so disgusted, you just pay the other few cents."

Concerning their diet, Kathy Garay says: "I can get 10 pounds of hot dogs at \$6.90 and 10 pounds of hamburger for \$7.80." Their menu doesn't vary much. "It's between that and chuck steak. They're about \$1.20, but not very big."

Kathy was laid off for a time last November. Then she had to take maternity leave in June and July of this year, so their income was cut in half. On top of that, the Garays still owe \$105 on the delivery bill. Westinghouse refused to cover the delivery costs through her insurance because the company claims the baby must have been conceived in November when Kathy Garay was laid off. Under Westinghouse rules, this made her ineligible for maternity benefits.

The daily schedule Kathy and Luis Garay are forced to maintain is hair-raising; but it is not atypical of the types of hardships working people face.

"My husband works nights, so he sleeps in the morning while I'm getting the kids off to school. I give the kids lunch and make a supper and put it in the oven. When I'm about to leave I wake him so he's up when the others come home

from school."

"I have to take a bus to work. I'm on the 3:30 shift and I leave about 2. He gives them supper and puts them to bed. After he gets them all in bed, he lays down and takes a nap again. I call him at 9:45 to make sure he's up to go to work.

"He leaves at 10:30, drops the car off at my shop and walks to Dictaphone a few blocks away, and he takes a bus home at 7 a.m.

"A baby sitter comes in at 10:30 and stays to 12:15 a.m. when I get home. The baby sitter costs us \$20 a week."

The Garay's life is a concrete illustration of how Nixon's so-called wage-price freeze has in no way benefitted workers. It underlines how the Vietnam war and the war-induced inflation have accentuated the problems of working people. And it demonstrates the need for low-cost, high-quality child-care centers, paid maternity leave for women workers, and a resolute fight by the trade-union movement to defend the standard of living of working people against Nixon's attempts to lower it.

Regarding the "wage-price freeze," Kathy Garay stated: "I think Nixon's nuts. It doesn't make sense. He only helps big business and makes the rich richer, and he suppresses the poor."

By JOHN HAWKINS

When Carl Stokes, the first Black mayor of a major U. S. city since Reconstruction, announced last April he would not seek a third term as mayor of Cleveland, he projected a national role for himself as a political lecturer, counselor and organizer. Such a role would enable him, he said, to show Blacks and "other locked-in minorities" how to gain political power within "the system."

In a Nov. 14 interview with the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, Stokes reaffirmed these plans. "I will be paying my dues to my own people in helping them on coalition politics," he stated. He will sustain his political activities, he said, through honorariums from campus speaking engagements.

How Stokes plans to relate his activities to those of other Black Democrats across the country was not spelled out in detail in the interview. But Stokes has attended most of the recent strategy meetings of Black elected officials and has participated in formulating what they are billing as "the Black political strategy" for the 1972 elections.

Stokes, like Representative John Conyers (D.-Mich.), was discussed at these meetings as a possible favorite-son presidential candidate in the Democratic Party primaries, and, like Conyers, he immediately squelched such discussion by declining to run.

While Stokes insists he has no "national Black ambitions" outside "serving his people," recent events indicate otherwise. A *New York Times* reporter interviewing Arnold Pinkney, a Black candidate for mayor of Cleveland in 1971, paraphrased Pinkney in the Oct. 31 *Times* as saying "that he expected Mr. Stokes to seek enough support to be the dominant influence in preparing the Democratic Party platform next year," and, one might assume, to veto any nominee not to his liking. Pinkney is Stokes' protege and was his hand-picked candidate for mayor.

In the debate last October over Patricia Harris' nomination for temporary credentials chairwoman of the Democratic Party convention, Stokes sided with supporters of Harris, including Senator Hubert Humphrey (D.-Minn.), against an opposition that included Representatives Shirley Chisholm (D.-N. Y.) and Ron Dellums (D.-Calif.), and Georgia state legislator Julian Bond.

Stokes was especially critical of Bond, who has been widely publicized as an architect of the "Black political strategy" for 1972, for trying to give direction to others while not being able to "take care of home." Bond's home town is Atlanta, a city more than 50 percent African-American but still governed by a white mayor and a majority white City Council.

In Stokes' opinion, he, unlike Bond, has "taken care of home" in Cleveland and thereby established proper credentials. But Stokes' activity in the recent mayoral campaign calls into question just how well he himself has met this standard and the wisdom of applying his methods to Cleveland or anywhere else.

During the race, Stokes displayed an understanding of two-party election maneuvering that any Democratic Party boss would envy. In the Sept. 28 Democratic primary Stokes placed 100,000 recorded telephone messages to Black voters, urging them to defeat his arch-enemy, Anthony Garofoli, by voting for the wealthy white real estate shark, James Carney.

He did this while supporting Pinkney, who ran as an independent, as his first choice for mayor. This maneuver was justified by the contention that Carney would be easier than Garofoli for Pinkney to defeat in the November election.

With 95 percent of the Black vote marshaled behind him, Carney easily won the Democratic primary. And Stokes won the praise of bourgeois political commentators around the country.

The *New York Times* and the syndi-

# Carl Stokes' dead-end strategy for Black voters in 1972



cated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak lauded Stokes as a political genius. Even the *Daily World*, a newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party, joined in the praise. In an issue before the primary, the *World* told its readers that Garofoli must be defeated "at all costs." And following the primary, the Oct. 7 *World* labeled Carney's victory "a remarkable display of political acumen" on Stokes' part.

But the victory these commentators sought to share with Stokes was cut short by the Nov. 2 election. Despite a whirlwind tour of the city during the last few days of the campaign by Rev. Jesse Jackson of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Chicago-based Operation Breadbasket, Representative Louis Stokes (D.-Ohio) and Carl Stokes himself, Pinkney lost the election by several thousand votes, with 20 percent of the Black voters again voting for Carney.

What this indicates is that many Black people, who have traditionally been voting Democratic since the "New Deal" of the 1930s, felt there was no real difference between Carney and Pinkney, and so proceeded to pull the lever for the jackass.

## Reinforces illusions

Black allegiance to the Democratic Party is deeply rooted, a fact Stokes helped bolster through his campaigns on the Democratic ticket in 1967 and 1969. He gave the party a shot in the arm at a time when ghetto rebellions and other developments were placing a strain on Black people's support to the Democratic Party. And thus, he has reinforced the illusions of Af-

rican-Americans that political power and representation can be won within the two-party system.

The same can be said of Pinkney. Although he ran as an independent with the backing of the 21st Congressional District Caucus, he let it be known on several occasions that his loyalties still remained with the Democratic Party.

At a panel discussion sponsored by the women's group of the Jewish Community Federation a week before the election, Pinkney described the 21st Congressional District Caucus as being not an independent all-Black formation, but a coalition of Blacks and liberal whites designed to reform the Democratic Party.

In general, Pinkney joined with the other capitalist candidates in mildly criticizing Stokes and the City Council for their bitter debates, while offering himself as a more personable fellow with better administrative abilities.

This goal of reforming the Democratic Party has made it impossible for Stokes and Pinkney to relate to the real needs of Black people and to the growing sentiment for Black control of the Black community. Neither Pinkney nor Stokes campaigned for, let alone organized around, bringing the troops home now from Vietnam, freedom for Angela Davis, supporting the demands raised by Black brothers and sisters behind prison walls, defense of the African revolution, taxing the steel companies and other big corporations in order to deal with Cleveland's fiscal crisis, and Black control of the police, school system and every other institution in

the Black community.

Their inability to discuss these issues only goes to demonstrate the utter bankruptcy of the political vehicle they are working in—the Democratic Party. This party is one of the political instruments through which the monopoly corporations and banks run the country. It is therefore responsible for the system that breeds war, racism, sexism and exploitation.

Within this party or its twin—the Republican Party—a Pinkney or a Stokes becomes little different from a Carney or a Ralph Perk (the white liberal Republican who won the mayoral race). Their role is the same: defending the property of the big corporations and trusts. The way Stokes "takes care of home" is captured in the fact that 70 percent of the housing in Cleveland's Black community has been judged substandard, only 20 of Cleveland's 180 schools passed health and safety inspections in 1970, and \$57-million—over 60 percent of the city's budget—is squandered on the police.

## Strategy for liberation

A strategy for breaking out of this dead end would involve mobilizing Black people in struggle to achieve control of every institution in the community. Out of such struggles Black GIs, students, inmates, workers and other sections of the Black community are already creating their own independent organizations. This activity must be extended to include the entire Black community in the form of an independent Black political party. Such a political party would bring Black performances in the electoral arena into line with the demands and actions going on in the schools, in the streets, at the job site, the barracks, and wherever else Black people are.

As it is now, Black Democrats like Stokes and Pinkney serve to perpetuate the notion that the electoral arena has to be isolated and sealed off from these other areas of activity. In their minds, one has to become "personable," "responsible," and "respectable," when running for office—a prescription that ensures the day-to-day problems of Black people will not become issues in their campaigns.

However, unlike the Black Democrats and the capitalist party they represent, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, 1972 presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, have no such handicap. Their campaign is not only geared to supporting the demands of the antiwar, women's liberation, Chicano liberation, and Black liberation movements, but to actually helping organize and build these movements for social change.

The SWP candidates are talking about a strategy of mass action in regard to the issues posed by the sentiment for Black control of the Black community, and about the need for an independent Black political party.

SWP campaign supporters, including many young African-Americans, will be asking Stokes a number of questions as he lectures from campus to campus. Why doesn't he support the formation of an independent Black political party? Why doesn't he support the struggle for Black control of the Black community? Why did he support the war in Vietnam in exchange for an endorsement of his 1967 mayoral campaign by then-President Lyndon Johnson and Vice-President Hubert Humphrey? Whatever happened to Ahmed Evans, a nationalist militant Stokes is responsible for putting on death row? Why did he call out the National Guard against striking Teamsters in the spring of 1970? Why did he defend New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller's actions against the rebelling inmates at Attica state prison?

These questions and more will enable critical-thinking students and youth to knife through a lot of rhetoric and get to the essence of the matter after a Stokes performance.

# In Review

## Theater

*El Hajj Malik: The Dramatic Life and Death of Malcolm X.* Written by N.R. Davidson Jr. Directed by Ernie McClintock. Performed by Afro-American Studio. At the Martinique Theater, New York.

*El Hajj Malik* is not the first play to deal with the life of Malcolm X. (The title "El Hajj Malik" was conferred on Malcolm after the trip he made to Mecca. It means "The Pilgrim Malcolm.") It is, however, the first to appear on an off-Broadway stage. This may seem to be a surprising tribute for a man who was—and still is—cursed and misunderstood by most of the bourgeois community and even by some would-be radicals. Yet it is really a reflection of the growing pressure from Black America that the life of Malcolm as well as other Black leaders, be treated seriously.

This play is about the life of a man who became the most dynamic fighter for Black liberation in the twentieth century. Brother Davidson has taken the material for the play largely from the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*, and to a lesser degree from *Malcolm X Speaks*, edited by George Breitman. The essence of certain sections of the autobiography is captured in the play. It is a fairly good portrayal of Malcolm's life, from his early childhood, through his imprisonment, to his entry into the struggle for Black liberation.

The opening scenes are very good and depict those events in young Malcolm Little's early life that had a profound influence upon him and became important factors in the development of his revolutionary outlook: the murder of his father by the Klan, the subsequent incarceration of his mother in a mental hospital, and his own confinement in a reform school. The fact that all three of these events occurred at the hands of whites helped to sharpen Malcolm's hatred of white society.

The play examines Malcolm's attraction to drugs and various forms of hustling and pimping while in Boston and Harlem. And while it does not deal specifically with

## El Hajj Malik



Malcolm X

Photo by LNS

his avoidance of the draft during World War II, it does present a humorous scene reflecting a common mood among Blacks during the Korean war. A brother recounts his unfortunate experience at the draft board: "Tell the man you got flat feet, he says, 'All right, you drive a jeep.' Tell the man you get all scared and full of fright, he says, 'All right, you fight at night.'"

The play then moves into Malcolm's arrest and jailing for burglary. The second act concentrates on Malcolm's conversion to the Nation of Islam while in jail; his popularization of the need for Black liberation after his release; his marriage to Betty Shabazz; and his break with Elijah Muhammad.

Unfortunately, only a short interlude is devoted to Malcolm's great gift as a political strategist and agitational speaker. Brother Davidson has the players quote various statements from his speeches before staged audiences. (At one time or another, the part of Malcolm is played by each member of the cast.)

Following a brief treatment of his assassination and its immediate consequences, all the members of the cast return to the stage to deliver tributes to Malcolm, which serves to indicate that the struggle must be carried on until the goals for which Malcolm fought are achieved.

Malcolm's autobiography, on which this play is largely based, was—unlike most autobiographies—meant to be a political statement. He did not want it to be a nostalgic memory of his childhood or a revealing story about his "sordid" past. He wanted it to be his statement on the meaning of life for Black people in white America. *El Hajj Malik* does not always manage to capture this intent, and as a result is only moderately successful.

It would be difficult for any single work to capture the full political significance of Malcolm's life. And, while *El Hajj Malik* falls short of this mark, it is nevertheless a serious attempt to examine the life of Malcolm X through the medium of the theater and should be seen for this reason.

—BAXTER SMITH

## Pamphlets

### May 1970: birth of the antiwar university

May 1970: Birth of the Antiwar University. Introduction by Frank Boehm. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1971. 62 pp. \$1.05.

This pamphlet is a collection of articles on the May 1970 student upsurge from *The Militant*, and the *Student Mobilizer*, organ of the Student Mobilization Committee. It documents the unfolding of the largest student strike in world history, which erupted in protest of Nixon's invasion of Cambodia on April 30, 1970, and which played a major role in forcing him to withdraw shortly afterward.

The articles span the entire scope of those events, and include an eyewitness account of the Kent State massacre, speeches by strike leaders, reports from "strike centrals" on campuses all over the country, as well as analytical articles that discuss strike strategy and the political significance of the May events for the current radicalization.

Fifteen hundred colleges—more than half the campuses in the nation—and countless high schools were struck during May. What was even more important, however, was that the strike went beyond a simple refusal to go to class. From shouts of "Shut it down!" students took up the slogan "Open it up!" and fought to convert the universities into centers for organizing broader social forces into the antiwar protest. Establishing these "antiwar universities" represented a qualitative leap in students' political consciousness.

One of the examples of how the antiwar university strategy worked in practice is described in an article in the May 10 *Militant*: "At the University of Illinois, negotiations with the university officials have resulted in the strikers gaining the use of telephone lines and printing facilities. City-wide Strike Central is now operated out of the student government headquarters.

"The audiovisual department has agreed to transmit this evening's strike steering committee meeting on closed-circuit TV throughout the campus.

"The art and architecture institute has voted unlimited use of facilities and is open 24 hours a day to produce the posters that are being put out all over Chicago—aimed at the Saturday march."

In his introduction, YSA National Chairman Frank Boehm points to the lessons absorbed by the student movement during May. He explains how the masses of students rejected both ultraleft "trashing" and a reformist turn to liberal Democrats in Congress in favor of a mass, independent action strategy, using the strike as a means of reaching out to the population as a whole.

The use of mass democratic decision-making meetings and representative, elected strike councils to conduct the strike represented another gain for the student movement

*May 1970* is much more than a historical compilation

of different experiences of the student strikers, however. The collected articles and the introduction also seek to analyze what the events in May revealed for the future of the radicalization.

An editorial in the May 22 *Militant* entitled "The On-Going Fight for Antiwar Universities" points out that the upsurge was not merely a temporary cataclysm in American history, but rather the expression of a deep-going sentiment that can explode in an even bigger way in the future. The U.S. ruling class did not fail to see this point either, as shown by a *New York Times* article by John Kifner quoted in the *Militant* editorial: "The peace movement, hundreds have been writing, was dead, outmaneuvered by such administrative programs as 'Vietnamization' and 'withdrawal.' But the movement is not a set of organizations that often engage in fierce doctrinal disputes or cannot pay their bills. By now it is something close to a generation that, in varying degrees of intensity, feels a revulsion toward the war and a bitterness and disillusionment toward the government."

Activists in the Student Mobilization Committee, the only national student antiwar organization, initiated strike actions on many campuses. But women's liberation groups, Black student organizations, and Chicano high school students also played leadership roles in some areas. The strike forced the first significant break of a layer of trade-union leaders from Meany's pro-war stance, resulting in the adoption of antiwar resolutions by some unions and a trade-union-organized antiwar demonstration in New York City of 25,000 on May 21.

While there was no single coordinated leadership of the strike on a national scale, the role of the Young Socialist Alliance comes through clearly in these articles. It was the YSA's "red university" strategy, developed prior to the May upsurge, that was concretely applied on the campus. Local Socialist Workers Party election campaigns in progress at that time also helped build the antiwar university struggle, and in places like Seattle, Cleveland and Los Angeles, SWP candidates were among the leaders of the strike.

The pamphlet shows how *The Militant* functioned at that time as a kind of national strike newspaper, giving extensive on-the-spot coverage to strike activities and explaining how the struggle could be advanced at each step.

*May 1970* is must reading for everyone who wishes to understand the powerful role the student movement can play in this radicalization and how the lessons of the upsurge in response to Cambodia, Kent, and Jackson State can be applied in the next major explosion on the campuses and in the high schools.

—CINDY JAQUITH

# On to Houston!

By LOUISE GOODMAN

In the last two weeks before the young socialist national convention, the final push is on to make it the biggest ever. Reports from around the country indicate that close to 2,000 young socialists are expected to gather in Houston Dec. 28-Jan. 1. In the past month, several hundred inquiries from people wanting to attend the convention have come into the Young Socialist Alliance national office. Packets of convention information have been sent to more than 1,000 endorsers of the Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign, and, in addition, a special letter has been sent to student governments on the major campuses.

Nearly one-half million pieces of convention-building material are being distributed and it is estimated that a record number of people will have heard about this year's convention.

A national news conference will be held Dec. 21 in Washington, D.C., followed by local news conferences around the country. The Houston convention center will be holding special news conferences focused around the different types of people who will be attending the convention, such as lead-

scheduled to give greetings and take part in the international panel are representatives from England, Sweden, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, India, Japan, and several Latin American countries. In light of the political situation that exists in India and Latin America, the participation of guests from these countries will be particularly important.

Special tours are being organized for many of the international guests after the convention.

The international aspect of this year's convention will also include representatives from the various foreign student groups on U.S. campuses.

## Registration

The first convention session starts Tuesday, Dec. 28, at 10 a.m. For those arriving Monday night or Tuesday morning, registration and housing arrangements can be made in the Texas State Hotel, 720 Fannin (at Rusk St.), in downtown Houston (beginning at 8 a.m. Monday).

## Transportation information

For those people driving to the convention: *from the north*, take Route

# New Left remnants form a new group

By RANDY FURST

DAVENPORT, Iowa—More than 300 people gathered here at the Blackhawk Hotel on Thanksgiving weekend to try to piece together some of the remnants of the New Left. They attempted to hammer out a program for the new group they've formed, the New American Movement (NAM).

Although the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was rarely mentioned in open session, central figures in NAM have admitted they hope their apparatus will be a competitor and alternative to the YSA.

The conference adopted several "priorities." It voted for an "anti-imperialist priority" and spoke of massive organizing activity against the war. No specific actions in the spring were voted on. It approved an "economic priority," conceded by most to be the central NAM objective.

Conference participants favored setting up "People's Councils" to oppose price increases and press for community control of community services, with the objective of "people's control of the economy."

The conference voted to organize struggles on the job against sex discrimination and in support of community-controlled day-care centers and workers control of industry. It also approved organizing for safer conditions on the job and "anti-corporate work."

What was to be done around these priorities, however, was left very vague.

The average age of the participants was at least 25. There was a large group over 30 and a sprinkling of radicals in their 40s.

Some five to 10 Blacks attended the sessions, as well as several Chicanos.

The conference elected a 12-member

National Interim Committee, consisting of Paula Giese, Patty Lee Parmelee, Roberta Lynch, Anne Laska, Jan Rubin, Jane Gallagher, Frank Speltz, Harry Boyt, Staughton Lynd, Fred Otleg, Pam Bearsley and James Weinstein.

A national convention to formally launch the New American Movement is scheduled for June.

The conference appeared to be split between advocates of mild centralization and those who opposed even that. For example, a motion that NAM chapters "must" spend some time on the NAM "priorities," was voted down in favor of the wording that NAM chapters "should" devote at least part of their time to these "priorities."

Participating in the conference were the Democratic mayor of Davenport (who gave the keynote address) and others who support capitalist politics. Also participating was a small group from the International Socialists.

The conference did not take any position on women's liberation, the rights of homosexuals, Black liberation, the Chicano struggle, or Palestinian self-determination.

It appears very unlikely that NAM will become an alternative to the YSA—the country's largest radical organization—at this juncture.

NAM consists of a hodgepodge of many different tendencies with diverse and conflicting views. While this may make for a viable discussion group, it will in general be too divided to initiate any serious actions.

NAM participants also seemed to be largely disinterested in campuses or high schools despite the fact that the current youth radicalization is centered there. Participants appeared more interested in discussing "community-organizing" ventures.



Last year's national YSA convention

Photo by Howard Petrick

ing women's liberation activists, Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, high school activists, student leaders and GIs. The convention center has also arranged weekly 20-minute radio shows until the convention on KPFT, a local listener-sponsored radio station, and two one-half hour shows on one of the two FM rock stations in Houston.

The convention is tightly scheduled and includes the following major reports: international, political, YSJP, antiwar, Chicano, Black struggle, women's liberation, high school movement, organization, finances, and the *Young Socialist Organizer*. In addition, there will be special events, such as the campaign rally Thursday night, Dec. 30, featuring the SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley.

There will be a special report on the drive to expand the revolutionary-socialist movement, which will be accompanied by color slides.

Also scheduled is a showing of a 15-minute film of Leon Trotsky speaking, which was made by a French producer doing a study of Trotsky's skill as an orator.

As it stands now, representatives from 16 countries are scheduled to attend the convention. Among those

59 South to the Capital Ave. exit, turn left on Fannin, take that to Rusk St. to the Texas State Hotel; *from the west*, take Route 10 East to Route 59 South to the Capital Ave. exit, turn left on Fannin, take that to Rusk St. to the Texas State Hotel; *from the northwest*, take Interstate 45 (Texas 75) Southeast, to the Milam Ave. exit, turn left on Rusk St., take that to Fannin to the Texas State Hotel.

Those arriving at the airport should take the limousine, which makes a stop in downtown Houston near the Texas State Hotel.

## Housing

Most housing will be at the Texas State Hotel, and the Continental Hotel (101 Main St.). Both are within walking distance of the Jones Music Hall, where the main sessions will be held, and all the panels and workshops will be held in these hotels.

Some other hotel accommodations at lower rates and a limited amount of free housing will be available. Those who need free housing should bring sleeping bags.

Exact housing arrangements can be made during registration. All hotel rooms must be paid for (with cash or traveler's checks only) when registering.

**Which way for youth in the '72 election?**  
**Discuss a real alternative at the Young Socialist National Convention**

Come to Houston! Dec. 28-Jan. 1, Civic Center Music Hall.  
 YSA, P. O. Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003/Convention Center, 6409 Lyons Ave., Houston, Texas 77020.

- Send me more information on the Young Socialist convention
- I'm coming—send me material to help build the convention.
- I want to join the YSA.
- Enclosed is \$1.50 for the six convention resolutions.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

# Calendar

BOSTON

**VOICES OF DISSENT:** "History of American Protest Music, Parts I and II." 8 p.m., Wed., Dec. 22 and 8 p.m., Wed., Dec. 29 on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Also on WBUR-FM, 90.9 at 8 p.m., Dec. 25 and Jan. 1.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

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

## ... Irish

Continued from page 9

**Q:** There has been some talk of introducing internment in the South. Do you see this as a possibility?

**A:** There has been some talk about it over the past year. Even before internment was introduced in the North there was grave danger of it being there's been such revulsion against it, such total opposition to it by all political groups, that everyone in the South is also against internment in the North. Therefore, the climate is very unsuitable for Mr. Lynch to introduce internment in the South.

No doubt he still has it in the back of his mind. He had two meetings with Mr. Heath since the introduction of internment in the North. He got no satisfaction whatsoever. In fact, it is obvious now—and the reports which we have had (some of which have been pretty high source) in regard to these talks with Mr. Heath indicate—that not alone did Mr. Lynch not make any headway in looking for concessions from Mr. Heath, but he got very definite instructions that he should take a much stronger line against republicans in the South. The results of Mr. Lynch's meeting with Mr. Heath have been that there's been reinforcement of troops and police from the South in patrolling the border to prevent republican activity—in other words, to collaborate with the British troops at the other side of the border.

A directive has also been sent to the state television authority in the South not to allow any program or any individual or organization on

their network who in any way incites, promotes or encourages violence as a means for the achievement of any end. It's a very broad directive. The first result of it was that a program of our annual conference, at which a current affairs team were present for two days, was never shown. We were informed by them that they had edited their program on the Monday for presentation on Tuesday, but on Tuesday night it was never shown. They were instructed not to show it by the television authority following the government's directive.

Also, a list of rebel songs has been sent to the television authority, which they are not allowed to sing. These are songs which I've heard on some radio stations here, which I've heard on the BBC, and which can be sung in the North of Ireland, but they cannot be sung in the South because the government there says they're calculated to promote violence.

## ...ruling

Continued from page 24

the defense [Hanrahan] could result in what would in effect be almost a trial of Sears before Romiti with members of the grand jury testifying." The ruling of the state supreme court is expected sometime this week.

Meanwhile, in a display of total and utter contempt for Chicago's Black community, the Cook County Democratic Party central committee, headed by Chicago Mayor Richard "Boss" Daley, endorsed Hanrahan's bid for the office of state's attorney in 1972.

The party's slate-making committee of 13 unanimously approved the bid Dec. 7 despite a last-ditch effort by Rev. Jesse Jackson to stave off the nomination.

In an unusual move, Daley, at Jackson's request, met with him while the committee was in session. Jackson also met with Representative Ralph Metcalfe (D-Ill.), a member of the Congressional Black Caucus on Capitol Hill, and Alderman Claude B. Holman, a Black veteran of Daley's machine. But to no avail. They pretended to listen intently to the "country preacher" but voted otherwise. Jackson was so taken in by these maneuvers that before the decision he strutted in front of television cameras

predicting Hanrahan would not be on the slate.

## ...war

Continued from page 4

mination for Bangla Desh.

Wariness of Indian control over Bangla Desh seems to be growing within the Bengali freedom forces. As one Bengali freedom fighter told the *Monitor*, "The ultimate objective is full Bengali Independence, not an Indian-controlled East Bengal. We don't want to exchange Pakistani domination for Indian."

## ...threat

Continued from page 13

the city over to the radicals. But these guys who come up with the sweet talk about the police being too tough are equally bad in my book."

*Second voice:* "You're right. With the weird batch of candidates on the city ballot this time, the only thing we can do is go to bat for Mayor Welch. . . ."

## ...youth

Continued from page 10

tivity for many years (the reasons for which deserve a separate article), tens of thousands of new students were drawn into action on other campuses.

There are several initial conclusions that can be drawn at this point about the state of the radicalization and of the student movement. First, as the continued development of the various social movements indicates (and as the Carnegie Commission report substantiates) the radicalization of the student population as a whole is more profound than ever—the campuses are political tinderboxes. Second, the radicalization process, as the ACE report confirms, is finding expression on the campuses through student actions and in fact is penetrating many new schools and involving more students in the struggles. In short, it is becoming a universal phenomenon. The combination of these two points means that the next nationwide student upsurge has the potential to be

far larger and even more powerful than the upsurge of May 1970.

## ...Bengal

Continued from page 5

Finally, in its Dec. 15 statement, the *Guardian* praises a statement, attributed to Peking, that the people of Pakistan "will certainly be able to solve their own problems."

They commend this statement without saying one word about Chinese military assistance to Yahya's murderous regime—assistance that has been used against the Bengali people. If this is what is meant by letting the Pakistanis "solve their own problems," we don't want to have anything to do with it. This kind of two-faced hypocrisy is what the *Guardian* editors get themselves tangled up in when they uncritically support China's Maoist regime.

## Soledad trial delayed

By NORTON SANDLER

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 14 — The opening day for the trial of the Soledad Brothers—John Cluchette and Fleeta Drumgo—was delayed today until Dec. 21 by Judge Spiro Vavuris over the protests of Floyd Silliman, one of the defense counsels.

Silliman had asked for a longer delay so that he and Richard Silver, the other defense lawyer, could have time to interview 20 witnesses—who have already been questioned by the prosecution—scattered throughout the California prison system.

The depositions of the inmates serving as witnesses had been withheld from the defense counsels until Dec. 9, and now the refusal to grant sufficient time for conversations with the witnesses is yet another major interference with the case of the defendants.

Cluchette and Drumgo are charged with murdering a Soledad guard in January of 1970.

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NEW YORK: STRATEGY FOR SOCIALISM iii. Open Conference. National Caucus of Labor Committees. Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Square West. Dec. 28, 7:30 p.m. Keynote address: Tasks of the Coming Six Months. Panels: Dec. 29, 10 a.m.-1 p.m.: George "Judas" Meany and the Labor Bureaucracy. 2-5 p.m.: The Second Great Depression. 7:30-10 p.m.: Fascism. Dec. 30, 10 a.m.-1 p.m.: Elections '72. 2-5 p.m.: United Front Organizing. For registration, call Rick Katz, (212) 280-6059.

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# THE MILITANT

## Congress approves 1972 tax changes to help big business

By DICK ROBERTS

On Dec. 10, almost four months after announcing the government wage-freeze program, President Nixon signed into law the tax-change measures resulting from the "New Economic Policy." The tax bill had been approved by Congress on Dec. 9.

There are two main features of the bill: an increase in personal income-tax exemptions and a restoration of the 7 percent tax credit for corporate investment. These tax measures have considerably less economic significance than Nixon's freeze of American wages and his new aggressive policies in world trade and finance. The tax cuts are aimed at priming the U.S. economy in order to spur recovery from the last two years of recession.

Democratic Party politicians will attempt to make much of the fact that between Nixon's original proposal and the final bill, tax cuts for business were reduced and tax cuts for individuals were increased. But the increase of tax exemptions for individuals does not come to much.

This can be seen from figures published by *U.S. News & World Report*. In its Aug. 30 issue, *U.S. News* computed the tax savings that would have resulted from Nixon's original proposal. On Dec. 13, it computed the tax savings resulting from the modified bill passed by Congress.

Accordingly, for a married couple with two children and an annual family income of \$5,000, Nixon's original proposal would save the family \$66. The modifications made this savings \$108. At the level of \$8,000 the difference is even smaller: \$102 in Nixon's proposal and \$118 in the final bill. There are no differences for family incomes above \$8,000. This minuscule saving in yearly tax payments is the government's carrot in the bundle of sticks made up of its massive assault on wages.

In fact, an increase in federal employment taxes scheduled to take place in January could easily wipe out in higher Social Security taxes what some workers gain in these slight increases in personal exemptions. The new employment tax extends from \$7,800 to \$9,000 the earnings subject to Social Security payments.

The tax credit for businesses allows them to deduct from their taxes amounts equivalent to 7 percent of the costs of new machinery. This credit has been publicized as a way of adding new jobs to the economy. Nixon called it a "job credit" in his Aug. 15 announcement of the wage freeze.

But providing jobs is far from being the main concern of the capitalist rulers of this country. Their concern is to increase the competitiveness of their monopolies in world trade. They hope to rationalize U.S. industry, to increase production and cut costs in order to compete more effectively with

the flood of cheaper foreign-made goods in the U.S. market, and to make U.S. goods more competitive in foreign markets. This gearing up of plants and equipment can result in massive layoffs due to job attrition and workers being thrown out of obsolete plants.

Enormously high unemployment levels in the big steel-producing towns of Lackawanna, Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Buffalo and Gary partially result from the initiation of rationalization in the depressed U.S. steel industry. To the extent that the business tax credit spurs rationalization, it results in raising, not lowering, unemployment levels.

For the most part, however, the investment plans of corporations depend on long-term calculations. No tax incentive can make them invest when they do not see profitable prospects. Thus, even when the tax credit stood at the higher level of 10 percent originally proposed by Nixon, a survey conducted by the *New York Times* Sept. 20 suggested that it would have little effect on investment.

"President Nixon's proposed tax credit . . . appears more likely to increase corporate profits than to create additional jobs for unemployed workers next year," *Times* correspondent Michael C. Jensen declared. The increased profits come from the fact that the tax credit is retroactive, covering machinery that is already on order. So far as future investment is concerned, Jensen wrote, "Most companies said they will replace machinery and equipment at about the same rate they had planned before last month's announcement of the proposed tax credit."

In fact the 7 percent credit has been off and on the books throughout the last decade (it was initiated by the Kennedy administration in 1962 in order to spur the U.S. economy out of the 1960-61 recession). But between 1962 and 1964 unemployment remained at about 5.5 percent. Unemployment actually rose between 1962 and 1963. It was only the war spending for Johnson's escalated attack on Southeast Asia that finally reduced unemployment to below 4 percent in the "boom" period of 1966-69.

Tax measures like the investment credit have become the stock-in-trade of Washington's economic policies in the postwar period. Massive tax write-offs enable corporations to make investments partially at the expense of individual taxpayers. But the important new ingredient of Nixon's policies is the direct intervention of the government to police wages. Developments on this front will have major implications in the American and world economy. The same Democrats who will claim credit for modifying the tax bill voted on Dec. 14 to give Nixon a one-year extension of his power to control wages.

## Judge puts off ruling in Hanrahan case

By STEVE CLARK

CHICAGO, Dec. 14—Criminal Court Judge Philip Romiti put off a ruling yesterday on a motion to quash the indictments of State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan and 13 police officials. Hanrahan and the others are charged with conspiracy to obstruct justice in the investigation of the Dec. 4, 1969, killings of Fred Hampton and Mark Park, two leaders of the Illinois Black Panther Party.

During the two-minute hearing, Judge Romiti continued the case to Dec. 20, at which time he will once again determine what progress lawyers for the two sides have made in preparing their briefs.

According to the Dec. 13 *Chicago Daily News*, Jon R. Waltz, a Northwestern University law professor, "has predicted that Romiti, a Democrat, will kill the indictment and that Sears [the

special prosecutor who indicted Hanrahan and the 13] will be promptly fired as special prosecutor to the case." Barnabas F. Sears' discharge would most likely preclude any further attempts to appeal to higher courts in order to stop Romiti from quashing the indictments.

While Judge Romiti staged his brief appearance, the Illinois Supreme Court was also meeting in Chicago to consider petitions filed by Sears urging the high court to dismiss defense motions seeking to have the indictments quashed. Sears also asked the court to prevent Judge Romiti from conducting a planned special court hearing on charges that Sears engaged in improper conduct in dealing with the grand jury.

In the words of the *Daily News*, "A supreme court ruling in favor of  
Continued on page 22



Fred Hampton

LNS photo

## Jury selection date set in Angela Davis trial

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO—Jury selection in the trial of Angela Davis is scheduled to begin Jan 31 in San Jose, Calif. This date was set by Judge Richard E. Arnason, who has been assigned to preside over the trial.

Chief Davis defense attorney Howard Moore Jr. told the press that although he is relatively satisfied with the appointment of Judge Arnason to the trial, Angela Davis will "fight until there is no more room to fight" to change Arnason's decision to move the trial to the biased "Southern atmosphere" of San Jose and Santa Clara County.

Defense lawyers are petitioning the California court of appeals to grant a rehearing of Davis' motion to hold the trial in San Francisco, the county least prejudiced about the case according to a poll initiated by the Davis defense committee.

While Judge Arnason determined the trial date in consultation with the defense and prosecution lawyers, more than 250 persons gathered outside to demand that Davis be freed immediately on bail. Among the demonstrators were Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins of the Black Panther Party, and Fania Jordan, Angela's sister, who recently returned from a worldwide fund-raising tour for the Davis defense.

Members of the National United

Committee to Free Angela Davis who visited her after the demonstration told *The Militant* that Angela was elated by the presence of so many supporters outside the courtroom, and by the planning of a second, more massive demonstration for noon Dec. 18 at the Palo Alto courthouse.

Davis is confined to three unheated six-by-eight-foot cells, with no exercise space. Photographs of the jail in which she is held were distributed by Santa Clara Sheriff James Geary. The pictures revealed that each of the Davis cells is surrounded by large glass windows and is positioned in direct view of the matrons' quarters so that Davis can be kept under surveillance. Telegrams of protest defense supporters sent to Sheriff Geary temporarily forced him to heat the cells and improve the meals.

Dr. E. T. Marshall, an ophthalmologist, reports that the mental strain 14 months of such punitive conditions have placed on Davis are largely responsible for her steadily deteriorating eyesight, and that her eyes will get worse until she is released. His earlier report that Davis had glaucoma proved to be untrue upon further examination.

Davis' ill health underlines the criminality of Judge Arnason's decision denying her right to bail and emphasizes the need for powerful mass actions to obtain that right.