

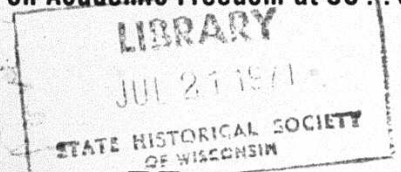
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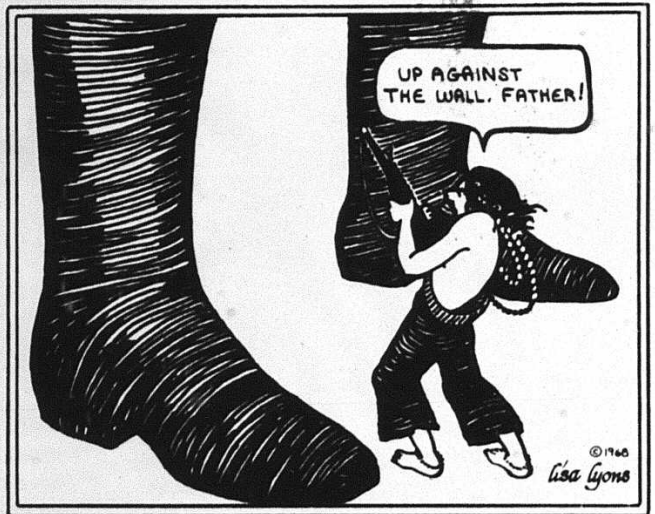


From McCarthy to Wallace: The Vacuum in U.S. Politics

Although the Democratic Party is in a state of acute crisis today, it is difficult to predict whether, after the November election and Humphrey's likely defeat, the Party's disintegration will continue or, as seems more probable, it will manage to pull itself together. Certainly, given the continuation of the Viet Nam war and the continuing pressure of the Black movement, even the most unlikely of events, a Humphrey victory, would not necessarily stop the process of dissolution. There are simply far too many people, who in the past have formed the traditional base of the Democratic Party, whose automatic allegiance has been sharply undermined.

In the case of white middle class liberals, this has happened periodically of course, but their doubts about supporting the party's presidential nominee have usually been pretty well cured by about mid-October. This time around, however, the Chicago events plus the character and policies of the candidate have made the hoary lesser-evil argument much less effective than it once was. Moreover, so far right has American politics moved, that to many liberals Nixon has begun to look like a lesser evil in comparison to George C.

(Continued on page 7)



Czechoslovakia: What Can We Do?

The Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia has produced the inevitable cries in this country, "What can the U.S. do to help? Must we just stand by and do nothing?" The Right tries to get mileage out of Washington's obvious impotence. Politicians and pundits suggest desperately that the U.S. slap Russia's wrist real hard by banning the Bolshoi Ballet.

Then George Kennan comes along (AP interview published September 22) with a new idea. Kennan is no Ronald Reagan: he is a statesman, an eminent academic and a Deep Thinker. The American establishment offers no more respected sage. His suggestion? "Move 100,000 men into Germany and tell the Russians: 'We will not take them out until you leave Czechoslovakia.'"

Can't you see it? 100,000 American GIs sitting in (or on) West Germany, strenuously scaring the hell out of the Russians by shooting off cap pistols near the border now and then — and the Russian propagandists, who have so far failed to convince even eight-year-olds of their fairy tale about the menace of invasion from West Germany by which they justified THEIR invasion, now just have to POINT. The fairy tale they invented is made come true — by Kennan's brilliant idea. Let the Czech dissenters utter a peep now, and the Dubcek/Moscow loudspeakers would tell them: "See what we told you! There they are..." No better way to bail out the Russians could be devised.

But there IS a simple and obvious way in which the U.S. could help the Czechoslovak dissenters and all the East European opponents of Russian imperialism. It is already implicit in

Kennan's proposal: that is, it is the exact opposite. It is for the U.S. to announce: We will put all American troops out of all foreign countries, Germany in particular, and call on Russia to do likewise.

Then let the Russians try to maintain their occupations not only in Czechoslovakia but also in Poland and East Germany and the rest of the eastern bloc! There is nothing else that would put such a fire under them. There is nothing else that would so move the peoples under their heel to unite and fight back. There is nothing else that would so strongly aid the coming Eastern European social revolution against Communist bureaucratic neo-colonialism.

But let us not dream. This United States will not do this simple, easy thing that would help the Czechoslovak struggle: first, because its troops are over there for exactly the same reason that Russian tanks are in Czechoslovakia, i.e., as instruments of imperialist domination in the struggle for the world; and secondly, because the U.S. has shown time and again that it is appalled by the very idea of a mass social upheaval in Czechoslovakia (or anywhere else) since revolution is contagious and could fire Western Europe up too.

This United States will not do this simple thing; only a Socialist United States could do it. For that matter, it can even be proposed only by Third Camp socialists who fight both imperialist camps. We bring it up only because there are so many people weeping around and crying, "What can we DO? What can we DO?" when the obvious thing to do stares them in the face, unseeable.

HAL DRAPER

DEAD END FOR BUREAUCRATIC REFORM

When the Russians and their allies invaded Czechoslovakia on August 21 most commentators predicted the end of the liberal regime of Alexander Dubcek. Originally, the speculation was that a puppet government would be set up and there were even some names mentioned, men like Vasil Bilak and Alois Indra. That isn't how it turned out, however. Instead, the Russians very shortly installed a regime whose majority had been elected at an illegal and clandestine party congress held in defiance of the occupation. The principal figure in the new Central Committee was the same Alexander Dubcek the Russians had denounced as a traitorous counter-revolutionary the week before. (Alois Indra, the prospective Quisling, was last reported vacationing in Moscow.)

In part, of course, this formal retreat by the invaders was a concession to the almost unanimous opposition of the population. The "conservatives" (reactionaries would be a better word) the Russians counted on to support them do exist but the climate of opinion in the country being what it is they have chosen to remain silent. Popular opposition, however, could hardly matter that much to the Russians or they would never have invaded in the first place.

For that matter, the installation of Dubcek as the interim leadership by the occupation forces wasn't that popular either. Dubcek's release by the Russians was welcomed but in the period immediately following his return and assumption of office, large demonstrations greeted Dubcek with the angry demand that the agreements made with the Russians be made public. The implication behind these demands was that Dubcek, however reluctantly, had retained his post by surrendering the rights his countrymen were fighting for. All in all, this was enough to confuse the New York Times as it complained in its feature article of September 2 (CZECHS ADD LIBERALS IN SURPRISE MOVE).

THE TWO SOULS OF "LIBERALIZATION"

The Russians were able to strike a bargain with Dubcek because there were two quite different sets of goals the Czech liberalization drive was aiming at. On the one hand, there was the complete overhauling of the Czech economy with its need to orient economically to the West and to mobilize the technocrats, intelligentsia and, to a lesser extent, the working class against the entrenched remnants of the Novotny regime; on the other hand, there were the aspirations of the intelligentsia, the working class and even some of the bureaucrats for a life free from the moral, intellectual and material oppression of the apparatus.

These two aims dove-tailed, more or less, in the beginning of Dubcek's liberalization, but that liberalization could only last as long as these two basically conflicting drives were

forced to complement one another. An example of the difficulties inherent in this coalition is the conflict between the demands for economic rationalization and the desires of the ordinary worker. The economic reformers felt that modernization would require a little "planned" unemployment, at least at first. In an article in the New Republic, Ross Terrill reports that a prominent Czech economist, Joseph Goldman, doubted Dubcek's ability to overcome these differences. "We need a Churchill or a De Gaulle," he stated. "The workers will understand that a good director will eventually bring them better wages." This problem has led to a fear on the part of the intellectuals, at any rate some of them, that the workers would provide a base of support for the Novotny conservatives. (See Jiri Murcha in the Nation of August 5.)

INDEPENDENT ACTION VS. "SELF-REFORM"

So far, of course, it has been the industrial working class that has provided the muscle needed to protect the liberals. It was in a factory that the underground party congress was held that forced the Russians to accept a liberal Presidium and Central Committee. The splits that have developed have been between those who proposed to go outside the party, to form independent clubs and organizations and to force the party to get rid of the conservatives by calling for strikes, demonstrations and other forms of mass action, on the one side, and those who placed their confidence in the Action Program of the CP — its program for self-reform. The working class and its allies have responded to the call for "democratization" not with nostalgia for Novotny but with an eagerness to push reforms further that frightens the liberal bureaucrats.

It is around these questions that the two tendencies in Czechoslovakia have crystallized. For the reformers the need is for an apparatus that is more flexible, more quick to adapt to a changed and changing economy, one more sensitive to public opinion. For them a key issue is freedom from press censorship. No one except types like Fidel Castro or Max Rafferty can oppose such an elementary right, but what is interesting is the demand that was NOT raised. That demand was for a real opposition press, not just freedom from censorship for the existing press whose editors were political appointees of the CP. The orientation of the liberals is towards the intelligentsia and technocrats, the educated public opinion that can influence the apparatus but is not a threat to it. They fear the working class because of its tendency to develop independent institutions like workers councils and its tendency to use mass direct action tactics that undermine the bureaucracy's power.

This struggle had assumed particularly sharp form in the week immediately preceding the invasion. Literally every day reports of this conflict appeared in the New York Times and other Western papers sympathetic to Dubcek. On August 14, for example, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party denounced the "violations of law and order" that characterized popular political activity. In their words, "In the situation created by the behavior of these irresponsible groups, attempts at political provocation could be made that would threaten the results and further realization of the new policy." What were the irresponsible acts that provoked the Presidium's call for LAW AND ORDER? There are two main charges. One, that demonstrators criticized the Communist Party, especially the soft attitude towards pro-Novotny elements, and called for action outside the framework of the party; and, two, that demonstrators made "unfounded attacks" on the people's militia.

A word ought to be said about the people's militia, since attacks on it play a central role in the dispute. The people's militia is a small army recruited from the working class, given special privileges and used as a strongarm squad when the party wishes to pretend that it is not the state, but a popular movement that is terrorizing the opposition. The nearest equi-

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valent in the West would be the Department of Sanitation employees that Mayor Daley uses on occasion to pack a gallery or beef up a patriotic parade — the difference being that the people's militia of Cook County are not armed.

Some insight into the political character of this formation is given by a notorious letter sent to the Russian government last summer during the Warsaw Pact maneuvers in Czechoslovakia. The letter was signed by less than one hundred workers in a Prague factory; most of the signers were reported to be members of the people's militia. The letter states: "Believe us that we feel shame and disgrace from the bottom of our souls for those people who, on the one hand, pose as friends of the Soviet Union and, on the other, engage in incitement and demand an immediate withdrawal of troops."

On the same day that the Presidium published its condemnation of "irresponsible groups," the city administration of Prague banned impromptu meetings in a centrally located park where Czechs had gathered to demonstrate, especially around the issue of a petition calling for the abolition of the people's militia. All meetings of this nature were to take place in the future at a different park on the outskirts of town. The ban was, of course, violated by hundreds of Czechs. In a humorous footnote, the Times, a great defender of "law and order" on this side of the iron curtain, remarks: "In three weeks the tradition of soap box oratory, so jealously guarded and protected in Western capitals, had taken hold."

RATIONALIZATION AND REPRESSION

The week preceding the invasion was also the week of Roumanian Premier Ceausescu's visit to the country. One of Dubcek's attempted solutions to the problem of how to counter the Russians without mobilizing forces he could not control was to work up a little entente consisting of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Roumania. Nothing could better clarify the meaning of Czech "liberalization" than this alliance.

No one disputes the fact that the internal regime of Roumania is one of the most repressive in Europe. There are people who will dispute the equally true fact that Tito's regime is also one of the most repressive in Europe, but not as many as there used to be. What this makes clear is that for the Czech leadership, the liberal wing of that party, the liberalization they seek is one that gives them a free hand in their own country, freedom from Russian interference and also freedom from the pressure

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building up down below at home.

How conscious Dubcek or the others are of the contradiction between their democratic rhetoric and their alliance with Ceausescu is unclear and, for that matter, not particularly relevant. Dubcek may be personally honest and confused but his actions consistently serve the goal outlined above. As if to underline the point, Dubcek took the occasion of a public ceremony welcoming Ceausescu to make the following remarks: "If there are some demands that people's militias be abolished they are not correct. . . . We need order in our country so that we can be given freedom of action in our democratization process." (NY TIMES August 17)

The situation, then, previous to the invasion was a precarious balance of forces. The invasion did not reverse a process of "democratization" begun by Dubcek and led by him, but rather gave added strength to one of the forces between which Dubcek had been balancing. Sooner or later, such a precarious situation has to end. The continued frustration of the democratic impulse from below will end in cynicism, apathy and the fragmentation of the left. Whether Dubcek becomes the spokesman then for the conservatives, as Gomulka did in Poland, or is replaced by a new man, is of great importance for Dubcek personally but is of much less general significance.

REVOLUTIONARY CONTAGION

The situation in Czechoslovakia was not hopeless. There was a real alternative to both Dubcek's caution and a suicidal assault on tanks with bare hands. The Russian and other Warsaw Pact troops were demoralized to some extent even by the spontaneous and disorganized opposition they did meet. Had they been met by a people united behind a movement that fought the Russians politically rather than parroting their calls for "law and order," if they had been met by a serious general strike and not just a one hour demonstration, the political consequences would have been incalculable. As it was there were small demonstrations of individuals like Litvinov in Moscow and mass demonstrations in East Germany.

It was this kind of revolutionary contagion that the Russians feared. The economic conflicts between the Russian overlord and the "liberal" nationalist element in the Czech bureaucracy can be negotiated. There cannot be any compromise, however, with the revolutionary action of the Czech working class. It was the fear that Dubcek and his supporters would be unable to avoid being "captured" by this independent movement, as Imre Nagy was in 1956, that led to the invasion.

The Russia of 1968 is not the Russia of 1956. The Muscovite leadership is confused and divided, demoralized by the failure of its de-Stalinization campaign and its half-hearted economic reforms to fool anybody in Russia itself, and repudiated by practically the entire Communist movement abroad. Sooner or later a movement capable of blowing this creaking machine up will arise, but it will do so only in opposition to the politics of Dubcek and his similars

ERNEST HABERKERN

Czechoslovakia and the Left

The invasion of Czechoslovakia by Russia and its allies has drawn a line through the so-called Left in this country, and asks, "Which side are you on?" just as insistently as does America's imperialist intervention in Vietnam.

Perhaps the first line it draws is against those types who try to make use, for their own purposes, of the old Cold War pot-and-kettle act. It goes without saying that hawks like Johnson and Humphrey and Nixon and the rest of that crew had to issue statements deploring what their Russian counterparts were doing in Prague; just as, naturally, the same Russians whose tanks were rolling over Czechoslovakia denounce the American rape of self-determination in Vietnam. This is Standard Operating Procedure, and by this time one might think any radical dry behind the ears would write it off. By and large, they have. This procedure was tried mainly by the unreconstructed Stalinist wing of the Communist Party (particularly the editorial direction of its central organ in the East, the Daily World) in order to justify the invasion, with all the enthusiasm and conviction of a scratchy record. The gambit was also used in Castro's speech solidarizing himself with the Russian tanks.

More naively, this line also came publicly from Eldridge Cleaver, who told the press he refused to make a statement on the ground that Max Rafferty had come out against the invasion too. There is no reason to believe, however, that he would have done so if Rafferty had kept quiet, since there was always George Murphy and Secretary Rusk, etc. What Cleaver articulated was the ancient syndrome called, "The enemy of my enemy is my friend"--which is one form of ideological suicide favored by primitive-leftists nowadays. And that is a great pity about Eldridge Cleaver.

The Communist Party itself split wide open, into two and a half wings. As mentioned, the out-and-out hawks published the Moscow communiques in the Daily World, with the toleration of the top national leadership. At the same time, national secretary Gus Hall presented a literary quibble with Moscow's position; he supported the invasion by regretting that Moscow had been forced to do it. (Moscow, of course, regretted being forced to do it even more than Gus Hall.) A clear condemnation of the invasion, on the other hand, came from Gil Green (New York State CP) and from the leading committees of both Southern and Northern California, Dorothy Healy in the south getting an 18-1 vote in her bailiwick. Finally, a party conference in New York "compromised": in effect they adopted the Gus Hall style of supporting the invasion and then to this tacked on support for the Czechoslovak reforms.

What has happened in the Communist Party itself was only symptomatic of one line of confusion among radicals sympathetic to what they like to call the "socialist world," which in their mythology is incapable of imperialist assaults. The Mao admirers and Fidel fans are especially mixed up. Peking--with gall unruffled by the fact that it had been denouncing Russia for previously tolerating those counterrevolutionary revisionists in Czechoslovakia--chose to condemn the invasion demagogically; they themselves only approve of interventions in countries called Tibet. Castro, however, put his own totalitarian concepts openly on the line. Castro (who is against the invasion of all countries named Cuba) not only came out foursquare in favor of the Russian tanks, but also fervently denounced the Czechoslovak liberalizers and democratizers as pro-capitalist, etc. His critical remarks about Russia itself are of no interest in this connection. It is henceforth impossible for any faithful Fidelista to pretend that he is for the defense of the self-determination of small nations which are right under the nose of an imperialist great power. No Fidelista can fight U.S. intervention against Cuba on PRINCIPLED grounds.

The Trotskyists (Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance) naturally came out against the invasion, but, equally inevitably, have the same problem that confronts the Communist Party leftwingers. This problem can be stated as follows:

Following Khrushchev's famous speech at the 20th party

congress of 1956, in which he admitted that the regime had been led by a totalitarian despot, there was a period of furor throughout the Communist movement, but there was one question that was insistently raised only by the more honest elements--even by the leadership of the Italian Communist Party. This was: HOW COULD IT HAPPEN? It was not enough, they argued, to condemn the "cult of personality" and the rest of that ritual. They demanded a Marxist explanation--a social explanation of this towering phenomenon. They never got one, of course, but they raised the question.

Now the "Leader of the Socialist World" brutally assaults a smaller country controlled by another Communist regime, and carries through to the end what the U.S. drew back from completing at the Bay of Pigs. To condemn the Russian "pigs" is fine; but all those who had illusions about this so-called "Socialist World" can hardly avoid asking themselves: HOW COULD IT HAPPEN? There are a series of interconnected problems. For one thing, we were all assured years ago--since the death of Stalin, as a matter of fact, and that dates back 15 years now (A geologic age)--that Russia itself was rapidly becoming democratic. Isaac Deutscher used to demonstrate this several times a year. For the sake of not scaring the Moscow bureaucrats away from this democratization-from-above, he was even able (for example) to condemn the East German resistance to the Russian tanks in 1953. We can now see that these Russian "democratizers" were even scared by Dubcek--in fact, they are thrown into a panic by any serious moves even toward mere liberalization. After 15 years if not before, it is necessary to ask: HOW COULD IT HAPPEN?

COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM

There are many radicals who have nothing but scorn for the "hacks" of the Communist Party and yet have been under the illusion that one cannot talk of "Communist imperialism." They will have to re-examine their illusions. It really does not matter if one invents a synonym for imperialism which is queasily reserved for this special occasion ("Soviet neo-colonialism," "Russian expansionism," etc.) Imperialism is not much changed by a verbal incantation. Russia marched its army into a friendly country and took it over: HOW COULD IT HAPPEN if there is no such thing as "Communist imperialism"?

Castro's speech on August 23 echoed every slander invented by Moscow about the Dubcek government's imaginary capitulation to capitalism; he came out firmly against any modification of party dictatorship over the masses, and against free speech and free press even for democratic communists, let alone anyone else. This presents something of a problem for his apologists, particularly those who claim to be for socialist democracy.

As mentioned, the CP "compromise" applauded the Czech reformers, and also applauded the Russian tanks that arrested and silenced them. This is very "impartial"! The Trotskyist apologists are in a similar bind; they applaud the Czech reformers and they also applaud the apologist for the Russian tanks, Castro, as their beau ideal of social revolution. And they do not even ask the question: HOW COULD IT HAPPEN? They do not ask it, because they cannot answer it. When Russia attacked Finland in 1939, they condemned the invasion--just as they condemn the Czech invasion today--but their politics compelled them to add: "Yet we give military defense to the Soviet Union AGAINST Finland--because it is a 'workers state.'" But HOW COULD IT HAPPEN that this thing they call a "workers state" behaves just like any other brutal imperialist state?

Those Russian tanks in Prague were the physical evidence not of a "workers state" or the "socialist world" or any of the rest of that mythology, but of the new bureaucratic ruling class that oppresses not only Czechoslovaks but the Russian people themselves. There are three kinds of cases nowadays: You are either for social revolution against this oppressive power; or you are for the tanks; or else you are suffering a quiet mental breakdown, like some people I know.

HAL DRAPER

From McCarthy to Wallace---

(Continued from page 1)

Wallace--this being the inevitable, bitter fruit of years of defensive rear-guard lesser-evil politics on the part of liberals. The crowning point of this was Wallace's statement to the NY TIMES on Sept 26 that he, Wallace, is all that stands between the American people and the organized right wing!

It is hard to assess the attempt to organize a New Party at this time, but that is at least a potentially very significant development. Its main weakness lies in the failure of its instigators to develop an alternative political perspective--witness their commitment to a McCarthy-Lindsay ticket. Yet their efforts are a hopeful sign and might yet become the nucleus for real new party along with the Peace and Freedom parties.

On the other side of the ledger, there is the usual stack of liberals, many of them former supporters of McCarthy, and especially those who backed Bobby Kennedy, who believe that the Democratic Party is about to be reborn--that the old bosses like Daley will be vanquished and the new reformers with their fashionably long hair and "new politics," will prevail--once the Hump gets dumped in November. They are, for the most part, hungry young men who, like dynamic young Hubert Humphrey in 1948, are looking for the main chance. Their "new politics" is little more than moldy New Deal hash catsupped over with the rhetoric of the New Left.

Waiting in the wings is Edward Kennedy, with the newly discovered hero of the new politics, Jesse Unruh, beside him. Unruh's transformation from ogre to the recipient of tearful liberal tributes would require an article in itself. Unruh's last minute support of McCarthy and his pose as champion of the new politics underscores the seriousness with which the smarter politicians like Unruh view--at least at the present time--the liberal defections from the Democratic Party.

In any case, in the last analysis the possibility of the Democratic Party being cracked open (and a new independent progressive political force created), depends, as it always has, on the possibility of a significant change in the American labor movement and the white working class.

It is the left, broadly conceived, which must be the driving force behind such a shift. Its success depends, in part, upon whether or not the destructive influence of the infantile current typified by Jerry Rubin--and other assorted types whose fixation upon the politics of mother love suggest certain unresolved psychic conflicts--upon whether or not the anti-political mood they represent succeeds in reducing the oppositional movement among students and other disaffected elements to a feeble whisper.

If the movement is to continue to grow rather than being destroyed by Jerry Rubin style "erection day protests" (such slogans only make explicit the feelings of impotence that underly them), then some clarity about what has happened as a result of Senator McCarthy's campaign is essential. Without this clarity, self-defeating tactics and dead-end exhibitionist happenings will replace politics; the movement will go down the drain--while the Right-wing becomes ever more powerful.

The hard fact is that the great momentum of anti-war sentiment and critical reaction against the established political parties has been substantially dissipated--largely BECAUSE of the McCarthy campaign and the consequent failure of the movement to develop a new independent political party on the left. The utterly impotent threats of Yipple pipsqueaks about "revolution" have only reinforced this failure by making it seem to many left-moving liberals and other radicalized elements that such blustering was the only alternative to dropping out of politics or quietly voting for Humphrey. Until this is understood by the movement, as well as by those who supported McCarthy and are now being exhorted to stand by the Democratic Party (to help "pick up the pieces" in November), no new departure to the left in American politics will be possible.

Moreover--and this is an even more unpalatable fact to liberals and movement types--their failure to mount an independent party in 1968, to break decisively with the Democratic Party, is in no small degree responsible for the success of George Wallace's campaign. Those, especially those

in the movement, who opposed such a break--using ultra-revolutionary phrases, of course--bear a heavy share of the responsibility for this situation.

Precisely what McCarthy expected to achieve when he began his campaign against Johnson is still not clear--largely because McCarthy himself was not entirely sure of his aims. Whether he hoped to force a change in Viet Nam policy, or even, as happened when Bobby Kennedy entered the race, to topple Johnson, the fact is that his entry into the campaign raised new hopes--illusory to be sure, but powerful none the less--that the "official" choice in 1968 would not be between two hawks, two political look-alikes like Johnson and Nixon.

In arousing these hopes McCarthy went a long way toward achieving the one objective about which he was entirely clear and explicit--that of bringing all of those who had become embittered against Johnson back into the "mainstream" of American politics--back, that is, into the Democratic Party. To the extent that he succeeded in this, McCarthy thereby crippled the very movement that had pushed him (and Kennedy) into opposition to the war and Johnson in the first place, that had deposed Johnson, the movement whose real source of power resides in the fact that it is outside of, in opposition to, the Democratic Party. Wherever Peace and Freedom parties or independent political action sentiment had sprung up, the McCarthy illusion effectively maimed or killed them outright.

By August, left with the accomplished fact that the early fear of a Johnson-Nixon contest had come true--even though it was Johnson's gaseous alter ego, Hubert Humphrey, who was actually chosen by the Democratic Convention--the stage was set for a most momentous and dangerous development on the political scene: the arrival of George C. Wallace as a MAJOR political contender. This relationship between the dead-end McCarthy campaign, the failure of the liberal-left to mount an alternative to both the Democrats and Republicans, and Wallace's great surge of popularity, is the key to the current political situation--and to the future.

THE VACUUM LEFT BY THE FAILURE OF THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT, THE DISAFFECTED LIBERALS AND THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT, TO CREATE A NEW PARTY FUNCTIONING ON A BROAD, MINIMUM RADICAL PROGRAM, WAS--AND IS TODAY--THE NECESSARY CONDITION FOR THE GROWTH OF LARGE-SCALE SUPPORT FOR WALLACE. Not, of course, that Wallace would not exist, or that he would not have significant racist support, but the magnitude of his support among the white working class, in the north, and the lower middle classes, can only be understood as a response to a situation in which large numbers of people are seeking an alternative, or at least a means of protest, but none has been offered them from the left.

The liberal explanation of the Wallace movement assigns it all to racism. But while Wallace's racist appeal is essential, it will not do to stop there in understanding the Wallace phenomenon. First, because racism itself, both as a sentiment and as an active political force, requires explanation. Second, because Wallace has in fact gone far beyond mere racism and has articulated--in a demagogic and reactionary way, to be sure--many of the real fears and problems which workers and lower middle class people feel. Third, because it does not account for the support Wallace has garnered in regions of the country where there are no significant numbers of blacks or any real black movement, places where "law and order" serves not simply as a euphemism for giving the police carte blanche for a reign of terror against blacks, but as a diffuse symbol of protest against a bankrupt establishment--liberal and conservative. And fourth, because it does not account for the remarkable fact that there are not a few of those in the Wallace camp today who earlier in the year either supported McCarthy or, more frequently, stated that they would turn to Wallace only if McCarthy were denied the Democratic nomination.

One Wallace supporter who had switched from McCarthy told the Wall Street Journal (Sept. 27) that "I know it's a drastic switch but there are no leaders in the major parties. My vote will be a protest vote." Another Wallaceite chimed in: "That's exactly right. McCarthy was a very hon-

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Assault on Academic Freedom at UC

The recent decision of the U.C. Regents, to limit PFP Presidential candidate and Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver's participation in a planned experimental college course at Berkeley, may have raised the most serious threat to academic freedom at the University since the loyalty oath controversy twenty years ago. At first glance, this may seem to be something of an overstatement. But the fact is that the reactionary forces which have been attempting to get the University to crack down on radical and dissident ideas have won a significant victory. Beyond barring Cleaver, it constitutes a major attack on the faculty's power to determine the curriculum and content of courses. The victory is all the more serious because it was literally handed to them by U.C. President Hitch, Chancellor Heyns, and the members of the executive committee of the Statewide Academic Senate.

The motion which Hitch offered as a "compromise" — a compromise because it did not bar Cleaver outright nor mention him by name — and which the Regents passed narrowly, prohibits any outsider without proper academic qualifications or proper instructional title from giving more than one lecture per quarter in any credit course. Aside from what it will mean for so-called "educational innovation," Hitch's motion was nothing less than an abrogation of one of the faculty's most important powers and a direct capitulation to political dictation of the curriculum and the content of courses at the University. The power of the faculty — as opposed to the administration or Regents — to control educational matters has thus been seriously damaged — whether irreparably or not remains to be seen.

Moreover, whether or not it is successful, there can be no question that this was Hitch's conscious intention — an aim which he made explicit by a motion to re-examine the powers of the faculty with an eye to giving the President and individual Chancellors the power to oversee and review curriculum decisions of the faculty. Clearly, the faculty can no longer be trusted to purge their courses of dangerous ideas — and, more important, the student-led movement to inject some life into the University curriculum must be kept from offending Governor Reagan, Max Rafferty, Assemblyman Schmitz (John Birch member) and Jesse Unruh. How much room for experimentation is now left can easily be imagined.

There are two aspects of the Cleaver affair that ought to be underscored. First, just as with the loyalty oath 20 years ago, this blow is being rationalized by its apologists as a way of forestalling even more reactionary attacks on the University

and academic freedom. In fact, however, the enemies of academic freedom and a free university have by this very act already won an important foothold — a foothold that is all the more dangerous because it was won without a fight. Far from forestalling the reactionaries this victory will whet their appetite. For, by their cowardly capitulation, Hitch and his friends have announced in advance to all the reactionaries in the state that the University faculty, the students, and the very content of the educational curriculum are all fair game: that the University Administration will not only acquiesce to any attacks but will wield the ax itself against radical ideas and instructors.

Academic freedom, and educational reform, which requires the former, are thus faced not only with an external enemy, but with those who have publicly shown that they will betray these principles from within — to "defend" the University, of course. What will not be defended is freedom of intellectual enquiry. But then again, no one ought ever to have had the illusion that the Administration or, for that matter, most of the faculty time-servers, have any real concern for academic freedom.

The second point is that this attack on academic freedom was a bi-partisan effort: initiated by Ronald Reagan and Max Rafferty, seconded by the John Birch Assemblyman, Schmitz, it had the solid support of nearly every major Democratic and liberal political figure, from Jesse Unruh to Allen Cranston, founder of CDC and U.S. Senate candidate.

What can be done?

The fact that there is a two-pronged attack on academic freedom at the University — first from the reactionaries, the Regents, and the politicians, and second from its own administration, poses a very difficult fight. The students, first of all the students, must be prepared to resist this decision. With few exceptions, the faculty is not prepared to fight on this issue. As in the past when elementary democratic rights were at stake, the faculty must be forced to defend the University, to defend, in fact, their own rights as teachers.

If the decision is allowed to stand, it will mean far more than that Cleaver will not lecture ten times. It will mean that the University is in full retreat before the Reagans, Raffertys, and Unruhs; that new ideas, radical ideas, will not be tolerated at the University of California. Beyond California, if the fight is lost, the lesson will be clear to all of those around the country who are attempting to create a new period of repression.

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McCarthy---

est fellow, just like Wallace. It was disgusting to me the way Daley and the Democrats ran things in Chicago and forced McCarthy out of the picture."

The problem, then, which the liberals cannot grasp because they are not prepared to confront the reality of American capitalism, is that there are real grievances and fears as well as a rightful disgust with the lies of the establishment, which in the absence of any leftward moving political force, allow Wallace's racist demagoguery to become an explosive political and social force. It may give the liberals and many so-called radicals a sense of moral superiority over these poor benighted souls, to merely shout "racism," but it will not solve any problems or advance the fight against racism one whit.

Failure to understand this is leading to two political responses which although seemingly quite different are in fact symmetrically related: on the one side, the liberal leaves them politically prostrated, and on the other side, the fantasy of guerrilla warfare by a hopelessly outnumbered and basically powerless group of white and black revolutionaries. Both have given up on any perspective of building a mass movement.

Only a new political movement with a social program that can tie white and black workers together IRRESPECTIVE of racist feelings--just as the organization of the mass CIO unions did in the 1930's when the white working class was even more racist than today (the Ku Klux Klan and the Black

Legion were real forces among northern workers), can stem the rightward drift in American politics, and undermine racism. Such a movement would have to speak frankly to white workers about their fear of black competition for their jobs, about housing. Where there is reality to these fears--and it is this reality that Wallace has latched onto--social programs must be worked out that will solve them in so far as possible.

This does not mean going easy on Black demands, nor less Black militancy. Quite the contrary, the organization of a movement among the masses of poor Blacks that fights on a day-to-day basis against racist oppression--including in unions--is a necessary condition for an effective coalition. Moreover, to the degree that such a Black movement does succeed in organizing and effectively leading the Black masses, the demoralization that infects the ghettos which is expressed, in part, in crime and violence (largely against other Blacks), can begin to be overcome--while real concessions such as jobs, housing, police control, etc., can be extracted from the established powers. A militant mass black movement would set an example for the entire working class.

None of this will be easy; even if a new party were to be formed tomorrow, there is no guarantee it would succeed. But one thing IS guaranteed: if the Democratic Party is put together again, American politics will continue its rightward movement--and the choice in 1972 may very well be between the lesser evil Nixon and some far more menacing version of the Wallace movement.

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