

Frequent questions on women's liberation

— special feature on pages 8-9

THE MILITANT

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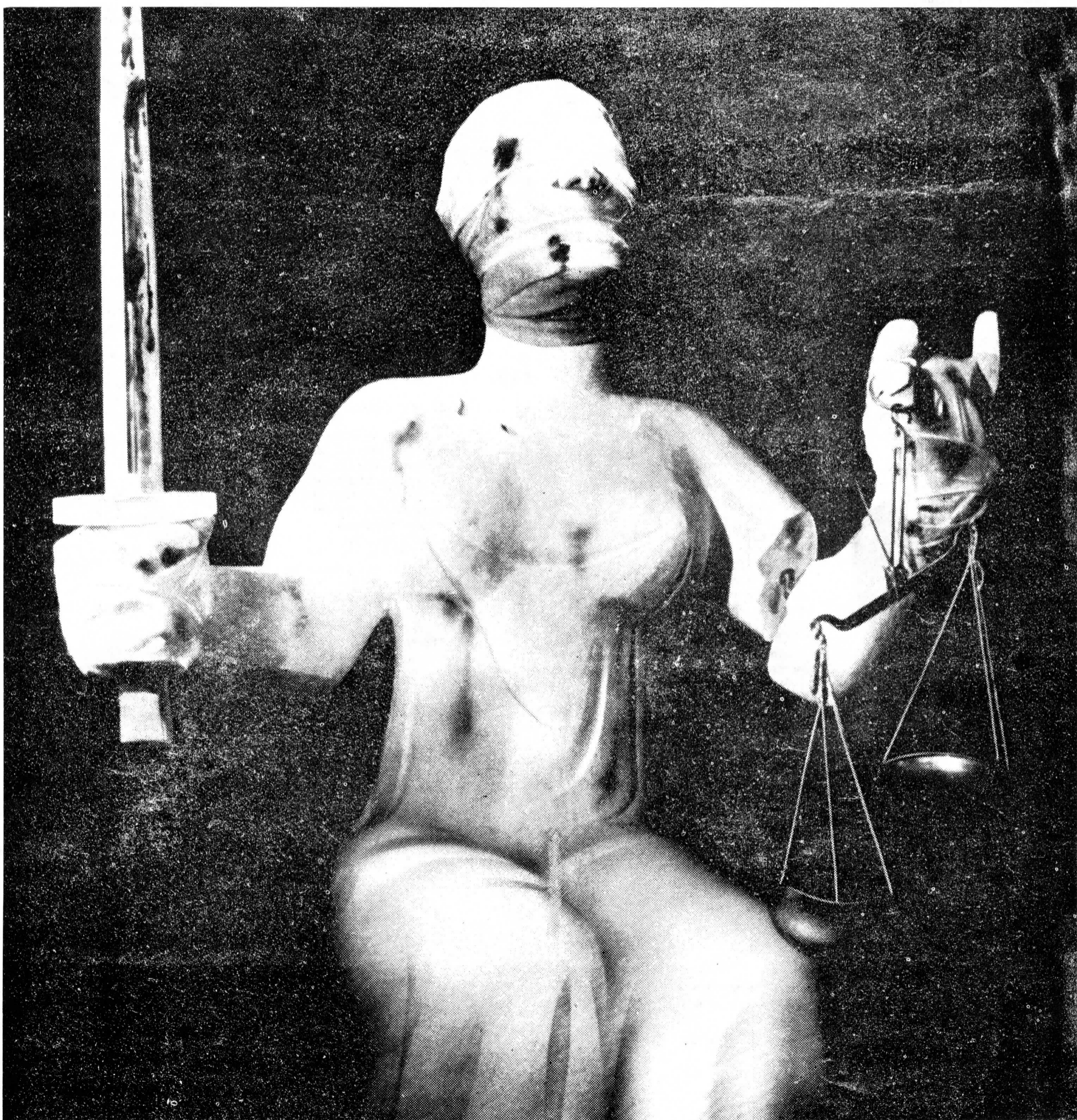
Friday, December 26, 1969

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The drive to destroy the Panthers — symbol of American "justice"

— stories, pages 3, 11



A work by John Heartfield exhibited at London Institute of Contemporary Arts/Black Dwarf.

H.S. SMC barred from Xmas Carnival

Accused of not having 'proper Christmas spirit'

San Francisco, Calif. Mission High School Student Mobilization Committee, an established school group, was denied the right to set up a booth at the Christmas Carnival that will take place Friday evening, Dec. 12. All high school clubs were invited to set up booths except SMC. According to Principal Scoarkus's interpretation, Mission High SMC does not have the proper "Christmas Spirit."

Mr. Scoarkus is trying to use the Carnival and the "peace on earth" theme to make people forget about the war in Vietnam. We feel that this holiday season should be used to bring peace to the world, and not to ignore the killing that continues in Vietnam. Mr. Scoarkus called us "zealots" and "pseudo-intellectual snobs" for trying to maintain a proper balance between fun and games and facing the unpleasant reality that, in fact, for many there will be no peace this Christmas.

Because of Mr. Scoarkus' uncompromising attitude we were forced to call a boycott of the Carnival. An informational picket line will be held in front of Mission.

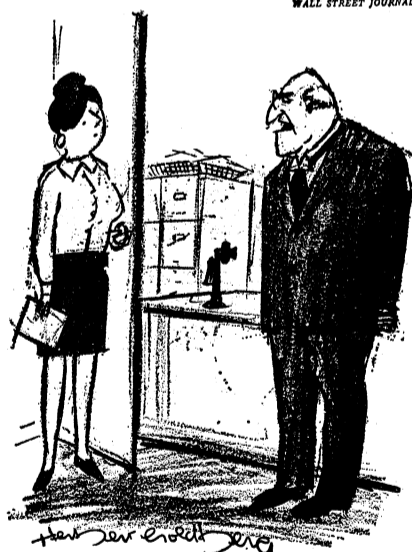
Laura Dertz
Mission High School SMC

Report from Europe on women's lib

Brussels, Belgium

Women's lib actions have occurred recently in England and Germany and in some other countries women are gaining a few new legal rights. In Italy, for example, a law is now being passed that permits divorce—after 5 years of separation. Before, the only way to get unhitched was to get an annulment from the church. The Swiss are coming along—a couple more cantons granted women the right to vote. But in a large majority of the cantons they still can't vote.

In France recently they changed a



"Miss Pettifog, take a crank letter."

Letters from our readers

This 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. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

law saying that the husband makes all decisions relating to the household and children. Now women are supposed to have a say too.

In England, I noticed there was a struggle recently over the right of a high school girl who becomes pregnant to stay in school. The most exciting thing in the past couple weeks has been the demonstrations of hundreds—even thousands—of peasant women in France. It's the first time that's happened since 1830. Thirty-four thousand farmers in France had a demonstration 1-2 weeks ago and gave away free cheese and milk to protest the low prices they get.

C. L.

Good antiwar response in conservative stronghold

Queens, N. Y.

I thought your readers would be interested in the results of our petition campaign against the war in Vietnam. The petition simply states that President Nixon must: 1) Stop the massacres in Vietnam; 2) End the war; and 3) Bring the boys home NOW! No whereases, ifs, ands, or buts, as most petitions are usually worded.

For the past two Saturdays, we set up a table in the Steinway shopping area of Astoria, a hinterland of Queens and a conservative stronghold. The response we got was beyond our wildest expectations.

While the "silent majority" passed us by, many of the others—young and old alike—lined up to register their dissent, and we collected over 300 signatures in a few hours.

Except for a few hecklers and crackpots, we met with no real opposition in this center of reaction. It is highly doubtful that even six months ago we could have gotten half these results.

This activity gives us an opportunity to discuss the war with people who are neutral or in favor of the government's policies as well as to recruit new adherents to our cause.

Our committee was on the verge of disbanding before the Oct. 15 Moratorium, when we had an enthusiastic candlelight meeting and march of 300-

400 followed by over 200 people going by bus and train and car to Washington on Nov. 15. Our December actions look equally promising.

It is encouraging to note that if this can happen here in Astoria it can happen anywhere. The climate has changed radically and rapidly and the sentiment against the war is growing by leaps and bounds.

E. P.

Cotton Mather and his Puritan Punitives

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Bravo! You said everything one could wish regarding Pete Hamill's obscene article. The malevolence it contained was both frightening and all too typical. You rightly identify its bigotry, divisiveness, and hypocrisy.

And didn't you just love the humane bit about facing "the consequences" of pleasure? Make way for Cotton Mather and his Puritan Punitives!

Elizabeth Sawyer

GI reports Militant is getting around

Fort Meade, Md.

The *Militants* that you send are going very well. Several men in my unit read them and paste them up. Also, guys in other units are reading them. In fact, you can count among your readers two staff sergeants who both enjoy the paper.

The paper has improved a great deal. The many analytical articles which are now being carried are of great help. Both of the sergeants have commented on them.

Keep up the good work.

Pvt. Keith Jones

Says position of Andre Gorz distorted

Bronx, N. Y.

The account in the Dec. 12 *Militant* of remarks by Andre Gorz at the Socialist Scholars Conference is rather unfortunately misleading. Because the report is ambiguous, it cannot be described as simply inaccurate.

Perhaps Gorz's ultimate goal could be described as literally "anarchist" (or "anarchic") as would be a classless society. But attributing to him "an almost pure anarchist perspective: no party and no state", just like that, is a one-sided distortion of what he said. It suggests that his "perspective" is completely timeless and unhistorical. In fact, Gorz emphasized what he considered a crucial question of timing in the development of a revolutionary party and in attempts to assume state control.

It is to be hoped that his talk will soon be published, for it raised, in an undogmatic manner, some important and relatively neglected issues that require further investigation and discussion.

John Moran

[Hopefully, Gorz' paper will soon be published, because it does indeed raise questions of great importance to the American left.

[The strategy Gorz envisages does not entail the conscious, systematic building of a revolutionary workers' party around a definite political program. Rather, he anticipates a coalescence of shop committees, each one organized around the struggle for various aspects of workers' power over production. This coalescence of shop committees is supposed to be the agency of the workers' final assault on the capitalist state. Whatever the merits of this conception, it doesn't have much in common with the Marxist—including the pre-Leninist Marxist—concept of the party, while it has considerable affinity with some traditional anarchist notions. [As to the state, Gorz, if I heard him

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Closing news date—Dec. 19

right, explicitly said the workers' seizure of power would put an end to the state—not just the bourgeois state, not just the bureaucratic state, but any and every kind of state. Coming from one who stands in the Marxist intellectual tradition, this can only mean that immediately after the triumph of the revolution—and not just in the future of a firmly established classless society—there will be no need for an organized, social instrument of coercion to serve the interests of the working class. Needless to say, this notion also has a deep affinity with the anarchist tradition. —Robert Langston.]

Impressed

Corvallis, Oregon

I have read several copies of your publication and am impressed. I would like to order a one year's subscription.

C. S.

A correction

The Dec. 19 *Militant* incorrectly reports that "In Detroit, the American Federation of Teachers officially endorsed Nov. 15 by a vote of the membership."

Support for the antiwar actions Nov. 14 and Nov. 15 was given by the executive board of the Detroit Federation. There has not been a vote on the war question put before the membership as a whole.

War opponents in the union, however, feel that the executive board's decision reflects deep antiwar sentiment within the union.

In addition, the administrative board of the Michigan Federation of Teachers voted to support the fall offensive and sought to involve teachers' union locals across the state in the moratorium activity.

James Leas
Member, Detroit Federation of Teachers

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YS convention agenda lists key political issues

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

"Young Socialists in the United States face the beginning of the 1970s with confidence in our ability to successfully organize the masses of the American people in the fight against the ruling class and its policies. We are confident that we are preparing the ground for the final elimination of capitalism on a world scale through the socialist rev-

olution in the chief stronghold of world imperialism."

Thus begins *The Deepening Radicalization: Revolutionary Perspectives for the 1970s*, the draft political resolution for the upcoming Young Socialist National Convention. Along with the anti-war movement and the Third World struggles it will be among the main subjects on the agenda of the convention, which will be held at the student center on the University of Minnesota campus in Minneapolis on Dec. 27-30.

A special feature of the convention will be an address by Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and a leader of the 1934 Teamsters strikes in Minneapolis. Dobbs will relate the lessons of the 1934 strikes to the developing radicalization of today.

On the final day of the convention plans have been made for a march to the city market area, the scene of a famous battle between workers and cops during the 1934 strikes. Signs will call for support of the GE strikers, immediate withdrawal of troops from Vietnam, and black control of the black community, and red flags will be abundant.

In addition to the plenary sessions an important part of the convention activities will be a series of panels and workshops on such topics as women's liberation, high school organizing, socialist electoral action, and the international revolutionary youth movement. Representatives from revolutionary youth groups in France, England, Denmark, Belgium, New Zealand, and Australia, will be present.

A large number of ex-SDSers will also be present at the convention. The recent disintegration of SDS has left the YSA as the nation's largest and fastest growing radical youth organization. In the past few weeks alone, new YSA locals have been established at Athens, Columbus, and Oxford, Ohio; the San Joaquin Valley, California; Mansfield, Pennsylvania; Lexington, Kentucky; Worcester, Massachusetts; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Portland, Oregon; and Mount Vernon, New York.

For information on housing and transportation contact the Young Socialists in your area or write the YSA national office, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Rally at City Hall rips L.A. cops on Black Panthers

By BAXTER SMITH

LOS ANGELES—As a result of the Dec. 8 raid on the Black Panther headquarters here (See *The Militant*, Dec. 19), nearly 5,000 demonstrators, the vast majority of whom were black, turned out Dec. 11 to protest the wanton police attack. The rally was called at a community meeting held the same evening as the attack. The meeting represented a broad coalition of groups in the black community.

The central issue was the police raid on the Panthers—one large swell in the current wave of police attacks on the black community as a whole. The rally was supported by various moderate civil rights groups as well as more militant political organizations including the YSA and SWP.

Those speaking at the rally included Elaine Brown, communications secretary for the Los Angeles Black Panther Party, UCLA assistant professor Angela Davis, State Senator Mervyn Dymally, and Assemblyman Bill Green. The rally chairman, Rev. H. H. Brooks, summed it up quite aptly by saying the black community is the target, the Panthers are the bull's-eye for the police attack.

After the rally, thousands of militant blacks, students and workers, began marching toward the Justice Hall chanting, "Power to the people." Briefly a throng went inside and occupied the lobby and hallway but dispersed at the urging of the rally monitors.

Seattle students unite in defense of Black Panthers

By RICK CONGRESS

SEATTLE—A defense rally for the Black Panther Party called in response to the Chicago police murder of Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark was held on the University of Washington campus Dec. 10. Aaron Dixon, captain of defense of the Seattle Panthers, spoke at the meeting of some 250 students.

The meeting was sponsored by a broad coalition of campus organizations including YSA, RYM II, Radical Organizing Committee (SDS), Filipino Students Association, Grape Boycott Committee, Young Democrats, Newsreel, Student Mobilization Committee, SDS and the Asian Coalition.

On Dec. 12, another defense rally was held at the Militant Labor Forum where an overflow crowd heard Seattle Panther leaders Aaron Dixon and Anthony Ware. Tom Leonard of the Socialist Workers Party also spoke. The speakers stressed the need for a united defense bringing all people together who oppose the systematic attempt of the police to physically exterminate the Black Panther Party.

A "Defend the Panther Party" leaflet was distributed on Dec. 14 by the Young Socialist campaign committee at a mass march of approximately 3,000 people for jobs for black construction workers.

ON TO MINNEAPOLIS



YOUNG SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONVENTION

Dec 27-30, 1969

University of Minnesota

FOR INFORMATION, HOUSING, REGISTRATION WRITE: YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, P. O. BOX 471, COOPER STATION, N. Y., N. Y. 10003. TEL. (212) 989-7570.

YSA Southeast travelers help establish new locals

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA, Dec. 15—The once solidly conservative South will soon have two new YSA locals, in Knoxville and Johnson City, Tennessee.

Two Young Socialist regional travelers have begun visiting campuses throughout the Southeast and have found interest in the YSA and in revolutionary ideas and activities everywhere. About 10 students decided this

week to go to the YSA convention after meeting with the regional travelers.

Most of the students at East Tennessee State University in Johnson City come from towns in the surrounding mountains and hills along the Tennessee-Carolina border, in the heart of the Great Smokies. The area is deservedly reputed to be one of the most conservative in the country, and the university administration is easily one of the most repressive in the South. Women are forbidden to walk across campus smoking cigarettes or wearing slacks. Two deans rushed over to the student union to personally shut down the YSA literature table, although it had been cleared through the appropriate intricate channels. Distribution and writing of "agitational" literature are grounds for expulsion from school.

This was the Medieval atmosphere in which the regional travelers met with six to eight revolutionary-minded students, many of whom were anxious to join the YSA. All are activists in the ETSU Student Mobilization Committee, which distributes an anonymous bi-weekly newsletter—anonymous so as to prevent persecution of individuals violating the agitational literature rule.

The University of Tennessee in Knoxville promises to have a good-sized YSA local by next semester. There is also interest in the YSA at the University of South Carolina, the University of Alabama and Brevard College in North Carolina. And four high school students in Greenville, South Carolina, have also asked how they can join the YSA.

I see no connection whatever between the incident at Mylai and the death of Fred Hampton.



As we reported in the last issue, *The Militant* will not be published for the coming two weeks. The next issue will be off the press Jan. 9 and dated Jan. 16. Happy holidays from the staff.

Israel threatened by financial crisis

By ROBERT LANGSTON

Israel is on the verge of what may be the most severe economic crisis in the history of the Zionist state. The intensified class conflict this could engender, together with the growing effectiveness of the Palestinian revolutionary movement, could make some important inroads on the hold of Zionist ideology over the Israeli Jewish masses and open the possibility of new gains for the Israeli revolutionary movement.

Throughout its history, Israel's imports have exceeded its exports, usually by several hundred million dollars a year. In addition to the normal methods of recourse to the international capital market—loans and grants from other governments, private loans and direct private investment—this trade deficit has been covered by loans and donations from Jewish communities throughout the world—especially in the United States—and from reparations paid by West Germany to Israeli citizens and the Zionist state for Nazi crimes against the Jewish people.

These subsidies, together with the high initial skill level of the Israeli working class, have made possible a mass standard of living incomparably higher than anywhere else in the region together with a rapid accumulation of capital and correspondingly high productivity. Despite these advantages over its Arab neighbors, Israel is not able to compete effectively on the world market against the immensely productive capitalist economies of Western Europe, North America and Japan. The result has been an inability to close the trade gap.

Now, however, the German payments have ended. And while Zionist fundraising and bond sales were able to contribute some half billion dollars to Israel's foreign reserves in 1967, only half that much was raised in 1968 and 1969.

At the same time, military spending has greatly increased. The item on Israel's international accounts which includes armaments expenditures abroad increased from \$159 million in 1966 to \$324 million in 1967, and during the first six months of this year, it amounted to \$226 million.

In addition, there has been a rapid expansion of the domestic munitions industry, and much of the equipment

for it must be imported. Thus, a significant portion of the "industrial imports" item in fact pertains to military spending.

As a consequence of this increased military spending and the relative export lag, Israel will, according to James Feron in the Dec. 7 *New York Times* show a deficit in its trade balance of some \$900 million. There is no possibility that loans, donations, income from abroad, and investments will cover this deficit. The government will have to draw on its monetary reserves.

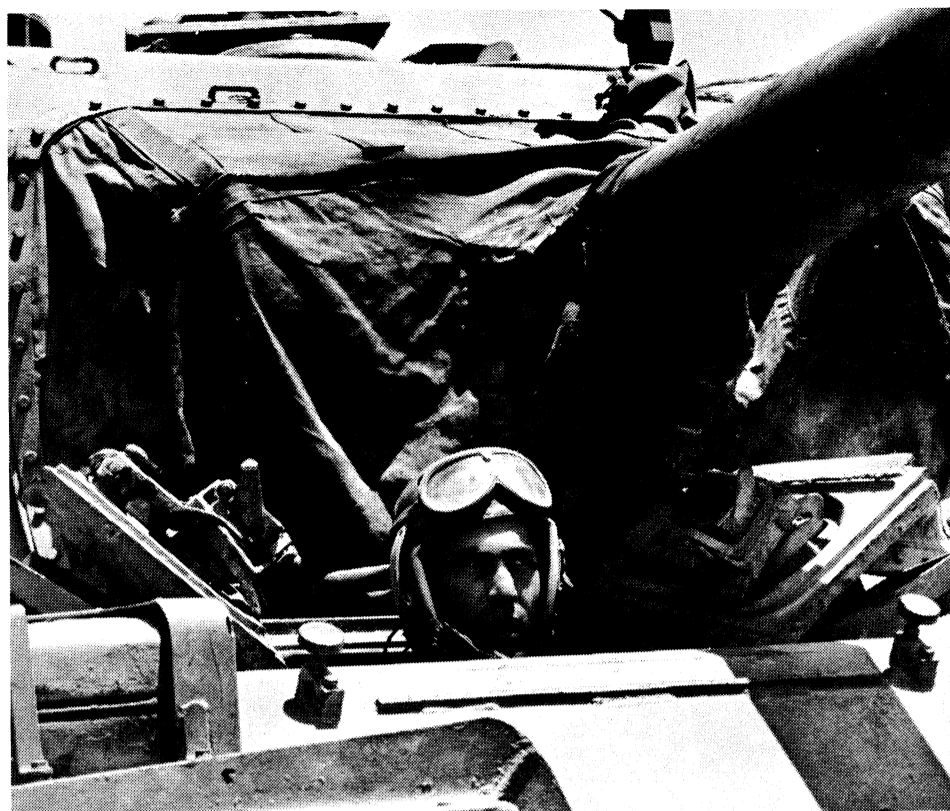
But those reserves are already down from a 1967 high point of some \$700 million to \$478 million, and Israeli financial authorities generally regard \$500 million as the danger point.

Under these circumstances, the Israeli rulers must undertake two kinds of measures. On the one hand, they must go hat in hand to international financial institutions, central banks, and governments for new funds or refinancing of old loans. During her recent visit to the United States, Golda Meir did precisely that. At the very least, she begged Nixon to renegotiate the payment schedule on the \$300 million worth of Phantom jets delivered by the U. S. to Israel this year.

But such a transaction has, of course, a political price. It is reasonable to suppose that Golda Meir's warm letter of appreciation to Nixon on his Nov. 3 speech defending the U. S. aggression in Vietnam was not wholly unconnected with her plea to renegotiate the Phantom deal. All efforts along this line to solve the financial problems of the Zionist state only increase its dependence on the imperialist powers.

Secondly, though, the Israeli ruling class must try to make the Israeli masses pay the economic price for the war economy. They must seek to cut real wages in order to curtail imports of consumer goods and enhance Israel's competitive position on the world market by cutting labor costs—without, of course, cutting profit rates.

Even before the recent election, David Horowitz, governor of the Bank of Israel, issued a statement to the effect that "austerity" measures would be necessary because consumption had been rising too fast. Golda Meir's new government—which includes sig-



Israeli tank — military spending creates big deficit.

nificantly greater representation (6 cabinet posts now, as against 2 previously) of the Gahal, itself a fusion of the quasi-fascist Herut and the big-business National Liberals—is now formulating its "austerity" program. According to James Feron in the Dec. 7 *New York Times*, "the new government is expected to introduce a five percent payroll tax and to augment sales taxes to levels up to 20 percent. Increased controls on the use of foreign currency and a tighter wage policy also will probably be imposed."

For more than six months, the workers at the Port of Ashdod have been carrying out a series of militant demonstrations and work actions directed against the bosses of the state-owned docks and their "own" Histadrut trade-union bureaucrats in an attempt to win some modest, but desperately needed, wage increases and a measure of control over the pace of work. They have been subjected to a vicious red-baiting campaign; they have been accused of profiteering and sabotaging national defense; they have been called traitors and Arab lovers (The majority of the port workers are Sephardic Jews, dark-skinned immigrants from the Arab countries.) Despite this campaign, they have remained firm in their demands. The Ashdod longshoremen know whose life is supposed to become more "austere" under the government's economic scheme.

Just at the moment that the govern-

ment is beginning an intensified assault on the workers of Israel, the growing effectiveness of the Palestinian fedayeen—who can no longer be dismissed as "bandits" by Zionist propaganda within Israel—and the increasingly widespread participation of Israeli Arabs in the resistance, is making clear to the Israeli masses that the very historical foundation of "their" state—the expropriation and expulsion of the Palestinian Arabs—has consequences that can not be evaded.

At the same time—as is evident from Zionist leaders' increasing efforts to offer reassurance that this state is moving towards economic and military independence—there is growing public concern about the country's financial and military dependence on United States imperialism. Memories of the capitalist democracies' total indifference—if not worse—to the Nazi persecution and genocide of the Jews are sufficiently vivid to counter illusions that America's rulers act out of any tender concern for the interests of the Jewish people.

The intensification of the Arab resistance has been used by the Israeli rulers to strengthen the hold of chauvinism and reaction on the Jewish people. But in the long run, taken together with the growing concern about dependence on U. S. imperialism and the intensified class struggle, it can lead to the spread of ideas critical of capitalist and Zionist ideology and, eventually, to the emergence of a mass anti-Zionist, socialist movement.

POR demand: Free Bolivian prisoners!

[After seizing power September 26, the Bolivian military junta headed by General Ovando Candia made a series of anti-imperialist gestures, going so far as to nationalize Gulf Oil, one of the greediest and most heavy-handed imperialist monopolies operating in the country.

[However, the anti-imperialist declarations of the Ovando government are contradicted by the fact that it has not ended the repression instituted by the previous governments that sold the country out to imperialism.

[Many members of the most militant anti-imperialist organizations are still in prison or forced into hiding. The principal victims of the repression have been the Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN—Army of National Liberation), initiated by Che Guevara; and the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR—Revolutionary Workers party), the Bolivian section of the Fourth International.

[The General Secretary of the POR, Hugo González Moscoso is being hunted by the police and his family has been subjected to harassment.

[The Bolivian Trotskyists are trying to expose the demagogic nature of the Ovando regime and at the same time compel it to grant more concessions to the people. The following is our translation of a printed leaflet now being distributed by the POR.]

An Unconditional General Amnesty and Freedom for the Revolutionists Accused of Being Guerrillas.

Despite the repeal of the State Security Law imposed by the imperialist counterrevolution, the freedom of more than thirty Bolivian patriots accused of being guerrillas is being denied and impeded.

Paradoxically, now when imperialism is threatening us with the Hicken-

looper Amendment,* the real anti-imperialist fighters are imprisoned and being hunted while the counterrevolutionary lackeys are free to engage in their intrigues.

The POR demands the immediate release of all the prisoners tried as guerrillas. Carry out the amnesty implied in the repeal of the State Security Law!

Freedom for the Trotskyists José Moreno V., Felipe Vásquez, Víctor A. Córdova, and Tomás Chambí!

Freedom for the ELN leader Enrique Ortega!

Freedom for Jurgens Schut, Gonzalo Oroza, Dr. Walter Pareja, and all the imprisoned patriots!

Freedom for Loyola Guzmán, Tertu Tuliikki, and Geraldine de Coronado.

Stop the manhunt. Civil rights for the General Secretary of the POR Hugo González Moscoso.

Bolivia, November 1969.

Partido Obrero Revolucionario
Freedom for Debray and Bustos!

* The Hickenlooper Amendment requires the U. S. government to cut off aid to any country nationalizing the property of American citizens if "just compensation" has not been made within six months. — IP.

Three soldiers victimized by French gov't

French military authorities have imprisoned three sympathizers of the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International, and charged them with "inciting to disobedience in the armed forces." The three, Devaux, Trouilleux, and Alain Herve, are serving in the army as draftees.

The trumped-up charges are based on articles written by the three, in which they explain the role of the military in capitalist society.

Arrested on Oct. 20, Devaux and Trouilleux are still being held practically incommunicado in a Rennes jail. The authorities have refused to inform Herve's family or friends of his whereabouts.

If convicted, the three could receive prison sentences of up to two years, and it may be a long time before their cases are tried by a court-martial.

The Ligue Communiste is undertaking a vigorous defense effort. Funds are needed. Contributions, messages of solidarity, and inquiries should be sent to Devaux's wife, Micheline Letourneur, 29 rue de Verdun, 44-Nantes, France.



Regis Debray

SMC calls national antiwar conference

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam announced plans Dec. 9 for a massive national student antiwar conference to be held Feb. 12, 13, 14. The conference was called by the steering committee of SMC which met here the first weekend in December. Carol Lipman, national secretary of the SMC, predicted the February meeting will be the largest and most representative gathering of antiwar students in the history of the anti-Vietnam-war movement.

"What Next For the Antiwar Movement?" will be the focus of discussion for high school and college students from the entire country. Building the conference will be a major antiwar project between now and mid-February. Out of the discussion and deliberation at the conference itself the SMC anticipates there will emerge a united program for student antiwar actions in the Spring.

Carol Lipman told the press, "The student antiwar movement is a very important part of the broader antiwar movement. Students have led the way in building mass, peaceful actions like the Nov. 15 mobilizations in Wash-

ington and San Francisco. They have led the way in rejecting red-baiting and anticommunist attacks on the antiwar movement by the administration and have led the way in building the movement independent of the government and its institutions.

"What the student antiwar movement does next will certainly be an important factor in building the kind of movement capable of forcing the United States to totally withdraw from Vietnam.

"The national conference will be discussing and planning a nation-wide program for building mass actions against campus complicity with the war, expanding contact and work with antiwar GIs, organizing high school students against the war and winning a bill of rights for high schools. Also to be discussed will be SMC's perspective for working with the adult antiwar movement in united mass action against the war. Our conference will be completely democratic and open to participation of any young person opposed to the war."



Photo by Robert Langston

ENTHUSIASTIC SOLIDARITY. Some 250 predominantly young demonstrators responded to call by Student Mobilization Committee to picket General Electric headquarters in New York City Dec. 11 in solidarity with striking GE workers.

Protests against war, General Electric

Oakland, Calif.

By DAVE WARREN

BERKELEY—A small but spirited rally of 250 people was held in Oakland on Dec. 13 to protest the Vietnam war, the victimization of the Black Panthers and to back the GE strikers. The rally was held just blocks from the gates of one of the main plants shut down as a result of the walkout of 147,000 GE workers nation-wide.

Speakers at the rally represented various antiwar groups and trade unions, including BAYPAC (Bay-Area Peace Action Council) which was the main builder of the rally, United Electrical Workers, United Steel Workers, UAW, Longshoremen, American Federation of Teachers and the Black Panther Party, SMC and other groups. Almost all speakers related the issue of the war to the struggle of the GE strikers and blasted the nation-wide murderous attack on the Black Panther Party.

Dave Kotz of UE Local 1493 explained the main thrust of the GE attack against the strikers. The attack is to bust the union into local bargaining units by denying them a national contract. As it is, GE pays only \$3.00 an hour average on the assembly line, only two days sick leave after five years service, and the pensions are only \$29 a week.

The crowd of young people had posters that read, "GE Makes a Killing in Vietnam" and "GE Needs This War,

We Don't." They were ready to march to the plant gates to join the picketers. However, they abided by the request of the strikers present to join them during the week instead, as the Oakland police were looking for any excuse to create a confrontation that would justify a general attack on the picket line and allow them to get trucks through. Proceeds from a collection went to the strikers.

Binghamton, N.Y.

By GARY WURTZEL

BINGHAMTON, N. Y. — The Binghamton Student Mobilization Committee has embarked on a campaign to aid the UE strikers at the Binghamton General Electric plant.

On Dec. 8, two representatives of the UE local addressed about 200 members of the SMC. The students heard about the national strike, "Boulwarism," and GE's role as the second largest holder of war contracts in the nation.

Special problems of the Binghamton plant were discussed. Anti-union harassment by supervisors (including confiscation of union literature and closed circuit TV surveillance), the lack of union consciousness on the part of many women workers who view themselves as mere subordinate adjuncts to their breadwinning husbands, and Binghamton's history as an anti-union town, have combined to seriously hamper labor organization in this plant. Only about 85 out of 2,000 workers are UE

members and on strike.

Students have joined workers on the 6:30 a.m. picket lines, and SMC will try to have students there every morning for the duration of the strike.

University and high school SMCers will picket shopping centers in support of the GE products boycott. Representatives of SMC will ask store owners to take GE products off the shelves for the duration of the strike.

The SMC, Young Peoples' Socialist League and the Young Socialist Alliance have also planned a march to the *Evening Press* building protesting the newspaper's anti-union editorial policy and refusal to give fair news coverage to the strike.

Boston, Mass.

By MIKE KELLY

BOSTON — Two major department stores here, Filene's and Jordan Marsh, were picketed Dec. 6 by antiwar students representing the Boston University Action Committee, the Student Mobilization Committee, and the Young Socialist Alliance in support of the boycott of GE products.

One leaflet distributed by SMC says the GE strike is a struggle between the workers who refuse to pay for the Vietnam war by taking a pay cut, and the government-backed GE corporation which hopes to drive down wages in order to make workers pay for the war and thus retain its swollen war-profits.

International tour for SMC leader

Allen Myers, editor of the GI Press Service, a publication servicing more than 50 GI antiwar newspapers, will be making an international tour to campaign against the war. His tour will focus on Southeast Asia, Australia and New Zealand, the Student Mobilization Committee announced Dec. 9.

"I will be traveling to Asia at the same time Vice President Agnew is there. Agnew will be drumming up support for U. S. government war policies in Vietnam, while I will be taking the antiwar message to thousands of people!" Myers said.

"The American antiwar movement is as aware as the government in this country of the importance of having international support on our side. And we have it. The international antiwar movement is growing. And we want to help it grow. I will be speaking to dozens of groups around the world, as well as talking to American GIs stationed around the globe. I may even go to Vietnam."

Antiwar movement should support strike against GE

The national office of the Student Mobilization Committee in Washington, D. C., has called for support of the strike against GE. Carol Lipman, SMC national secretary, outlined the antiwar group's position in a press conference Dec. 9.

A statement, sketching GE's large production of war machinery, pointed out that "the strike against GE is not only a strike for high wages but an indication that the American people are not interested in financing the war in Vietnam. It is a strike which should be supported actively by all antiwar forces.

"There are many actions in which the Student Mobilization Committee urges support in helping this fight.

"We urge SMCs to expose the fact that GE is the second largest war contractor for the U. S. government.

"We urge SMCs to initiate a campaign to stop all university contracts with General Electric.

"We urge SMCs to organize debates with strikebreaking recruiters and demand the universities not allow recruiters on campus.

"We urge SMCs to work with local unions organizing support committees for the GE strikers and help out in whatever way possible in the national boycott and picket lines against GE products.

"The national Student Mobilization Committee will begin a national educational campaign to inform the student community of the joint interests between the workers and the student antiwar movement.

"Workers in this country suffer as much, if not more, than anyone else because of the war.

"We are strongly opposed to any attempt to cut the living standards of the American people in order to finance and continue a war nobody wants.

"American employers, General Electric included, who have been enriching themselves on war profits, can easily afford decent wages and working conditions.

"SUPPORT THE GE WORKERS' STRIKE AND BOYCOTT."

Chicago defense movement develops

Mobilize opposition to right-wing thugs

By LEE SMITH

CHICAGO, Dec. 18—As the facts about the Legion of Justice and its attacks on socialists and others in northern Illinois have become known (see *The Militant*, Dec. 19), the initial steps have been taken toward the formation of a broad Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks. The Legion of Justice is a fascist-like group whose spokesman is Thomas Sutton, a right-wing Chicago attorney.

The committee is being formed in DeKalb, the site of Northern Illinois University where six students were gassed and beaten by Legion of Justice thugs in the apartment of three Young Socialists Dec. 6. The committee will seek the convening of a grand-jury investigation into the Legion of Justice on the basis of initial evidence gathered by YSAers and others connecting the Legion and Sutton to the Dec. 6 attack.

Laura Miller, DeKalb YSAer and secretary of the committee, says she expects the YSA convention in Minneapolis this month to get behind the effort nationally and help build the same kind of broad support that already exists in DeKalb, where groups ranging from the New University Conference to the Young Americans for Freedom have gone on record in favor of the campaign.

Chicago attorney Irving Birnbaum has agreed to represent the committee, and he is presently working with the victims of a Nov. 1 attack on the YSA-SWP headquarters in Chicago to see that a warrant is issued for the arrest of Thomas Stewart. Tom Dengler, one of the victims of the attack, has said he can positively identify Stewart as one of the Legion group making the attack.

Birnbaum will also probably defend Richard Hill and Carl Finamore, organizers of the Chicago SWP and YSA, who go to trial Jan. 6 on blatantly false charges of assault and battery and illegal restraint. The charges have been filed by Greg Schulz, also apparently associated with the Legion of Justice. Schulz visited the YSA and SWP

offices in Chicago Nov. 13 with the probable purpose of provoking some action which would serve as the basis of such charges. Instead, he was politely asked to leave in the presence of at least four witnesses.

Sidney Lens, veteran Chicago unionist and a cochairman of the New Mobilization Committee, is actively helping in the formation of the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks. Lens says that the indifference of the police to these attacks throws into sharp relief the different standards applied by the police in cases involving left-wing, antiwar or black liberation organizations and cases involving fascist and right-wing groups.

A striking example of what Lens refers to is a case that was heard in the Chicago courts last week.

On Dec. 10, Sam Oleinick, alias Cicero Sam Novack, and another character, Jerry Gasior, both identified as members of the Minutemen by the Dec. 11 Chicago *Sun-Times*, pled guilty to the unlawful use of a lethal weapon for shooting three hunting arrows into the basement of a Lutheran church that is used as a coffee house. Oleinick, reportedly a Legion of Justice member, was fined, and both were placed on probation for one year. In the face of the murderous repression of the Black Panther Party, many others, including some of a conservative bent, have begun to take note of what Lens is talking about. For example, the Lerner newspapers, a chain of neighborhood papers published in Chicago, ran an editorial in its papers for the week of Dec. 16 which said in part, "We do not characterize the Black Panthers as angels, and we would oppose the Panther policy of amassing firearms even if the weapons were registered legally, which they weren't. But it strikes us as rather inconsistent for the state's attorney to go to so much trouble to get black leaders for illegal gun possession while white groups—such as members of the Minutemen, the crime syndicate, and Operation Crescent, who reside in Cook County—reportedly have access to stockpiles of illegal weapons on a scale to put



Photo by DeKalb Northern Star

LEADS ULTRA-REACTIONARY GANG. Attorney S. Thomas Sutton (Older man foreground) leads "march for America" at Northern Illinois University campus. Long associated with white supremacist groups, Sutton is now spokesman for "Legion of Justice," a gang of ultraright thugs.

many a small nation to shame."

Operation Crescent, referred to in the editorial, is an organization Sutton helped to organize a few years ago to fight housing marches led by Martin Luther King.

Richard Criley, of the Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, has also taken an active interest in the formation of the new committee and, like Sidney Lens, is one of its first sponsors.

Antiwar leader and 1968 SWP Presidential candidate Fred Halstead has drawn up an open letter describing the Legion of Justice's attacks and related events, which is being circulated widely within the antiwar movement and among other radical and working-class organizations. There have been no further incidents since a written death threat was placed on the door of Richard

Hill's apartment Dec. 10, although on the Northern Illinois University campus in DeKalb on Dec. 11 a fire was set at the Black Students Center and a rash of Nazi "white power" stickers appeared on campus buildings.

These incidents, and the formation of the new committee, present the movement with the necessary opportunity to successfully repulse an attack and to serve notice on the ultraright and the police that now and in the future such attacks will not be passively accepted.

The Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks is still in the process of formation and does not yet have a permanent address. Those interested in more information can write to Laura Miller, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois.

U. of N. Carolina strike ends in significant victory

By LARRY L. SLUDER

CHAPEL HILL, Dec. 11 — The month-old cafeteria workers' strike at the University of North Carolina, which forced the closing of the campus' six dining halls, ended Dec. 8 hours before a scheduled show of force by black students here and from surrounding colleges. Branded "Black Monday," the planned activity turned into a victory celebration after the settlement was announced. The food workers, who approved the contract provisions unanimously, returned to their jobs Tuesday.

Terms of the contract include 10 paid holidays, 10 days sick leave, a provision for job classification and seniority, unemployment compensation, a union bulletin board, and an end to split shifts. Strike leaders noted that these gains, while important, were only a beginning.

Speaking to over 1,000 students and workers at the victory rally, Jesse Epps, a special assistant to American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union President Jerry Wurf, issued a challenge to university officials, stating that "we have just begun to fight.

We will not be leaving Chapel Hill or North Carolina as long as there are black and poor white workers struggling." Other union leaders indicated that a major drive to organize porters and maids, and then hospital workers, would begin immediately.

Local strike supporters were even more adamant in demanding continuation of the struggle. James Lee, training director for the Durham based Foundation for Community Development, was greeted with cheers and black power salutes when he told students and workers that "Today is a victory for black unity."

On this "Black Monday" in Carolina, it was clear to the workers and their supporters that the most important achievement of the past month was not the shorter hours and additional money that the strike settlement would provide, though that was naturally welcomed, but that several hundred workers had stood together, had formed a union, and had won. Nothing quite like this had happened before in Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Florida black students fight on school academic status

By LINDA FINE

GAINESVILLE, Fla. — Ninety-five percent of the 1,250 students at all-black Lincoln High School here struck for two weeks to protest the school board's decision to turn their community school into a vocational school. The strike ended, temporarily at least, after the school board and the students reached agreement.

The board made the decision to convert the school despite frequent, strong expression by black parents of the desire to keep the school academically oriented.

The students, outraged by the board's arbitrariness and by the decision itself, walked out on Nov. 25. On Dec. 1, they presented a series of demands, which included retention of Lincoln as an academic school, blacks on the school board, and black administrators and teachers.

Each day during the strike, the students marched from the school to the University of Florida campus and from there to the school-board building to demand a meeting with the superintendent of schools. Young Socialists joined each day's march, after a rally held on the university campus. The Student Mobilization Committee built rallies and distributed leaflets in support of the high school students.

Parents from the black community demonstrated their support in mass meetings.

Circuit Judge Connell issued delinquency warrants against 48 striking students and their parents. On the day slated for hearings on the warrants, however, the Judge, noticeably perturbed by the number of strike supporters present in his courtroom, postponed the hearing.

The agreement which ended the strike includes dropping of charges against the students, submission by the board of a plan to keep Lincoln an academic school, appointment of a black principal at least one new high school, and appointment of at least one member of the black community to each standing committee of the county's educational system.

CALENDAR

NEW YORK

Fri., Jan. 2. **REPRESSION AND REVOLUTION IN BRAZIL.** Speaker: Timothy F. Harding, Prof. of Latin American History; lived and studied in Brazil. 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (near 18th Street). Contrib. \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Fri., Jan. 9. **PALESTINE: FROM RESISTANCE TO REVOLUTION.** Speaker: Maan Ziyada, Member of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPF). 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (near 18th Street). Contrib. \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Four antiwar GIs fight attempted victimizations

Two GIs at Ft. Hood, Texas, and one at Ft. Jackson, S. C., face court-martials because of their antiwar activities. A bronze-star sergeant—a Vietnam vet—now stationed at Ft. McClellan, Alabama, is threatened with an undesirable discharge because of his antiwar views.

Pfc. Robert H. Bower is a 20-year-old Vietnam veteran, now stationed at Ft. Hood. He is charged with having been AWOL for three hours, participating in a public demonstration while in uniform, and being off post while in work uniform (fatigues). The charges stem from the Oct. 15 Moratorium rally at the Capitol in Austin where Bower was a speaker.

The charge of participating in a public demonstration while in uniform carries a possible penalty of two years at hard labor and a dishonorable discharge.

Bower's defense effort is being supported by the Student Mobilization Committee, 2200 Guadalupe, Room 23, Austin, Texas 78705. His Army counsel is Capt. Michael Guarisco, and his civilian lawyer is Ben G. Levy of Houston.

Pvt. Richard W. Chase has been in the Ft. Hood stockade since mid-October because of his refusal to take part in "Operation Gardenplot"—the federal government's national "riot control" training program—at Ft. Hood.

Chase has been active in the GI antiwar movement and has written for *Fatigue Press*, the Ft. Hood underground paper.

His defense is being organized by the Richard Chase Defense Committee,

Oleo Strut, 101 East Ave. D, Killeen, Texas 76541.

In New York City, a major fundraising event for the United Servicemen's Fund and the Richard Chase Defense Fund has been announced for Dec. 26 at 8:30 and 11:30 p.m., Manhattan Center, 311 W. 34th St. Entertainment will feature Pete Seeger, Jimmy Collier, the Pageant Players, the Burning City Theater, Viveca Lindfors and Barbara Dane.

At Ft. McClellan, Alabama, the brass are attempting to give Sgt. Lewis A. Delano an undesirable discharge. He has described his case in a letter to *The Militant* dated Dec. 11:

"Following months of harassment and discrimination on account of my political activity, the brass has initiated discharge action against me. My elimination is recommended because of unsuitability due to apathy, defective attitudes, and inability to expend effort constructively. In this illegal move, they neglected to mention that I am a member of the editorial staff of *Left Face* (the GI-WAC antiwar newspaper at Ft. McClellan) and also active in Ft. McClellan's GI-WACs United Against the War in Vietnam. . . .

"Exercising my right of free speech, I have spoken out against American involvement in Vietnam. After serving a 12-month tour of combat duty, my moral obligation to the Vietnamese people is to speak the truth of their struggle for liberation. . . .

"Unsuitability? My record: for 29 months, conduct/efficiency ratings were all *excellent*; for 32 months received no convictions under the Uniform Code of Military Justice; attained the rank of Sergeant (E-5); awarded the National Defense Service Medal, Vietnam Service Medal, Vietnam Campaign Medal, Army Commendation Medal and the Bronze Star 'for meritorious service.' Obviously the Army is attempting to punish me for my antiwar actions.

"This attempt to prohibit any kind of political activity among GI-WACs of Ft. McClellan is illegal. To fight my discharge action is of crucial importance as a legal precedent in the fight for GI-WAC rights. With the aid of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, I am demanding consideration of my case before a board of officers.

"Letters of protest should be sent to: Commanding Officer, Ft. McClellan, Ala. 36201 with corresponding copies to *Left Face*, P. O. Box 1595, Anniston, Ala. 36201, and GI CLDC, Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N. Y. 10011."

Pvt. Charles C. Carson of Ft. Jackson, S. C., has been sentenced to 70 additional days in the Ft. Jackson stockade, even though the Army backed down on three of the five charges pending against him.

Carson has been imprisoned since Oct. 19, some of this time in the "box," a 5 x 8 foot reconverted refrigerator for solitary confinement (see *The Militant*, Dec. 19).

The 18-year-old black GI has been victimized for his role in opposing the racism of the Army and the war in Vietnam. He helped to collect the 1,365 signatures of active-duty GIs for immediate withdrawal which was presented as a full-page ad in the *New York Times*, Nov. 9.

Two of the charges on which Carson was acquitted—breaking restriction and breaking arrest—were the two charges on which the military had illegally confined him for the 60 days prior to the court martial.

In an Atlanta press conference Dec. 11, held by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, representatives of RYM-AWARE at the University of South Carolina, the Student Mobilization Committee, and students from Georgia State University and Emory University in Atlanta, spoke in Carson's defense.



THE FORT JACKSON EIGHT

(Left to right) Pvt. Andrew Pulley, 18, of Cleveland; Pvt. Jose Rudder, 20, of Washington, D. C.; Pvt. Delmar Thomas, 22, of Cleveland; Pvt. Edilberto Chaparro, 17, of New York City; Pvt. Tommie Woodfin, 20, of Brooklyn; Pvt. Dominick Duddie, 17, of New York City; Pvt. Joseph Cole, 24, of Atlanta; Pfc. Curtis E. Mays, 23, of Kansas City.

BOOK REVIEW

The story of GIs United

ANTIWAR GIs SPEAK OUT: INTERVIEWS WITH FT. JACKSON GIs UNITED AGAINST THE WAR. By Fred Halstead. Merit Publishers. 873 Broadway, N. Y., N. Y. 10003. 1969. 47 pp. 50c.

On March 20 of this year, the brass at Ft. Jackson, S. C., threw nine soldiers in the stockade and hit them with enough trumped-up charges to keep each one of them in prison for several years. (One of them was an Army informer-provocateur who was quickly released.) The military authorities wanted to get the other eight because they were leaders of one of the most effective antiwar servicemen's groups that has yet emerged.

The Ft. Jackson Eight had acted with great intelligence in their organizing efforts. They had refused the temptation to try and work "underground," so the fact that an informer had wormed his way into their company didn't make any real difference. They had paid no attention to the informer-provocateur's efforts to lure them into various adventurist acts. They had formed strong links with the civilian antiwar movement. Because of all this, and thanks to a massive defense effort on their behalf by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, the Army was finally forced to drop all charges against the Ft. Jackson Eight.

In May, just after their release from the stockade, Fred Halstead interviewed four of the Ft. Jackson Eight—Andrew Pulley, Jose Rudder, Joe Cole and Tommie Woodfin. A week later, he interviewed Joe Miles, who at that time was stationed at Ft. Bragg, N. C., but had been an initial leader of the Ft. Jackson GIs United. Halstead is a skillful interviewer; the men are articulate, thoughtful and committed revolutionists. The result is an absorbing human and political document.

The pamphlet could serve as a textbook on GI organizing. The Ft. Jackson antiwar leaders explain how to use constitutionally guaranteed rights to beat off the brass' efforts at repression. They forcefully argue the case for working openly and for avoiding any kind of adventurist action that would open the organization to victimization.

They illustrate by the example of the GIs United the necessity and effectiveness of the utmost democracy. Policies and actions decided on after the most thorough and open discussion are genuinely understood by those carrying them out. And completely inexperienced, previously nonpolitical people will make correct decisions in the most complicated tactical questions if there is adequate discussion and if there are a few people present who possess political experience and understanding.

Even more important, perhaps, they

explain how GIs United, which was at first almost exclusively composed of Afro-Americans discovering their black identity and the potential power of it, consciously and deliberately advanced step by step to involve white GIs on the basis of a common opposition to the war in Vietnam without making the slightest concession to any racist attitudes or lessening their particular concern as blacks.

The pamphlet is in no sense a formalistic "organizing manual." It is a vivid account of a living experience. Some of the finest passages are those that capture the mood and atmosphere of an Army unit coming to political consciousness. "It was a flip-flop in the whole mood of that whole company," Joe Miles said of Company B, 14th Battalion, 4th Brigade at Ft. Jackson. "Politics were introduced and everybody was talking politics. They'd discuss it on their own, in their own little discussions, asking themselves even tactical questions. The thing was swelling, spreading, it was for real. It was a real movement. It wasn't artificial. The whole GIs United was an outgrowth of the nationalist consciousness and antiwar feeling among the black GIs and other GIs."

He went on, "And that's why it's going to continue to grow and continue to function no matter what they do to us, because they'll never stop the way guys feel. They can't give an idea an Article 15. They can't put thoughts in jail."

—ROBERT LANGSTON

GIs, civilians demonstrate in Fayetteville

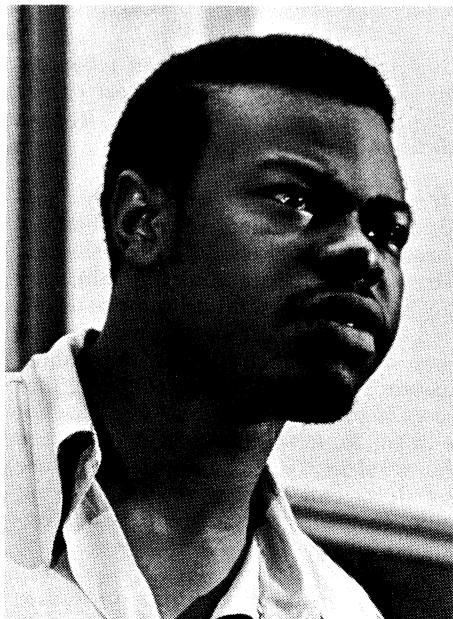
By ANDREW PULLEY

FAYETTEVILLE — Over 400 people demonstrated against the war in Vietnam in Fayetteville, N. C., Dec. 13. More than half the demonstrators were GIs.

This was the second GI demonstration organized by GIs United at Ft. Bragg in the last three months. The demonstration got a lot of support from local student groups.

Speakers at the rally included David Schulman, a leader of Ft. Bragg GIs United, and Andrew Pulley of the Ft. Jackson Eight.

The demonstration was a sign of the continuing strength of GIs United which was formed at Ft. Bragg over a year ago. Never before in the history of the U. S. Army have so many GIs actively opposed a war while that war is being waged.



Andrew Pulley

YSAer wins fight on discharge

Larry Friedburg, 19, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance since last June, received an honorable discharge from the U. S. Air Force on Dec. 19. Friedburg, who was stationed at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, received the unexpected Christmas present directly from the Department of Defense in Washington.

He had been threatened with a general discharge, on allegedly psychiatric grounds—"for his own good" and "to keep him out of trouble." The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee helped provide legal aid to defend Friedburg's constitutional right to speak out against the war and to discuss his political beliefs.

The most frequently asked questions

WHY WOMEN'S LIBERATION?

By CAROL HANISCH and
ELIZABETH SUTHERLAND
MARTINEZ

The following "conversation" was put together from various comments made by women and men on the subject of women's liberation. Written in the spring of 1968, it was one of the early pieces of literature to come out of the current upsurge of the struggle for women's liberation. It was first printed in the June 1968 issue of *Notes*, published by the New York Radical Women, a women's liberation group that has since disbanded.

Women's liberation doesn't have the immediate importance of black liberation or ending the war in Vietnam—the revolution.

That statement shows you have no concept of the oppression of women. It's true that women are not being killed off as a group in the great numbers that black people and Vietnamese are, or in such obvious ways. But 10,000 women die each year from abortions because the men who run this country have decided that a woman may not control her own body. Women are dehumanized and put into service roles like black people. More of us can "make it" economically, if we are willing to prostitute ourselves as wives of upper- or middle-class men. But basically we are economically exploited, psychologically oppressed and socially kept in "our place" by men and by a capitalist system that has institutionalized male supremacy—in a more subtle way than the caveman but just as destructively.

But other people are more oppressed than you.

That may or may not be. It seems rather futile to argue about who is most or more oppressed. If you're being stepped on, you don't stop to argue about whether the foot on your neck is heavier than the one on the neck of somebody else. You try to free yourself. And where it's the same foot, you work together. There may be several things holding you down at once. If you're a woman, it's men and the capitalist system. If you're a black woman, it's also racism.

Are you saying that women shouldn't fight in other struggles?

Of course not. Women will never be free in this country as it now exists because nobody can be. So you have to fight to change the whole thing. But we could change the economic system and women could still be victims of male supremacy, just as black people could still be victims of racism. To assure that this doesn't happen, women have to organize themselves to fight male supremacy.

You make a lot of analogies to the black movement. How do you see your relationship to black women?

At the moment, our group is largely white. Occasionally a black woman will come to meetings and that's great. Our meetings are open to all women. However, there is a reluctance on the part of white women to assume that black women want to be part of an "integrated" group. We figure black women may want to get together themselves first. Furthermore, we're all sisters but some of our problems are different. Many militant black women see their struggle as a fight alongside their men for survival; some say that only middle-class white women can afford to worry about their freedom as women. Some non-white women are beginning to organize on the women issue, however, so apparently there isn't complete rejection of the idea. Hopefully, all women will eventually be able to get together and fight for certain programs. This should result in lessening of white supremacist attitudes too, as white women get together with non-white women around similar needs. We will fight such racist practices as using maids to do the personal dirty work that men should share equally with us.

But women don't have it so bad. There are women doctors, lawyers, architects. Women are in almost all the fields open to men.

Almost is a big word. Besides, the number of women in creative and well-paying jobs is very limited. There are black legislators, lawyers, doctors and even a black man on the U. S. Supreme Court, too, but that doesn't make the masses of black people less oppressed. Also, women get lower pay for the same jobs and they have to work harder to rise in those jobs—just as black people do.

Don't you know that women control most of the wealth in this country? They also control individual men, not overtly but indirectly. Women have the real power, baby.

First of all, we don't want to wield power as it is wielded under the present system—to oppress, to destroy people's humanity. But even if we did, we don't have anything like real power. Much of that wealth is held by women nominally, for tax purposes. They don't make decisions about it. They aren't on the corporation boards of directors. They don't run industry, the military machine, the governmental structures. It may be true that women exert forms of indirect control over individual men, and it's an ugly phenomenon. Women manipulate "behind the scenes" and use the "feminine wiles" because most of them have been denied the chance even to think of themselves wielding power openly. Look how managers go through all sorts of changes with male workers if they put a woman in a position of authority. "Feminine wiles" is a product of women's struggle for survival—it's a plastic sword, a paper tiger, phoney, nothing. It's devoid of self-respect.

But men are exploited too. They do mostly unrewarding work. They are not allowed to be full human beings either.

True. But men still oppress women. So in addition to fighting to change the

capitalist system, women must also fight men for recognition of their humanity.

It sounds like you hate men!

When a man says that, it's a self-defense tactic—trying to put feminists in a hate bag, the way whites do to black militants. When a woman says it, it's usually because she doesn't see her own oppression. She doesn't see that she lives in a world of male supremacy, not limited to the USA or to the capitalist system. From the beginning of history, women have usually been seen by men—and therefore by themselves—as the lesser of the sexes. In periods of economic necessity, women have been allowed out of the home but quickly put back when that need ended . . . and told that's where they always belonged. The ideas are so old that it's no surprise women cannot see what has happened to them.

Are you trying to be like men, then?

Our demand is not for equality. Who wants to be like men! We are trying as women to define ourselves. We not only reject the definitions that men have given us, but reject becoming like men.

Your ideas may be all right for you personally, but why must you impose a particular life style on other women? Some women really want to serve a man in the traditional way, they just naturally want to be housewives.

That sounds like the "happy slave" argument for the South—a great rationalization for continuing oppression. There are at least two things wrong with your point. First, no woman in a modern Western society has grown up in the absence of lifelong pressure to seek submissiveness, to want to be a housewife, to define herself in the terms of the dominant male society. So no one can say for sure that such attitudes and goals are innate in women, that they come "naturally." Women never had a chance to find out what they really want; no one knows what a woman would choose if she were free psychologically and technically.

In the second place, it doesn't seem really probable that anyone would want to be no more than a housewife if all other avenues were open. Housework is uncreative, no matter what the mass media say about it in their relentless drive to sell a new cake mix or floor wax. Anyone who has ever done that kind of work for an extended period knows it is endless, repetitious drudgery with—worst of all—no relevance to the larger human community. It provides a pathetic sense of being needed, of identity, to many women. But anyone who thinks she feels good as she surveys her kitchen after washing the 146,789th batch of sparkling dishes isn't being "natural"; she's literally lost her mind.

PIONEERS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

By Joyce Cowley 25¢

PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

by Evelyn Reed 95¢

REVOLUTIONARY DYNAMICS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

by George Novack 35¢

Merit Publishers

873 Broadway New York, N. Y. 10003



Hey, I know a lot of men who wash dishes. Haven't you ever met a henpecked husband? Or just a nice guy who believes in helping?

Man, that dish-washing argument has moth-holes by now. The point is that such actions, no matter how much better than the man who won't do anything in the house, don't alter the assignment of roles. Housework remains the woman's job, and then the man "helps." If men started staffing nursery schools, that might reflect a real change in attitudes and roles. But the same man who will wash dishes wouldn't be caught dead in a job taking care of very young children—unless he could dress it up as some kind of sociological experiment. Listen, children should have alternatives also—to be cared for by men or women, or both.

If giving women all possible alternatives includes the choice never to have children, what happens to the human race?

Society cannot lay the responsibility for continuing the race solely on women. If there is any responsibility here, it's the responsibility of society to offer women all possible choices by developing new technology for continuing the species in other ways—so that the task need not be unilaterally imposed on women.

But what about the women who say that giving birth was the most extraordinary experience of their lives—would you deny them that?

It's true that some women say that. Others find childbirth exciting but no more so than various other experiences. Some women begin to enjoy children only when the kids attain a more developed humanness. It seems possible that those who find childbirth their most outstanding experience haven't yet had access to other experiences. Again, what we want is a society in which women who want to try it can do so and those who don't can not try it without being made to feel guilty, inadequate, "unfulfilled."

Are you also advocating an end to families—putting all kids in nurseries? Kids need mother love or they'll grow up neurotic.

santa
is a woman!

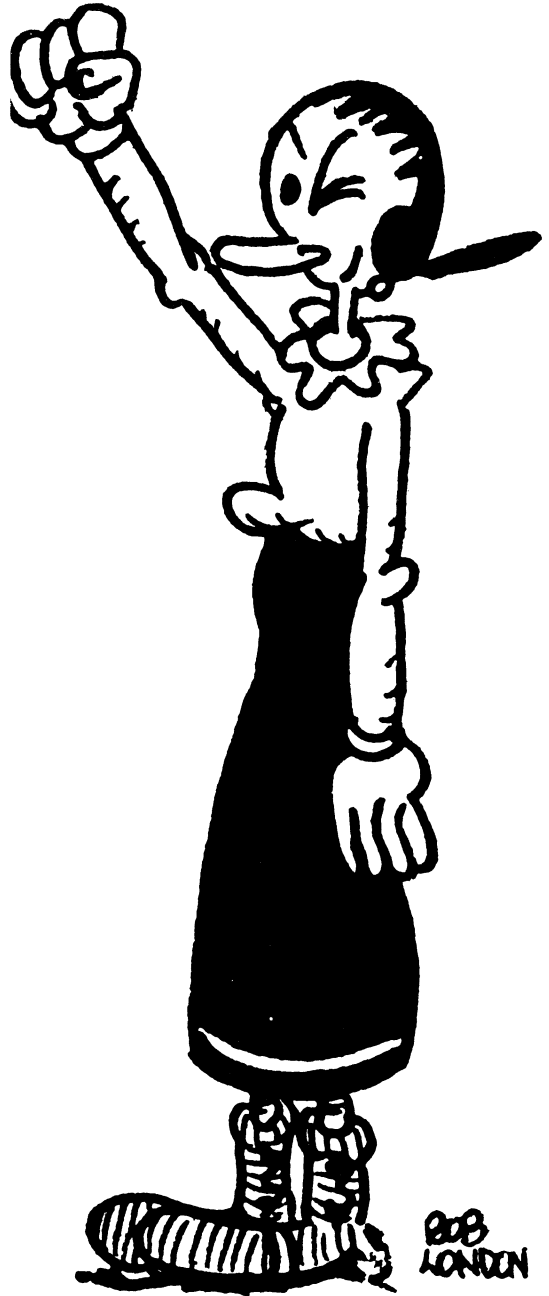


merry x'mas

Friday, Dec. 26, 1969



Friday, Dec. 26, 1969



example. There's something special about the relationship which doesn't exist between two people of the same sex unless they're homosexual.

That's still the undercurrent of possible conquest. Of course there are differences between men and women. But when men bring them up, it's usually with some form of inferiority in the back of their minds.

Ho hum. Well, what's your program?

If there is anything we can learn from the black liberation movement, it is that the primary job is consciousness-raising. Malcolm X said it about black people in 1964, and it's equally true for us:

"You can't give people a program until they realize they need one, and until they realize that all existing programs aren't . . . going to produce . . . results. What we would like to do . . . is to go into our problem and just analyze . . . and question things that you don't understand so we can . . . get a better picture of what faces us. If you give people a thorough understanding of what it is that confronts them, and the basic causes that produce it, they'll create their own program."

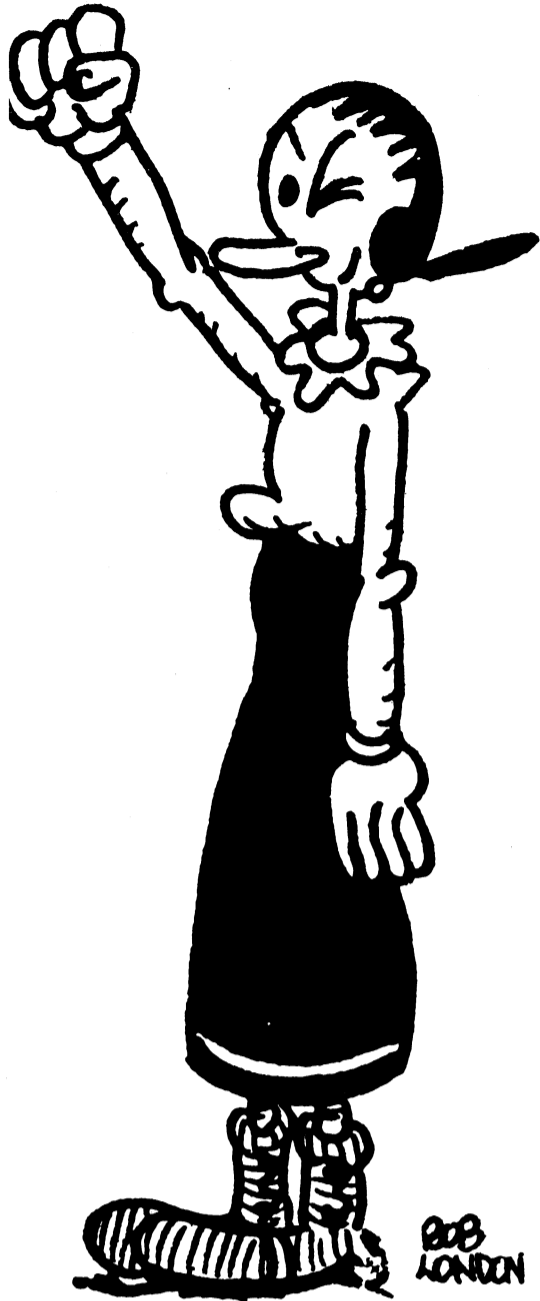
It is amazing how quickly we have been able to affect the consciousness of some women already. They see themselves as members of a group for the first time instead of believing their problems to be individual. Then they say, "Hey, I like women!" And that's a real breakthrough.

Well, I still think most women want things the way they are. They may demand equal pay or less drudgery, but they still want to have the same kinds of personal relationships with men that people have had for centuries. It's in nature.

A lot of women who say they just want to play the traditional roles are simply fearful—or unable to imagine other ways of being. Old roles can seem to offer a certain security. Freedom can seem frightening—if one has learned how to achieve a certain degree of power inside the prison. We don't seek to impose anything on women but merely to open up all possible alternatives; we do seek choice, as one of the functions which makes people human beings. We want to be free people, crippled neither by law or custom or our own chained minds. If there is no room for that in nature, then nature must be changed.

Well, all I can say is you must be a bunch of lesbians.

That's the one people always pull out last. It's the kind of tactic the ruling class uses when it feels threatened by anyone who challenges it. Queer-baiting is no different from red-baiting. Let's deal with the issues.



"Love" is a word screaming for re-definition. In sexual relationships, it often means dependency; it's a weapon for control, it's someone making an object out of someone else in order to satisfy ego and security needs. People become a kind of very elaborate, expensive furniture in each other's lives. "Mother love" can usually be translated as a woman finding her identity through another person. That's a terrible burden on the child, with each generation transferring the burden on to the next. It's also a paralysis of the woman's human development.

We believe that there is such a thing as humanistic love; that everyone needs to experience it; that you cannot love if you have not had the experience of being loved. But there is little social history to prove that the conventional, nuclear family produces such love—that it produces the happiest people. It usually turns out lonely runners in a rat-race rather than members of a human community. Its essence is like that of capitalism; it projects children as possessions and as the responsibility of individuals. But children are as much the possession and responsibility of the community as the land, the waters, the air and all resources available to man through nature.

Just what new forms should replace today's nuclear family—a combination of social and private child care, totally socialized care, the extended family or whatever—is not for us to determine. Men too have a responsibility for working that out. More important, we reject the idea that women must come up with a perfect formula for the human race before their demands for liberation are met. We want to get The Man off our backs; don't expect us to guarantee him a comfy chair to sit in afterward.

Well, even if that's all true, don't you think life would be duller without the spark of sexual difference? Don't you secretly dig the kinds of little tension between men and women?

Yeah, yeah—flirting is fun. A man opens a door for me, I thank him, he smiles—and electricity ripples through us both. A year later, I'm flushing out a diaper and he's opening other doors.

No, I don't mean only lovers—just men and women working together, for

Women's lib teach-in held at S.F. State

By DEBBIE WOODROOFE

The movement for women's liberation surfaced at San Francisco State College last week. Over 500 students and staff members attended an all-day teach-in on the oppression of women.

The teach-in was organized by students in the class on "Woman as a Minority." Many of them had noticed that whenever a leaflet went up on campus announcing a women's liberation meeting, men tore it down and many women would say "I don't feel oppressed."

The teach-in was intended to educate the campus on what the movement for women's liberation is, to expose the ways that women are oppressed.

Many professors cancelled their classes so their students could go to the teach-in. About 100 men came, and there was no heckling.

The day began with films—"Salt of the Earth," "The Jeanette Rankin Brigade," and a multi-media portrayal of women's image in advertising. These were the only films the teach-in organizers could find that were relevant to women's liberation, and several film makers in the audience volunteered to work on producing more films for this new movement.

The films were followed by nine women speakers, each an authority on some aspect of women's oppression.

Brenda Brush, of National Organization for Women, spoke on the social conditioning of women. "No matter what a woman does with her life, she ends up by apologizing," Mrs. Brush said. "We condition a woman to believe her primary role is that of housewife. Then we give her no status, no pay, and make her apologize for doing what every influence has led her to do."

Diane Feeley, of the Socialist Workers Party, was cheered when she announced she would be running for Senator against tap-dancer George Murphy in the 1970 election. Miss Feeley pointed out some of the parallels between the struggles of women and blacks and urged the women's liberation movement to speak out against the recent repression of the Black Panther Party. "Women are an oppressed sector of the population too, and it is necessary for us to express our solidarity with other sections of the movement that are under attack."

Among the other speakers were Lillian House, a black woman from the United Electrical Workers who explained the way in which GE discriminates against women; Charmeg Baskett, a welfare mother and member of Progressive Labor Party whose hus-

band was murdered by the police; Joan Jordan, who documented the economics of women's oppression; and Marjorie Uren who exposed the docile role women are assigned to play in children's books.

After the speakers, four demands were



Anyone who thinks the women's liberation movement exaggerates about the degree to which the mass media degrades women and portrays them as sexual objects needs only study this current cover of one of the major women's magazines.

presented that will be the basis for the formation of a broad-based women's liberation group on campus. The action proposals included 1) a childcare center on the campus financed by the state but controlled by the community; 2) a women's studies department that will end chauvinistic course content and write women back into history; 3) birth control devices and abortion counseling to be made available at the campus health center; and 4) an end to job discrimination by sex on the campus.

This was followed by workshops on women workers, education, motherhood, and the death of the bunny image. In the workshops, students and faculty members worked on drawing up strategy for ending second-class status of women on the campus.

The first meeting of the new group that was launched by the teach-in, Independent Campus Women, was announced.



You can be an even better mother, wife, cook and hostess

The media's image of "the perfect woman"

Retreat from mass antiwar action

Move to derail Mobe into multi-issue morass

By HARRY RING

The steering committee of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which brought out a million people in Washington and San Francisco Nov. 15, held its first meeting since that event the weekend of Dec. 13-14 in Cleveland. The decisions of the meeting constituted a serious retreat from organizing mass struggles against the war.

A program was rammed through the meeting which counterposes activity around a multitude of diverse social and political issues to united mobilizations against the war. This was carried through by an organized (but publicly unannounced) "radical caucus."

Among the adherents were "confrontationists" grouped around Dave Dellinger and Rennie Davis; ultraleft graduate SDSers concerned with reformist-type community organizing; pacifist advocates of non-violent civil disobedience; and liberal "peace politics" types like Arthur Waskow of the Institute for Policy Studies.

The meeting—smaller than usual, and far less representative of the broad coalition comprising the Mobe—was carefully packed by the "radical caucus." There were a number of people present and voting who were not added by any previous meeting of that body or by the conference which established the committee.

Proxy votes

Some dozen or more people were there reportedly as proxies for elected members of the committee, although in a number of cases the proxy votes were cast in favor of political stands that are the diametric opposite of those held by the members of the committee purportedly being represented. Many individuals also cast proxy votes in addition to their own, a practice not previously seen at New Mobe meetings.

The decisive vote came on an amendment to the proposed program of activity. The amendment (which had previously been blocked from the floor as a substitute motion) provided that the various activities agreed on build toward and culminate in mass demonstrations for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam in several hundred cities on a date in the spring to be selected.

This motion was defeated 29-25. Also defeated, by a greater majority, was a related motion to convene a broadly representative conference of the entire antiwar movement to finalize and launch an action and establish the structure to carry it through.

Speaking against the motion for mass antiwar mobilizations, Dellinger and others argued that such actions would tend to dominate and detract from the multi-issue program which they regard as their principal concern.

Opposing the motion for a movement conference, some "radical caucus" spokesmen candidly stated that such a conference might overturn the steering committee decisions.

Perhaps symbolic of the atmosphere was the sight of Irving Beinin of the *Guardian* staff, with both arms aloft against a motion favoring mass antiwar action, his own voting card in one hand, a "proxy" vote in the other.

It was quite remarkable to see 29 people, a number of whom represent no one but themselves, declaring on behalf of the million who marched Nov. 15 that such mass actions are worthless and then even opposing a democratic movement conference because it might possibly challenge that view.

This was particularly striking since the mass-action motion was supported by Prof. Sidney Peck, New Mobe co-chairman who was co-director of the Washington action; and by such anti-

war coalitions as those in Atlanta, Boston, Cleveland, Chicago, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, San Francisco and St. Louis.

Opportunism and ultraleftism

Lenin taught that ultraleftism and opportunism were two sides of the same coin, and history has frequently demonstrated how quickly ultraleftism can become opportunism. This meeting showed how the two seemingly opposite tendencies can work in tandem.

The three-point program adopted was as follows:

"1. Repression (January and February emphasis). a) Development of Mobe position paper on relation of the war and repression. b) Mobe support for Panther demand that UN investigate genocide. c) Mobe support Conspiracy through organizing People's Juries. d) Mobe support for GIs on trial and civilians who assist them (deserters, etc.)

"2. Who Pays for the War and Who Profits from the War? Educational efforts cresting on or around April 15 with strikes, anti-inflation picketing and boycotts at groceries, etc.; group tax protests or refusals, visits to IRS offices, tax payments to the poor, etc; support for strikers resisting efforts of business and government to put the burden of the war on the workers; demonstrations, sitdowns, etc., at offices and stockholders meetings of major war corporations; savings bonds returns (GIs); demonstrations, etc., protesting perpetuation of poverty, low level of welfare and medical payments, etc., caused by the war.

"3. GIs, Pre-Inductees, the Draft, War and War Crimes. Actions on Good Friday (March 27) especially on war crimes, morality, etc., and on Memorial Day with demonstrations at a number of bases—arranged with GI movement."

Just prior to adoption of this hodgepodge, Dave Dellinger took cognizance of the criticism that there was no mention of immediate withdrawal from Vietnam in the three-point program and hastily offered an amendment that the program be related to the demand for withdrawal. The amendment was duly included, but not a word was said as to how the multi-issue program would actually be related to the fight for withdrawal. Clearly, the intent of the amendment was simply to ward off criticisms of the "radical" grouping for its failure to even address itself to this crucial demand.

Some worthy issues

A number of the particular issues in the three-point program are supported by all opponents of the war and the system responsible for it. But isolated from any central focus—such as mass action against the war—the prospects for getting any action related to them off the ground are, at best, slight.

This is apparently quite agreeable to such political dilettantes as Arthur Waskow, who was regarded by the group as its principal ideological spokesman at the meeting.

At the May 1967 Washington conference that launched the Pentagon demonstration, Waskow sought to counterpose support of capitalist "peace" politicians to mass action. Then he turned up at the 1968 New Politics fiasco in Chicago with the thesis that the hippies had proven that you don't have to work and that not working is the way to bring down the system.

Apparently elaborating this thesis, Waskow offered the Cleveland meeting the thought that the way to oppose the war this spring is to organize monthly workplace teach-ins and demonstrations, building, by late spring presumably, into a general strike against the war.

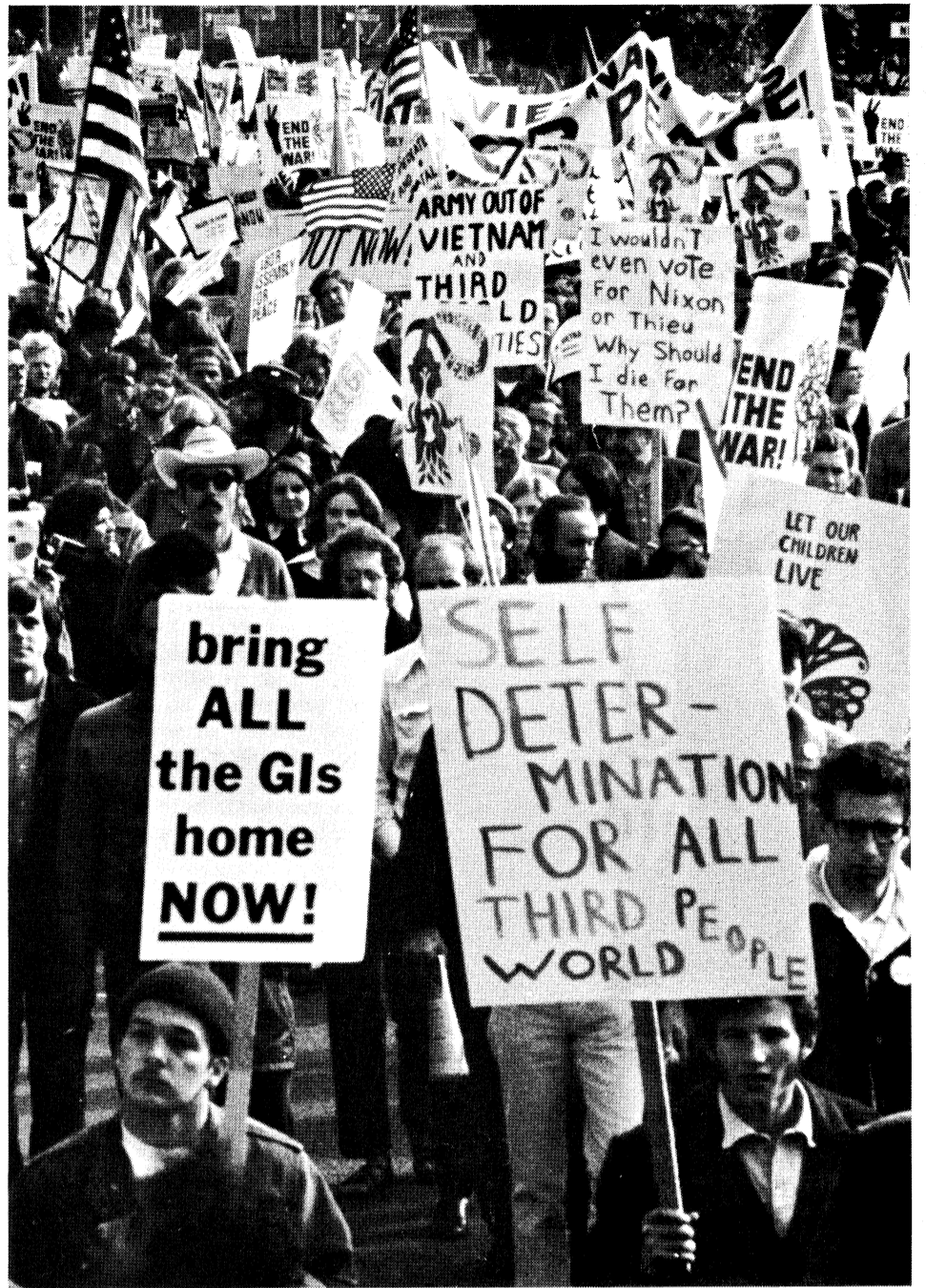


Photo by Ron Payne

SAN FRANCISCO, NOV. 15. A million people marched against the war in S. F. and D. C., giving dramatic new power to antiwar struggle. Yet question of the meaning of Nov. 15 was not even on agenda of first meeting of New Mobe steering committee after action. Instead there was a flight from antiwar struggle to diffuse activities around a grab bag of issues in name of greater "radicalism."

While such a project may be feasible at the Institute for Policy Studies and a few other places around the country, the notion of "mass walkouts" against the war in any significant sector of American industry in the next few months almost seems like a put-on.

Opposition to the kind of mass action that can be organized against the war this spring, was expressed in a "task force" report to the conference by John McAuliff of the Committee of Returned Volunteers. He asserts: "... for the moment mass national protest actions are a dead end."

"Real action"

What the million who marched Nov. 15 want, McAuliff and his fellow "radical caucus" members seem to divine, is "real actions in their own communities where they can fight the war and those responsible instead of just protesting. . . ."

An educational picket line at a local business office, according to McAuliff, is more "radical" than mass mobilizations against the war and, apparently by the simple device of escalated rhetoric, constitutes "fighting" rather than mere "protesting."

The "radical" character of the "radical caucus" was rather fittingly expressed by the fact that at the meeting it won the support of the thoroughly reformist Communist Party.

It would be a serious mistake for the antiwar movement to concentrate solely on mass demonstrations. Nevertheless, such demonstrations are the indispensable key to mobilizing antiwar forces for meaningful actions on the campuses and in the communities—including the "workplaces."

The past five years has shown that community activity has developed in a meaningful way only to the extent that such activity has been related to the major mass actions which have in fact built the antiwar movement.

And the converse has also been proven. After the Pentagon action, Dellinger and those associated with him in

control of the apparatus of the old National Mobe decided there would be no more mass actions and no more movement conferences to decide whether or not there should be such actions. But the efforts to convert the National Mobe into a multi-issue instrument simply resulted in its demise and replacement by the New Mobe and Nov. 15, the biggest demonstration in U.S. history.

Mere minimal demand?

The multi-issue proponents sneer at such mass mobilizations for immediate withdrawal as "lowest common denominator" politics to be replaced by a more "radical," undefined "anti-imperialist" movement.

An imperialist nation is today waging a war of aggression against a revolutionary people. A massive movement develops within that imperialist nation demanding a halt to the war. Regardless of the ideological level of those involved, such a movement strikes lethal blows against imperialism in the concrete. The attempts of the liberal capitalist politicians to coopt the movement, and those of the Nixon administration to meet it head on, bear testimony to that.

And the Vietnamese, with a body of experience in the concrete struggle against imperialism, have made public again and again their profound appreciation of the worth of such mass actions in the liberation fight.

The struggle to get the troops out of Vietnam continues. Nixon's "phased withdrawal" is intended solely to dupe the American people into relaxing their pressure for an end to the war. To retreat at this point from the withdrawal fight in the name of a higher "radicalism" is, objectively, to throw in the towel.

Fortunately, recognition of the compelling need to continue the fight for withdrawal is strong enough within the antiwar movement that those who would derail it into a multi-issue morass are not likely to succeed in their efforts.

Mexican political prisoners announce hunger strike

The great majority of the 120 political prisoners in Lecumberri jail in Mexico City have announced their intention to begin on Dec. 10 an unlimited hunger strike. This decision was reached after they learned that the initial phase of their trials had been closed without adequate evidence being presented or the required legal procedures being observed.

Chicano activist fights frame-up in Oakland

On Oct. 23, Ysidor Ramon Macias, a 25-year-old Chicano teacher in the Latin and Mexican-American studies department of Merritt college in Oakland, Calif., was sentenced by an Oakland judge to nine months in jail and three years probation on a frame-up "felonious assault" charge for having allegedly kicked a cop during the Third World strike at the University of California's Berkeley campus last winter.

The sentence is the heaviest given any campus activist in recent Berkeley history. Macias was in fact convicted because of his political beliefs and affiliations. He was active in the formation of the Mexican American Student Confederation and of the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan.

The prosecutor argued for conviction and a heavy sentence on the grounds that "Ysidor Macias should be made an example of." And Judge Harold B. Hove clearly revealed his bias when he justified his refusal to lower the charge to a misdemeanor—with a felony conviction, Macias will be prohibited from teaching—with the rhetorical question, "Is he [Macias] the type of individual we want teaching in an American institution?"

Although Hove refused to grant Macias release on bail pending the appeal of his conviction, the First Appellate Court overruled Hove, and Macias is now free on \$3,750 bail.

The United Defense Committee has been formed to publicize this case and finance the legal defense. The chairman of the UDC is Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, the treasurer is Prof. Oswaldo Asturias, and the secretary is Berta Ramonal Thayer.

Funds are urgently needed. Contributions should be sent to the United Defense Committee, P.O. Box 4116, Berkeley, California 94704.

Many of the prisoners were arrested in connection with the mass student protests in Mexico City last year. These student struggles got world-wide publicity after the Oct. 2, 1968, massacre, when police shot into a huge crowd of protesters, killing scores and wounding over 100 others.

In the Mexican court system, the first phase of a trial is devoted to gathering evidence. In the second phase, another court hears arguments based on this evidence and then rules on the case.

In the cases of the federal-law political prisoners, the investigating judge, Ferrer MacGregor, declared the first phase of the trial closed on Nov. 22, without holding the required hearings, without allowing the prisoners or their attorneys to see the formal accusations presented by the government or the evidence introduced to support them, and without the defense attorneys being able to examine prosecution witnesses, or question evidence.

The pressure on the government to release the prisoners is becoming powerful in Mexico. However, the press has not carried any news of the illegality of the so-called trial. All that was printed was a laconic note announcing that the proceedings had been closed.

It is essential that the hunger strikers receive the greatest international support. December is traditionally a dead month in Mexican political life, a fact that makes the circumstances of the prisoners even more difficult. Messages of support can be sent to Lic. Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, Presidente de Mexico, Palacio Nacional, Mexico 1, D. F.; or Lic. Luis Echeverria, Secretario de Gobernacion, Av. Bucareli y Calle General Prim, Mexico 1, D. F.

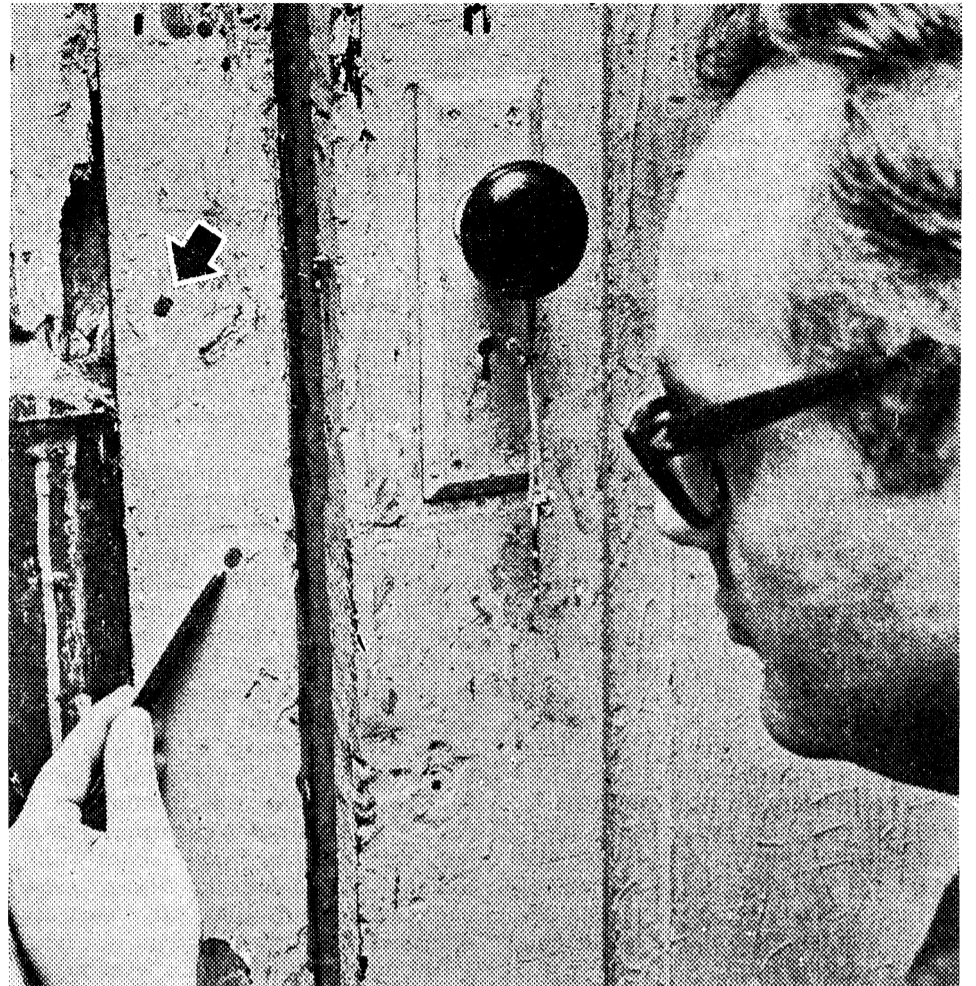
'Corky' Gonzalez wins court victory

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, leader of the Crusade for Justice in Denver, won a victory in court Dec. 4 when he was acquitted of charges of assault and battery against a police officer during a student demonstration last March 20.

During a four-day trial, Gonzales' lawyers, Eugene Deikman and Harry Nier, proved that the violence that did take place at the demonstration was caused by the cops who began pushing high school students who were protesting against racist remarks made by a teacher.

Photos and a 15-minute film compiled from TV news films were shown by the defense to illustrate their testimony.

Action urged against Panther-killing cops



CAUGHT IN LIE. One of photos released to press by Illinois State's Attorney Hanrahan to "conclusively prove" the Panthers began gun battle with police by firing at them. The caption on the photo explained the circled spots indicate bullet holes, but when newsmen inspected the apartment they found the spots were only nail heads. Newsmen checked apartment against captions on the other three released photos and found equally glaring contradictions. Despite the lying captions accompanying them, the photos actually helped confirm the Panther version of what happened and to disprove the police fabrications.

By ELIZABETH BARNES

Evidence that Chicago Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered in cold blood by the Chicago police is now so overwhelming that mass pressure has intensified for a full-scale investigation to bring the criminals to justice and to halt the national "search and destroy" campaign against the Panthers.

The most sensational revelation came when photos released by Illinois State's Attorney Hanrahan, purportedly showing it was really a shootout, actually confirmed that the Panthers' charges are true—that the police were not responding to Panther gunfire and that

the shooting was done by the cops.

Such revelations as these have moved many public figures and groupings to express concern and to support initiatives for one or another kind of an investigation.

For example, the Cook County Bar Association, representing black lawyers in Chicago, branded the police raid as "illegal in concept and in its execution." The search warrant, the Bar Association declared, "was merely a subterfuge . . . the mission of the police was to murder and maim."

Apparently hoping to cool mounting anger in the black community, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg and other similarly conservative-minded figures announced plans for some kind of a public inquiry.

While federal and state officials continue to deny there is a systematic national campaign to destroy the Panthers, the Justice Department acknowledged it has been bugging and wiretapping the Panthers and passing on to local police the information collected.

Such revelations, coupled with the irrefutable character of the entire pattern of nationwide attacks against the Panthers—a campaign in which 28 have been murdered, scores wounded and many more railroaded to prison on trumped-up charges—underscores the need for a full-scale probe that is totally independent of the government and those tied in with it.

A genuine public commission of inquiry, composed of individuals representing a cross section of the black community, can be of tremendous aid in massing public support nationally and internationally to halt the campaign against the Panthers. But there must be no Warren Commission type investigations which serve only to bury the real issues under the rug. The full truth about the campaign of extermination against the Black Panthers must be brought to the entire world and that campaign must be stopped in its tracks.

Veteran Los Angeles socialist dies

On Dec. 9, members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance gathered along with relatives and personal friends to pay memorial tribute to Emily Thornton, a long-time member of the Socialist Workers Party who died Nov. 29. The following are excerpts from a memorial speech by Tybie Martin of the SWP who had known Emily, or Babe as she was known to all, from the days they worked together in the same shop.

* * *

Our comrade and friend, Emily Thornton, died Nov. 29. She was 69 years old. She was a working woman who had to raise four children by herself. What distinguished her from other mothers and working women was the fact that she was a socialist and that she was Babe, the ever youthful Babe.

Babe did not teach classes in Marxism, but she learned it and understood it, and she practiced what she learned, as a trade-union organizer, activist and rank-and-file party worker.

Babe did not talk about her personal life and problems. But in order to understand her and what made her the

deeply loyal, sympathetic friend and comrade that we knew, it is important to trace a little of her story.

Babe had four small children during the years of the depression. She told me once that she worked as a waitress so that she could manage somehow to bring home food to feed her children.

In 1938 and '39, she found work in the garment industry, and during the organizing drive of the ILGWU, she she was the one worker who responded to a call for a meeting to organize the shop, a call by one of the young organizers, a Trotskyist activist in the union.

Babe quickly became part of the organizing drive of the union, but far more important and significant, she became a student of socialism, a socialist and—what followed naturally—she became a member of the Socialist Workers Party about 1940.

This made a marvelous difference in her life, for Babe had found the answers to many of the social and political problems that were part of the times in which she lived.

She found a milieu for significant

activity, for her social life, for her political understanding and intellectual growth, and she found a role to play as builder of the party, salesman of *The Militant*, fund raiser, and anything else that the organization needed.

During the repressive period of the war years, she worked for a time in San Pedro, for a time in New York; then in the garment industry in Seattle. After the war, she worked again in a Los Angeles garment factory, talking to the workers, acting as shop steward and representative, fighting the bosses and the union bureaucrats.

That's when I first knew Babe, around 1948 and '49, in the sweatshops of Los Angeles. She always saw to it that *The Militant* got into the hands of her most class-conscious fellow workers. She was usually on the bargaining committee or the shop grievance committee, and although by this time, the Stalinists had pretty much had their own way in the union bureaucracy, Babe let them know that she was around.

Through the many difficult years of the 1950s, Babe never lost her perspective, her intransigence or her never-swaying loyalty to the Party.

Is U.S. inflation out of Nixon's control?

By DICK ROBERTS

"We are entering an interlude where all things will seem to be going the wrong way." This remark by the chairman of Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers, Paul McCracken, was quoted in last week's *Militant*.

It reflects the growing uncertainty among capitalist politicians and their advisers about the future of the U.S. economy. The administration is pressing a fiscal and monetary course bent on inducing a recession and ultimately undercutting the fast pace of inflation.

But unemployment has already begun to take hold and prices continue to rise as fast as ever.

If the capitalist press is becoming more and more vociferous about the possible consequences of Nixon's economic policies, it has little to say about their causes. What causes the inflation? Why does it seem to be out of control of the government?

There are basically two *interrelated* causes of the inflation: war spending and monopoly pricing.

The manufacture of war products, it should be kept in mind, is highly profitable because the contracts are underwritten by the capitalist government. With an escalation of war spending, there is a scramble for war profits and inevitable inflation.

In order to raise capital for war investments, the corporate rulers are quite willing to sacrifice investment in less profitable areas of consumer-goods production.

The monopolists impose an artificial scarcity of consumer products, in order to jack up their prices and to pump the additional profits into the war industry.

General Electric, for example, which is the third largest producer of war machinery in the country, reveals in its 1968 *Annual Report* that in 1964, before the escalation of the war, 29 percent of its products were consumer goods and 17 percent war goods. In 1968, GE had cut consumer goods back to 25 percent of its products and raised war goods to 20 percent.

GE offers: an exercise in corporate "principles"

By FRANK LOVELL

The Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service arranged for separate negotiations on Dec. 15 between the General Electric Co. and the United Electrical Workers which is the second largest of the 13-union coalition. Although there have been earlier bargaining sessions between UE and GE, this is the first time they have been joined by federal mediators.

Despite pledges by the Nixon administration, and Secretary of Labor Shultz in particular, to maintain a "hands off" policy in the strike, federal mediators have kept in close touch with all developments in negotiations. Wherever possible they intervene to keep up the appearance of meaningful talks.

In these sessions with UE the federal mediators are satisfying one of GE's "principles" which is to deal separately with each of the unions involved. In this way GE has in the past successfully pitted the unions against each other.

Throughout the present strike, which is nearly two months old, the 13-union coalition has held firm to the position of national contracts in the industry and a unified set of demands.

Negotiations with the International Union of Electrical Workers (AFL-CIO), the largest of the unions involved and the leader of the coalition, broke down Dec. 11 when the company refused "impartial arbitration."

This offer to arbitrate the issues involved was made by the unions and

At the same time the monopolists raise capital from banks and other sources of credit, and this drives up interest rates. Higher interest rates, in turn, affect prices throughout the economy: At each stage of production and distribution, money is borrowed, and higher interest rates pyramid the cost of the final product.

Food prices are particularly vulnerable because of the fact that farmers must borrow heavily to buy their land and machinery. Housing is cut back because most houses are financed by the purchase of interest-sensitive mortgages.

The more the government spends on war, the more monopolists scramble for war profits, the more banks drive up interest rates—the higher the cost of all consumer goods, the less houses.

If, in addition, the government is "deficit spending" to finance war production, the impact on interest rates and inflation is all the greater. Deficit spending means that the government itself is borrowing money, to make up for the deficit between the amount it takes in through taxes and the amount it spends. The more the government goes into debt (it now owes about \$380 billion), the higher the interest rates banks charge it—after all, business is business. And all other interest rates spiral upwards from this level which the government pays in its borrowing from banks.

But high prices and high interest rates in this country have been churned to their historic highs in the last few years by yet another factor: intensified international competition between the monopolies. And it is this last factor that the capitalist press is most silent about, because it most clearly illustrates the anarchic toll of monopoly profit-seeking.

The capitalists *as a class* agree on the course their government is taking. War-primed inflation has steadily driven up the price of U.S. products and eroded the competitive position of U.S. monopolies in world trade.

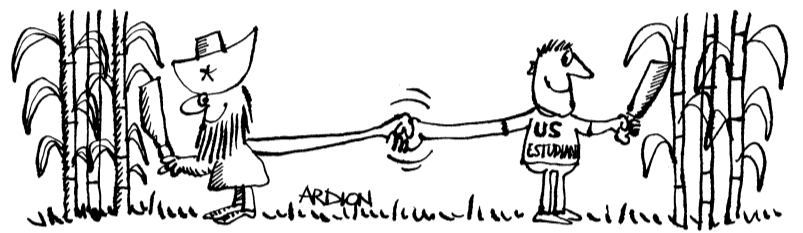
More and more foreign products have flooded into this country; U.S. products

rejected by the company on the eve of the strike, last Oct. 26.

In the long history of union-management relations, arbitration of disputes has most often served the interest of the employers. But GE, which likes to be considered the ideological leader of industry in labor-management relations, considers it to be a violation of another of its "principles" to submit any question to arbitration. This position was re-stated most recently on Dec. 11 by GE's man-in-charge-of-negotiations, John R. Baldwin, who asserted that the company cannot and will not surrender to a third party "crucial decisions" affecting long-term operations that are "properly our responsibility."

He further asserted that the unions' failure to accede to GE-dictated wages and working conditions (violation of another GE "principle") brings on a "bleak Christmas" for striking employees. This paternalistic concern for the welfare of GE employees, regardless of the feelings, desires, and demands of these employees, is yet another GE "principle," one of the most basic.

A GE spokesman (possibly Baldwin) is quoted in the Dec. 13 *Business Week*: "It's like the Paris peace talks. You can't win by negotiating." This says something about the GE position on the war against the Vietnamese and the war against the GE workers: unconditional surrender. Involved in this position is the most basic and the only genuine GE principle—profits.



About 250 Americans—the first contingent of the Venceremos Brigade—have arrived in Cuba to find out about that revolutionary country and help harvest the 10 million tons of sugar cane the Cubans hope to bring in this year. Camped near Havana, they are beginning to learn the arduous task of cutting and stacking cane, a job that is crucial to Cuba's economy. The cartoon was prepared specially by a Cuban artist for Liberation News Service.

have found it more and more difficult to enter foreign markets. The result is clearly illustrated by the sharp drop in the balance of trade: In 1964, there was a surplus of almost \$8 billion more goods exported from this country than imported to it. Today it has fallen to a surplus of zero—and if you don't count the export of war goods, there is an actual trade deficit.

The idea of Nixon's recessionary policies is to increase the pool of unemployed workers in order to help the monopolies to drive down real wages and improve their competitive position in world trade. So far, no disagreements.

Where the plan falls apart is when it gets down to the question of the *individual capitalist corporation*. On this level the thinking goes like this: "Alright. You cut back on production and lay off your workers. We can't do that right now because we have to build a new automated plant to keep up with our foreign competitors."

In other words, the plan to salvage the competitive position of U.S. monopoly founders precisely on the rock of world monopoly competition! Listen to the September *Fortune* magazine description of a plant that is being built by General Motors in southern Ohio: "In the fall of 1968 the company announced plans to build a new car, the XP887, that would compete in price and performance with the most popular imports . . . In order to keep the costs of the compact to a minimum, GM wanted a new plant so that it could introduce the most sophisticated assembly techniques."

So GM is pouring \$75 million into the new plant and paying whatever materials and labor costs are necessary. And this process is being repeated from one trust to the next, across the country. Capital expenditures are slated to rise in 1970 no matter how much in agreement the capitalists are about their desire for a recession in 1970.

And this is inflationary because the

very urgency of the need for new, more automated plant and equipment allows the manufacturers of machinery and the construction industry to jack up prices.

And it adds a further need for capital to finance expansion, a further demand for bank loans, which exerts added upward pressure on interest rates.

In time, the administration policy of limiting the money supply, all the more forcing up interest rates, must make money so expensive that the inflationary expansion will slow down. But it is evident that the combination of war spending and international competition adds many unpredictable and explosive factors to the economic mix—because, in the last analysis, these factors come down to the individual decisions of each competing trust.

It is this anarchy of competition for war profits and dominance in world markets that has so far proved such a mighty stumbling block to the economic policies of the capitalist government.

Works by Ernest Mandel

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Life in an auto plant

Enforcing speedup

By TOM CAGLE

(This is the third of several articles on life in an auto plant. The author is a veteran union activist who has worked for many years at the General Motors plant in Fremont, Calif.)

There are several ways to enforce speedup in a modern factory. General Motors uses primarily two. First comes harassment of the workers, and second the other part of the pressure system which consists of cajoling union representatives who are expected to calm worker restiveness.

Chaos

Management is whipped into a frenzy by its self-induced chaotic breakdown in production. Small-time foremen stumble over each other in their guilt-ridden search for the culprit to fix the blame on. They descend on the overloaded worker with a vengeance. "You are going to do all your work or else," they threaten.

Job preservation is a rather strong drive in most workers, especially workers with families. And regardless of their past suspicion and criticism of the union they are always forced to turn to the union once again for protection.

When foremen turn the speedup screws, calls for union committeemen skyrocket. Committeemen are running seven days behind schedule in answering these calls. Often case loads of grievances double in two or three weeks. In a few days as many as 500 "paragraph 78" grievances are filed. (Grievances protesting too much work, these "78s" are strikeable issues under terms of the UAW contract.) In addition, there are hundreds of suspensions and protest grievances charging harassment, threats and intimidation.

Strike back

This generates pressure upon the union. Union officials issue leaflets denouncing management's practice. They call meetings to discuss these problems. Angry sentiment is strong for a strike vote.

This escalation of class resistance by the workers is matched by an escalation on management's part of discipline over the workers in a display of naked power. Much of this is directed against the most militant workers, of course, so that management can make an example of them.

By now the union committeemen have become emotionally involved in this struggle, and they demand a strike vote. As weeks of fruitless effort to negotiate drag on, management turns on the shop committee and arrogantly suspends the most outspoken of the union representatives. Usually this disciplinary action includes the chairman of the shop committee. Then a strike vote date is set and a large turnout of the membership shows an overwhelming 97 percent of the workers favoring strike.

Now comes the UAW International.

The International representatives enter our local negotiations as a "five-day letter" is sent to management notifying them of our intention to strike the plant in accordance with provisions of our national contract.

Enthusiasm runs high among the workers as the strike date is set and the showdown with management approaches.

Strangely the International negotiators from Detroit approach our problems as "detached" impartial arbitrators, lacking emotional involvement or identification with the workers who have been fired and who help to pay the high wages and fat expense accounts of the International representatives.

"They??" (the management and our International representatives) decide to "lock up" our shop committee and negotiate in isolated secrecy until this crisis is resolved.

Our membership is to have no voice in any of the decisions. Everything will be decided by higher authorities who know what is best for us.

Speculation and criticism runs rampant during the next week or so. Will we strike this time? Or will our International reps bring in another of their compromise settlements?

"Strategy"

In the plant, workers question the effectiveness of a strike versus a slowdown. Some talk about a sitdown as the "direct action" answer to speedup.

They know that a strike can force a settlement of additional manpower only to have management crank up the line speed and take away our victory the following day.

They reason that we must have a day-to-day strategy to effectively counteract management's mobility. I do not want to minimize the understanding or consciousness of the workers as it now exists. Most workers are willing to try the "union method" of threatening management with a strike in order to force a few concessions. But they realize, basically, the futility of this, and reluctantly go along with the union's strike procedure knowing that it offers no solution to the problems as they now exist.

Good questions

The last five days before strike deadline! The many questions asked are best summarized by a leaflet distributed



1936-37 UAW sit down at Chevrolet plant in Flint.

at our plant gates by the Black Panther caucus. "What happened to the strike?" This key question is followed by the brief statement that "some strange things have been going on, the grievances are settled but our union hasn't bothered to tell us what the terms of the settlement are.

"This raises some questions about the whole way negotiations were carried out.

"Why have negotiations been kept secret? What was the bargaining committee asking for in the first place? Why didn't they tell us?"

"What did they settle for?"

"Committeemen were kept under virtual house arrest throughout the final days of negotiations: they were ordered by management to remain in the bargaining room for 24-25 hours at a time without sleep and were not permitted to go out on the floor to confer with the rank and file.

"Management wouldn't allow alternate committeemen to function in their place.

"Why did management pull that kind of crap?"

"What the hell happened Monday night?"

"How come the foreman told us about the settlement first?"

"Why weren't the committeemen around to explain the settlement?"

"Have we really won?"

"How come the line was speeded up as soon as the settlement was announced?"

"That's what we were going to strike against.

"How come more than 20 guys were disciplined Monday night?"

"We were going to strike against that too.

"And how come six guys from passenger soft trim were suspended on day shift Tuesday?"

"This settlement means a lot to all of us—it will determine whether working conditions are fairly decent or whether they will steadily worsen between now and contract time.

"The union is our representative. It has an obligation to clearly explain things to us from first to last.

"It shouldn't act in secret, but should consult with the rank and file on our opinions on negotiations.

"Let's get it together and make sure that's the way our representatives are functioning.

"Come to the union meeting Sunday 10 a.m. and let's take a long close look at the settlement."

Decisions

These questions were in the minds of most members and it seemed as if the union meeting to discuss and vote on the settlement would be well attended and could result in serious action against GM.

In another article I want to tell how GM moved against the Black Panther caucus and what the final outcome of the union-management negotiations was.

Workers at Flint Chevrolet hit by overproduction

By FRANK LOVELL

When 2,300 UAW members in Flint, Mich., walked out of General Motors' Fisher No. 2 plant on Sept. 24, closing the near-by Chevrolet assembly plant and forcing another 1,600 UAW members off their jobs, it seemed then to union officials as if GM management were simply repeating its annual speedup drive which begins with the introduction of each new model.

The overload this year was unusual heavy, and UAW Local 598 members called the strike to force management to negotiate the new production standards, a recognized procedure under the UAW contract.

Union negotiators found management unyielding on every point and charged early in the strike that GM was using the decline in car sales in order to speedup production in some plants while preparing to close others.

This charge was countered by a GM spokesman who scoffed, "You just don't let two plants and all this investment stand idle."

Now, after nearly three months of the strike with "two plants and all this investment" idle, GM has announced the closing of 11 of its 23 U.S. auto assembly plants for the entire two weeks of Christmas and New Year's.

A UAW member in Flint reports that "GM makes the same bodies in Ohio and California as they make here, and they are shipping those bodies in to fill the gap that strikers leave.

"With car sales off, GM would rather leave the strikers outside than to bring them back.

"The president of Local 598 and the bargaining committee report that management sets ridiculously high production quotas. When union representatives indicate a willingness to accept management's proposals as the basis for resuming production, management then raises the standards even higher in order to forestall agreement.

This report from the Flint picket lines was confirmed by a report of the Federal Reserve Board, Dec. 15, which says industrial production declined in November for the fourth consecutive month.

Since July, according to the *New York Times'* account of Dec. 16, industrial production has fallen two percent, the greatest decline being in the month of November.

Auto production was far below projected norms, with a cut-back of six percent from October to November. Further reductions have been announced for December.

The *Wall Street Journal* reported Dec. 9 that overtime in the auto industry has also fallen sharply in the last year forcing many workers to scrimp on necessities, postpone purchases, borrow money and look for extra work either for themselves or their wives. It is also breeding a rank-and-file frustration that could bode ill for labor peace in the auto industry, where contracts come up for renegotiation next year."

For the workers themselves it means the demand must be raised for an escalator clause for hours of work. Whenever unemployment threatens, hours of work should automatically decrease with no loss in take-home pay.

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Afro students at Harvard act on job discrimination

By DICK OSBORNE and
MATT SPENCE

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — A day of militant actions against Harvard University's racist employment policies ended at 5 p.m., Dec. 11, when about 100 students of the Harvard-Radcliffe Organization for Black Unity (OBU) left University Hall, Harvard's administration building, chanting "Black, black power to the African people." The black students left after the university administration had "temporarily suspended" them and served them with a court restraining order against the demonstration.

Earlier in the day, they had occupied a Harvard construction site in support of their demand that 20 percent of the workers on all university construction be black and third-world, as well as the university Faculty Club, to protest the faculty's ambivalence toward the administration's hiring practices.

The occupations were the latest development in what is now a month-long struggle initiated by the Harvard-Radcliffe Association for Afro-American Students (Afro). On that date, Afro sent a letter to the Harvard administration declaring that a year and a half after the existence of racist employment policies had been brought to the attention of the administration, Harvard still "allowed racism in its rankest and most insidious forms to systematically and ruthlessly prevent black workers from working in its employ." Afro set a Dec. 2 deadline for compliance with its demands.

In addition to demanding a 20 percent black and third-world share of all construction jobs, Afro also called on the university to abolish the "painters' helper" job category. The category had purportedly been created by the university to enable blacks to receive the training necessary to become journeymen painters.

But in the year-and-a-half history of the program, no effort had been made to train the helpers, and there had been no promotions. Many of the "painters' helpers" were in fact black journeymen painters who had been told there were no job openings for journeymen and then put to work doing full journeyman jobs—but at the lower helpers' wage. In short, the program has been largely a way of supplying the university with cheap, skilled black labor, while appearing to offer blacks greater employment opportunities.

The Afro demanded that all painters' helpers be promoted to journeymen with full journeyman pay and that a genuine apprenticeship program be instituted.

Afro has been working with the United Community Construction Workers (UCCW), an organization of black construction workers in the Boston area

seeking construction jobs and training. UCCW has the perspective of training some 3,000 black construction workers in the next 10 years.

Afro also demanded that Harvard employ a significant number of black subcontractors on all university construction.

When the university failed to respond satisfactorily to the demands, the black students banded together in the OBU, which aimed at uniting black faculty, graduate students, and university workers as well as black undergraduates.

On Dec. 5, the newly founded organization occupied the administration building for the first time. They evacuated it after the administration signed an agreement promising not to conclude any new contracts until the contested issues had been resolved.

But at a Dec. 8 meeting, the university flatly rejected the OBU demands. After further fruitless attempts to persuade the university authorities to discuss in good faith, the OBU decided to initiate the more militant Dec. 11 actions.

5,000 protesters converge on base in California

OCEANSIDE, Calif. — On Dec. 14, 4,000-5,000 antiwar demonstrators flooded this small seaside town near Los Angeles, dominated by the Camp Pendleton Marine base, for one of the largest actions to take place during the December Moratorium. The action was called by the Movement for a Democratic Military, a group of antiwar Marines and sailors based at Camp Pendleton and at naval bases in San Diego. The group received broad civilian support, from the Peace Action Council of Los Angeles, the Citizens Mobilization Committee of San Diego, the Orange County Peace and Human Rights Council, and the Student Mobilization Committee.

The 500 Marines and other military personnel at the rally provided evidence of the scope of opposition to the war and the willingness to listen to antiwar views which exists in the huge complex of military bases in the Los Angeles, Oceanside and San Diego area. The large number of third world enlisted men present was also striking.

A small group of hecklers tried to disrupt the rally but the demonstrators behaved in a disciplined fashion at the request of Jack Anderson, a black Marine from Camp Pendleton who chaired the rally and requested that the safety of the participating military personnel be respected.

The two major speakers at the rally were Dr. Howard Levy, former Army captain who was court-martialed for refusing to train Vietnam-bound Green Berets, and Angela Davis, professor at UCLA who was threatened with dismissal because of her membership in the Communist Party. Levy stressed the potential of the GI antiwar movement by recounting the story of Joe Miles, founder of GIs United at Fort Jackson.

Angela Davis urged that the antiwar movement show solidarity with the Black Panther Party against the wave of attacks mounted against it by the "conspiracy headed by Nixon, Mitchell, Reagan and Yorty." Other speakers included Donald Duncan, Susan Schnall, and a sailor from San Diego who called on people to fight for the right to distribute antiwar literature and discuss the war on military bases.

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Over 1,700 attend YSA educational meetings



Photo by Angela Vinther

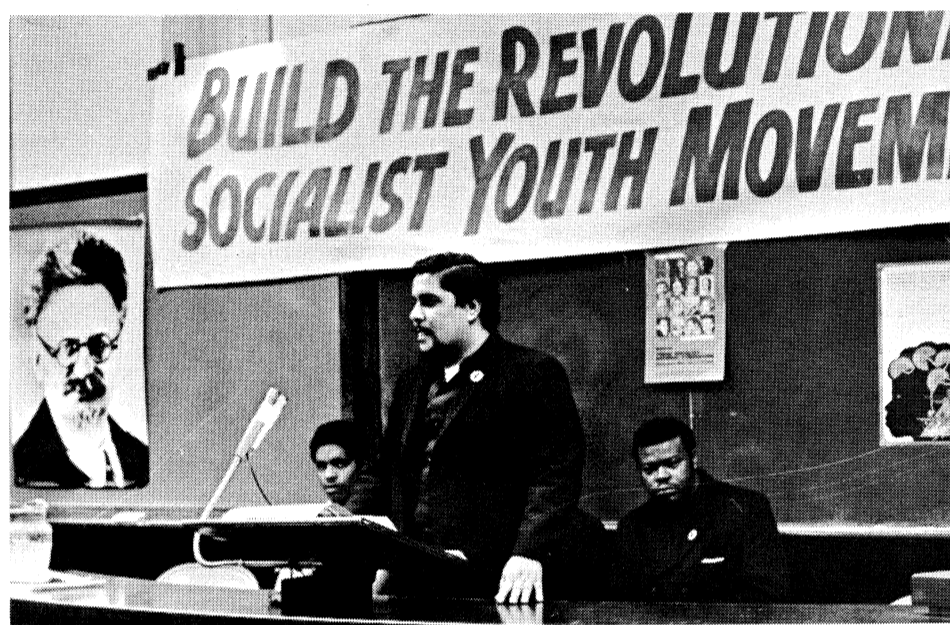


Photo by Angela Vinther

NEW YORK. Participants in Women's liberation panel at Young Socialist educational conference were (left to right): Susan Myerburg, RYM; Ruthann Miller, YSA; Cindy Cisler, NOW; Flax Hermes, YSA; Irene Pestlikas, Red Stockings; Kathy Sarachild, Red Stockings. Among participants in Third World panel were Miguel Padilla, at mike, Norman Oliver, left, and Andrew Pulley.

By ELIZABETH BARNES

Approximately 1,700 people attended one or another of 10 regional socialist educational conferences sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance in various parts of the country during the past month. The conferences discussed a wide range of topics including women's liberation, Third World liberation, perspectives for the antiwar movement, strategy for revolutionary change, the economics of imperialism, the Palestinian liberation movement, the Cuban revolution and the radical student movement.

One of the largest conferences was held in Washington, D. C., on the George Washington University campus. Some 300 attended one or another of the sessions, which opened with a speech by Socialist Workers Party leader Peter Camejo. A panel discussion on the Palestinian liberation struggle was led by Anif Kassim, president of the George Washington University Organization of Arab Students and Jon Rothschild of the New York YSA.

The educational conference in New York city also drew about 300. One of the most stimulating sessions was a panel on "Which Road for Women's Liberation" led by representatives from the National Organization for Women, Red Stockings, RYM and YSA.

The educational conference in the Bay Area was sponsored by four YSA locals along with two branches of the Socialist Workers Party. Some 200 people participated, including students from 24 colleges and four high schools, 30 trade unionists, 25 from Chicano organizations, 23 from various women's liberation groups and several from black student unions. The main thrust of the conference was to kick off the 1970 California Socialist Workers Party election campaign, and a good number

of people signed up to work actively on the campaign.

A regional conference held in St. Louis drew 160 people from towns and cities in Kansas, Missouri, Illinois, Wisconsin and Arkansas.

People came from as far east as Pittsburgh and as far south as Lexington, Ky., to take part in the Ohio conference in Cleveland. Syd Stapleton, recent SWP candidate for mayor in Cleveland, reported on the campaign and discussed plans for a broader Ohio socialist campaign in 1970.

Youth from five cities in Texas met for a two-day conference in Austin. A campaign rally during the conference featured speeches by SWP candidates running in the 1970 Texas election. Nineteen new people signed up to endorse the campaign, including four members of the Mexican-American Youth Organization and two GIs from Ft. Hood.

The Southern California conference held in Los Angeles brought together about 100 socialists from San Diego, Phoenix, Tucson and Los Angeles. One of the high points of the conference was a panel on the Chicano and black liberation struggles which featured a discussion of the accomplishments of the Chicano studies department at Merritt College.

Some 150 youth attended the educational weekend for eastern Pennsylvania held in Philadelphia. At a regional YSA meeting following the conference, a three-week tour of the state by regional travelers was projected which has already resulted in the formation of a new YSA local at Mansfield State College.

A conference of 300 held in Boston at the beginning of November was reported in an earlier issue of *The Militant*.

Community backs Harvard blacks

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — At an all-black rally in Memorial Church on the Harvard campus here Dec. 14, some 800 people from the Boston-area black community demonstrated their solidarity with the struggle of the Harvard-Radcliffe Organization for Black Unity.

Speakers included Floyd McKissick of CORE, Haywood Henry Jr. of the Harvard faculty, Rev. Virgil Wood of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Leo Fletcher of the United Community Construction Workers.

Hayward Henry pressed the militant mood of the rally when he said: "It is truly revolution when blacks at Harvard are saying that it is more important to be black than to be at Harvard. Don't let Harvard get away with the suspensions; if they suspend 60, make them suspend 600. And if necessary, let us all go, not just students but faculty too."

The Great Society

No Xmas spirit?—Mrs. Fred J. Tooze, battling head of the Women's Christian Temperance Union who holds that booze is a greater menace than communism, wants to get the whiskey out of Christmas. "A happy holiday can only be achieved by a sober one," she declared.

For the office grab bag party—From Tiffany's, a spray pin of marquise and pear-shaped diamonds, \$89,000. Gift wrap probably extra.

Last-minute suggestion—For that relative you overlooked, phone Hammer Shlemmer in New York to deliver their Roastisserie. Big enough to roast a small pig, with glass sides and floodlights for food voyeurs. \$995, with a cart thrown in for another \$125.

Easy come, easy go—New York state crime probers were advised that over a million dollars worth of negotiable securities were stolen from the Wall Street firm of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith and that the company didn't even know they were gone.

Salvation—Last week we reported that the high command of the Salvation Army was adapting to the demands of the new generation by offering such concessions as removing the stiff collar from the Army uniform while maintaining the bonnet along with restrictions on "worldly pleasures." We're now assured that the Army is sticking by basic principles. Last week the secretary general of the French Salvation Army leaped onto the stage of a production of *Hair* to vent his outrage at a nude scene in the musical.

What sick society?—A Long Island printer is offering a reproduction of President Kennedy's official death certificate. \$2.

For the habituals—To brighten the holiday of our coffin-nail-prone friends, we're happy to report the finding that there has been a recent modest reduc-

tion in the tar content of most cigarettes. Meanwhile, the addictive nicotine content has gone up. A survey also showed that those brands with the lowest tar content were also lowest on the sales list and those with the highest tar content led the pack.

Our ever alert producers—It's not only the brushmakers who are cashing in on long hair. A recent product, Thick-et, makes thin hair look dense. The hair, that is.

If you can't reach 'em, grab 'em—"Nixon and Agnew Discouraged By Inability to Reach Youth."—Headline in the *Long Island Press*.

A brainy, articulate critic—"We have the most inarticulate generation of college students in history and this may well account for the mass outbreak of physical violence. They have no more intelligent way to express themselves."—Karl Shapiro, University of California English professor.

Good for the constitution—Observers expect that the recently opened Illinois constitutional convention will be a protracted affair. Which is readily understandable. Delegates are paid \$625 a month living and travel expenses, plus \$75 a day. They hope to complete their work within eight months.

Inside dope—Although we generally refrain from rumor-mongering, we do have it from the highest sources that after consulting the Great Silent Majority, Nixon's next nominee for the Supreme Court will be Judge Julius Hoffman.

Peace, mother—Daytime soap opera is getting in on the act. On Jan. 5, ABC will launch an afternoon series entitled, "All My Children." The heroine will be a peace activist married into a wealthy conservative family. Maybe the new peace symbol will be the eternal triangle.

—HARRY RING

BOOK REVIEW

The Vatican empire

THE VATICAN EMPIRE. By Nino Lo Bello. Trident Press. New York. 1968. \$4.95. Paperback: Pocket Books. 1969. 95 cents.

During the middle ages, the Roman Catholic Church was the largest single landholder in Europe, and it influenced political, economic and social life in decisive ways for centuries. The church has nothing like the weight in the modern capitalist world it had under feudalism, but it probably remains the wealthiest single corporate institution in the world, with a powerful vested interest in preserving the capitalist system.

In this well documented work, Lo Bello marshals considerable evidence for the view that the Vatican is the world's largest corporation. His findings, as he freely admits, are far from complete, because the Vatican keeps its financial operation carefully hidden.

Lo Bello starts with the Lateran Treaty of 1929 between Mussolini and the Vatican, which laid the foundations for the church's capitalist prosperity, and he shows how it gained the immense wealth it possesses today.

About a third of Rome's real estate is owned by the Holy See, and it has important investments in utilities, electronics, plastics, airlines, chemicals and construction.

It is heavily involved in Italian banking, and owns one of the world's oldest banks, the Banco di Santo Spirito (Bank of the Holy Ghost), which was founded by Pope Paul V in 1605. The Vatican's financial managers maintain huge deposits in foreign banks, some in America, but mostly in numbered accounts in Switzerland, which they prefer because they can use them to gain anonymous control of foreign corporations. Lo Bello establishes that the Vatican is one of the world's largest shareholders, with a portfolio valued in the billions.

The Vatican owns construction companies that build and own luxury hotels, office buildings, and shopping centers in Italy, Canada, South America and the United States. The 47-story Montreal Stock Exchange Tower, for example, is owned by the Societa Generale Immobiliare, a Vatican holding company, which also has a major interest in the Cavalieri Hilton in Rome. Watergate Improvements of Washington, D.C., is controlled by SGI, and through it the Vatican has a major interest in a large office-apartment complex now nearing completion on the banks of the Potomac.

Lo Bello also details, though far less satisfactorily, the political influence of the church in Italy, which is exercised primarily through the Christian Democratic Party.

Lo Bello is a financial journalist who served for three years as a Rome correspondent for *Business Week* and the *McGraw Hill World News*. He later joined the *New York Journal of Commerce* as chief of its Rome bureau, and he wrote on European economic affairs for the *New York Herald Tribune* for eight years.

As might be expected from Lo Bello's background, he does not draw the revolutionary or radical conclusions implicit in his investigation of the Vatican empire.

That is the job for revolutionaries.
—PAUL BOUTELLE



Pope Paul VI

Black student body head discusses community control at Philadelphia forum

By FRED FELDMAN

The developing struggle of black students, parents, and community groups for control of West Philadelphia High School was the subject of a Militant Labor Forum here Dec. 5.

Robert Williams, president of the West Philadelphia High School student body, described the history of the struggle which began with efforts to remove George Fishman, a history teacher who avoided black history in his classes.

Commenting on the board of education's refusal to transfer the teacher, Williams said, "We told them they had their chance to transfer the teacher and get it over with. Now its not going to be over until we control everything." He said the students submitted a "high school students bill of rights" to their principal and they are preparing a city-wide student-community campaign for their demands when school reconvenes in January. Williams vividly portrayed the efforts of board of education officials and teachers' union bureaucrats to intimidate the student fighters.

Chaz Wallace, who chaired the meeting, read a statement from the SWP and YSA demanding that the murderers of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark be brought to justice.

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Champaign-Urbana: YSA, P.O. Box 2099, Sta. A, Champaign, Ill. 61820. Tel: (217) 359-1333.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 302 S. Canal St., Rm. 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 939-2667.

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Laura Miller, 217 N. First St., DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 756-4119.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Marilyn Vagt, University Apt. 3-E, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Bob Mears, 1510 Kentucky, Apt. G. Tel: (913) 843-2073.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 491-8893, 547-8557.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104.

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

East Lansing: YSA, c/o Alec Harshey, 914 Lilac #7, East Lansing, Mi. 48823.

Ypsilanti: YSA, c/o Dave Davis, 417 Olive St., Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin)

2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Paul Schmidlein, 5437 Charlotte, K.C., Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 523-5468. St. Louis: YSA, c/o Larry Swingle, 5817 Waterman, St. Louis, Mo. 63112.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, c/o Allan Pump, 158 Hamilton St., E. Orange, N.J. 07017. Tel: (201) 678-6005.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Bill O'Kain, 313 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210.

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Peter Gellert, Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

New York City: SWP and YSA and bookstore, 873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-6051.

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill-Durham: YSA, c/o Bob Friedman, P.O. Box 10, Carrboro, N.C. 27510. Tel: (919) 942-3024.

OHIO: Athens: YSA, P.O. Box 899, Athens, Ohio 45701.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 13900 Euclid Ave., East Cleveland, Ohio 44112. Tel: (216) 249-8250.

Columbus: YSA, P.O. Box 3006, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 294-2047.

Kent: YSA, P.O. Box 116, Kent, Ohio 44240.

Yellow Springs: YSA, c/o Duncan Williams, Antioch Union, Yellow Springs, Oh. 45387.

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Tonie Porter, 6770 S. W. Taylors Ferry Rd., Portland, Ore. 97223. Tel: (503) 246-9245.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19130. Tel: (215) CE 6-6998.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, c/o Jeff Powers, 134 Benefit St., Providence, R. I. 02902.

TEXAS: Austin: Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703.

Houston: YSA, Campus Activities, University Center, University of Houston, Houston, Texas 77004.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, c/o Sterne McMullen, 763 E. 9th North, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, 1319 F. St., Rm 1010 Wash., D.C. Tel: (202) 638-0610 or 965-0253.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wisc. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-0857.

Milwaukee: YSA, c/o Heald, 929 N. Water St., Milwaukee, Wisc. 53202. 679-1428 or 342-3215.

Nat'l Chicano conference is planned for next March

By ORRIN BROWN

DENVER—Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez, head of the Denver Crusade for Justice, announced plans this week for a Chicano gathering in Denver to begin the last week in March. According to Gonzalez, the gathering will be a "Chicano Congress" which will take up plans "to form our own political party and make plans for convening our own nation of Aztlan."

Gonzalez says he expects delegates representing Chicano organizations throughout the country to attend the gathering. Invitations will also be sent to Puerto Rican organizations in the East.

The gathering is the outcome of activities which began at the first Chicano youth conference held here last March when the Plan Espiritual De Aztlan, a program for liberation of the Chicano people, was drawn up. The plan outlines basic principles underlying the Chicano movement including Chicano control of the Chicano community, community self-defense and independent political action.

The planned Congress will work toward implementing these principles. A Chicano Congress is necessary, Gonzalez said, because "we are not represented in the one in Washington. The two parties are the same animal with two heads that feeds from the same trough."

Gonzalez described the Congress as a gathering where decisions could be made which affect the Chicano people.

One of the issues to be taken up by the Congress will be to decide whether Chicano youth should fight in the current war being waged by the government in Washington.

At a talk to Chicano students at Colorado College where plans were first announced, Gonzalez projected the perspective of retaking a large area of the Southwest and renaming it Aztlan, "the name originally given to this land by the Indians."

Gonzalez says that the Chicano movement today is the beginnings of the fourth revolution. The first three have already taken place in Mexico.

Representatives from more than 20 Chicano organizations attended a Chicano conference in Albuquerque, New Mexico, Nov. 29-30.

According to an article in the Dec. 6 issue of *El Grito Del Norte*, the purpose of the conference was to improve communications between Raza groups.

The final speaker at the conference was Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez of the Crusade for Justice in Denver. He told the gathering, "We have to start thinking of ourselves as a nation." Emphasizing the need for community control, he said, "This is a colonized state. Texans come here and take out the timber. Our sweat is paying for all these businesses—we must take our share. And if we are not allowed to take our share, then we must become a nation within a nation. We need to take over our communities, de-annexate them."

Native Americans hold fast in occupation of Alcatraz

By HERMAN FAGG

Socialist Workers Party candidate for California governor

SAN FRANCISCO—The support and determination of the Native Americans on Alcatraz to expose the anglicization of Native American culture is growing. Presently there are over a hundred permanent residents on the "rock."

Dean Chavers, Alcatraz coordinator and a leader of the Alcatraz reclamation said in an interview Dec. 12 that the thrust of the current movement is to demand an end to the "educational, cultural, political and economic sub-

jugation of the Native American." As an example of this subjugation, Chavers points to the fact that on the "reservations" there is a 60 percent high school "push-out rate" and unemployment is 40 percent or more.

Alcatraz was recently reclaimed by Native Americans as a place for the development and study of Indian culture and identity.

True to form, the city fathers of San Francisco tried to sidetrack the struggle. They offered the former federal Mint building in San Francisco to the brothers. This ploy would have avoided a conflict with the so-called "developers" who have plans for making money off Alcatraz.

Asked if the struggle of Native Americans for self-determination was related to that of other oppressed nationalities, Chavers answered "definitely yes. Indeed the barrios, ghettos and reservations are the same." He also pointed out that the way in which the Native American people were destroyed is much the same as the genocidal policy the United States government is following in Vietnam. For example, compare the massacre of Native Americans at Broken Knee, South Dakota, with that of the Vietnamese in Songmy.

Support for the action taken by Bay Area Native Americans has come from as far away as Maine. Numerous organizations of Chicanos and blacks have also endorsed the action.

Plans are now being made to hold a meeting in late December of representatives from all tribes in the United States to create a united front around the Alcatraz action. Chavers felt this could begin to build a mechanism capable of coordinating the various struggles of Native Americans and bring some unity to their fight.

For further information or contributions—which are needed—readers may contact: The American Indian Center, 3189 16th St., San Francisco. Tel: (415) 626-7955.

SWP candidate backs Indians

The following statement on the Alcatraz reclamation was released by Herman Fagg, SWP candidate for governor of California.

Native Americans have a moral and democratic right to claim Alcatraz Island.

Throughout the last 400 years Native Americans have been subjected to planned extermination, religious persecution, and forced relocation. The very least the federal government, the state of California and the city of San Francisco could do would be to grant this specific demand for unused federal land, and to agree to fund the building of a cultural center on the island for the study of Native American cultures.

Texas SWP launches election campaign



Photo by Joel Britton

SOCIALIST TICKET. The Socialist Workers slate at Austin press conference (left to right): Travis Burgeson for Congress; Marianne Hernandez for U. S. Senate; Howard Scoggins for governor.

By TOM KINCAID

AUSTIN, Texas — The Socialist Workers Party kicked off its statewide election campaign in Austin Dec. 6 with a spirited campaign rally. The rally featured speeches by the three candidates as well as a supporting plug from Linda Jenness, SWP mayoralty candidate in Atlanta during the past year.

The SWP candidates in Texas are Marianne Hernandez for U. S. Senator, Howard Scoggins for governor, and Travis Burgeson for U. S. House of Representatives.

Burgeson, a leading Student Mobilization Committee activist and member of the Austin Young Socialist Alliance, directed his remarks to the problems of the disenfranchised and disenfranchised youth of Texas. The youth of today are seeking to change fundamentally a political system which allows people no control over the institutions which shape their lives, Burgeson said.

Marianne Hernandez, candidate for U. S. Senate, pointed out that Chicanos, the second largest national minority

in the United States, are demanding their long-denied right to self-determination. More than 46 percent of all Chicanos live in overcrowded or dilapidated housing, she observed, and brown people certainly have not chosen to live in those conditions. "Black and brown people must take control of their own communities and unify their own organizations of struggle," she said.

Gubernatorial candidate Howard Scoggins, a veteran leader in the Texas antiwar movement and a member of the national steering committee of the New Mobilization Committee, leveled a searing attack on the Texas political establishment. He pointed out that Texas spent less per capita in 1968 than in 1938 on education, public health and other forms of public assistance.

The SWP campaign had been announced at a press conference held the previous day in the press room of the capitol building and the story was carried on both AP and UPI wires. Already support has come in from different sections of the state.

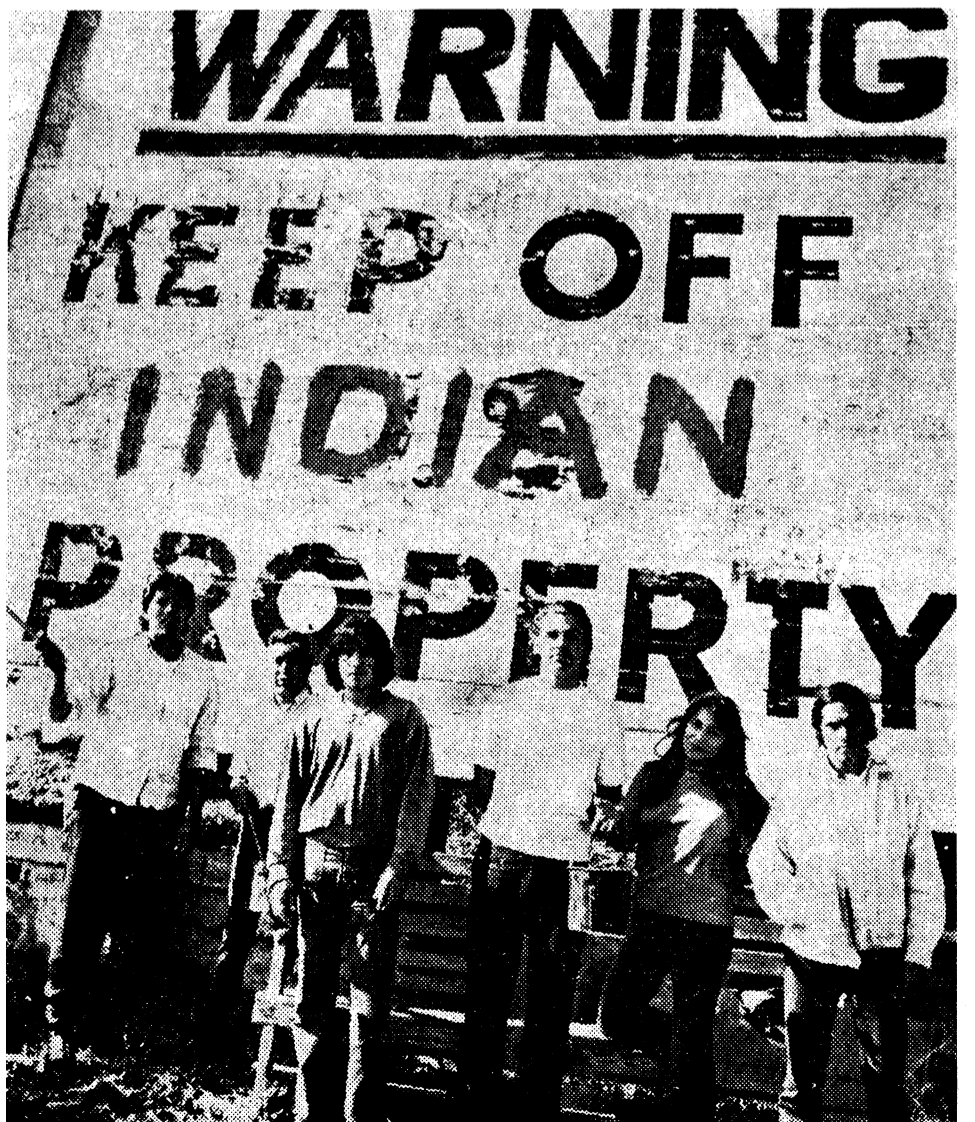


Photo from El Grito del Norte

Alcatraz prison sign altered with red paint.