

Chicago cops fail to take action in right-wing attack on socialists

— story page 7

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 33 - No. 50

Friday, December 19, 1969

Price 15c

The YSA convention	p. 3
The GE strike	p. 4
SMC aids GE strikers	p. 5
A letter to Life	p. 10
Background on Quebec	p. 12

AN EDITORIAL

Stop the killer-cops!

Independent probe needed of the Panther murders

Overwhelming evidence that Illinois Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered by the Chicago cops has prompted numerous organizations and public figures, representing a broad cross section of the population, to demand a public investigation of the killings. Those who realize that the cops' version of events on the night of Dec. 4 is an outright lie include individuals and organizations all the way from the Chicago Afro-American Patrolman's Association, to state senators, the mayor of Hampton's home town, officials of the Americans for Democratic Action, the United Auto Workers, the Alliance for Labor Action, the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union, black and white newsmen, and hundreds of people who have visited the apartment in which the Panthers were murdered.

The thousands who turned out for memorial observances gave testimony to the deep anger of the black community and to the realization that the systematic campaign of extermination being waged against the Panthers is an attack on the entire black community, against anyone who is fighting to change this racist society.

Sensing the growing rage, and hoping to divert it, the Justice Department has announced it is considering an investigation into the Chicago slayings. Other government agencies have been called upon to set up commissions of inquiry.

A full, public investigation which will establish all the unassailable facts of the premeditated police murder is clearly needed. But no government agency or committee can be entrusted with such a task. Twenty-eight Panthers have been murdered in the last two years. Hundreds of other Panthers have been wounded, framed-up, jailed and harassed. Panther headquarters across the country have been attacked and ransacked. All this has been part of a plan that could only have been initiated at the highest levels of policy-making. No governmental agency is immune from suspicion.

Only an independent investigation whose proceedings are fully public, an investigation carried out by a representative cross section of organizations in the black community itself can establish the full truth.

Such an investigation is crucial if the systematic murder and destruction of the Panthers is to be stopped. Only by exposing the full truth and mobilizing national and international public opinion against the continued campaign of extermination can it be stopped. Such an independent investigation is vital to the defense of the Black Panther Party.



FRED HAMPTON

1948-1969

Playwright framed; faces 10 years

Helped raise funds for Panther breakfast program

Beverly Hills, Calif.

Six months ago Donald Freed was assistant to the Provost at the California Institute of the Arts, the winner of the John Larkin Award for his play, *Inquest/ The United States Vs. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg*, and an activist in the wasteland of black-white organizing. Now, along with others, Freed faces ten years in Federal prison on the fantastic charges that he was a supplier of explosives to the Black Panther Party. How could this nightmare happen?

JUSTICE FOR ALL is a new group that intends to spread the word of the repression that is flowing from the Nixon administration. Our intent is to educate and to defend. In the case of Mr. Freed, for instance, we now know that a police agent was infiltrated into a group to which Mr. Freed belonged (this group raised funds for the Panther hot breakfast for children program, and arranged black-white dialogues at the racial and political level). As is happening with sickening frequency, this agent saw it as his job not to prevent but to provoke crime. The government was after Freed for his tireless speaking and writing for peace and justice. The explosives charge is intolerable not just because Freed in a finalist in the International Gandhi Centennial competition and is known throughout the peace movement as a man of militant non-violence, but because, in the name of law and order, dissent itself is being choked.

JUSTICE FOR ALL will work on famous cases like that of Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale and little known ones like Donald Freed's. We feel that unless the savage attacks now being made against youth, blacks and peace are answered lucidly and bravely then all America will soon be a prison.

We ask you to make a contribution to those under the fire of repression instead of the usual holiday gift giving. Make checks to: JUSTICE FOR ALL, Box 3314, Beverly Hills, Calif. 90212.

Father Blase Bonpane
Robert Carl Cohen
Donald Duncan

Militant helps build campus group

Endicott, N. Y.

On behalf of the Students for Radical Change (SRC), I would like to tell you of the great aid *The Militant* has been to us. We've gathered many new members after they've read articles that you've printed ("How Songmy relates to American capitalism" in the Dec. 5 issue was one of the best).

We would be very grateful if you could

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.

supply us with a regular bundle of 10 *Militants* which we will pay for weekly.

I'm sure the number will soon increase from 10 per week.

Larry Paradis
Chairman, SRC

[Bundles are available from *The Militant* business office, 873 Broadway, N. Y., N. Y. 10003. The cost is 10 1/2c per copy which means you break even if 70 percent of the bundle is sold. — Editor]

Finds charge of SWP, YSA sectarianism unfounded

Cleveland, Ohio

In sending this sub order, I had to congratulate you all in spite of myself. The SWP and YSA had, in some circles, a reputation for sectarianism and I was determined to be critical. But *The Militant's* excellent layout and informative, clearly written and, as far as I know, strictly factual reports make it second to none.

J. R.

Wants info on 1970 socialist campaigns

Forest Hills, N. Y.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance first came to my attention in the middle of this year while working in SDS at St. John's University. (It is not split and has no signs of splitting. It is very sane but we are getting fucked over by the administration and have been assaulted several times by YAF and White People's Party pigs.) Paul Boutelle spoke to us at a lecture and he was fantastic. I heard a speech of his at a Black students meeting in a Bronx High School on WBAI and I thought he was the only competent candidate for mayor. He was overpowering on TV (WOR, Nov. 3).

He mentioned that the SWP will run a statewide slate in NY next year. If you have any information on that

please let me know because I would like to help. I'm going to attend some of the educational meetings Dec. 5-7, and in the future I will probably join the YSA. All power to the people.

B. W.

[Readers will be fully informed of plans for 1970 socialist election campaigns as this information becomes available. Socialist Workers Party campaigns have already been launched in California and Washington state. — Editor.]

Militants cover his walls

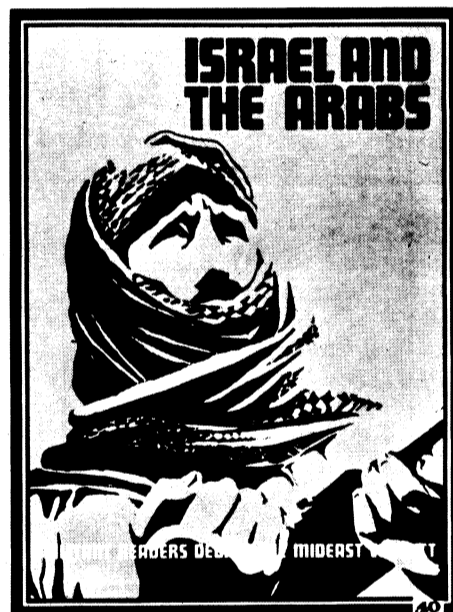
Philadelphia, Pa.

When the police "overreacted" to the Contingent in Solidarity, [Nov. 15 demonstration at Justice Department] I was merely a bus captain attempting to locate his bus. I observed the people fleeing in an orderly manner but couldn't understand all the fireworks. I thought it was a group of ultraleftists using M-80s and cherry bombs. When I felt the gas I knew the face of the enemy.

I never saw the pigs. The three photos of police on page 10 of the Nov. 28 issue sufficiently captured the spirit of the thing.

The covers have been great, and they are all over my walls since the Moratorium issue.

K. M.



New pamphlet on Mideast plugged by reader

New York, N. Y.

I was interested in Merit Publishers new pamphlet, "Israel and the Arabs — Militant Readers Debate the Mideast Crisis." [The pamphlet is a collection of letters, pro and con from readers of *The Militant* beginning at the time of the June 1967 invasion of the Arab countries by Israel. — Editor.]

It is in keeping with the Marxist tradition that a paper like *The Militant* should take its stand with the Arab revolution and at the same time provide for an exchange of views on an issue that has been a source of conflicting opinions within the radical movement. I hope the pamphlet is read by many.

H. B.

High school militants fighting for their rights

San Diego, Calif.

As a junior in high school and one of the very few radicals of the San Diego high school community, a group of fellow students and I found it necessary to start a "subversive" newspaper for our school. We have printed five issues of the paper and on Dec. 4, seven staff members were suspended for distributing issue number five on school grounds. Although we were reinstated, we had to promise our administrators

THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING
Managing Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

Published weekly by *The Militant Publishing Ass'n.*, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone 533-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription: domestic, \$4 a year; foreign, \$5.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada \$10.50; all other countries, \$15.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$15.00; Latin America, \$24.00; Europe, \$28.00; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$33.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent *The Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Volume 33 Number 50
Friday, Dec. 19, 1969

Closing news date — Dec. 12

we would not distribute on campus again.

We feel a definite need to keep our paper going and the only way to keep it going is to contest the school ruling in court. We are intent upon exercising our constitutional rights as prescribed by the First Amendment. To bring this to court we need a lot of money. We are appealing the *The Militant* readers to keep our paper alive.

One of the ways to wage revolution in this country is to educate the people and the people in San Diego are unimaginably ignorant. Your support is desperately needed. Please send donations to: The Student Voice Defense Fund, P. O. Box 15644, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

The high schools could be the key the socialist movement needs. As it stands now, the high schools are in a total state of apathy. Please try and move the schools to action.

Jordan S. Alpert
Treasurer

Indian Center and Unity Fund set up in New Mexico

Traditional Indian Unity Fund, Inc.
6501 Avalon N.W.
Albuquerque, N. M. 87100

Many *Militant* readers will remember the Indian family in Cornwall, N. Y., whose Indian Center was burned down by racists last January [See *The Militant*, Jan. 31, 1969].

We are appealing to you for support in our efforts to continue work among our Indian people.

We have relocated here in New Mexico in the heart of Indian country.

Because of the fire, we lost everything: the museum, the library, trading post crafts, teaching supplies and office equipment.

We are asking for funds to start again our Indian Center.

We aim to promote Indian unity for the purpose of:

- 1) Peace, brotherhood, better understanding and intertribal cooperation.
- 2) Restoring a meaningful sense of pride to all Indians.
- 3) Giving proper guidance to our Indian youth and dissatisfied Indian people along a nonviolent path and approach to solving our many and varied problems in the "Indian Way" of honor, pride, and dignity.
- 4) Making our Indian people self-supporting without jeopardizing the title to our lands, culture, heritage, treaty rights, and traditions.
- 5) Assisting in sending Indian leaders to "troubled areas" to give both moral and legal advice to our people at a moment's notice.

Any and all donations will be welcomed.

Louise Madison, director

JOIN THE YSA

IF YOU SUPPORT THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT, THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT, THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, A SOCIALIST AMERICA, YOU BELONG IN THE YSA. . .

clip and mail

Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003

I would like more information I want to join the YSA

Name

Address

City State Zip

HAVE YOU MOVED? If so please notify our business office of your new address. Please include zip code number and your old address.

A 2-week break and then we'll be 16 pages weekly

By HARRY RING

Continuing our program of expansion, *The Militant* will regularly be 16 pages beginning with the issue dated Jan. 9, 1970.

Meanwhile, we'll be taking a partial breather. To make it possible for our staff members to attend the Young Socialist convention in Minneapolis, to ease the pace a bit, and to prepare for an expanded schedule, we'll be skipping the holiday issues dated Jan. 2 and Jan. 9.

Sixteen months ago, we moved from an eight-page paper to a 12-pager. Since then many of our issues have been expanded to 16 pages. But our basic schedule has called for a 12-page paper during this period, both in terms of personnel and finances.

Now, with a strengthened staff and an increased circulation, we are in a position to publish a 16-page paper on a regular basis.

Mary-Alice Waters is now the managing editor of the paper and beginning in January, David Thorstad, now on the editorial staff of the *Young Socialist*, will be joining the staff of *The Militant*.

In the drive for new readers which concluded Nov. 15, we obtained more than 6,000 subscriptions for *The Militant* and *Young Socialist*, exceeding our original expectations which had been expressed in an initial quota of 4,000 new readers.

We are planning another subscription drive for the spring and while we are not yet even at the stage of thinking of projected target dates we are hoping that over a period of time, continued expansion of our circulation will provide the basis for a further expansion of our size. Meanwhile, we believe a regular 16-page paper will improve our news coverage and analysis.

In addition to making preparations for this during the two issues that we'll be skipping over the holiday period, most of our staff will also be in Minneapolis for the Young Socialist Alliance convention. We'll begin the new year with extensive coverage of that important gathering.

The staff would like to take this opportunity to extend revolutionary new year's greetings to all and we hope to see many of you in Minneapolis.

Women's liberation group opens fight at S. Carolina U

COLUMBIA, S. C. — The image of the docile southern belle on her pedestal of virtue is suffering a blow from which it will never recover at the University of South Carolina. A women's liberation group has been formed in response to two especially glaring examples of women's oppression at the university.

A biology professor and medical doctor has been told that she cannot teach next semester because of a school rule that any woman more than six months pregnant cannot be employed by the university.

Meanwhile the male student body president has vetoed a bill permitting liberalization of women's dormitory curfew hours and the male-dominated student senate has put its stamp of approval on this attempt to keep the women in their place by refusing to pass the bill over the president's veto. Present rules require women to be in by 10 p. m. except when on certain

"date nights" they are allowed to stay out until the bewitching hour. It apparently never occurred to the framers of the rules that women might have other purposes than dates for staying out late—such as studying or political meetings. After all a coed's place in the evening is to be with a future husband but not for too many hours.

Analogous to its quota on Blacks, the USC has a quota of five male students to every woman student, a quota that was increased recently from four to one.

Now women at the USC are organizing educational campaigns to teach other female students about their oppression and to build the support necessary to force changes in university rules. Women here are fighting to gain their liberation in the backyard of those great protectors of "white womanhood" and the "American Way," Strom Thurmond and Clement Haynesworth.

COME TO MINNEAPOLIS



YOUNG SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONVENTION
Dec 27-30, 1969
University of Minnesota

CLIP AND MAIL

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE
 BOX 471 COOPER STATION
 NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....

STATE..... ZIP.....

- I WANT TO JOIN THE YSA
- SEND ME MORE INFORMATION ON
- THE YSA THE YSA CONVENTION

Press parley hears YSA convention plans

By TONY THOMAS

DEC. 10—At a press conference in Washington today national officers of the Young Socialist Alliance announced the final plans for the Young Socialist National Convention to be held at the University of Minnesota, Dec. 27-30, and launched the final phase of the campaign to reach the maximum numbers of radical youth with word of the convention.

In the period since the split convention of the SDS last June, the YSA has emerged as the strongest and most cohesive radical youth organization in the U.S., the only one with a consistently revolutionary socialist program and orientation to offer radicalizing youth in the Third World, campus and antiwar struggles. The convention, which will reflect this, will be an important event not only for YSA members, but for all revolutionary-minded youth.

YSA chapters around the country and the YSA national office have already received hundreds of inquiries about the convention and every effort is being bent to make it easy for large numbers of radical youth to attend.

The plenary sessions of the convention will hear reports on and discuss the International Youth Radicalization, Revolutionary Perspectives for the 1970s, the New Stage in the Antiwar Movement, and the Struggle for Black Self-Determination. Workshops on the antiwar movement, Third World struggles, socialist electoral action, women's liberation, the high school movement, and the international student movement will be held. Highlighting the special features at the convention will be a keynote address by Farrell Dobbs, the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

The convention is being organized with an eye toward eliminating some of the unnecessary chaos and hardships

faced at many radical gatherings. Most YSA locals and many at-large members are arranging special transportation to the convention. Hotels and private homes have been secured for housing. Free housing will be available to those who would not otherwise be able to attend.

Special buses will be available from the Minneapolis airport to the convention housing and registration center on the evening of Dec. 26 and the morning of Dec. 27. Convention shuttle buses will also operate between the hotels and the university, morning and evening. Meals will be served at the university throughout the convention, and there will be facilities for taking care of children during convention sessions.

To top it all off, the spacious new Minneapolis YSA headquarters will be converted into a "cabaret," where young socialists can relax and get to know one another after the sessions. Tables, chairs, refreshments and music will be available.

It seems that the only minor discomfort that the YSA couldn't eliminate is the occasionally sub-zero Minneapolis weather. However, the YSA national staff has sent out a communique reminding everyone to "dress warmly!"

Information on transportation and housing is available from Young Socialists in local areas or from the YSA national office, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York 10003.

THE DUTY OF EVERY REVOLUTIONARY IS TO MAKE THE REVOLUTION!
1968 YOUNG SOCIALIST CONVENTION



GI panel at 1968 YSA convention.

Bound volume 1968

THE MILITANT

\$10

Send check or money order to
 The Militant, 873 Broadway,
 New York, N. Y. 10003

On the GE picket line

'The foreman can tell you to clean the latrine and you have to do it'

By FRANK LOVELL

The strike struggle being waged by 147,000 GE workers against the giant GE corporation is already in its seventh week. A great deal is at stake in this confrontation. On the one side, GE hopes to impose terms on the workers which will maximize profits and keep the 13 different electrical unions in its various plants as weak and divided as possible. On the other side, the GE workers are standing firm in their determination to hold the line against the anti-union, anti-worker policies followed by this company for many years.

The company is backed up by the Nixon administration which is anxious to keep wages down in order to further shift the cost of war-induced inflation onto the backs of the workers. The administration is especially concerned about the GE strike because they hope it will help set a pattern for the wage battles coming up in the next year in such basic industries as communications, trucking, construction and auto.

Because of the success of GE's union-busting "divide-and-rule" policies in the past, the wages of GE workers have fallen behind those in other industries. In the years 1960-69, for example, the pay rates for GE workers fell 22 cents an hour below the average in machinery manufacturing, 49 cents an hour behind the average in aerospace, 54 cents an hour behind the average in automobile manufacturing.

One of the clearest descriptions of the grievances which GE workers are fighting in this strike was contained in a

leaflet entitled, "Why I Voted Strike," put out by Bob Fairbanks of UE Local 205, in Ashland, Mass.

On wages, Fairbanks points out, "The company speaks of 20 to 46 cents per hour increases. I, like the majority of GE workers (81 percent) will receive only 20 cents. . . The company's offer has no cost of living protection and at the rate it has been rising the 20 cents would be eaten up in six months."

Fairbanks also points out that GE workers on hourly wages have never had sick leave: "If we are sick, we lose the pay. Salaried employees receive 10 sick days and 10 personal days with pay. For years we have asked for equal treatment. This year the company offered three days sick leave for an employee with 10 years service to become effective 1971."

Interviews with strikers at the GE Hotpoint plant in Chicago reported in *Business Week*, Nov. 8, showed the many different grievances, harassments and inequalities suffered by GE workers:

James Conners, a 33-year-old black man, who earns \$2.64 an hour, said, "The foreman can tell you to clean the latrine and you have to do it. No employee has any right to refuse a job. Everything is at the sole discretion of the company, and it's got to be changed."

Another worker, 50-year-old William J. Fitzgerald, with 20 years at GE Hotpoint, earns \$2.69 an hour as a machine operator. He says, "There's nothing extra for long service. When we make a complaint, the company says,

Electrical unions say no to GE's fake 'new offer'

By FRANK LOVELL

DEC. 8 — General Electric Corp. spokesmen called union negotiators to bargaining sessions last weekend under the guise of submitting new contract proposals.

The "new" proposals turned out, upon examination, to be the same old offer of Oct. 7. Now the corporation is offering its workers "an immediate pay increase from 20 to 45 cents an hour in the first year of the contract." This is exactly the same as the original proposition of Oct. 7 — same rates, same words.

A change was made for the second, and third years of the three-year contract. Now the corporation is willing to grant pay increases three to five percent in each of these years rather than leave wages open for renegotiation. In addition, GE now talks about a "cost-of-living adjustment," but not to exceed 5 percent.

Such "new" proposals come under the general category of "changes without difference."

Union negotiators recognized the GE "offer" as a subterfuge. Representatives from the International Union of Electrical workers (IUE) characterized it as "shadow rather than substance." The United Electrical workers (UE) rejected

the GE proposition as "an affront to the employees."

In the most recent talks the IUE, presumably in the name of the union bargaining coalition, submitted a serious proposal in an effort to get negotiations off dead-center after seven weeks. It offered to settle for a 16-month national contract to expire May 1, 1971, with an immediate basic wage increase of 35 cents an hour and a full cost-of-living adjustment after the first year.

The average pay of electrical workers now on strike is \$3.25 per hour.

The new offer of the union bargaining committee was rejected out of hand by GE.

The real purpose behind GE's "new" offer was revealed in a follow-up (Dec. 9) full-page advertisement in big-city dailies across the country. Here GE claims "some union officials" rejected the offer, whereas the truth is all union officials to whom the offer was submitted rejected it.

Here again nothing has changed. Part of the GE strategy is to divide the unions, to deal with some not all. Such fake "new offers" are also submitted so GE can appeal to the strikers directly in its constant efforts to get a back-to-work movement started in order to break the strike and break the unions.

"Don't rock the boat!"



UE News

'If you don't like it you can quit.'

James J. Matles, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Electrical Workers (UE), reports that in negotiations with GE the union had asked the company to provide all special clothing required of women employees. "GE refused," says Matles. "This mighty corporation claimed that women sometimes wear these dresses outside of the plant and even to church on Sunday. So let them buy their own after the first two wear out."

Every GE worker on the picket lines across the country has his own personal grievance against this impersonal and faceless corporation. It is these workers who suffer the most as the strike drags on week after week and they are seeking ways to end the strike as soon as possible on terms that meet their needs.

One of the central demands now being advanced by the union is the inclusion of a cost-of-living escalator clause in the union contract which would guarantee that wages be kept fully abreast of rising prices at all times.

The danger of unemployment is not imaginary. General Electric is well aware that the government is trying to curb inflation by inducing an economic recession. And they know that an increase in unemployment will put them in a stronger position in their efforts at resisting the legitimate wage demands of the workers.

The GE strikers need protection in the new contract against the ravages of unemployment. A provision to share available work by a reduction in hours of work with no reduction in pay, commensurate with any rise in the level of unemployment, is a demand that should be included in the new contract.

Another necessary demand in this situation is the one that was raised back in 1946 when General Motors refused to bargain with the UAW and held out for 113 days. Then the UAW demanded, "Open up the Books of the Corporation!"

Enough is now known about the price-fixing deals and crooked contracts of GE to make this demand for opening up its financial records for public scrutiny one to which the U.S. Congress must pay serious attention. Just as a starter, it would be learned that this company which professes to have a

keen interest in "fighting inflation," is one of the real inflationary culprits. In 1969, for example, GE showed a 3rd quarter profit of \$90,333,000, up 11 percent from the same three-month period of a year ago.

A demand for "opening the books" would also serve to expose the game between GE and the Nixon administration. It would serve to expose many of those in the Democratic and Republican parties who pass themselves off as "friends of labor" while in reality they are puppets of Big Business.

In a strike of this magnitude, when these capitalist politicians are put to the test, the conditions are created making it easier for strikers to conclude that what workers in this country need is a labor party. A notable example of this was the 1966 airline mechanics strike when the need for a labor party became obvious when representatives of Congress made strike-breaking moves. Strikers being able to see that their problems stem not only from the intransigence of the company, but involve much broader questions of a political nature such as war, inflation, etc.

A labor party is not a spur-of-the-moment organization that can be called into being by the adoption of a resolution at a local union strike meeting. But the idea that workers need their own independent political party to defend their interests against the attacks of the employers and their political system is bound to gain currency.

These demands, and others of a similar nature, designed to defend the special needs and interests of the workers, will be taken up by the most aggressive and popular of the strike leaders as the struggle stretches on into the winter.

The Marxist Theory of the State

by Ernest Mandel

CONTENTS

Origin and Development of the State in the History of Societies
The Bourgeois State: The Face of Everyday Reality
The Proletariat in Power

50¢

Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10003

Antiwar students back unions**SMC builds support for GE strike**

NEW YORK—The Student Mobilization Committee at Columbia University has launched a campaign to keep GE recruiters off campus and to force the university administration to boycott GE products. Immediate actions include a petition drive which is already under way, and a support rally for the GE strike which was slated for Dec. 11. Union officials scheduled to address the rally included William Bywater of the International Union of Electrical Workers, Ernest DeMaio of the United Electrical Workers, and Ralph Diamond of the United Auto Workers Local 259.

For Dec. 12, the SMC had slated a city-wide Moratorium picket line at GE Corporate headquarters in New York.

After the GE strike began, students at Columbia wrote university president Andrew Cordier protesting GE's recruiting on campus. Cordier held an emergency meeting with the executive committee of Columbia's Senate, (which includes representatives of the students, faculty, employees, and administration) and decided to permit GE to recruit nearby on campus. Anti-GE feeling on the campus is high because the students are aware that GE produces a tremendous amount of war goods.

When GE learned that a rally had been planned for the first day a recruiter was scheduled to appear on campus, his visit was quickly cancelled. The petition campaign now underway aimed at forcing the university to sue a statement that it will respect the GE boycott and cancel all purchasing orders with the corporation. The petition says, in part, "GE's 150,000 workers are presently on strike

to preserve their living standard, which is being constantly eroded by the war inflation, at the same time that GE is making millions of dollars on the war. This strike is an indication that American working people are no longer willing to pay the financial cost of the war in Vietnam."

Indicative of the prevailing attitude on campus is the editorial "Blackout on GE," that appeared in the Dec. 8 *Columbia Spectator*. "The suggestion made by several members of the University Senate, as well as the Student Mobilization Committee, that Columbia join the AFL-CIO boycott of General Electric products, does not require the university to set any new precedent. Purchasing policies have been consciously altered for political reasons before. . . .

"We believe that the electrical workers deserve the university's support and we urge Columbia to join the boycott of GE products as it has joined the boycott of California grapes."

Besides driving GE recruiters off the campuses, holding support rallies to help educate the student body as a whole, offering support for picket lines if needed, etc., antiwar students have begun scandalizing GE by digging up its past record of illegal practices, court convictions and corruption.

The Old Mole, in Boston, for example, published in its Nov. 21-Dec. 4 issue a rundown on the criminal and anti-union record of GE from 1911 to 1965. Price-fixing is a congenital GE habit which was first proved in 1911 when a federal court convicted the corporation of violating the antitrust laws. There have been at least 65 such price-fixing cases since then.

In 1940 GE was indicted for conspiring with Krupp, the German industrialist who financed Hitler's rise to power and capitalized on Nazi war preparations, to fix prices internationally.

In 1959 GE was involved in 35 conspiratorial meetings; company executives used code names, pay telephones, plain envelopes and never contacted each other at company headquarters. In 1960 GE was named in 37 antitrust suits.

(The information published in *The Old Mole* is available in pamphlet form, "GE, Profile: or a Corp." by Jerry DeMuth, New England Free Press, 791 Tremont St., Boston. Similar material has also been compiled by the AFL-CIO Coordinated Bargaining Committee in a small pamphlet entitled "Remember How GE Broke the Law? Sure—Which One?", available by writing to 815 16th St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006.)

Columbia isn't the only campus that has had the opportunity to cause problems for GE recruiters who are not anxious to duplicate the Dow experience. A GE recruiter at Boston University was met Nov. 25 by a student rally denouncing GE, following which 30 or 40 students marched to the conference hall where the recruiter was speaking. When they found the doors barred they decided to wait and confront the GE representatives later, when more people would be around.

As they started to leave, however, they were set upon by cops, a number were beaten, and 24 were arrested for assault and battery, inciting to riot and trespass. The response of the students to what they properly called a "police riot" was a list of 13 demands adopted at a mass meeting on Dec. 2 and addressed to university authorities. Included were demands that B. U. honor the GE boycott and cancel all existing orders, and that GE recruiters not be allowed on campus for the duration of the strike—unless they were willing to debate the issues of the strike in an open meeting.

While the university has refused to comply with the demands as yet, GE has announced that its representatives will not return to campus because they feel "the political climate at BU is not favorable."

Students at BU in a mass meeting decided to continue the actions against GE. Local 205 of UE, in a leaflet distributed on campus, thanked the students for their support and said, "Welcome to the struggle. We are glad to have you as brothers, sisters and allies."

Retroactivity on fingers?

The accident rate at General Electric is high. United Electrical workers spokesman James Matles explains how corporate greed takes its toll of fingers and hands.

The company applies the same rules of grievance procedure to disputes about personal safety as it does to grievances about pay or other conditions. Company rules provide that when a foreman assigns a worker to a job, he must do it. If the worker has a grievance, it is to be taken up after the job is done. If the company is found to be wrong, an adjustment will be made retroactively.

This may not be totally unreasonable in the case of pay, for instance, but how can two or three fingers be replaced retroactively?

IUE, UE endorse SMC action

The following statement was issued jointly by Charles Kearns, Director of Public Relations, UE, and William Bywater, President, District 3, IUE, on Dec. 8.

* * *

UE and IUE welcome the Student Mobilization Committee's show of support for working people on strike against the General Electric Company.

GE workers throughout the country are making tremendous sacrifices in their struggle to achieve a decent standard of living for themselves and their families, and to prevent GE from establishing a union-busting formula in this country.

UE and IUE are gratified that students are becoming more and more aware of the fact that GE policies are having harmful effects not only on its employees but on the nation as a whole.

The GE workers are fighting this billion dollar corporation with their weapon of withholding labor. They are deeply appreciative of all the assistance they get in this struggle.

Tijerina found guilty of 'assault' in New Mexico

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES—Reies Tijerina, a leader of the land-grant movement in New Mexico, was convicted by a Federal District Court in Albuquerque on Nov. 26 on two charges stemming from a June 1967 action by the Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres. Tijerina was already in jail serving a two-year sentence for "assaulting a forest ranger" during another action by the land grant movement, which seeks to recover land belonging to Spanish-Americans in the Southwest.

Tijerina had been acquitted on almost identical charges last December. This time he was convicted of "assault" on Rio Arriba County jailer Eulogio Salazar, and of falsely imprisoning a county deputy sheriff. Tijerina was acting as his own lawyer and was acquitted on two other charges of assault on law officers. Sentencing is set for Jan. 5 and the first charge carries a two-to-ten year sentence.

Tijerina was arrested and prosecuted after violence broke out when the county district attorney tried to stop a legal meeting of land-grant heirs, and they in turn attempted to make a citizen's arrest.

Three other leaders of the Alianza—Ezequiel Dominguez, Alfonso Chavez and Cristobal Tijerina—are also currently serving 60-day sentences arising from land occupation actions.

Rumors which appeared in the press that Tijerina had resigned from the Alianza because he could not agree with newly elected officers and new policies, were denied by the organization. Wilfredo Sedillo, an Alianza vice president, told *The Militant* that Tijerina had definitely not resigned from the organization but had decided to resign from the presidency because his prison confinement made it impossible for him to function in a leadership capacity.

DOES YOUR LOCAL LIBRARY SUBSCRIBE? If your library doesn't have a file of *The Militant*, it might welcome your suggestion to obtain a subscription.

New York SMC strike statement

The following statement, urging antiwar students to support the strike against GE was issued by the New York Student Mobilization Committee.

* * *

147,000 workers have struck the General Electric company and have called for a boycott of all GE products. This strike was precipitated by the refusal of GE to provide a rise in wages which equals the rise in the cost of living due to inflation. Why should this strike be of special interest to students and to everyone who is opposed to the war in Vietnam?

Because:

- 1) General Electric is the second largest military contractor in the U. S.
- 2) GE's military contracts from the Department of Defense ALONE totalled one billion 489 million dollars in 1968.
- 3) Twenty percent of the total business done by GE is in the military sector.
- 4) In 1968 GE was also fifth nationally in contracts with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (\$191 million). These contracts were primarily for Atomic Energy Commission facilities dealing with the production of nuclear weapons.

In other words, GE is making a gigantic profit (\$357 million in 1968) in large part off the military machine. They are directly involved in manufacturing military materials for the war in Vietnam. Meanwhile, that war is causing an ever escalating inflation in this country. While big companies like GE are making millions off the war, the wages of working people are continually being eroded by inflation. That inflation is caused directly by the Vietnam war, a war which is costing \$1,000 a second as well as countless American and Vietnamese lives.

The strike against GE then is not only a strike for higher wages, but an indication that the American working people are not interested in financing the war in Vietnam as well as supplying the troops. It is a strike which should be supported ACTIVELY by all antiwar forces.

The just demands of the strikers deserve our support, and it is an important step in the direction of building a powerful alliance between the antiwar movement and the labor movement. Such an alliance is a necessary step toward building a movement which has the direct power to put an end to the war in Vietnam.

The Student Mobilization Committee urges all students to boycott GE products and to participate on picket lines against stores which carry GE products and against GE plants and facilities. If you are interested in becoming active in this effort, contact SMC.

Life in an auto plant

Sometimes a worker flips out

By TOM CAGLE

(This is one 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.)

General Motors is recognized throughout the world as the model to be copied in business efficiency, and production time and motion study. To understand why, it is necessary to enter one of their plants and spend some time being victimized by their efficiency.

As the "new model" cars go into production each year, the assembly line is run at a stop-start pace to allow the workers to adjust gradually, and get used to their operations. Each day the jobs-per-hour are increased. The process is designed to apply pressure psychologically so as to systematically condition the workers for maximum output.

The workers of necessity must resist, to do otherwise would invite more work onto their already loaded operations. Thus begins the yearly ritual of class struggle which at times breaks out into open guerrilla warfare.

As pressure mounts and life on the assembly line becomes unbearable, tempers snap. A case in point: A worker

S. Carolina students fight to help free imprisoned GI

By BARBARA HERBERT and
JOEL ABER

COLUMBIA, S. C. — Christmas caroling by University of South Carolina students will have an important political thrust this year. "Free Private Carson by Christmas" will be the central focus of the carolers who plan to serenade Ft. Jackson GIs during the December Vietnam Moratorium days. They will be demanding the release of Pvt. E-1 Charles Carter Carson and all other political prisoners at the Ft. Jackson stockade.

Although he has not yet been tried, Pvt. Carson has been in solitary confinement for over 50 days for exercising his constitutional right to petition his government. The Army's persecution of the 18-year-old Black soldier began after he collected signatures at Ft. Jackson for the Student Mobilization Committee's Nov. 9 *New York Times* advertisement that ultimately had 1,365 active-duty GIs' signatures.

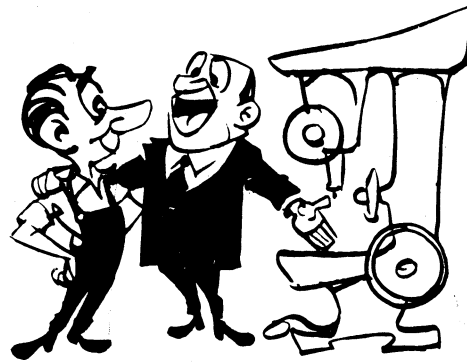
The December Moratorium will be only the first step to spearhead the growing local civilian movement to free Carson. The carolers plan to return to the stockade Christmas eve if Carson is still there.

A defense leaflet has been drawn up here signed by USC antiwar activists and Afro-American student leaders, GIs stationed at Ft. Jackson, representatives of the *Great Speckled Bird* (an Atlanta underground newspaper), the southeast regional Young Socialist Alliance, South Carolina RYM, the USC SMC, and attorneys Diane Schuler and Florence Kennedy of New York.

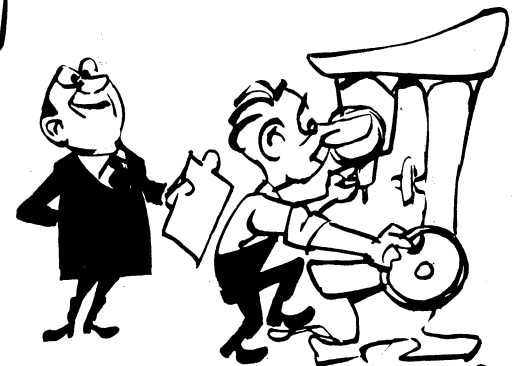
Pvt. Carson had collected 72 signatures on the GI antiwar advertisement before many of his petitions were confiscated by a Corporal Jordan Oct. 10.



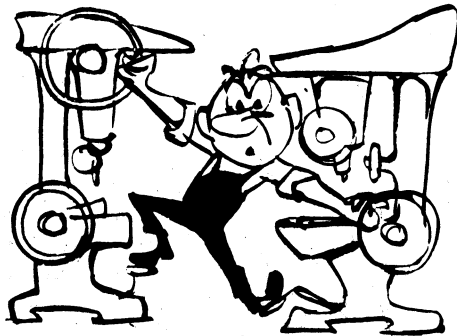
ONCE THERE WAS AN AMBITIOUS YOUNG MAN WHO ANSWERED A 'WANT AD'



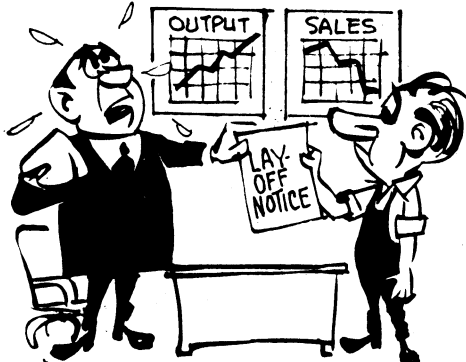
"THIS," SAID THE BOSS "IS YOUR MACHINE. WORK HARD AND I WILL REWARD YOU!"



THE AMBITIOUS YOUNG MAN WORKED VERY HARD SO AS A REWARD THE GRATEFUL BOSS...



...GAVE HIM TWO MACHINES TO OPERATE. THE OUTPUT OF OUR AMBITIOUS HERO DOUBLED



"SORRY" SAID THE BOSS, "SALES ARE SLOW. WE ARE OVERSTOCKED. DON'T CALL ME, I'LL CALL YOU..."



...ONCE THERE WAS AN AMBITIOUS YOUNG MAN WHO READ 'HELP WANTED' ADS...

FRED WRIGHT
UENews

on the bumper line, with two years seniority, allowed his grievances to "eat" on him to the extent that he laid down his tools, put on his jacket, walked to the plant exit. As unsuspecting guard, in routine fashion, started to ask for this worker's exit pass. That guard received a blow that almost broke his jaw. The worker walked on out of the plant.

City police in auto plants

Another incident occurred on dock #5 as a white foreman from the South who had built up a lot of racial animosity for his discriminate use of suspensions on black workers was constantly badgering a black dock worker to hurry up and unload a box car.

The inevitable breaking point was reached. This black brother grabbed his tormentor and threw him into a dark corner of the boxcar, and there proceeded slowly to work him over (with considerable personal satisfaction, I am sure) for about five minutes until he ran out of steam.

This worker knew he was automatically fired, but he was surprised to see Fremont city police, in the plant, running toward him with drawn clubs. The city police slapped handcuffs on the worker and arrested him.

We can only surmise that GM management now has a "hot line" to the Fremont police station and have worked out contingency plans to handle all kinds of trouble with a Bay Area mobile tactical squad setup at our plant.

Then there is the rash of accidents such as a forklift running over a foreman's foot and a harrassed janitor who heaved a trash can into a gondola so hard that it went completely over onto the other side and hit his foreman on the head.

Line speedup

The major conflict takes place quietly on the assembly lines as workers cannot complete their assembly operations because of line speed and overload of work.

The foremen, in applying pressure, will resort to the threat of discipline. The threatened worker must protect himself, so he calls for his union committeeman and files a paragraph 78 grievance. (Grievances protesting too much work—para. #78 of the UAW contract—are strikeable issues.)

During the second week after model changeover, management becomes impatient to knock the stops out of the line and let her roll. This produces some interesting results.

A flood of "cripples" comes rolling off the end of the assembly line, loose fans fly off through the radiator and hood, electrical harness shorts and burns, gas lines leak and produce fires.

Roll test inspectors become nervous as these cars literally fall apart and blow up on the roll test. Cars have fenders, hoods, bumpers, doors, and hard trim missing. Operators have put two gallons of gas into a car only to discover that the gas tank was missing. Oil leaks are common, which creates a safety hazard and makes floors slippery to walk on.

We are constantly plagued with material shortages. We must contend with faulty air guns, hoses, stock shortages, and a thousand and one irritations,

as we are confined to a station on a moving conveyor line.

At times the noise level becomes unbearable as management attempts to pacify us with music. We have to shout at two paces in order to be heard.

Production glut

Jitney drivers must constantly push the "cripples" and unsafe cars out into the yard where they are parked row upon row. They fill the west yard, the south yard, the east yard, the valley, PMT, the shop, and the center aisle.

When all these are filled, it literally chokes off production and management then sends the production workers home.

When this happens the entire plant utility classification together with the material department is mobilized to go out into the yards and repair or "shyster" these poorly built cars.

Work goes on for as much as 77 hours a week—seven days a week, all three shifts—while line workers are held down to the minimum 35 hour work week.

Shoddy products

Management corrupts the inspectors in order to get an OK on the "cripples." Thousands of cars go out with nuts, bolts, and screws missing. Many are outright faulty with operational defects. These are shipped off to the dealers who unload them onto unsuspecting customers. The customers then undergo a long and frustrating "service complaint procedure" with the dealers.

This criminal and chaotic production is the end result of corporate management's mad drive for profit.

It amazes me that no UAW union leader from any of the many auto plants across the country has the courage or crusading "Ralph Nader spirit" to expose this common practice of producing shoddy products and foisting them off on unsuspecting and helpless buyers.

Why have we in the UAW not produced a Ralph Nader? I can only surmise that our entire UAW officialdom suffers from a "leadership crisis" (not the kind they now talk about) brought on by collaborating with management for too long, becoming corrupt silent partners in crime.

The workers in our plant want to build a good product, but we are prevented from doing so by a stifling, bureaucratic, arrogant management that uses its vast power in an abusive manner. This management has ways of enforcing speedup in production, in collaboration with the UAW leadership, which I will describe in detail in another article.

Are Chicago police looking the other way?

Right-wing thugs attack socialists

By LEE SMITH

CHICAGO, Dec. 10—In a sidewalk press conference in front of the police department's first district headquarters, a spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party today assailed failure of the police to act against an ultraright grouping, the "Legion of Justice," which has directed physical violence and death threats against the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance. Instead of acting against the rightwingers, he charged, the police are "apparently trying to frame-up and entrap the victims of these attacks."

Richard Hill, Chicago SWP organizer, exhibited to newsmen copies of a death threat that had been pinned to the door of his home the night previous and described the incidents leading up to the threat. He explained he was giving them duplicated copies of the death threat in an effort to prod the thus far reluctant police into action on the case.

The note read: "Richard Hill has been found guilty of treason. Treason must be punished, and believe us treason will be punished. We missed you in your office. We missed you in DeKalb. We missed you at home. Where the hell are you Rich? Peace."

The note was affixed to a leaflet bearing the insignia of the Legion of Justice, a guillotine framed in the cross hairs of a rifle sight with the inscription: "Treason must be punished."

Hill explained that the threat came on the heels of a violent attack on the Chicago SWP hall, a similar attack on members of the YSA in DeKalb, and other acts by the fascist-like Legion of Justice. He demanded an investigation of these actions and an end to police harassment of the SWP-YSA victims of it. A particular focus of such a probe, he said, should be the activity of the principal spokesman for the ultraright thugs, an attorney named S. Thomas Sutton who has long been associated with white supremacists groups which have attempted to forcibly maintain residential racial segregation in the area.

Hill sketched the development of events. In May, the Legion of Justice held a public meeting at the University of Illinois Circle Campus where Sutton was the speaker. Although Sutton now carefully presents himself simply as "counsel" for the fascist-like gang, the leaflet for that meeting described him as "director" of the Legion of Justice.

Sutton's speech was largely a red-baiting attack on the left and on the movement against the war in Vietnam.

He suggested that those in the audience concerned with doing something about such "treasonous" activity meet with him privately after the meeting.

Shortly after that meeting a high school student who said his name was Tom

Stewart showed up at the YSA-SWP offices. He asked for help in fighting the suspension of editors of an underground newspaper at his school, Lane Tech, in north Chicago. YSAers helped him mount a successful defense of the suspended students and invited him to attend a July 4 Cleveland antiwar conference, which he did.

After that, Stewart disappeared. But before dropping out of sight, he introduced the YSAers to a Greg Schulz, another Lane Tech student, whom he identified as his friend. Schulz also soon dropped out of sight.

In late August, the Legion of Justice raided the Chicago office of the radical film group, Newsreel, and seized some films which they later burned publicly.

On Sept. 22, two persons were arrested on the Northern Illinois University campus in DeKalb, Ill., for pasting up Legion of Justice leaflets on school buildings. The two came to trial and were acquitted. The two were Tom Stewart (the same one, it was established later, who had been around the YSA) and a Sam Oleinick.

Oleinick, according to press accounts, is also known as "Cicero Sam Novack" and was reportedly active in the same organizations and opposition to open housing in which S. Thomas Sutton first came into prominence.



On Oct. 30 the Chicago YSA received a phone call from a girl who said she was interested in the YSA but for some unexplained reason wanted to come down to talk to someone without a lot of people around. A YSAer suggested Saturday, Nov. 1, because most of the YSAers would then be at a demonstration in behalf of the Conspiracy Eight.

On the afternoon of the demonstration there were only four people in the SWP-YSA hall. These were Derrick Jeffers, a YSAer, Tom Dengler, an SWPer, and two members of the Black Panther Party, Gene Charles and an unidentified young woman. Jeffers and Dengler were showing Charles and his friend literature when about a dozen masked men

burst into the hall carrying ball bats, tire irons, and cans of chemical mace. They maced the four and clubbed Jeffers. They compelled them to lie on the floor. Dengler was able to watch the group from where he was on the floor because his glasses had partially protected his eyes from the mace. Along with those who were masked, he also saw a blond woman and a blond teen-aged youth who were not masked. The attackers moved swiftly removing a file drawer, some tape recordings, and all the petty cash in about five minutes.

Dengler clearly saw the face of the unmasked teen-ager as they left. A police officer was notified of the incident at the hospital where Derrick Jeffers was taken to have stitches in his head. But the police did not respond until Richard Hill called them two days later with a full report and then their attitude was half-hearted.

On Nov. 11, the Chicago press reported that on the following day S. Thomas Sutton, on behalf of the Legion of Justice, would hold a press conference to display material "liberated" from a "communist" headquarters which assertedly proved treason on the part of the group concerned.

Richard Hill and Chicago YSA organizer Carl Finamore went to the press conference where the material on display turned out to be some of that taken from the SWP-YSA hall. The material was being discussed by attorney Sutton and displayed by two young men. One of them was the ubiquitous Tom Stewart. The other was identified as Eugene Cozzi.

Police were present among the press, and Hill and Finamore demanded they arrest the trio for possession of stolen property.

Reluctantly, and only under the pressure of the presence of newsmen, the cops took the trio to the station, along with Hill and Finamore as the complainants.

Stewart and Cozzi were charged with possession of stolen property but, with the notation obligingly added by the police, of property with a value of less than \$100, thus reducing the charge from a felony to a misdemeanor. Sutton, who had carefully avoided actually handling the materials at the press conference left his youthful associates holding the bag. He was not charged at all.

On Nov. 13 Richard Hill swore out a warrant for Sutton on a charge of being associated with the theft. Shortly afterward, Greg Schulz, the friend Tom Stewart had introduced to the YSA again turned up at the hall.

Hill and Carl Finamore politely informed Schultz that because of his relation with Stewart he would have to leave. He left without incident.

But the next day Schultz swore out warrants for Finamore and Hill on the charges of assault and battery and "illegal restraint." (Illegal restraint is a felony charge akin to kidnapping and not something a high school student would be likely to know about without help from a lawyer, the police, or both). Finamore and Hill were arrested on those warrants on Nov. 20 and held for extensive questioning.

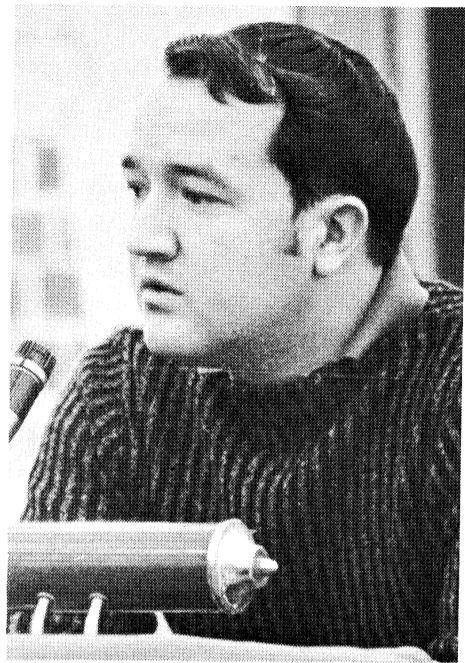
On Dec. 4, a sinister even occurred. Thirty police with drawn pistols burst into the SWP-YSA office. They were acting, they later said, on information that there had been a "shoot-out" in the office and urging them to proceed with "extreme caution."

Naomi Allen, YSA regional traveler, who was in charge of the office at the time, firmly insisted they provide their names and full explanation of why they were there. When it was clearly established that the "tip" was a fake, instead of proceeding to tracing the tip, the cops searched the offices looking for possible violations of the law.

Meanwhile, members of the SWP and YSA around the country were receiving

phone calls from someone posing as Richard Hill reporting that "The office has been tommy gunned . . . People are lying on the floor bleeding and unconscious. . . There is evidence of police collusion" and pleading for help.

Following on the heels of Fred Hampton's murder that very morning the



Richard Hill

story was completely believable and it took several phone calls to establish that the calls were a hoax. The Legion apparently made these calls hoping that either the police would enter expecting trouble and some incident would start them shooting—which very easily could have happened—or that in the wake of the previous Legion attack, the YSA and SWP would leave themselves open to prosecution by taking some illegal measures to protect the hall such as keeping unregistered guns in the office.

The next day, Stewart and Cozzi appeared in Boy's Court and got a postponement of their trial for possession of stolen property. Tom Dengler, who had never before seen Stewart either in the summer or at Sutton's news conference, was present in court where he said he recognized with full certainty Stewart as the unmasked youth who had taken part in the Nov. 1 attack on the SWP-YSA hall.

DeKalb attack

Then, on Dec. 6, there was an attack on the DeKalb YSA. Some eight or ten masked men armed with tire irons and cans of mace suddenly broke into the apartment of members of the YSA in DeKalb, near the campus of Northern Illinois University.

Threatening the lives of the students present, they demanded the books and records of the YSA. All in the room were maced and one of them, Ray Hamilton, was struck twice in the head with a tire iron and required about half a dozen stitches.

Another one of the YSAers, Val Moller, grabbed one of the attackers and rammed his head against the metal bed post, alarming all the hooded intruders and causing them to beat a retreat before they could seize any property.

Meanwhile, hearing the commotion, the landlady notified the police who arrived right after the attackers left.

(continued on page 10)

CALENDAR

MINNEAPOLIS

THE GE STRIKE: THE WORKERS PAY FOR THE WAR. Speaker: Fred Ferguson, veteran trade unionist and antiwar activist. Sat., Dec. 20, 8:00 p.m. 1 University Ave. NE. 333-7781. Contrib. 75c, students 50c. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

FILM: THE BATTLE OF ALGIERS. 2 showings — 8:00 p.m. and 10:00 p.m. Fri., Dec. 19, 873 Broadway (nr. 18th Street). Contrib. \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.



DeKalb YSAer Laura Miller addresses press conference

Murder of Chicago Panthers evokes demands for action

By RAY FOLLET

CHICAGO, Dec. 9—The racist police murder of Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark has generated a wave of anger and protest in the black community here which is still rising. And on all sides, organizations and individuals, public and private, are challenging the official police version of the killings. Demands have been made for an independent public investigation of the police role.

Tonight, at a funeral service for Fred Hampton in Melrose Park, huge crowds filled the church and overflowed onto the steps and street outside. Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Council spoke, vowing, "We are going to see that Fred Hampton did not die in vain."

Ever since last Thursday, steadily increasing numbers of people have lined up all day long to view the apartment where the murders took place, to see for themselves the evidence of the police attack. In addition to the two who were killed, two men and two women Panthers were wounded in the assault. Three others, one a woman eight months pregnant, were arrested and charged with attempted murder of the invading police.

Representatives of the Afro-American Patrolmen's League, a generally conservative organization of hundreds of black policemen, visited the apartment and have stated they are convinced that the official police version of what happened is a lie.

State's Attorney Hanrahan's official

story is that the cops were refused entry to the apartment and broke through the front and back doors. He says the cops opened fire after being met at the front by a man and woman firing at them.

But, all the bullet holes in the apartment were made by firing *into* the apartment and *into* the bedroom walls; none of the bullet holes could have been made by firing outward. The front door had not been forced open as the cops claimed. The lock and latch were undamaged, showing that the door had been opened from the inside.

It could be seen that Fred Hampton was killed in bed. The mattress was still soaked with blood where his head had lain. The walls of his bedroom were lined with bullet holes at the level of his head on the pillow.

President Renault Robinson of the Patrolmen's League told the press, "We found no evidence that anyone had fired from within the apartment . . . Anybody engaged in a gun battle would not do it from the bed — and it appears Hampton died in the bed." Robinson said the men were killed "for no reason" in a deliberate police "setup."

State Senators Newhouse and Chew both have stated their disagreement with the police report after viewing the apartment. Newhouse said the police knew what they wanted to do and knew just where to find Hampton.

Chicago Alderman A. A. Rayner charged the police with "assassination," adding that it was "part of a systematic dissolution of all Black Panther Party leadership."

Daniel Miller, president of the United Automobile Workers Chicago-Area Fair Practices and Civil Rights Council, condemned the "brutal and unwarranted slayings."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has termed the killing a "lynching," and the NAACP and American Civil Liberties Union have called for an investigation.

One group of visitors to the murder apartment included the mayor of the village of Maywood (a western suburb of Chicago) and several village officials. After seeing the apartment, they condemned the killing of Hampton and Clark as murder and are demanding the Attorney General of Illinois place murder charges against the policemen.

Fred Hampton lived in Maywood before he helped to found the Illinois Black Panther Party in Chicago. He was president of the youth council of the West Suburban NAACP while he was a high school student, and led a fight to acquire

a swimming pool for the Maywood ghetto.

The Chicago black community, especially black youth, is responding with deep feeling to Hampton's death. Many rallies, memorials, and demonstrations are taking place. Whites are participating in some of them.

The Panthers held a memorial rally on Saturday in a West Side church filled with at least 3,000, while another 1,000 or more remained outside. The rally was addressed by Panther leader Bobby Rush, by Fred Hampton's older brother William, and by Debra Johnson, one of the Panthers arrested in the raid.

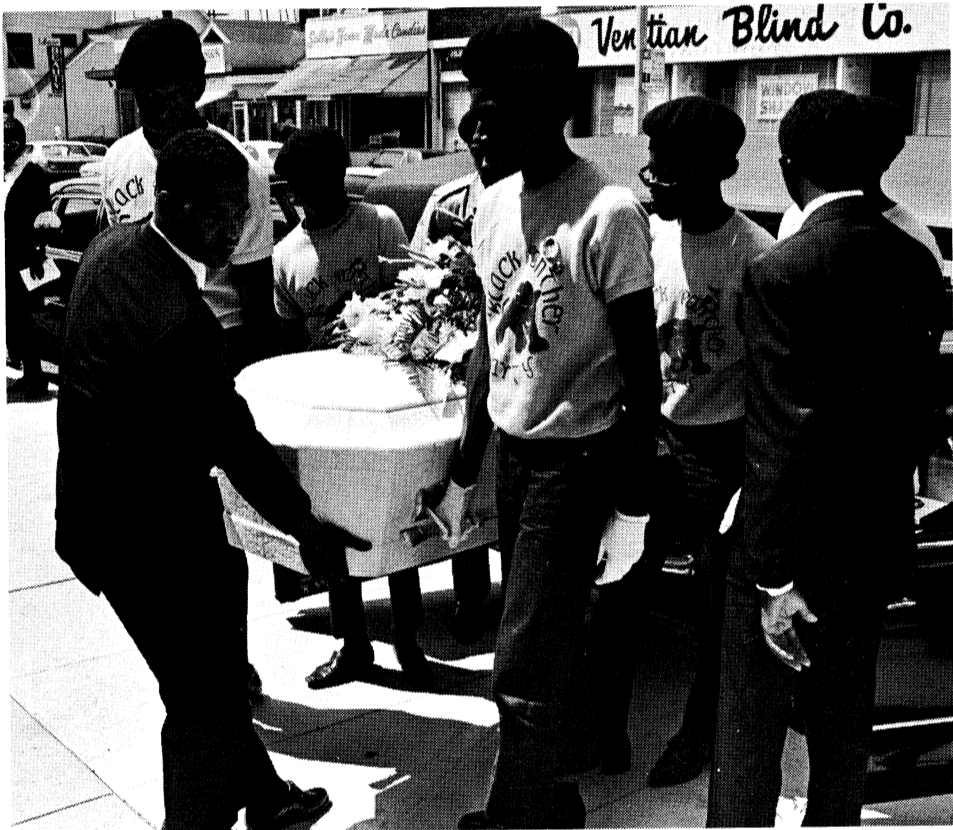
A candlelight demonstration was held at the Civic Center on Dec. 5. Holy Angels Catholic Church in the black community held a memorial mass attended by 1,200 black children, at which seventh graders praised Hampton as a revolutionary hero. The mass ended with everyone in the church — adults, children, priests, nuns and laity — giving the black power salute.

Malcolm X City College on the Westside, where Fred Hampton was a student, honored him as a revolutionary. Black college president Charles Hurst told a college memorial meeting that Hampton's death emphasized the need for the college to promote revolutionary black studies, to develop new leaders, and to begin a program "to teach people how to protect their homes and community."

"We are going to have to help the Black community learn how to defend itself," Hurst declared. He renamed the main conference room of the school for Hampton, and turned over the memorial meeting to speeches by Black Panther Party representatives.

On Monday, the Malcolm X College student body left classes and conducted a mass march to the funeral home to view Hampton's body.

High school students walked out of classes and held memorial services in at least seven Chicago high schools. The walkouts were mostly black, but included white students in some schools. Six hundred left Kenwood High School. Many classes were canceled at Crane High School. Half the student body of Chicago Vocational High School was out. Black students from some suburban high schools also walked out.



ONE OF MANY. Los Angeles funeral of Thomas M. Lewis, 18, Black Panther murdered with two others by local cops. Since Jan. 1, 1968, according to press reports, 28 Panthers have been killed by cops across the country in a systematic drive to destroy the Panther Party.

Attack on home of Bobby Rush

CHICAGO—On Dec. 5, the day after the murderous pre-dawn police assault that killed two Panthers, the cops broke into the apartment of Bobby Rush, minister of defense of the Black Panther Party. They claimed they were looking for unregistered guns in his apartment. When they found no one at home, they obtained a warrant for Rush's arrest on the charge of failing to register a small derringer found in the apartment.

The next day Rush made a dramatic appearance at the Saturday meeting of Operation Breadbasket of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Before 5,000 people, Rush appeared on the stage with Rev. Jesse Jackson and surrendered himself by pre-arrangement to Renault Robinson, president of the Afro-American Patrolmen's Association, and to two black police officials. He told the audience he was taking this means of protecting himself, because the police had also expected to find him in Hampton's apartment when they broke in.

"I'm turning myself in to the Black people and to Black policemen while the Black community witnesses the event," he said.

Throughout the past year, police harassment of the Black Panther Party in Chicago has been intense. The Panther headquarters in the Westside ghetto, the center of the breakfast for children program, has been raided and wrecked by police three times in the last seven months.

In a wrecking raid in June, eight Black Panther Party members were arrested on charges of hiding a fugitive from arrest. The "fugitive" later turned out to be a police informer. In October the police attacked with gunfire, and charged six Panthers with attempted murder. The charges were dropped later for lack of evidence.

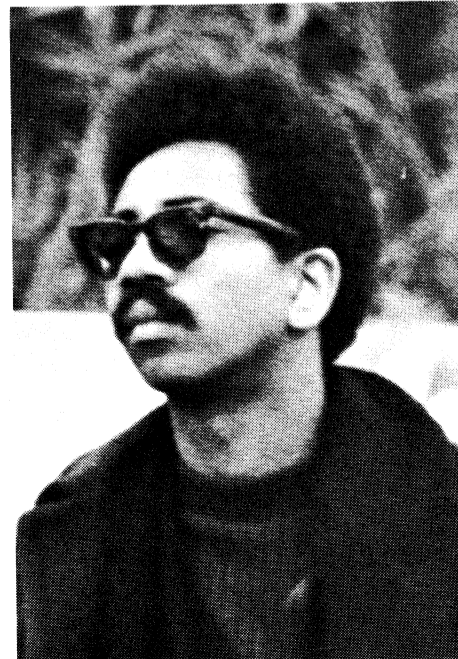
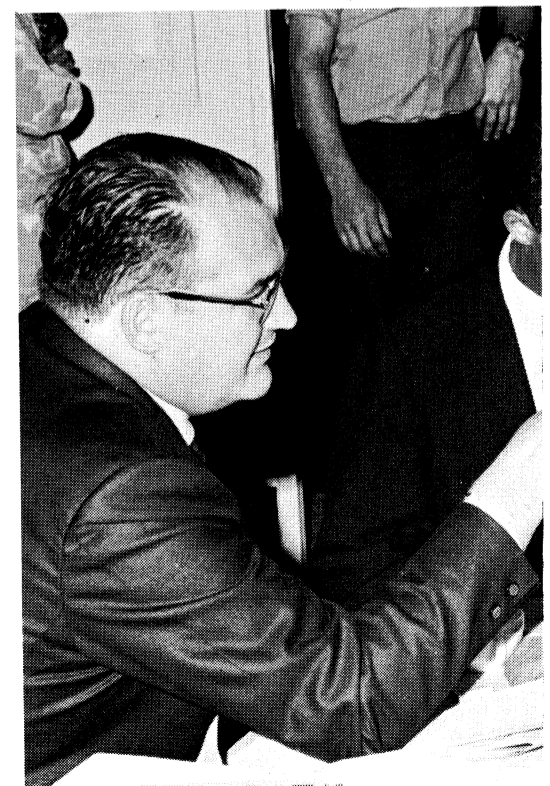


Photo by Shannon

Bobby Rush

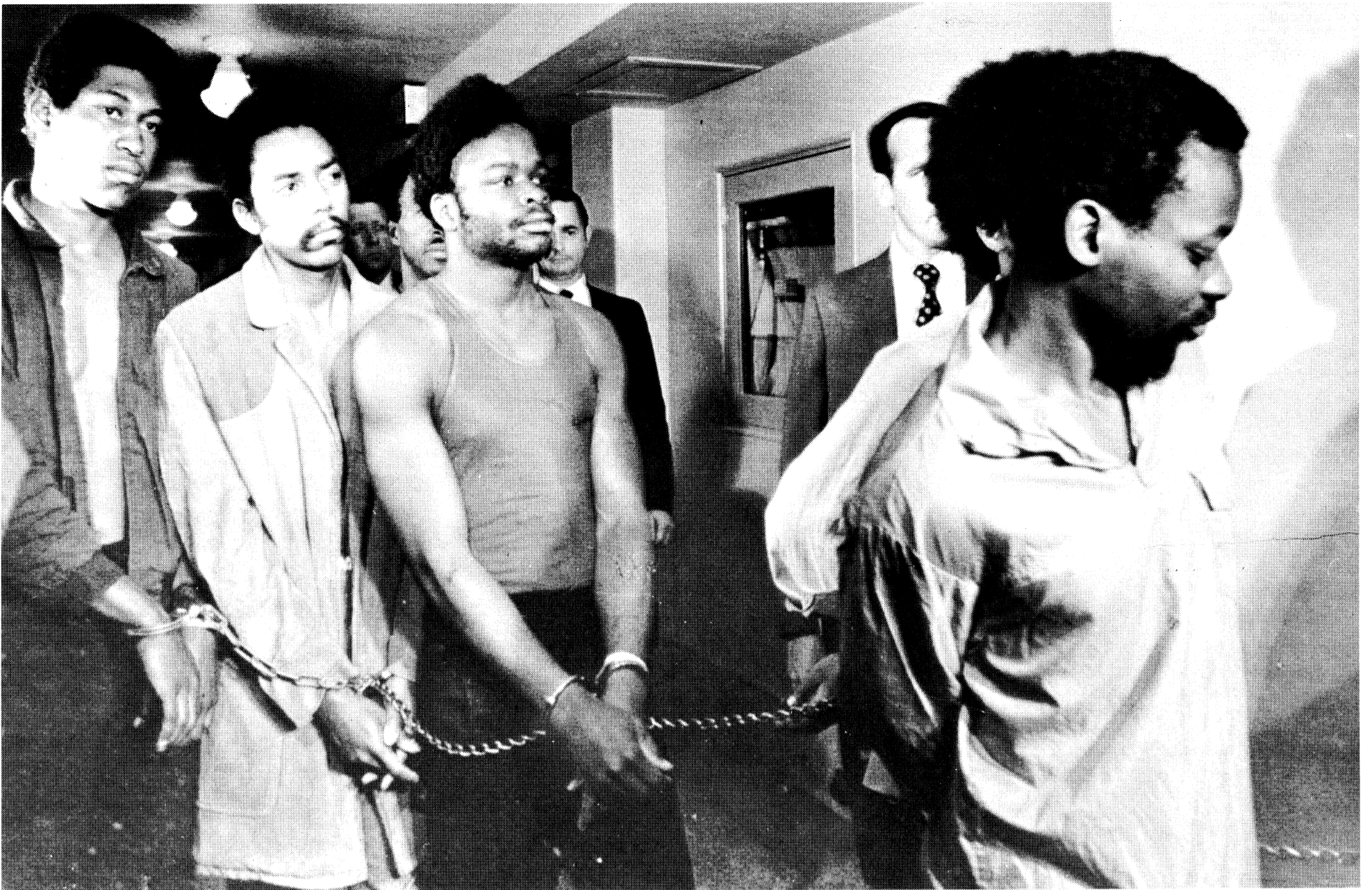


URGE PROBE. Fred Halstead (left) : vice presidential candidates of Socialis Hampton and issued call for united mo to need for an independent probe to



URGE PROBE. Fred Halstead (left) and other vice presidential candidates of Socialist Workers Party, attended funeral of Fred Hampton and issued call for united movement for independent defense of Panthers. They pointed to need for an independent probe to

are all the facts about police murder.



Captured Los Angeles Panthers are led in chains in police station.

Rage builds over L.A. cop attack

By TERRY HARDY
*Socialist Workers Party candidate
 for California Controller*

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 9—The Black community has responded with deep outrage to yesterday's police raids on two Black Panther Party offices and a home of a Panther. Police claim the raids were organized to search for arms caches they believed the Panthers were assembling and to arrest a Panther charged with threatening a policeman with a weapon.

At the Panther community breakfast center and at a home on 55th Street the police arrested a total of eight people

without opposition. But when three cops wearing bulletproof vests and visored helmets walked up to the front door of the Panther headquarters at 4115 S. Central Avenue, they met a different response. Before the raid had begun, cops dressed in black jump suits, black boots and black baseball caps carried sniper rifles into the building facing the Panther office. Bandoliers of ammunition were draped over the uniforms.

They were also armed with M16 rifles, black jackets and gas masks. There were 40 police in the assault team backed up by over 200 more mobilized in police cars, ambulances, and fire trucks on nearby streets. An army personnel carrier similar to those used in Vietnam was requested from an Army engineering unit as the national guard was put on alert. Roads were blocked around the Panther headquarters.

This armed police invasion of the Black community began when, after screaming to be let in, the police battered in the steel-plated front door with a ram. The people inside, with the memory of last week's police murder of the Chicago Panthers fresh in their minds, responded by defending themselves and the headquarters, at which time police outside began firing at the upper windows of the office. During the assault, police set off two dynamite charges on the roof of the Panther headquarters to try to blast their way into the building from above.

After four hours, the 13 people inside the building finally surrendered in face of this overwhelming show of force by the state. Four Panthers, Tommye Williams, Wayne Far, Parker Hill and Roland Freeman were wounded by gunshot and one woman Panther suffered a miscarriage during the attack.

In all, 14 arrests were made with bail ranging from \$1,250 to as high as \$100,000. Three cops were supposedly injured in the "gun battle."

This attack is part of the systematic campaign of murder, imprisonment and physical harassment directed by the state and federal authorities against the Black Panther Party. It was reported here that Gov. Reagan had been consulted on the attack in advance. Regardless of any political differences, it is the obligation of everyone in the movement to do everything possible to mobilize massive defense for the Panthers against this reactionary attack.

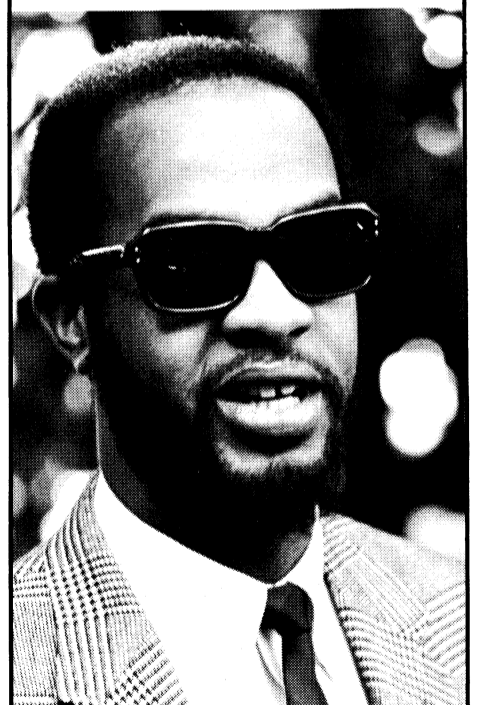
There was a Black community meeting of 300 people Monday night at the Second Baptist Church in south central Los Angeles to discuss this attack on the Panthers and the Black community. Out of this meeting came the decision to hold a mass march on City Hall Dec. 11 in defense of the Panthers.

A defense meeting of 150 people was also held in the white community. The decisions from that meeting were: 1) to build the mass march on City Hall Dec. 11; and 2) to hold educational rallies and leafleting on the campuses.

Both of these meetings, though quickly called, were broadly representative and indicated the support already mobilized in defense of the Panthers and the Black community and the scope and potential for extending that support.

The Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee in California pledges full solidarity with the Black Panther Party against these attacks. We're going to actively build support to the mass march on City Hall. The YSA at Fairfax High School has called for a demonstration in defense of the Panthers. On Wednesday, Herman Fagg, Socialist Workers candidate for governor, and Phil Conner, Socialist Workers candidate for state treasurer, were slated to hold a press conference with other black and brown militants expressing their solidarity with the Panthers and to help build public support against the attacks here by the cops.

Assails attack on Panthers



SAN FRANCISCO— Herman Fagg, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of California, condemned the "conscious attempt by federal, state, and local police forces to destroy the Black Panther Party."

"These attacks must be protested by the people of California," he said. "If the Panthers are not defended today, the right of everyone, not only Afro-Americans, will be in jeopardy tomorrow."



Paul Boutelle, 1968 presidential and orkers Party, attended funeral of Fred nent defense of Panthers. They pointed are all the facts about police murder.

Antiwar fight gained new forces

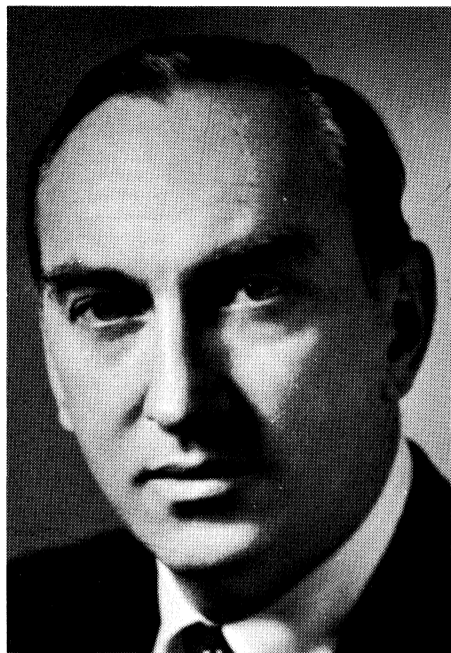
Trade union support to Nov. 15

Participation in the antiwar movement by trade unionists has increased significantly in the past year as growing numbers of workers are affected by the growth of mass antiwar sentiment in the population as a whole and by the need for wage increases to cope with war-created inflation.

This increased antiwar feeling was reflected in the union participation in the Nov. 15 demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco which was greater than in any previous demonstrations. There were many unions which either officially endorsed the actions or whose officers participated. In Washington, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Drug and Hospital Workers Union 1199, District 65 distributive workers, and others were officially represented. Local officers of the United Auto Workers came from many states, even though the International officers were not present.

Harold J. Gibbons of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters was one of the featured speakers in Washington, and such prominent union officials as Pat Gorman of the Butchers and Frank Rosenblum, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, endorsed the action. Cleveland Robinson of District 65 marched in the front ranks of the demonstrators along with hundreds of other union members and officials.

In Detroit, the American Federation of Teachers officially endorsed Nov. 15



Harold Gibbons

by a vote of the membership.

There was a higher union participation in the giant Nov. 15 demonstration in San Francisco because of easier transportation. The United Electrical Workers Union called a membership meeting and marched in a body. Likewise, the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union Locals 10, 34, and 6 marched under their own banners. The Union's International Executive Board and its Bay Area Pensioners also marched.

Other unions represented, most of them AFL-CIO affiliates, were Local 101 of the International Ladies Garment Workers, the National Farm Workers union, Local 29 of OPE, Local 43 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the American Federation of Teachers Locals 1352, 1570, and 61, Civil Service Employees Union Local 390 and 535, Painters Local 4, Hod Carriers Local 36, Service Employees International Union Local 400, the Women's Auxiliary of ILWU in Oakland, and the Santa Clara County and Contra Costa County Central Labor Councils.

Prominent Bay Area union officials on the march included Ed Barlow, secretary-treasurer of Teamsters' Local 9, and Mike Johnson, secretary of Northern California District Council, ILGWU.

Much of this union support was foreshadowed by the sentiment expressed last May at the founding conference of the Alliance for Labor Action by Teamsters' president Frank Fitzsimmons in his opening remarks at that conference. He said then, "We find the youth of the nation up in arms over an unpopular war in Vietnam, up in arms over the billions of dollars this country spends annually to carry on this war in the Far East, when our people go begging right here at home.

"This war, the bane and the plague of both Democratic and Republican administrations, must be stopped, and must be stopped soon."

Florida students win acquittal on 'public obscenity'

TALLAHASSEE—Mass student support and effective legal defense forced a University of Florida student conduct committee to find YSA members David and Judi Rossi not guilty of "public profanity" charges evolving from an arrest on Oct. 10.

More than five hundred sympathetic persons witnessed the ten-hour hearing, which ended at 2:05 a.m. with the announcement of acquittal.

David and Judi Rossi were originally arrested Oct. 10 after they offered a campus policeman a leaflet announcing a speech by antiwar GI Andrew Pulley of the Ft. Jackson Eight. The charges of "resisting arrest" and "profanity" stemming from this incident were so patently absurd that they were dropped by the city. But, David A. West of the university administration decided to take further campus action. West, whose official job is protector of procedural rights of students in hearings at Florida, acted as prosecutor in many instances during the hearing.

Kay Ellis and Lew Tally, law students at Florida, defended the Rossis.

Marcia Heighton, a secretary in the office where the incident occurred, testified that she had heard the words "son of a bitch" but she could not say who said them. She testified she was not offended by the words.

An editorial on the case in the campus newspaper, the *Florida Alligator*, called for an end to harassment of students such as Judi and David Rossi who want to exercise freedom of expression. The editorial told the administration: "leave them alone. And look at yourselves. And tell us where the danger lies."

Banquet tops off weekend meeting in Los Angeles

By OSCAR COOVER

LOS ANGELES—A well-filled banquet hall heard Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, highlight the Second Southwest Regional Educational Conference of the Young Socialist Alliance here on Nov. 29. For the 120 guests it was successful as a political, social and fundraising event.

Dobbs paid special tribute to the left wing of the Southern California antiwar movement for initiating and carrying through the first event in the fall antiwar offensive with the action at the summer White House in San Clemente on Aug. 17.

The banquet was scheduled to coincide with the 41st anniversary of the founding of *The Militant*, and Carole Seidman, director of the recently concluded subscription drive in Los Angeles, pointed to the success of the drive as an important step in the program of expansion of the revolutionary socialist movement in Los Angeles.

Funds raised at the banquet added another big boost to regional expansion. Prior to the meeting a friend of *The Militant* contributed a 1966 VW microbus to be used for regional organizing, and an appeal for funds to keep the bus on the road brought in \$520 as well as a set of tires when needed, plus the use of a gas credit card.

Herman Fagg, Dianne Feeley, Dave Frankel, Terry Hardy and Froben Lozada, all SWP candidates for California state offices, were introduced, as were representatives from San Diego, Tucson, and Phoenix.

The spontaneous singing of the Internationale at the end of the banquet typified the atmosphere throughout.

A MERRY MARXMAS TO ALL!

Woman tells Life: Your ads are stepping on my image

[The following letter was originally sent to *Life* magazine, which did not see fit to print it.]

* * *

You're stepping on my image. In your Nov. 7, 1969, issue, you displayed an advertisement for Mattel toys which insinuates that females are good for nothing except dancing, talking and modeling while males can think, build and learn.

Following the old adage, "Ladies first," (which has been used to brainwash women into thinking they've got it made so they won't wake up to the fact that they're society's servant class), the ad opened with a photo of a little blonde girl in a tutu admiring her look-alike dancing doll and the statement, "Because girls dream about being a



The little girl image

ballerina, Mattel makes Dancerina, a pink confection in silken blouse and ruffled tutu." Is that by any chance their definition of a girl?

The second ad is devoted to more dolls and it states, "Barbie, a young fashion model, and her friends do the 'in' things GIRLS SHOULD DO!: Talk about new places to visit, new clothes to wear and new friends to meet . . ."

If the company insists on designing nothing but dolls for girls, why not stick in a woman scientist, doctor, lawyer, pilot or president?

The section advertising boys' toys begins with the statement, "Because boys were born to *build* and *learn*, Mattel makes Tog'l (a set of building blocks) for Creative play." This ad shows a boy surrounded by a variety of "Creative toys." In small print, at the bottom of the page, the company throws in the line, "And girls love Tog'l too." (My emphasis.)

Another picture shows a boy playing with "imaginative and fantastic creations that challenge young minds to *think* as they *build*." Needless to say, girls aren't even mentioned in this ad. (My emphasis.)

The last section begins, "Because boys are curious about things big and small, Mattel makes Super-Eyes, a telescope that boys can have in one ingenious set of optically engineered lenses and scopes . . . that . . . create dozens of viewing devices—all for science or all for fun." These ads, of course, are strictly aimed at males, without even the pretence that a little girl might happen to enjoy science or fun.

Such advertising contributes to the traditional oppression of women in a way somewhat reminiscent of the old black (body)—white (brain) stereotypes. Suppose the ad had stated that white children think and learn and should be given scientific creative toys while black children are encouraged to talk and dance?

Maryanne Raphael

... right-wing thugs

(continued from page 7)

The cops behaved in a manner very much like the Chicago police. While the students were being taken to the hospital and then to the station for questioning, the landlady, Zana Hopperly, and Sean Shesgreen, a Northern Illinois University professor she had summoned, witnessed the police carefully search the apartment and rifle the book shelves, taking several books and pamphlets without a warrant or receipt and in the absence of the tenants. A housing inspector who also appeared took a list of DeKalb YSAers from the wall which was later produced by the police at the station while they were questioning the victims of the attack.

Very few of the police's questions related to the attackers, most of them focusing instead on the political beliefs and associations of the YSAers.

The entire DeKalb campus community has responded to this vicious attack and to the scandalous behavior of the police with the formation of an unusually broad, united defense committee embracing Arab students, Students for Israel, the Young Democrats, the Young Republicans, the Young Americans for Freedom, the New University Conference, the Student Association, the American Federation of Teachers, the Student Mobilization Committee, and other groups. This united front held a press conference on Monday, Dec. 8, attended by 250 students. The defense committee has already forced the city administration of DeKalb to set up a board of inquiry on which YSAers will sit to investigate the incident. Steps are under way to relate these efforts in DeKalb and a concerted campaign in Chicago to a coordinated legal and political national campaign to expose and render ineffective Sutton and his fascist group, to halt police collusion and indifference, and to bring an end to these attacks.



Strike demonstration in Rome

On Nov. 19 an estimated 10 million Italian workers—one-half the entire working population of the country, including farmers and self-employed persons—joined in a one-day general strike. It was Italy's third such strike this year. (See *The Militant*, Dec. 12.)

The following article, excerpted from the Belgian revolutionary socialist weekly, *La Gauche*, describes the dynamic of the Italian labor upsurge that preceded the Nov. 19 general strike and which is still propelling the widening labor unrest in Italy. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

In a number of introductory paragraphs which we have omitted, the author recapitulates the events surrounding several demonstrations in late October.

From one end of Italy to the other, throughout the various sectors of the economy, hotbeds of violence erupted. The gates of the Bergamo cement factory were broken down; general strike movements in several cities—Pesaro, Pescara, Rome, Milan, and other towns—mobilized the working population in its entirety against the high cost of living and rising rents.

Tens of millions of letters were held up during strikes by communications workers. Some days the transportation vehicles did not leave their parking areas. Intermittently, the papers stopped publishing. Several million foundry workers, chemical workers, bakers, masons, electricians, typographers, bank and municipal clerks, and even the wait-

ers in the cafes stopped work.

They threw into disarray the great economic machine of a country enjoying full "prosperity," where life would be rosy for the bourgeoisie if it were not for this "regrettable" continually spreading social agitation.

The most immediately striking thing about this situation—the fact that gives it an already prerevolutionary character—is the breadth of the mobilization, which has spread to the most diverse social strata and virtually all sectors of the workers movement; its persistence (the crisis has subsisted for long months); its violence; and the escalating character the rank-and-file workers have given a struggle which the bosses and the union leaderships alike are doing their utmost to keep within the framework of "static warfare" and prevent from developing into an all-out test of strength.

Role of the rank and file

The role played by the rank-and-file workers—spontaneously or more often spurred on by groups to the left of the PCI (Italian Communist Party) and the union leaderships—is another striking feature of the Italian situation.

Last week's *L'Express* (a liberal French weekly) reported these remarks of a top leader of the CGIL (Italian General Confederation of Labor, the CP-dominated union federation) on the "leftist" groups:

"When the splinter groups manage to stir the workers," he said, "something is wrong in the unions. It is true that two years ago our relations with the workers were paternalistic and bureaucratic. We have turned again toward the rank and file so that all the decisions will be made by the workers. As a result of the habits that developed, the task was difficult, but we have succeeded. The challenge posed by the splinter groups is a legitimate one. They lie in wait for us like snipers, ready to start shooting if we betray the workers. It is up to us not to betray."

Indeed, this language, which assumes all the appearances of good faith and nonsectarian humility—and which certainly contrasts with the tone of the French CGT (General Confederation of Labor, the CP-controlled union)—indicates the difficulty in which the bureaucracy finds itself.

This tone reveals that these trade-union bureaucrats, who have distinguished themselves many times by their anguished scrambling for an agreement with the bosses at any cost (notably at FIAT) now realize how fragile their power over the working class is, how difficult it will be for them to control new upsurges of the workers movement, how limited their margin for maneuver is.

The case of FIAT

The case of FIAT (180,000 workers) is all the more exemplary because this factory has been a barometer both of

BACKGROUND ANALYSIS FROM EUROPE

Major strike battles create social crisis for Italian capitalism

working-class combativity and of resistance by a leading sector of management . . .

On May 13, 1969, a strike began which lasted six weeks and was ended by an agreement signed on July 1. For the bosses this meant 50,000 cars less in the midst of a peak period, 50,000,000,000 lire [\$83-84 million] less in Agnelli's coffers. (Agnelli is the head of FIAT.)

Two elements were decisive in touching off this strike and extending it—the work of the factory fraction of the PSIUP (the Italian Socialist party of Proletarian Unity), which is distinctly more to the left in Turin than in the rest of the country, and the work of the student movement. . . .

Before the summer was over the anticipation of a post-vacation confrontation in October moved up the social calendar. On Sept. 1, two shops in the biggest FIAT factory in Turin (the Mirafiori plant, where the summer struggles had been the sharpest) went out on strike and refused to allow the union leaderships to represent them in any way.

The management responded with a lockout. Its aim was to isolate the vanguard elements and play off against them the most apprehensive workers, those fearful above everything of unemployment. . . .

Unions "turn to the left"

But this action had a natural and opposite result—it forced the union organizations to make an important turn in their program of demands. While at the beginning they spoke only of demands for different job categories, they adopted the "equalitarian" slogans advanced at FIAT (equal raises for all, reduction of the job-category wage differential, and a 40 hour week now) and demands for workers control over the production-line tempos and productivity. . . .

Also as regards the methods of struggle, the unions accepted the principle that there did not have to be a truce in the battle while negotiations were carried on. And—contrary to what had been originally foreseen—the trade-union leaders were to negotiate under the pressure of workers struggles. And this has been true not only for the foundry workers but for the chemical industry, the building industry, printing, and the banks, where new-contract negotiations are now taking place also. . . .

Union democracy

The current struggles have also raised the question of trade-union democracy. Nearly everywhere the worker vanguard and the "Student-Worker" groups have demanded new forms of organization that would enable the rank and file to direct the action, to maintain continual power of initiative and control, to prevent the union bureaucracy from

selling out the workers' objectives.

This challenging of a reformist and bureaucratized unionism is thus indicative of the revolutionary character of the struggles being waged in Italy. But this process is not proceeding without confusion. Some "Mao-anarcho-spontaneist" groups are pushing concern for "grass-roots democracy" and opposition to "bureaucratization" to an absurd extreme. For them any structured organization is susceptible to bureaucratization and consequently harmful. For them, any "delegation of power" is inadmissible. . . .

It is evident that today the Italian working masses often go further than the "bureaucracies" want, an initial student-worker linkup has developed in the struggles, and a new vanguard has revealed itself in the plants. But it is no less true that the union leaderships still retain an important part of their power. For the time being, these leaderships alone have the power to organize the struggles on a national scale, they alone are able to issue general strike calls that will be followed.

In this area, the student movement bears a great responsibility. It is fragmented, narrowly regional, and has generally refused to coordinate the struggles (although the ideas on this score are evolving a bit in Italy). . . .

As the French socialist weekly, *Lutte Ouvriere*, correctly wrote: "No more in Italy than in France can the workers' confidence be won by waving a few red flags or changing some slogans more radical than those of the official organizations. The leftists must prove their competence and responsibility in the day-to-day struggles of the working class."

In order for the struggle to culminate in "workers power"—in "dual power" on a broader scale than that of a few plants—the essential question remains that of the revolutionary party. Because in the absence of an alternative, the only party that still has the ear of the working class is the PCI. And the PCI's only objective is a shift in the parliamentary majority or participation in a bourgeois government.

As *La Gauche* wrote already in July, "The opportunity for revolutionists lies in the fact that in all parties in Italy (even the Christian Democrats) the ranks, the masses, are further to the left than the leaderships. But these leaderships are not going to be replaced just like that."

If the Italian vanguard left the effective leadership of the struggles to the union bureaucracies, if it refused to take up the question of the party now, it would prove itself incapable of contributing to the solution of this problem.

But by its own logic the mobilization of the class will undoubtedly assist the vanguard to rid itself of its spontaneist illusions. In any case, so it is to be hoped.

CHEROKEE EXAMINER

FOURTH ISSUE NOW AVAILABLE

An independent hard hitting NATIVE AMERICAN PERIODICAL

written by HOSTILE AMERICAN INDIANS
History Problems of today
Potential solutions.
"We Will have justice for our people!"

CHEROKEE EXAMINER
P.O. Box 687
South Pasadena, Calif. 91030

Please enter my subscription for 12 consecutive issues at \$5.00, or 6 consecutive issues at \$3.00. Subscription prices reduced in support of the Christmas purchasing boycott. Enclosed is check, cash or money order for:

\$ _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

M

Militant national struggle mounts in French Canada

Fight for single language in the schools a key issue

MONTREAL — The militant street demonstrations that erupted in the fight for a French-only school system in Quebec have subsided, and the Quebec National Assembly has adopted the highly unpopular Bill 63. But the massive movement that developed in opposition to this governmental measure will not disappear easily, and new campaigns are already being planned.

Growing numbers of Quebecois are demanding a policy of official French unilingualism in the province. Through this measure they seek to combat the domination of the Quebec nation by foreign capitalist monopolies, in a foreign tongue, English, and the consequent process of Anglicization of the nation. But the government clings to the official policy of bilingualism (i.e., "equal status" for both French and English), reflecting the interests of its capitalist backers.

In recent years this confrontation has centered about the school system. Last year a notable victory for a French-only school system was won in the Montreal suburb of St. Leonard, where the unilingualist forces won the local school board elections. Under the strong pressure of the English-language minority, the government reacted and proposed Bill 85, which would have guaranteed the right to schools in either French or English, and thus decapitated the movement for a single system of French schools. A rapid public outcry against the bill combined with divisions in the Cabinet forced the government to shelve the measure.

This fall, however, they brought in Bill 63 which simply took up again the theme of the abandoned Bill 85. The introduction of the bill was met with a massive outpouring of opposition from almost all quarters of society and mass demonstrations of a size unseen in Quebec since the conscription crisis during World War II.

The most spectacular manifestation of

popular opposition was the series of street demonstrations which took place in Montreal and across the province. The first demonstration in Montreal, called on short notice, rallied some 10,000 people; subsequent demonstrations were larger; across the province, areas which had never seen mass demonstrations in the streets witnessed hundreds of thousands of persons marching. The entire protest movement converged on Quebec City, Oct. 31, for a mass march and rally in front of the Parliament. Over 40,000 took part.

It is difficult to describe the atmosphere in Montreal those days. The streets were constantly filled with marchers. During the day, thousands of students would walk out of their schools, march on other schools to get them to walk out, and then set out across town in spontaneous, militant, and orderly demonstrations. Later on in the week, the students undertook the door-to-door circulation of leaflets and petitions against the bill. Each evening, the day's activities would culminate in a mass demonstration or rally.

While the overwhelming bulk of the demonstrators were students—many of them from high school and quite young—there could be no mistaking the popular support they had. The national unity against the bill can be most clearly seen in the composition of the Front du Quebec Francais (French Quebec Front), a loose front grouping all those opposed to the bill and demanding a French Quebec. The only layers not represented in the FQF were the English-speaking minority, the government, and the capitalist class. The Front came to include virtually the entire Quebec middle class, all Quebec French student associations, most of the socialist groups, and two of the three Quebec labor federations. Even religious groups like the Congregation of the Fathers of the Holy Sacrament, and others, like the Quebec Society of the

Deaf, were moved to join the FQF!

Both major bourgeois parties supported the bill, but they were shaken. Members of both the ruling Union Nationale and the Liberals voted against the bill when it came before the National Assembly.

One of the most significant aspects of the struggle was the involvement of the labor movement. This was an important departure from the normally narrow outlook of the labor brass. The Confederation of National Trade Unions, (CNTU) representing some 225,000 Quebec workers, after some internal struggles came out against the bill and for unilingualism. The Corporation of Quebec Teachers, which represents 70,000 teachers in the province, has been known for its nationalist bent, but in this instance they went much further than before, cooperating with the students in protest actions, marches, and teach-ins against the bill. Two union representatives, one from the CNTU and the other from teachers, sit on the nine-man executive committee of the FQF.

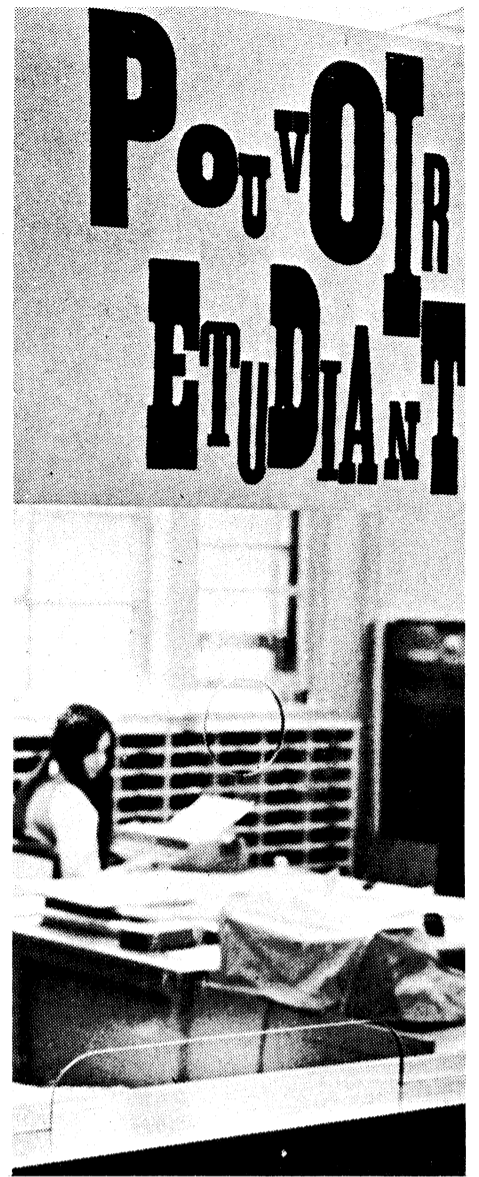
The other union federation, the Quebec Federation of Labor (affiliated to the Canadian Labour Congress, the Canadian counterpart to the AFL-CIO), refused to take a stand. QFL president Louis Laberge declared that "this is a matter of more interest to pseudo-intellectuals than to workers." But two reporters of the Montreal *Star*, after interviewing numerous unionists, made the following observation on Oct. 31: "Top leaders of unions tend to support Bill 63. But from the staff down, it is impossible to find a single supporter of the same bill." Two of the largest QFL affiliates took official positions against the bill—the Steelworkers, through a declaration of their Quebec president, Paul Gerin-Lajoie, and the Quebec wing of the Canadian Union of Public Employees.

The Confederation Council of the CNTU obviously did not agree with Laberge's statement. At its meeting on Oct. 21 it came out for unilingualism. This Council, the highest body of the CNTU between conventions, was presented with a broad survey conducted by the CNTU among 680 of the unions affiliated to it. The survey found that strong pressures on the job forced French workers to speak English, that these pressures were stronger in the larger companies though they could also be felt in French-Canadian-owned firms. The highest posts were held by the English, and the French were generally not promoted to these positions, even if they spoke English. To get a promotion, it is almost obligatory for a French-speaking Quebecois to be bilingual.

The struggle against English privileges in the Quebec school system has subsided since its high point in late October and early November, but it is far from over. The FQF, which now has 205 organizations adhering to it, is beginning the second stage of its actions to defend the French language. They plan an extensive program aimed at publicizing their counter-Bill 63, called Quebec Draft Law No. 1, which provides for a policy of French unilingualism throughout Quebec. A Quebec-wide referendum on the bill is planned in early January.

Undoubtedly, the movement to defend the French language suffered a temporary defeat with the passage of Bill 63, but the setback should not be exaggerated. The most outstanding feature of the movement was its truly massive character, the unprecedented national front against official Quebec bilingualism. Further battles of even wider scope and leading to real victories are inevitable.

—ARTHUR YOUNG



Quebec:

By ARTHUR YOUNG

(The author is the editor of *La Lutte Ouvriere*, the Trotskyist monthly newspaper published in Montreal.)

Events in Quebec have been making the news more and more these days. Popular Quebec nationalists and unionists are facing charges of sedition, mass demonstrations have been straining the bourgeois equilibrium, and even the police force has staged an illegal strike.

How can these events be explained? Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau has his own explanation. "Society," he says, "has run amok." But, of course, the truth has to be sought elsewhere, among the class forces which are at work in Quebec, leading to a wider and wider expression of popular discontent.

The French-speaking people of Quebec, the Quebecois, constitute an oppressed nation within Canada. Composing some 30 percent of the Canadian population, they have sought to defend themselves against this national oppression for several hundred years. It is this struggle for national liberation which, combined with the great weight of the Quebec working class, has given recent struggles in Quebec their explosive character.

The British army conquered Quebec from the French in 1760. The British rulers sought to subjugate their new French-speaking colony in a series of ways, and ultimately integrated it politically and economically with the rest of Canada in 1867, the year Canada was born as an autonomous country. But the British and later the Canadian rulers of Canada were unable to force the Quebecois to give up their national identity and submerge themselves into the Canadian melting-pot.

The Quebecois fought assimilation in a variety of ways, and some of the forms of struggle were profoundly revolutionary. In 1837, for example, an armed uprising took place against British colonial domination. During both world wars, the Quebecois refused to fight, and battled against the imposi-



Canadian soldiers stationed at Quebec City Hall



During October 1968 an estimated 50,000 Quebec high school, junior college and college students occupied their schools demanding student control over education. Left: "student power" sign in administration office of occupied school. Above: high

school students demonstrate. The sign in front—"Cardinal to the Seminary"—is a play on the education minister's name. This fall's mass demonstrations, which won significant support from the unions, were also spearheaded by the students.

An oppressed nation

tion of conscription in Canada. The world wars were nothing but imperialist wars to divide the spoils of the world, said the Quebecois, and they wanted nothing to do with them. When the Canadian government carried out a referendum on the conscription issue, in 1942, some 90 percent of the Quebecois voted no.

Trudeau and his supporters deny that the Quebecois are a nation. But this denial hardly stands up to serious examination. The Quebecois consider themselves to be a distinct nation, and they meet all the formal criteria set out to define a nation—possession of a common territory, language, history and culture distinct from other nations. It is the growing national consciousness of the Quebecois that has given rise to many of the spectacular events which have made recent headlines in the international press.

In many respects, the Quebec nation is an internal colony within Canada. It is politically subordinated within the federal state that is controlled by English-Canadian interests and their American backers; economically it is exploited by foreign capital. This imperialist domination results in a distorted economy, giving undue weight to extractive, raw-materials industries. Education, health and other public services are starved for money. Unemployment is higher than in almost any other region of Canada, wages are low, but profits are high. A tiny number of huge monopolies control the Quebec economy.

But Quebec is no Venezuela or Algeria. It is a modern, heavily industrialized region with an educated and skilled population living in the large metropolitan Montreal area. The nation is overwhelmingly working class in composition, and since the Second World War the workers have engaged in fierce, militant struggles to organize themselves in unions and to improve their living standards. Class differentiation is qualitatively more developed in Quebec than in "classical"

colonies. The tiny national bourgeoisie, occupying only the fringes of the economy, has nonetheless exposed its nature as a servant of foreign capital. Its control of the Quebec provincial government has been no small factor in this process.

The weakness of the native Quebec ruling class has allowed the middle class to come forward as the national spokesman in the struggle against Ottawa and Washington. This class has engaged in numerous constitutional squabbles with the federal government, and has sought, through its influence on the Quebec government, to secure concessions which would strengthen its economic position. But it has gained little in the process, and the nation has gained almost nothing. It is among the middle class and related layers that the separatist movement has found support.

Revolutionary Marxists in Quebec give unconditional support to the right of Quebec to self-determination. They insist that the Quebec nation has the historic right to secede from the Canadian state at any time it wishes to. But they advocate neither the present federal structure, nor separation. No national consensus in favor of separation has emerged in Quebec. The separatist movement, which has existed for many years, has yet to gain the support of anything near a majority of the population, despite the widespread publicity from which it has benefited.

Revolutionary socialists in Quebec advocate, promote and organize for the form of action that can guarantee Quebec's right to self-determination and bring about the genuine liberation of Quebec—the independent action of the working class and its allies. At the present time, the program of political separation does not aid the development of such action. The workers of the two nations within Canada have a common enemy, the federal state, and their struggles flow inevitably along parallel paths. At the present time each group of workers have much to learn from the other. It is notewor-

thy that the largest trade union federation in Quebec, the Quebec Federation of Labor, representing some 300,000 members, is a wing of the Canadian Labor Congress, the pan-Canadian labor federation. The CLC is in turn affiliated to the AFL-CIO.

The issue which has been able to rally large numbers of Quebecois in struggle has been the defense of the French language, for it is a cruel feature of the oppression of French Canada that its exploitation takes place in a foreign tongue, English. The English-speaking corporations who rule Quebec, both Anglo-Canadian and American, impose the use of English on the French-speaking population. English is the language of work, of commerce, and of business administration. Occupying the commanding heights, English comes to dominate other vast sectors of Quebec life—even to the point of being the language in which the majority of senior high school and university textbooks are written.

The French-speaking Quebecois must learn English to get ahead. The English minority of Quebec does not have to learn French. And so more and more French-speaking Quebecois are abandoning their native tongue and their nation to assimilate into the English minority of Quebec. In recent years this rate of assimilation has increased sharply, aided by two factors common to all industrialized countries: the falling birth rate and a high level of immigration. The immigrants opt massively for the economically-dominant language, English; the high birth rate of French-Canadians had until recently been one of the factors permitting the survival of the nation surrounded on all sides by a sea of people speaking English. The proportion of French-speaking Quebecois has fallen significantly. In a few decades, the French-speaking majority of Quebec could be wiped out, ensuring the disappearance of the Quebecois as a distinct nation. This prospect has created a national

outry involving all sectors of Quebec society in the struggle to preserve the nation.

Both the federal government of Trudeau and the Quebec national government are committed to a policy of official bilingualism, that is, of "equal status" for both French and English. The Quebec government mouths some words about making French the "national language" or the "language of work" but has never taken a single effective move in this direction. It cannot afford to displease its English backers, who use official bilingualism as a sanction to operate their businesses in English.

This basic conflict between the official bilingualism of the government and the desires of the French-speaking population underlies the recent mass struggles in Quebec. The importance of this issue to the daily life of the Quebec working class explains why the unions, normally as politically "neutral" as their American counterparts, have joined in this massive movement.

If national liberation is to be won in Quebec it can only be done under the resolute leadership of the working class. Only the working class has the organization, the key position in society, and the interest in completely breaking the hold of imperialism. The national bourgeoisie is a weak but willing partner of foreign domination. The petty bourgeoisie is too feeble and irresolute to be able to accomplish the task; it has demonstrated this repeatedly in the last few years. Once the working class is in motion, it will move with its own dynamic, along the road of a complete break with imperialism, forward to a socialist society.

Yet the labor movement today has no political voice in Quebec, even though its most dramatic struggles in recent times have centered around political issues—such as the language question. There is not one representative of a working class party in the Quebec National Assembly. When large powerful unions undertake to strike in the public or semi-public sector, they are often forced back to work by special strike-breaking laws passed by the National Assembly in emergency session. And, as in all other capitalist countries, the workers' wage gains are wiped out by government action in other fields—housing, inflation, taxation, etc. The most outstanding element lacking in current Quebec political struggles is consistent political action of the working class. The instrument necessary for such action, a mass labor party, has yet to be created in Quebec.

The situation cries out for a labor party. All the more so as a Canadian labor party, the New Democratic Party, already exists. The NDP presents its candidates on both the federal and provincial levels, except in Quebec, where it only contests federal elections. As a result, it is a weak and declining force in Quebec. Supported primarily by the trade-union movement, the NDP has been consolidating its position across the rest of the country, and recently took power in the province of Manitoba.

Quebec socialists are raising the demand for an all-inclusive conference of the unions, NDP members, socialists, and other radicals to launch a Quebec labor party. Once organized, the labor party will be pushed by the pressures of events in Quebec and elsewhere to take a more and more radical road. The revolutionary dynamic of Quebec will thrust the party towards the taking of power, the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government. The socialist revolution will liberate Quebec.

Fascism:

What It Is How to Fight It

A Revised Compilation
Leon Trotsky 50c
Merit Publishers
873 Broadway New York, N.Y. 10003

The economic front:

'A scary and shaky business'

By DICK ROBERTS

Capitalist political commentators are growing increasingly concerned about possible explosive social consequences lodged within the economic program of the Nixon administration. This program seeks to place the burden of war-induced inflation on the working people by creating a "controlled" recession.

The growing alarm over the possible consequences was rather dramatically expressed in the Dec. 4 *New York Times*.

"President Nixon's attempt to escape from inflation has become at least as risky and dramatic as his effort to withdraw from Vietnam," writes *New York Times* chief Washington correspondent Max Frankel.

"Though no one is demonstrating about it in the streets, as yet, and the telltale signs of the drama are still scattered through the general and financial news pages, the professional worriers here are now watching the economic front even more closely than Southeast Asia," Frankel continues.

"This is a scary and shaky business,' one high official remarked this morning in acknowledging that the anxiety has spread far beyond the President's small circle of economic advisers. 'We don't go around saying it, but we know it.'"

Max Frankel is an influential columnist with "pipe lines" to top administration officials. It is worthwhile looking at the list of White House worries he elaborates:

"The first is whether the President and the country will be able to absorb the pressures and tolerate the political risks of a painful belt-tightening. Some of the consequences of the slowdown are only beginning to be felt widely.

"The housing crisis has deepened due to the shortage of capital funds. The barely 'tolerable' limits of unemploy-

END U.S. WAR CRIMES! OUT OF VIETNAM NOW!



Photo by Michael Hardy

PROTEST. Some 5,000 New Yorkers picketed the Waldorf-Astoria Dec. 9 where football group gave Nixon annual pigskin award. Action was organized by Peace Parade Committee coalition and built on campus by Student Mobe. Cops were in

club-happy mood, savagely attacking group that tried to raise red flag near hotel. Others were injured and 67 jailed in further police attacks. Meanwhile, a counterdemonstration by Nixon's 'silent majority' drew 25, including six uniformed Nazis.

ment are being reached. Programs to cope with crime and pollution and other major irritants of life are being set back by the high cost of borrowing as well as the chronic shortage of public funds . . .

"These sacrifices, it is thought, will be difficult enough to bear even if the worst fears of aggravated recession prove groundless . . .

"The second level of concern here goes to Mr. Nixon's ability even if he can stabilize the economy, to come out of the exercise with any significant time and money left to meet the nation's domestic needs."

Frankel concludes on an exceptionally pessimistic note: "It may be that of all the bequests to Mr. Nixon by President Johnson, the inflationary boom will turn out to have been more troublesome than the intractable war."

The fundamental problem facing the capitalist rulers of this country—and it is two-fold—can be stated more simply: *Prices will continue to rise long after employment declines—and while the*

war continues. It adds up to a highly explosive mixture.

The recessionary policies of the administration call for slashing federal spending and tightening the money supply until there is a significant measure of unemployment and workers shrink from fighting for higher wages.

Business Week magazine, which has a taste for terse summations of economic policy, spelled it out in its "Business Outlook" column Nov. 15:

"Both inflation and inflationary expectations are proving a lot more stubborn than the Nixon policymakers had calculated. They now think they will have to draw blood to prove they mean to end the continuous price rise . . .

"Nixon advisers are now prepared to go to the wall, meaning recession, if that's what it takes . . . Nixon economists favor unremitting restraint until business flattens . . . The main objective is to bring next year's wage increases below this year's . . ."

But that is exactly where the uncer-

tainties of the capitalist policy makers begin.

The real wages of American workers have already fallen behind the rapidly rising cost of living caused by war-primed inflation. *New York Times* labor expert A. H. Raskin pointed this out in explaining why the battle between electrical workers and GE is "so fateful for the Nixon anti-inflation program":

"The average factory worker was earning \$7.31 a week more last month [September] than he had a year before . . . but that was 39 cents worse off in what he could buy after allowances for taxes and higher prices." (Oct. 26.)

Raskin made a point of quoting one union official who told him: "Our people can learn all they need to know about inflation in the supermarkets. Nixon tells them he is licking inflation and the next day prices take another big jump."

There is another powder keg: The first to lose their jobs as a result of recession are the marginally employed, women and young people, and blacks before whites. That this is already beginning to happen was visible behind the "colorless" unemployment figures released by the Labor Department for November:

Total unemployment actually declined from 3.9 to 3.4 percent, but this "reflected mainly a drop in the number of persons seeking work, concentrated among women and teen-agers. These persons simply left the labor force, possibly because jobs are becoming more difficult to find," according to the Dec. 6 *New York Times*.

James Reston, *New York Times* vice president, recently warned Nixon about young people: "One of the most disturbing results of the war," he wrote Nov. 30, "is that a great many of our most intelligent and promising young men and women, who should be the leaders of the nation in the seventies and eighties, are now not only challenging the war and President Nixon, but charging that the whole system of government, as now practiced, is unfair, corrupt, and indifferent to the loss of human life."

But Reston was talking about the effect of the war. What the specialists are now telling Nixon is "ditto Reston in relation to the economy."

Paul McCracken, chairman of Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers, told a meeting of businessmen: "We are entering an interlude where all things will seem to be going the wrong way." (*Business Week*, Nov. 29.) For capitalism, that is.

Railway craft unions offered pact

The long drawn-out dispute between the nation's railroads and the four shop craft unions has apparently been settled. However, the new pact has not yet been ratified by the 48,000 men involved.

The actual terms of the contract are not officially known as yet, but "it has been learned" (*New York Times*, Dec. 5) that the 1969 wage increase, most of which is retroactive to Jan. 1, amounts to approximately 11 percent, with an additional 10 cents per hour skill differential, and another seven percent bonus for ratification.

The 1969 increases are supposed to bring average wages up from \$3.59 to \$4 per hour. But skilled workers would have their wages raised from \$3.59 to \$4.28 by August 1, a gain of 69 cents or nearly 19 percent.

Increases for 1970 are said to be another five percent to bring the average (unskilled) wages to \$4.20 with an additional four cents per hour in May and August, in lieu of an escalator clause.

The unions involved are the internationals of the machinists, boilermakers, electricians and sheet metal workers.

On Dec. 5 a strike of private sanitation men in New York City was settled after a four-day walkout, during which time garbage and trash piled up

The National Picketline

in front of commercial buildings, stores, and high-rent apartment buildings. The 2,000 members of Local 813, Teamsters, won a \$40-a-week wage increase over three years—\$20 the first year and \$10 each of the next two years.

They also won an increase in pension benefits from \$200 to \$300 a month.

Strikes by milk drivers and plant workers in both New York and New Jersey were won recently.

The very first action of the milk industry in both states was to raise the price of milk by two cents.

In the July 25, 1969 *Militant*, I reported the following facts:

In 1965 an independent report, commissioned by the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority, revealed that workers on eight-hour shifts within the Queens-Mid-town and Brooklyn Battery

Tunnels were exposed to twice the carbon monoxide considered dangerous to health.

In July, 1968, when State, County and Municipal Employees union forced Robert Morris, the Authority Commissioner, to give them a copy of the report, traffic in the two tunnels had doubled.

Despite the increase in vehicular traffic, and the subsequent increase in carbon monoxide levels, and in face of the report that even in 1965, these levels were double what is considered lethal in time, ventilators in the tunnels are turned on only when levels reach three times allowable saturation!

An agreement, reached a few hours before the Thanksgiving strike deadline, transfers control of air pollution from the TA to a city Dept. of Air Resources. The city also agreed to set up a program of periodic health examinations for all workers in AFSCME Local 1396. Previous examinations conducted by the union showed carbon monoxide levels in 22 workers "strikingly abnormal."

Now it remains to be seen if the Dept. of Air Resources will do a better job than the Tunnel Authority did. It costs money to turn on those ventilators. And to most of these politicians, the money comes first.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

The Great Society

A remnant of stability—In these times of uncertainty and rapid change we were comforted to learn that General Erik Wickberg, supreme commander of the Salvation Army, is sticking tough. Tactically flexible, he said the Army might go along with youthful demands for change to the extent of doing away with the old high collar on the uniforms. But, he sternly added, the bonnet remains untouched. Also, abstinence from liquor, smoking, dancing, theater and other "worldly pleasures."

Police porkier?—Ypsilanti, Mich. cops emerged with a 19-0 victory when they came snout to snout with local deputy sheriffs in a contest at the Eastern Michigan U stadium which the officers "sardonically" dubbed the "Pig Bowl."

For the ex-GI in the family—Brighten his Xmas by sending \$18.50 to the Government Documents office for the official Armed Services Recipe Service. Several hundred recipes, each designed

for 100 portions, plus 68 pages of color photos.

Stocking stuffer—And while you're ordering the GI cookbook send an extra half a buck for an official full color portrait of the President.

Not following recipe?—Don't take it as a reflection on the GI cookbook, but government auditors were surprised to find that many enlisted men don't like army chow. The Army has been building mess halls on the basis of the assumption that 85 percent of the enlisted men ate their meals there. The auditors found this figure way off. This was surprising, they said, since they found the food and service to be "adequate or better." They concluded that the men don't eat there "by personal preference."

Lots of new brooms—One group of businessmen who aren't moaning about the long hair fashion are the brushmakers. Sales are up 500 percent over 1964.

T. S. Dept—Inflation has nearly doubled country club membership costs in the past 15 years. Interestingly, the price hike is pretty much along the lines of those that have hit ordinary consumers. Country club operating costs have gone up an estimated 65 percent and fees about 92 percent.

Thought for the week—"It is true that a handful of men control what the American people see of the world through their television screens, but the answer is not to transfer this power from a handful of men in New York to a handful of men in the White House. The answer is to return the power to the people." Federal Communications Commissioner Nicholas Johnson, as quoted by Boston *Globe* columnist David Deitch.

—HARRY RING



"Speaking For The Great Silent Majority"

Reading for revolutionaries Causes of World War II

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1938-39). Edited and with an introduction by George Breitman and Evelyn Reed. 152 pages. \$2.95.

This is the second of the series of books containing selections of Trotsky's writings not otherwise available in books and pamphlets. Like the first volume that took in the last year of his life, this collection consists of various articles originally published in various periodicals during 1938-9.

The period covered by these writings immediately preceded the outbreak of the Second World War. Trotsky probes the events which led to the Munich agreement among the capitalist powers of Europe, an agreement that dismembered Czechoslovakia and left the country under Hitler's control. Of special significance is the clarity with which Trotsky saw that Stalin aimed at an agreement with Hitler which, when finally arranged, triggered the beginning of the war.

Also included in this first section is the author's analysis of the relationship between war and revolution as well as a thorough critique of the Kremlin's world policies which resulted in the complete destruction of the Communist International.

The second section deals with the Fourth International, founded in 1938 under Trotsky's leadership. Included here are discussions of the program adopted by that organization as well as arguments justifying its formation in the first place. It is instructive to compare Trotsky's insistence on forming an international organization of Marxist revolutionaries with the opposite view expressed by his biographer, Isaac Deutscher.

The next section takes up the Stalinist murders of Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov, who was a leading figure in the Fourth International, and Rudolf Klement, also an official in that organization and a former secretary of Trotsky's. Both died within a few months of each other in Paris at a time when Stalin's secret police were especially active in trying to prevent, by any means, the organization of the Fourth International.

Section IV takes up Latin American events, with emphasis on the expropriation of English and American oil companies by the Mexican government. Trotsky vigorously defends the right of the Mexican people to expropriate imperialist holdings in their country. In the course of conducting this defense, the author is compelled to answer attacks and lies all the way from the New York *Daily News*, which blamed him for being the inspirer of the expropriations, to Lombardo Toledano, a Stalinist Mexican union leader who accused Trotsky of interfering in Mexican politics. One of the conditions of Trotsky's residence in Mexico was a promise on his part not to become in-



Trotsky in exile

involved in Mexican politics, a promise that was scrupulously kept. Toledano's aim was to compromise Trotsky's stay in Mexico, the only country in the world that granted him the right of asylum.

The fifth section is devoted, once again, to the Soviet Union and Stalinism, an inexhaustible subject that claimed most of Trotsky's attentions for the last 16 years of his life and to which he made so many profound contributions. There is an especially instructive article in this section called "The Three Conceptions of the Russian Revolution" which explains the author's agreements and disagreements with Lenin, as well as an exposition of the famous Trotskyist theory of the permanent revolution.

Section VI deals with the situation in France, with the rise of a centrist movement there following the collapse of the People's Front sponsored by the Stalinists and the Social Democrats. An analysis of centrism as a political current among the left-wing parties is fully developed and the tasks of the workers in France following the People's Front debacle are probed.

Trotsky's subjection of the politics of the Stalinists, Social Democrats and centrists to critical review is particularly timely for at least one reason: their successors still follow the same basic policies, with the same results. Class collaboration, that is, the subordination of the interests of the workers to those of the liberal capitalists in order to make an electoral bloc remains an all too familiar game.

The last section includes a number of miscellaneous articles. Of special interest is an interview published by an American journalist, William R. Mathews, in the Tucson, Arizona, *Daily Star*, in which Trotsky answers a number of important questions. A particularly important article entitled "Lenin and Imperialist War" contains Trotsky's summary of Lenin's conclusions drawn from the experience of the First World War of 1914-1918.

—MILTON ALVIN

----- clip and mail -----

Special to New Readers

If you would like to get better acquainted with THE MILITANT, you may obtain a special, introductory three-month subscription for \$1. (If you're already sold on the paper, you can help out by sending a regular one-year subscription for \$4.)

- Enclosed is \$1 for a 3 month introductory subscription.
- Enclosed is \$4 for a 1 year regular subscription.
- For GIs—\$1 for a 6-month introductory subscription.

NAME
 STREET
 CITY STATE ZIP

Send to: The Militant, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Meet Socialists in Your Area

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Strnad, P. O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281.
CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP and YSA, 2519-A Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Tel: (415) 848-9334.
 Hayward: YSA, Gerald Clark, c/o Student Union Building, California State College at Hayward, 25800 Hillary St., Hayward, Calif. 94544. Tel: (415) 537-3656 or (415) 537-3657.
 Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Tel: (213) 269-4953.
 San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.
 San Diego: Alan Stancliff, 4143 Georgia, San Diego, Calif. 92103.
COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Lyle Fulks, 2233 Pine, Boulder, Col. 80302.
FLORIDA: Gainesville: YSA, Box 13157, University Sta., Gainesville, Fla. 32601.
GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St., SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga., 30309. Tel: (404) 876-2230.
ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o Bill Moffett, P.O. Box 166, Carbondale, Ill 62901. Tel: (618) 549-6214.
 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 and bookstore, 317 Wood St., Apt. B, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. (815) 758-1511.
INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Marilyn Vogt, 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) TE1-6135.
 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) 674-3144.
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 Janet Gogolick, 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.

Mexicano march supports Texas furniture strikers



Austin rally for furniture workers

By MARIANNE HERNANDEZ
Texas SWP Candidate for U.S. Senator

AUSTIN, Texas—The predominantly Chicano workers at the Economy Furniture company have been on strike for over a year now, battling for union recognition, better working conditions, and an end to racial discrimination in promotions.

On Nov. 30, Mexicanos from Waco, Dallas, Cotulla, Uvalde, and San Antonio converged on the state capitol to demonstrate their solidarity with the strikers.

The struggle began in May 1968 when the workers at Economy Furniture voted overwhelmingly to unionize. The election was supervised by the National Labor Relations Board, but the owner of Economy Furniture refused to bargain with the union. Despite legal actions by the NLRB and orders to negotiate, and despite the strike which began on Nov. 27, 1968, Economy

Furniture is still refusing to recognize the union.

A rally on the capitol grounds heard strike leaders "Grey" Mojica and Santo Ruiz, Sisto Ramirez, head of LUCHA, and other strikers give the history of the strike and intimidations against strikers, and denounce the Austin City Council's refusal to grant a parade permit for the day's march.

Other speakers included ex-priest Barregan; Roy R. Evans, secretary-treasurer of the Texas AFL-CIO; Mario Compean, president of MAYO, the Mexican-American Youth Organization; Albert Pena, San Antonio County Commissioner; and Jose Angel Gutierrez, former MAYO president and one of the best-known radicals in Texas. Teatro Campesino preformed ballads composed especially for this rally.

Gutierrez read a solidarity message from Cesar Chavez and discussed Chicano actions taking place elsewhere in Texas. He told an extremely receptive audience that it was Mexicano labor which had built the Southwest and that they were tired of being put down as foreigners on Tierra Mexicana. He called on Mexicanos to build resistance to the Vietnam war, demand their own policemen, and stop selling themselves like liberal politicians.

The day ended with a march by 1,000-1,500 down Congress Avenue, past the Governor's mansion. Ninety percent of the police force was on hand.

GI wins acquittal in Ft. Dix 38 stockade case

On Dec. 8 Pvt. Terry Klug, the third of the Ft. Dix 38 to face general court-martial, was acquitted on charges of riot and aggravated arson, scoring a major victory for both GI and civilian opponents of the war. Klug was defended by Henry di Suvero of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

The fourth GI to face a general court-martial arising out of the June 5 "riot" in the Ft. Dix stockade, Pvt. William Brakefield, went on trial Dec. 10.

The first two GIs to be tried, Jeffrey Russell and Thomas Catlow, were both convicted on charges of aggravated arson and riot. Russell was sentenced to three years at hard labor and a dishonorable discharge. Catlow was given only a dishonorable discharge.

The prosecution's case has been full of contradictions, and numerous witnesses have stated that they were forced to sign false statements. Testimony of army witnesses given during one or another trial has contradicted testimony given at previous trials. None of the witnesses has yet been able to substantially link any of the defendants to any of the alleged acts of arson or riot.

Klug's acquittal and Catlow's minimal sentence at least make it more likely that Russell's conviction will be either overturned on appeal, or his sentence reduced. Russell has already been transferred from Ft. Dix to Ft. Meade, Maryland, separating him from his wife and son, and making consultation with his lawyers difficult.

Nixon would like to shift Songmy blame onto GIs

By ROBERT LANGSTON

President Nixon's piously hypocritical statement at his Dec. 8 news conference on the Songmy massacre deserves attention because it admirably exemplifies the systematic campaign now under way to pervert by means of what George Orwell called "double think" the American people's comprehension of the meaning of that slaughter.

Nixon insisted that Songmy was an "isolated incident," and that the perpetrators of it must be and will be brought to justice.

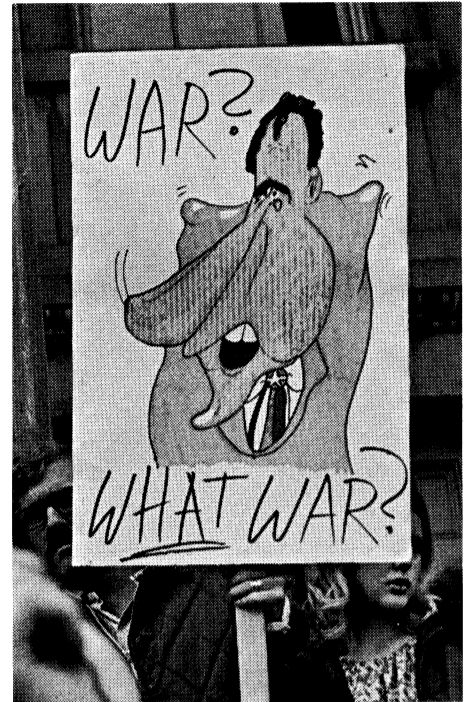
Then he appealed to "the record of generosity, of decency" of the "one million two hundred thousand Americans who have been [not "fought" or "battled" or "struggled" but merely "been"] in Vietnam." They have "helped the people of Vietnam" by building "roads and schools. . . . The Marines alone this year have built over 250,000 churches, pagodas and temples for the people of Vietnam." The evil deeds of a handful of villains must not be allowed to "smear the decent men that have gone to Vietnam. . . ."

By distinguishing between the "few" soldiers who commit crimes and the "many" who perform deeds of mercy, Nixon is, of course, not concerned with seeing justice done to the great majority of GIs. He is merely engaged in one more crooked effort to shift ultimate responsibility for Songmy from himself, his government, and the capitalist class he serves onto the soldiers who are but instruments of a policy they did not make and cannot control.

What the statement suggests, and is intended to suggest, is that U.S. forces are in Vietnam to do the works of peace. The slaughter of Songmy, then, is one of those inexplicable incursions of evil that inevitably occur whenever good men are engaged in some humane task, and it must be severely punished.

Nixon does not, of course, believe that anyone will forget that a war is in progress in Vietnam. He does however hope that by identifying in people's minds the U.S. government's conduct of that war with such benign activities as building schools, churches and pagodas, people will respond as if that were in fact what it is all about.

In this exercise in double think, every-



thing is turned into the exact opposite of what it really is. Genocide becomes action "to help the people of Vietnam."

The murder of babies, which is the adequate expression of the real nature of American capitalist society and of its relation to the Vietnamese people, becomes an "isolated incident." The acts of pity and generosity that GIs in Vietnam so often spontaneously perform, acts which in reality contradict utterly the purposes and methods of U.S. intervention, are identified with official and wholly fraudulent "aid" projects and made to appear as the very substance of that intervention.

And President Nixon becomes not only the benevolent leader who invites his countrymen to build temples and schools for the people of South Vietnam; he becomes the avenger of the innocent lives destroyed by a wicked few of his countrymen.

In reality, of course, Nixon freely chose to contend for the chance to preside over the murderous political apparatus of American capitalism, and he won that chance. He freely chose to become the commander-in-chief of the genocide of Vietnam.

Arab-American group meets

By ROBERT LANGSTON

DETROIT—The Association of Arab-American University Graduates concluded its second annual convention here Dec. 7 by adopting a statement declaring the association's full solidarity with the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people.

The statement also stressed the connection between the Palestinian revolution and other struggles for national liberation throughout the world. "The Association condemns unequivocally," the statement continued, "all forms of racial discrimination from anti-Semitism to white racism," and it "calls upon all people of the world who believe in the right of national communities to determine their destinies and who are opposed to imperialism to rally behind the Palestinian revolution and render it full moral, political and material support."

The statement emphasized the need for social revolution throughout the Arab world: "The Association calls upon the revolutionary forces in the Arab community to coordinate their efforts with

those of the Palestinians by exposing the incompetence of the present social system and foreign interests in the Arab world so that a transformed revolutionary system, scientifically competent and freed from all vestiges of a decadent social system, can translate Arab potential into reality."

The Dec. 7 session was preceded by two days of discussion on "Palestine Revolution: Its International, Technical and Social Dimensions." The participants in the panels included prominent Arab-American professors and a number of foreign guests.

Tariq Ali, the Pakistani Trotskyist who is editor of the British journal, *The Black Dwarf*, had been invited to deliver the keynote speech, but by an arbitrary ruling of the U.S. State Department he was denied entry into the country. In his place, Ahmad Eqbal, currently with the Adlai Stevenson Institute in Chicago and an editor of the French-language magazine *AfricAsia*, delivered the main banquet address.

Two especially noteworthy contributions to the conference discussions were the papers by Ania Francos, French journalist and author of *Les Palestiniens*, and Kamal Boullata, a young Palestinian artist now living in the United States. Ania Francos stressed that the Arab-Israeli conflict is but a part of the anticolonial struggle of the third world and that it can only succeed to the extent that it becomes a consciously internationalist, anticapitalist revolution. Kamal Boullata analyzed the formal and thematic elements of the New Palestinian art in terms of their origin in the Palestinian people's experience of utter defeat and now, revolutionary awakening.

On the evening of Dec. 6, a demonstration, called by the AAUG was held in front of the Sheraton Cadillac Hotel to protest the annual Bonds for Israel Campaign. Some 300 people participated in the spirited demonstration, including many young Arab students and supporters of various U.S. radical organizations.