

Open defense campaign for GI newscaster

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THE MILITANT

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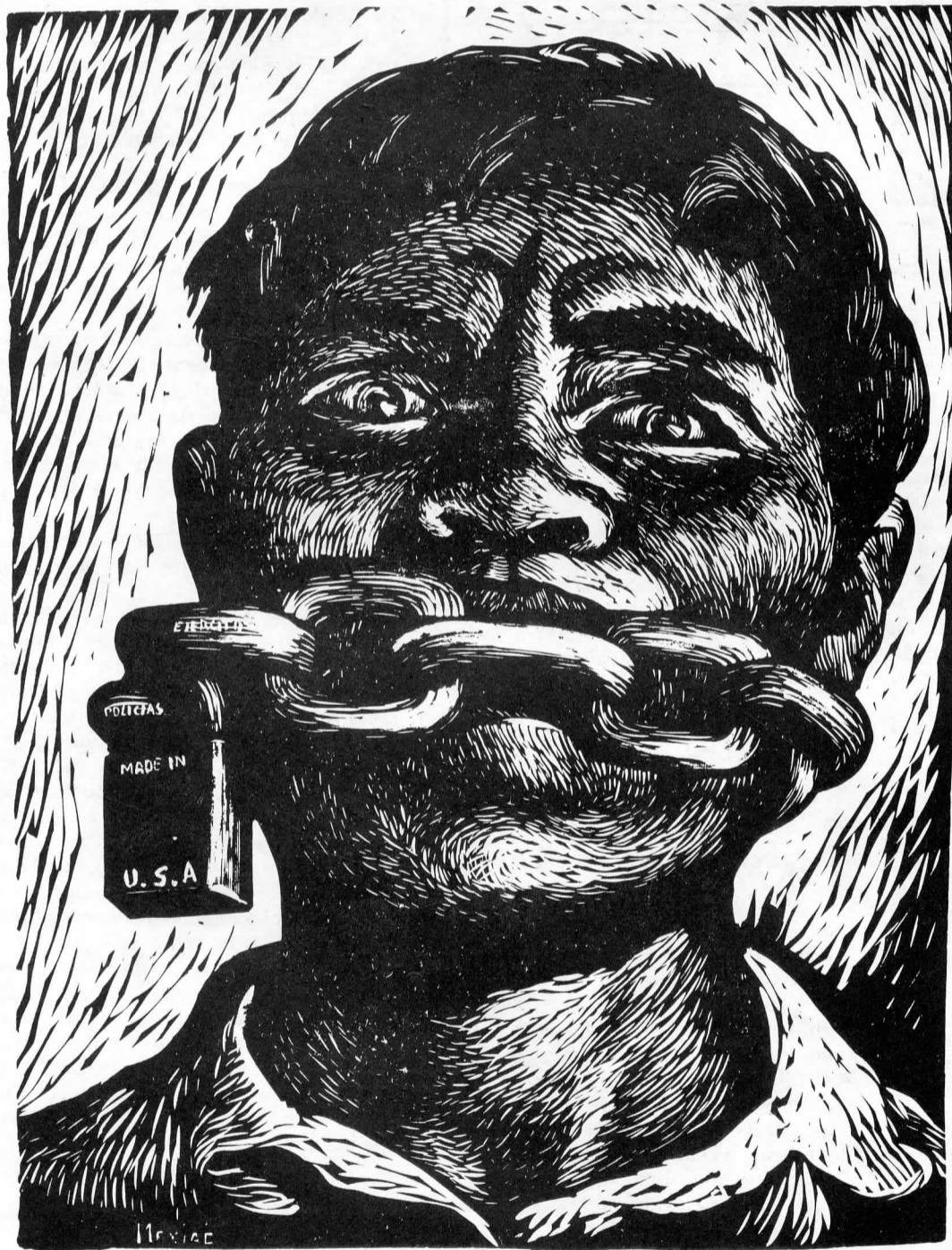
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SPECIAL REPORT FROM MEXICO

Political prisoners are beaten; guards shoot at wives, children

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**LIBERTAD
DE EXPRESION**

MEXICO



WALL POSTERS. These were among posters issued by Mexican students' National Strike Council during 1968 struggles. Poster at left depicts "Freedom of Expression: Mexico 68." Above: "We demand the solution of Mexico's problems."

Gypsies organize to fight oppression

Inter-Tribal Conference of Gypsies formed

Chicago, Ill.

Few people realize that in a few years the U.S. will have the largest gypsy population in the world as a result of immigration from our European homelands where oppression was intolerable. However, even in the "land of freedom" we gypsies find ourselves victimized by the racist society. Stereotyped as shiftless, lazy thieves, we are often the victims of bigotry, divisiveness and hypocrisy.

The Inter-Tribal Conference of Gypsies has just been formed to:

1) Educate the American people to the plight of the gypsies;

2) Give unity and cohesiveness to the gypsies' drive for basic human rights and fulfillment;

3) Promote the radicalization and eventual unity of minority groups in their struggle against an oppressive class society.

Hoping to ally ourselves with already established radical groups, we ask for the support of the YSA and *The Militant*.

Y. C. Pisc

On abortions

Philadelphia, Pa.

Last month at a public meeting on abortion, Dr. Benjamin Kendall, an assistant professor of obstetrics and gynecology at Thomas Jefferson Medical College Hospital here, described Jefferson's liberal interpretation of Pennsylvania's abortion law. He said that "around 800 therapeutic abortions are being performed this year" at the hospital. The charge for an abortion is about \$300, and, according to Kendall, if the woman is in desperate need, the hospital will agree to an operation without guarantee of payment. However, among the requirements for the operation is that the woman be 21, be reviewed by the hospital's abortion committee, and have her husband's consent as theoretically she is supposed to be married.

Four days after this meeting, which was reported in the press, a Dr. Francis J. McCreary burned his class of '26 diploma and alumni certificate as an act of protest against his alma mater's [Jefferson Medical College] practice of giving abortions. Being a strict Roman Catholic, McCreary does not believe in abortions for any reason and expected that his act would alarm and arouse the public to protest against abortions.

Though McCreary's act of protest made the front pages, the public outcry he expected has not materialized. The director of public relations at Jefferson, Marie Bookhammer, gave me this explanation: "A real reappraisal of abortion, which is long overdue, is taking place. . . How can one be human and not get upset reading the statistics which

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.

so isolated. What we feel is necessary is a unification of the leftist community on Long Island.

The "we" is Long Island Alliance. We are mostly a Nassau County-based organization. The LIA already has several individuals of different left backgrounds: SDS, Resistance, Young Socialist Alliance, high school and community groups. Plus many never affiliated with any group before.

We understand "Power to the People" to be a beautiful ideal, not just rhetoric.

If you are interested in our group, please write to: Ronald Meltzer c/o Peace Fellowship, Nassau Community College, Garden City, N. Y. 11530.

Ronald Meltzer
LIA co-chairman



indicate that over 1000 women end up near death in Philadelphia's General Hospital each year after experiencing the fatal hands of criminal abortionists."

Our local paper, the *Evening Bulletin*, covered both the abortion meeting and the diploma burning and is now running a series of articles supporting a change in the 1860 Pennsylvania Abortion Law to reflect the changing public sentiment and the needs of women.

A few things stand out from the facts presented at the abortion meeting: Abortions are accessible to upper and middle class woman but not to working class women, especially Black and Puerto Rican women. When abortions are legalized, they should be available and accessible to ALL women regardless of age, marital status or financial situation. The underlying reason for an abortion should be a woman's right to self-determination over her own body.

Mareen Jasim

Long Island Alliance formed

Garden City, N. Y.

Long Island has long been known as a bastion of reaction. Some of us out here have decided that the time is right for organizing.

In the last two or three years small groups have been popping up in the schools and communities. Unfortunately, most have had short life spans. Part of the reason was that they were

Corrections on RYM article

Atlanta, Ga.

Apparently in the editing process, two factual errors appeared in my report in the Dec. 12 *Militant* on the RYM conference which was held here.

The Revolutionary Youth Movement does not consider itself the "real" SDS. The decisions of the RYM conference were intended to lay the basis for a new "mass anti-imperialist" youth group. They no longer associate themselves with SDS.

Secondly, the conference did not favor a "red belt" theory, that is, the setting aside of some specified area of the U. S. for American Indians. RYM does not consider the American Indians to be a nation, but rather an oppressed national minority. In fact, a resolution which was generally accepted by the conference quotes Stalin's definition of a nation and then proceeds to demonstrate that the Indians do not meet all of the criteria outlined.

Ilona Stanton

View from Paris

Paris, France

The Militant is for us the only way of receiving unbiased information from the U. S. It is also proof that the same fight for socialism is going on here and overseas.

I think you have had a good campaign with the GIs. This society is going to have a completely different face for them when they go back home.

Backing the fight on campuses is good too since many specialists needed by the capitalist system are turning now against it.

Another important direction you have shown for a socialist revolution in the U. S. is the Black struggle.

What we would like to know better through *The Militant* is the labor problem in the U. S.: the trade unions, the possibility of having revolutionary trade unions, and also an analysis of the problems of the American economy through Marxist economic theories: unemployment, war, imperialism, trends.

On Nov. 14, we organized a march about 4,000 strong with red flags and slogans supporting the Vietnamese revolution. It was a success because of our good clandestine organization. The next day the Communist Party and other reformist organizations sponsored a meeting which they did not organize. People came without a clear political

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direction and 2,600 of them were arrested, preventing the meeting from being held.

G. C.

Against use of term

'women's lib'

Cleveland, Ohio

One of the article titles in the Dec. 26 *Militant* is "Women's Lib Teach-in Held at S. F. State." The phrase "women's lib" is also used in an article by Mary-Alice Waters in the Dec. 12 issue of *The Militant*. I think that we should not use the term "women's lib" in our newspaper.

When we refer to the struggle for Black liberation we do not use headlines with the term "Black lib," nor do we speak of the struggle for "Vietnamese lib," nor would we speak of "working class lib."

When oppressed sectors of society begin to struggle for their rights they often coin their own words or give new meanings to old words. As Marxists we can and do learn from the masses and often use the words they have chosen to designate themselves or their struggle. However, we are not obligated to use a term just because the first participants in a growing struggle choose to use it.

Such is the case with the term "women's lib." I think that we should not promote the term by using it. The term "women's liberation" connotes a certain seriousness, dignity, and importance. The term "women's lib" does not.

The use of the full phrase "women's liberation" is especially important because of the stereotype of women as unserious. Because of the material conditions of mind-stifling housework that capitalism forces women to perform and because of capitalism's further exploitation of women as mindless sex-mannequins, women are thought to be less serious than men, giggly, cute, timid, and obsessed with petty concerns. In short, women are deprived of their dignity and little that women are permitted to do is taken seriously by men. This is another reason why we should not use the term.

Barbara Gregorich

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Letter to Editor

New York

To the Militant Editor:

Ever since I read your coverage of the Atlanta RYM conference (the article was rampant with mistakes and distortions), I've been wondering why you always put quotation marks around the term "white-skin privilege." So I decided to find out what Trotsky thought about the matter and came across this:

"We must say to the conscious elements of the Negroes that they are convoked by the historic development to become a vanguard of the working class. What serves as a brake on the higher strata? It is the privileges, the comforts that hinder them from becoming revolutionists. It does not exist for Negroes." (Emphasis added — C. D.) Leon Trotsky, *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination*, p. 43.

It seems to me that if we thought that certain privileges and comforts were hindering white working men and women from becoming revolutionists, then we ought to develop a program for whites to do something about it, in addition to supporting the right of self-determination for black Americans. It would certainly seem foolish of us to indicate to black Americans that whites do not enjoy certain privileges in relation to them.

Carl Davidson

lege. At the same time I think the political conclusion you arrived at is incorrect. I will return to this.

But first of all, what does it mean to speak of renouncing privilege? This class society is based upon and permeated with a multitude of socially damaging privileges. Corrupting privileges are used to help keep white workers pitted against Black; Blacks against other oppressed minorities; union workers against unorganized; skilled against unskilled; young against old; men against women; etc., etc. Some of these privileges are in fact illusory. Others are very real.

Clearly, privilege plays its biggest role in terms of white vs. Black. Whites enjoy access to homes, schools, hospitals, recreation facilities, and jobs from which Blacks are barred. For Black people, forced to do the hardest, dirtiest work at the lowest pay and being "last hired, first fired," the job issue is particularly vital.

Distorted view

But the RYM approach tends to twist the nature of the privilege enjoyed by whites. It bolsters the false notion that white workers are privileged not only in relation to Blacks, but that they are privileged in the absolute sense.

Nothing could be further from the truth. White workers are getting more than Blacks. But they aren't getting more than they need, deserve or could have. The fact that white workers living under the exploitation, alienation and socially debilitating conditions of American capitalism can be regarded as privileged only underscores the extent to which Blacks are oppressed and exploited.

Further, I think, the RYM approach serves more to alienate than win white workers. It inadvertently lends credence to the reactionary, lying propaganda that Black people are trying to solve their problems at the expense of whites and that white workers are justified in feeling threatened by Blacks.

But to repeat, in saying this I am not suggesting that white revolutionaries must be anywhere else than in the forefront of the fight against racism in the white community. It simply means that the job won't be done by abstract moral preaching, or relying on the emergence of a mass movement for the renunciation of privilege.

White revolutionaries can and must educate the maximum number of white workers on the nature of racism as a tool of capitalism in keeping white and Black oppressed. They must help make white workers understand that every blow struck by Blacks against the system redounds to the benefit of all who seek a better life.

Such an educational process in the white community is essential. But it is not a substitute for the most educational process of all—the self-action of the Black people for their emancipation. In short-run terms the Black struggle may lead some white workers to feel threatened. And, indeed, in some cases their particular privileges may be.

How to win friends

But as white workers come to see the need for fighting the system—as their conditions of life will inevitably drive them to—they will come to respect and even follow the lead of those already in the forefront of the fight against that system. (Consider how deeply white student radicals and the various Third World movements have been affected by the example of the Black struggle and how it has affected their struggles. They didn't begin as "natural" allies of the Blacks.)

I stress this point because I'm convinced that the key to Black-white unity in struggle rests not so much with the attitude of whites as with the strength of Blacks. Capitalism will in fact be abolished by an alliance of white and Black. But that alliance will be forged on the basis of the Blacks developing their own independent power, as they are now trying to do.

Experience has taught Black people that the road to liberation lies in their capacity to struggle for what is due them—not in waiting for whites to renounce their privileges.

This does not go counter to the need for revolutionary Black-white unity and alliance within the struggle. To the contrary, it is the indispensable prerequisite



In reply

Dear Carl,

I'm sorry about the delay in publishing and responding to your letter. Problems of space and time were responsible for this.

I'm sorry too that you didn't indicate in what way you thought our report on the Atlanta RYM convention was "rampant with mistakes and distortions." As you know, we were barred from covering the convention and this made for difficulties. There were two factual errors which our reporter called to our attention (see letters page), and we were glad to correct them.

To get to your central point. The reason we put quotation marks around the words "white-skin privilege" is because RYM's use of the term is so completely ambiguous as to render it almost meaningless.

We did not put the words in quotes as a means of denying that white workers enjoy certain privileges which are denied to Blacks. The fact that capitalism has granted white workers certain very real privileges which it denies Blacks is a fundamental reality of American society. What is needed is to analyze that reality and develop a meaningful strategy for coping with it. Thus far, RYM has done neither. RYM has not spelled out just what it considers these privileges to be or how the workers will be persuaded to "renounce" them, much less what the actual content of such renunciation would be.

Do-gooder approach

To the extent that I can deduce RYM's position from various statements, I think it smacks strongly of a do-good, social worker approach to combatting racism. It echoes the liberal theme that the problem is lodged in the hearts and minds of men, not in the social system.

In saying this I am not suggesting that you share such a view. After receiving your letter I went back to the debate you had with Greg Calvert on this question in the *Guardian* of last Nov. 15. I think you had the better of the argument in refuting Calvert's notion that white workers enjoy not privilege but only the "illusion" of privi-

How will whites overcome 'skin privilege'?

for it. As Malcolm explained, before there can be Black-white unity there must first be Black unity. This is the only insurance that such an alliance will not be one more deal where one partner in the alliance is more equal than the other.

Education and propaganda are key tasks for those in the revolutionary vanguard. But such activity is effective only if it is not scholastically conceived. Profound, mass changes in consciousness are achieved only when education and propaganda are carried on in the context of a living struggle. Vanguard ideas win broad acceptance to the extent that masses of people have the opportunity to consider them not in the abstract but can relate them to struggles in which they are actively engaged.

Calvert debate

I make this particular point because, as I indicated earlier, I think you arrived at an incorrect conclusion in the *Guardian* debate with Greg Calvert. In that article, you concluded: ". . . until

the mass of white working people—and white radicals as well—begin understanding how the selfish advantages and prerogatives based on their whiteness constitute an albatross around their neck and the root of their present oppression, the possibilities of a socialist revolution may remain elusive."

I think this is wrong on several counts. In a sense, it is a variation of the argument that Blacks have to wait, that they can't wage an effective fight until white workers are also in motion. To me that is the meaning of saying there can be no meaningful revolutionary perspective until whites *first* renounce their privileges.

That isn't how struggle develops in real life: Rather than the shedding of their privileges being a precondition for the struggle, it is far more likely that the shedding process will take part in the course of and as a result of the struggle.

Powerful stimulus

And, as I've indicated, I think the Black struggle itself will prove a powerful stimulus to getting white workers into actions, as it already has with students and Third World minorities.

We will see in this country the emergence of powerful Black and Brown political movements independent of and in opposition to the capitalist parties. This, in turn, will give great impetus to developing independent political action by white labor.

And key to this entire process is the work of Marxists, Black, Brown and white in building a multi-national revolutionary socialist party capable of coordinating, unifying and leading the struggle against the system.

Politically conscious whites will not permit the conservatizing effects of privilege to impede their participation in the revolutionary process. And they must never adapt in any way to the racist prejudices of their fellow whites. But to be meaningful, their antiracist efforts, I am convinced, must be concretized in building a mass party of socialist revolution.

Fraternally,
Harry Ring

The murder of Joseph Yablonski

By FRANK LOVELL

The murders of Joseph A. Yablonski, his wife and daughter, sent tremors through the union movement and brought large numbers of miners out of the pits in mourning—and with a new determination to change the conditions of their lives and the character of the United Mine Workers union.

After the first shock of the awful crimes, miners began quietly walking away from their jobs. In the week before the burial on Jan. 9, surveys showed 20,000 miners were out at more than 30 large mines in southwestern Pennsylvania, eastern Ohio, and northern West Virginia. At a miners' meeting in Monongah, W. Va., leaders of Yablonski's campaign for the presidency of the UMW called for a nationwide strike "until some arrests are made."

Both the Justice and Labor Departments have now entered the picture. From the viewpoint of serious concern for finding those responsible for the killing, the approach of the federal agencies is at best bizarre.

In a killing such as this—which police on the scene assess as the work of professional "executioners"—the question, "Who profits?", would seem to be elementary. Yet the federal probes have focused their attention exclusively on the union and the political machine within the union which Yablonski had bucked.

There has not been a hint of even a trace of interest in determining what role the mine operators played in the killing even though their stake is clear and substantial.

For example, a list of the mines affected by the spontaneous walkouts constitutes a roster of major capitalist enterprises. They include Consolidation Coal, a division of Continental Oil; U.S. Steel; Bethlehem Steel; National Steel; Jones & Laughlin; Youngstown Sheet & Tube; Island Creek Coal, a division of Occidental Petroleum; and North American Coal.

These are the financial interests most directly, and adversely, affected by the resurgence within the ranks of the mine workers with which the Yablonski campaign for the union presidency had become identified.

Yablonski's attempt to unseat UMW President W.A. Boyle was made possible by the deep dissatisfaction within the ranks of the unions. Once he decided to challenge the bureaucrats with whom

he had been associated for 27 years, Yablonski's appeal to the rank-and-file miners was bound to have repercussions far beyond internal union politics.

The primary function of the corrupt mine workers bureaucracy was to keep the union ranks in check while the operators maintained horrifying conditions in the mines for the sake of huge added profits.

The forces set in motion by the Yablonski campaign were sufficient to create a new relationship between the men in the pits and the bureaucratic officialdom. This in turn sparked a changed relationship among these union officials, the mine operators and the government.

One of the first results of the upsurge among the miners was that the federal government was compelled to enact the Mine Safety Act of 1969. For years the mine operators enjoyed the collusion of the union bureaucracy in preventing passage of such legislation. The present laws would not have been passed without that crack in the union bureaucracy which allowed the rebellion of miners against unsafe working conditions to find organized expression within the union.

It was massive walkouts and protest delegations of miners' widows in Washington, which compelled a reluctant Nixon to sign the safety act. The operators could only see this as a direct result of the Yablonski campaign and regard him as a "traitor" for it.

In addition, the mine operators found ways to circumvent the safety measures already on the statute books. For example, the November 1968 explosions at Console 9, Farmington, W. Va., which took 78 lives, occurred only two weeks after federal mine inspectors had cited Consolidation Coal for safety violations, including piles of coal dust, but the company ignored the citation.

When Nixon signed the new safety measure, it was estimated that between 50,000 and 100,000 miners suffering from black lung would benefit from federal compensation payments.

Tragic developments over the years finally brought the reform legislation, but this process is beyond the understanding of profit-hungry men in industry who know only that something new has been added that makes digging coal more expensive. They blame Joseph A. Yablonski. He broke the rules. He stepped out of line. He gave aid and comfort to miners' protest movement. His fate will be a warning to others who would bring changes to the coal mines.

The Pennsylvania state police who have been assigned to track down Yablonski's killers are told by their superiors in the Justice Department to look into the affairs of the union.

One of them was quoted as doubting that union officials would want Yablonski assassinated.

"Look, I'm not saying that this had absolutely nothing to do with Yablonski's union business, but most of us, so far, don't think the union would have wanted him dead. He was dead as far as his enemies in the union were concerned, anyway. He lost the election by a wide margin." (*New York Post*, Jan. 7.)

Boyle's slate was returned to office by 81,000 votes to Yablonski's 46,000, according to the official count.

Yablonski and his supporters charged the count was crooked. They asked the Labor Department to impound the ballots and begin an immediate investigation. The Labor Department turned them down.

Since the assassinations, Labor Secretary Shultz has ordered a full-scale investigation. There are rumors in Washington that the McClellan committee is beginning an investigation of the UMW similar to its investigation of the Teamsters union in the 1950's.

Officials of the UMW have said they will "voluntarily" cooperate with the government investigations. The union has offered a \$50,000 reward for Yablonski's killers.



November 1968 mine disaster, Farmington, W. Va.

ski's killers.

The aim of the government agencies is not to track down the assassins and bring the guilty to justice. The manifest purpose of these investigations is to weaken the union, head off the rising rank-and-file militancy in the minefields, and restore a more stable labor force in the pits.

There are indications that supporters of Yablonski will continue some of the court actions initiated by him against

the UMW officials for misappropriation of union funds.

But, such actions in the courts can rebound to the benefit of the miners only if the rank-and-file movement finds leaders among the miners who can organize the walkouts at the pits, conduct their own independent investigation of the Yablonski assassinations, and establish democracy in the United Mine Workers union.

Victory in Fla. YSA case

By JOHN SUGG

GAINESVILLE, Fla.—Jim Fine, a leading antiwar activist and a founding member of the Young Socialist Alliance here, won an important legal victory Jan. 9. His probation, the result of an earlier frame-up dope charge, was not revoked.

The decision was handed down in a session that followed many delays by the court, during which time Fine was under close surveillance. (See *The Militant*, Nov. 14, 1969). Had the decision been unfavorable, Fine might have gone to jail for 10 years.

The judge ruled that the evidence indicated Fine was not guilty of an alleged drug charge and that a technicality—leaving the county while on probation—was not "material" in considering revocation of Fine's probation.

Judge Crews admitted he was "aware" of publicity "in local [underground] papers and in a New York paper forwarded to Gainesville" [*The Militant*]. He was undoubtedly also aware of the numerous supporters of Fine who have shown up at the various sessions of the hearing. The local defense committee believes that the vigorous defense of Fine, and especially the local and national publicity, was, in large part, responsible for his release.

The charges against Fine stem from events during the April 5-6 antiwar demonstrations last year. Prior to a large antiwar march in Gainesville, Fine and several other activists distributed leaflets at Cecil Field Naval Air Station in Jacksonville, inviting GIs to attend the march. Many did, and this certainly upset the Naval authorities.

Fine, already on four years probation, was subjected to a series of harassments. Sheriff's deputies illegally broke into his home, where they claimed to find "microscopic" amounts of marijuana (without a microscope). He was

arrested for a "technical violation of probation" for having left the county to leaflet GIs at the Naval Air Station. He was accused of procuring marijuana for sailors who attended the march and associating with people of "bad character."

The state's entire case rested on the unsigned statement of a GI. This statement was admitted as evidence even though the sailor, under oath, denied making it and claimed he and other dissident GIs were constant victims of harassment and intimidation.

The testimony of one woman who was a witness for the state was shown by cross-examination to be the result of a statement prepared for her by an Office of Naval Intelligence officer to whom she looked for cues throughout her testimony.

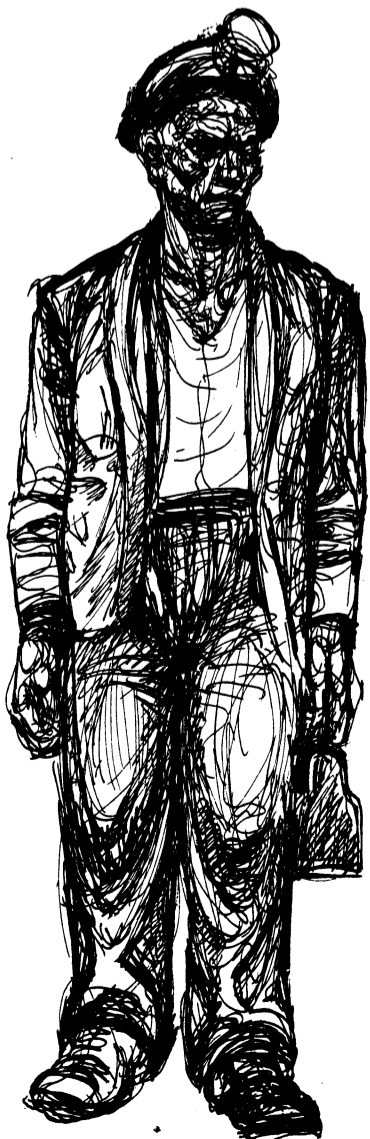
The Gainesville police and the Jacksonville Naval authorities are afraid of Fine's radical ideas and the threat they see in increasing GI activism. The Jan. 9 decision in Fine's case represents an important victory over the harassment that is rooted in that fear.

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How it's been done

Columbia SMC organizes against GE

By PAULA REIMERS

Columbia University Student Mobilization Committee's participation in the fight against GE began with discussion last November about the national SMC policy statement supporting the strike. We found out shortly thereafter that a GE recruiter was scheduled to come on the campus Nov. 10 and 11.

This came right in the middle of preparations for the march on Washington, but we were able to form a coalition of the SMC, the Young Socialist Alliance, the International Socialists, and the Labor Committee to oppose GE's recruiting on campus.

A letter was sent to university presi-

dent Cordier requesting him to cancel the GE recruiter's visit because the vast production of war machinery by GE contradicted the university's stand in opposition to the Vietnam war.

Cordier responded by calling an emergency meeting of the University Senate executive committee which decided that the recruiter would not come on campus but could interview people in an off-campus building.

A rally had previously been scheduled for the recruiter's first day on campus, Nov. 10. That morning we found out that the interviewer had seen only two persons (one of them an SMC plant) and decided to cancel the remainder of his visit "because the political situation was not conducive to his recruiting."

Following the big success of the November march on Washington and the upsurge of antiwar sentiment it represented, the SMC decided to launch a major fight against the university's complicity with GE in support of the nationwide strike.

A war profiteer

Columbia SMC conceived of this campaign as it would any fight against university complicity with a war profiteer. GE is the second largest war contractor in the U.S. Twenty percent of its total business is done in the military sector. GE's contracts with the Pentagon totaled \$1,620,000,000 in 1968.

The success of the action to get the GE recruiter off campus also showed that there would be large support for a fight against GE, and that SMC could win concessions from the administration.

But GE is obviously different from the other war producers because of the nationwide strike against it. And this added all the more reason for a major SMC battle against GE. Several aspects of the GE strike are objectively against the war:

A strike during wartime is itself an important factor. It shows that working people are not willing to sacrifice their living standards to maintain the kind of social peace required to wage the war.

Secondly, this strike in particular was impeding war production in a major war industry.

And thirdly, the strike is in response to inflation accelerated by the war. The workers in essence are declaring that they won't assume the economic burdens imposed by that inflation. They aren't willing to pay for the war by a decline in their standard of living.

Campus-based campaign

A really significant thing about this campaign is the fact that we can carry it out on campus where our power and base of organization are the strongest, and at the same time have a major impact on the society as a whole.

First of all, we can force the university to stop buying from GE, which will damage it financially, and expose it as one of the major war profiteers.

Secondly, we can help the strike by showing that support exists for it in other sectors of society, particularly the student sector.

Most important, we can help to demonstrate in a concrete struggle the links between the war and the capitalist rulers, on one side, and between the struggle against the war and the real interests of workers on the other side. We can point out the importance of the labor movement participating in the antiwar movement.

The SMC's primary demand is that the university issue a public statement declaring that it will respect the boycott of GE products and that it will purchase no more supplies from GE. We also demanded that this statement make clear the reasons for the university's action — the university community's overwhelming opposition to the war in Vietnam (enunciated in the Sept. 26 University Senate resolution for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam), and its support for all actions which undercut the ability of the government to continue the war.

Pressure building

We are building up pressure for this demand on a number of fronts. These include: asking the University Senate to support the boycott; leafleting the university and the surrounding community with information about GE and explaining our position; articles in the Columbia daily newspaper publicizing the struggle; and a major petition campaign through which we hope to demonstrate the overwhelming support of the students, faculty, and campus employees in support of the boycott.

The initial response to SMC's campaign was dramatically favorable. On Dec. 8 the Columbia *Spectator*, representing a broad cross section of campus opinion, printed an editorial endorsing the demand and the campaign. And the response to the petition campaign, 900 signatures in two days, also indicated the mass campus support for the demand.

On Dec. 11 we held a rally featuring two spokesmen of the unions striking GE: William Bywater, president of District 3 of the IUE, including all of the New York and New Jersey area; and Frank Donner, UE General Counsel.

Both praised the SMC's campaign against GE and expressed the hope that participation of antiwar students in the strike would lead to greater union participation in the antiwar movement. A joint IUE-UE statement endorsing the SMC action was issued in New York (see Dec. 19 *Militant*).

Additional evidence of the effectiveness of the SMC campaign is its favorable coverage in the union press. An example of this is a letter we received from Larry Rubin, national field organizer and staff writer for the UE *Strike Report* (see box on this page).

Nevertheless, I think it is important

to point out that although SMC sees the GE strike as an important thrust against the war, we don't demand that unions and workers participating in the strike take this stand.

One of our major goals in the campaign is to demonstrate to workers the link between GE and the war, but there are two things we are *not* trying to do:

First of all we are not trying to lead the strike in any way or to dictate its slogans, and we're not trying to organize antiwar groups among the workers. It is the task of the workers and their organizations, the unions, both to organize the strike and to organize worker participation in the antiwar movement.

We are organizing our own "constituencies," that is students and those related to the university, on our own turf, the campus, for our own reasons, our opposition to the war, in a mass struggle against the war profiteer, GE.

The second thing we do not want to do is turn SMC into a strike support committee. SMC is the mass organization of militant students on a national basis for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. And we respond to all other issues on the basis of their relation to the war.

We oppose GE on campus with the slogans "war machine off campus," "end campus complicity with the war," and in this way try to educate all sections of the population on the importance of building the antiwar movement.

To win campus victories on this score, that is, to force universities to do something which they do not want to do, will require massive visible actions. But this struggle is one around which we can bring together the major sectors of the university community — students, faculty, and employees — in united action for a common goal.

This combination of forces represents the university community, and it may be the first time in Columbia's history that all these groups have contemplated united action. Organizers for Local 1199, which represents the overwhelming majority of workers at Columbia, have indicated the union's desire to participate actively in the struggle with SMC. Although no organizational form has yet developed, a number of faculty members have indicated interest in organizing faculty support for the campaign. These developments have tremendous significance for the future of the campaign against GE.

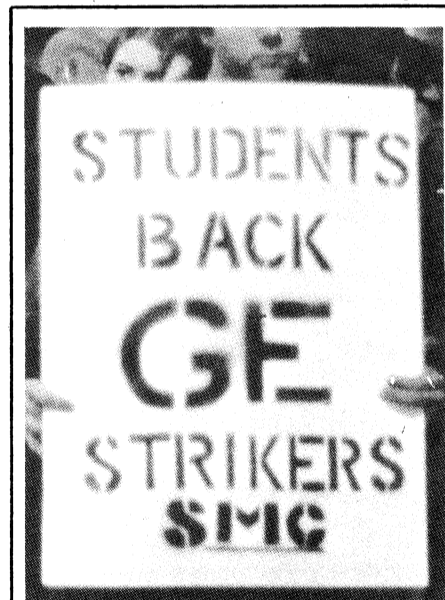
Together these forces can fight and win a battle which will set an important precedent for future struggles, ultimately placing the power to make decisions concerning universities in the hands of the entire university community, not the corporation rulers who sit on the board of trustees.

This struggle can serve to demonstrate to all layers of society, students, teachers and workers alike, that they have a common interest in fighting against the war in Vietnam.



GE strikers meet at Ashland, Mass.

Photo by Mike Shuster/LNS



UE welcomes student help

The following letter was sent last month to Paula Reimers of the Columbia University SMC by Larry Rubin, field organizer and staff writer for the United Electrical Workers (UE). Included with the letter were copies of the UE Strike Report and UE News, which contained stories about the activities of Columbia students in support of the GE strike.

All UE workers get the News and strikers get the Report. I think that reports about student support not only are great morale boosters for the workers, but help to radicalize. Workers read that students are supporting their strike, and begin to take a second look not only at radical students themselves, but what the radicals are saying.

Yours for victory.

Protest L.A. fire-bombing

LOS ANGELES—A wide spectrum of organizations and individuals has united in opposition to the recent fire-bomb attack on a New Year's eve celebration held by the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party in honor of the 11th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

The day after the attack, on a few hours notice, the United Defense Committee Against Terrorist Attacks was called together. The group was originally formed in 1968 in response to a series of bombings on left-wing organizations in Los Angeles. Representatives and observers from 21 different antiwar, student, trade union, underground press and socialist organizations discussed the New Year's eve incident and how to defend against such attacks.

A statement released by the United Defense Committee on the fire-bombing declared, "Our political philosophies and activities differ, but we are united on the concept that a terrorist attack on one is an attack on all. We will publicize and denounce all attacks and will offer mutual defense and assistance in any future attacks. Our ideas and activities will not be stopped."

The assault on the New Year's eve celebration was carried out by three armed men believed to be Cuban counterrevolutionaries. The men arrived ahead of time at the private residence where the party was to be held. Two of them held a man and a woman at gun point while a third threw a package onto the floor in the center of the living room. The package exploded, rapidly burning through a large area of the tile floor, and filling the room with dense smoke and tear gas. A readily available garden hose saved the house from extensive fire damage. Defense guards, which are customarily posted by the YSA and SWP in events supporting the Cuban revolution, arrived just after the attackers left.

The bombing was one of many which have been attributed to counterrevolutionary Cuban "gusanos" in Los Angeles. On Oct. 16, 1968, the headquarters of the SWP was dynamited by assailants who left a "Cuban Power" sticker at the scene. On July 19, 1968, five business offices were bombed and "Cuban Power" stickers left nearby. Two counterrevolutionary Cubans were brought to trial in these assaults with earlier grand jury testimony revealing they had been trained in the use of explosives by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Subcommittees have been set up by the United Defense Committee to explore

mutual aid methods for defense against such attacks and to do research on the California groups involved in such terrorist activity.

Numbers of messages of solidarity have come into the SWP and YSA as a result of the attack. A telegram from the California Peace and Freedom Party states, "We wish to express our anger at this latest attack on the movement by government-supported fascist elements and to assure you of our solidarity in your efforts to organize a united front of all sections of the movement in order to defend ourselves and expose and defeat the fascist vermin."

Rail unions reject contract

A Minneapolis reader, Paul C., a member of the Sheet Metal Workers Union which recently turned down the proposed contract negotiated between the four shop-craft unions and the nation's railroads, reports:

"In the recent negotiations the news media played up the money angle and everyone thought we had a good settlement, so I can hardly blame *The Militant* for falling into the pattern ("Picket Line," Dec. 9, 1969). But as always, the union heads create more problems than they solve. In this case they horse-traded away conditions and jobs, for money for those still working.

The National Picketline

"The new scale you reported was right: \$4.28 per hour, on August 1, 1970. In the shop here the members were mostly for the contract. A few of us said there must be a gimmick someplace. Then when we received the contract, the vote was 100 percent against it.

"The members' feelings were expressed by saying 'What good are wages if we lose our jobs?' The 'incidental work rules' make it very easy for the railroad companies to eliminate the smallest craft at a line point and make the largest craft perform the whole job. Also, the men can see themselves being laid off without notice where now it takes five days.

"The back pay is criticized because of

Other messages include statements from Frank Candida, managing editor of the Cal. State *LA College Times*; the Union Action Caucus of Local 1364 UAW in Fremont; Martin Fassler, attorney general of the Associated Students at the U. of California in Berkeley; members of the coordinating committee of the Bay Area Peace Action Council; Willard Carpenter of American Federation of Teachers Local 1352; Bruce de Monterice, M.D., the executive secretary of the Medical Committee for Human Rights; and the Student Mobilization Committee of Northern California.

the two and three percent raises every six months in '69. Everyone was thinking in terms of eight percent at least, retroactive to Jan. 1, 1969.

"During negotiations a chief witness for the companies called us 'two-bit mechanics' and we resent it.

"We have never before been given the right to ratify an agreement so this time we voted and sent the results in to our officers. We still haven't received an official ballot, but today I heard on the radio that the agreement had been turned down. Further negotiations are scheduled.

"Some of us don't think the money settlement was anything to brag about either, without the return of the escalator clause. It looks as though the unions traded off a few cents for the cost-of-living adjustment in 1970. However, the majority would have accepted this if the work rules hadn't been tampered with."

* * *

District 65, the National Distributive Workers Union, called on its 30,000 members in offices and department stores in New York City to take Jan. 15 off in honor of the birthday of Rev. Martin Luther King—"regardless of contractual obligations or permissions of employers."

Jan. 15 has already been declared a holiday for the city's public elementary and secondary schools and Mayor Lindsay has issued an order to the city's personnel dept. authorizing employees to take time off.

Approximately 25 percent of the city's private bosses also indicated that they would allow their employees to take time off on Jan. 15 provided it was deducted from 1970 vacations.

However, David Livingston, president of District 65, said his union membership expects to be paid for the holiday. He also pledged the union's legal support up to "its full resources" if any member is punished for taking King's birthday off from work. Ninety of the 2,000 shops and offices under contract to District 65 already have Jan. 15 as a contractual holiday.

* * *

On Jan. 12, 1,700 grave diggers at 44 nonsectarian, Catholic and Jewish cemeteries went on strike for a \$60 a week wage increase, improved vacations and other fringe benefits, and a two-year contract.

This will be the third grave diggers strike in New York. The first one, in 1949, featured a famous bloody word battle with Francis Cardinal Spellman and the most vicious mud-raking columnist, Westbrook Pegler, lined up against Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

Spellman tried to break the strike by leading a crew of priests and laymen through the picket lines to dig graves in a Catholic cemetery. Mrs. Roosevelt chided the Cardinal.

Pegler jumped in calling Mrs. Roosevelt, among other things, a communist. But, the workers won that strike, and Cardinal Spellman had to apologize publicly to Mrs. R.

—MARVEL SCHOLL



FIRE-DAMAGED FLOOR. L.A. socialists were target of New Year's Eve terrorist attack.

Birth control info demanded for highschoolers

NEW YORK—While the question of the right to free and legal abortion has been one of the focal points of discussion in the women's liberation movement, of equal importance has been the demand for easily accessible birth control information and devices. On Jan. 5, a number of women's liberation groups in New York City took action on this demand when they appeared before a board of education hearing to ask that part of the school budget be set aside for the creation of birth control clinics in the high schools.

This year the New York City board of education has asked for \$5-million to establish 15 new centers to educate pregnant girls. (High school girls who become pregnant are forced to leave the regular public schools in which they are enrolled.) The budget does not include one penny for dispensing birth control information to the students.

Irene Davall of the Chelsea Family Planning Clinic pointed out to the board that during the 1968-69 academic year the schools reported nearly 2,500 pregnancies among unmarried girls from ages 13 to 18 years. "Even this startling figure may not tell the whole story," she said. "Girls left school to be married and others may not have given school officials the true reason for leaving."

Last month the Chelsea Committee for Family Planning approached the Charles Evans High School requesting permission to set up a free birth control clinic for students in that school. In less than 24 hours, the principal gave a flat refusal to the request. He did not even discuss the matter with the school faculty or student groups, giving as his reason that "only the board of education has the power to take such action."

Irene Davall urged that the board of education act immediately on this matter. Birth control clinics are needed not only to make available birth control information and devices, but also as centers where young people can come for abortion referral and for the treatment of venereal disease which, she said, has reached "epidemic proportions" in the high schools. But, she stressed that "the greatest need now is for the board of education to act responsibly to help prevent the greatest tragedy of all—the birth of thousands of unwanted babies."



CHURCH TRADITION. The Militant ran this cartoon March 14, 1949, when Cardinal Spellman helped break strike of gravediggers.

Attack Mexico prisoners, families

Mexico City

The high morale of the political prisoners on hunger strike since December 10 (!) and the many signs of support they have received make the Mexican authorities visibly nervous and eager to find a desperate solution to evade the responsibility for unconstitutionally holding without trial the students, teachers and workers allegedly responsible for the student movement of 1968 that culminated with the famous Tlatelolco Massacre of October 2, 1968.

Apparently, one solution was to finish off as many of these bothersome individuals as possible at the hands of common criminals and then to construe it as a lamentable jail riot and internal fight among inmates. And who was chosen to touch off the incident: no less than the children and wives of the political prisoners themselves!

They were leaving the cells of their husbands between 6:30 p.m. and 6:45 on New Year's Day. Officially the visit ended at 6:00 p.m., but it has become the custom to leave somewhat later to avoid the sometimes hour-long wait in line to file painfully and slowly out of the prison with children whining, and nervous tension mounting.

Up to now there had never been any pressure by the supervising personnel to impose an exact time for leaving. However, yesterday, all those leaving late, mostly wives and children of the political prisoners, found themselves before closed doors.

They demanded to be let out, but only encountered cynical answers, and discovered after an hour and a quarter's wait, that the door behind them was also locked, so that they stood in a walled-in hallway, about ten meters wide, no roof, while in front and in back were locked iron gates, about fifty meters apart.

Their children became frantic; they had not eaten for eight or ten hours, because since the hunger strike started, no food is taken into the galleries [wards] any more by anyone.

The women shouted and rattled at the iron gates, and this noise penetrated into the nearby galleries where soon the prisoners knew that their relatives were still being held. By now it was ten minutes to nine, and of course, completely dark except for the prison lights. These permitted some women to see the following:

Around a hallway that connects all galleries some inmates of the political gallery "M" were approaching to see what was going on with their families, for many surprises, although of less



STOP THE AGGRESSION! Wall poster from Oct. 1968 Mexican student uprising.

dimensions, have occurred before. They had managed to open their gallery gate.

At that very moment, the women saw how the subdirector of the Lecumberri jail, Major Bernardo Palacios, personally opened the gate of Gallery "F" where common prisoners, mostly drug addicts, are held. And the surprising detail: These common prisoners were already armed with sticks, pipes, and knives, and ran like wild beasts toward the political prisoners.

These tried to calm them, telling them that they should not pay attention to the jail authorities, that were inciting them at this moment to fight; that the political prisoners had nothing against them; and that the inmates of "F" had nothing to do with what was going on.

However, all was in vain. The more or less 250 common prisoners attacked mercilessly the weakened (by the hunger strike) and unarmed political prisoners, who were aided soon by the inmates of the two other political prisoners' galleries, who altogether, however, did not even equal in number half the common prisoners.

The political prisoners tried to flee

into the nearest gallery, which was the "N" of the political prisoners, which was then used as a welcome opportunity by the common prisoners, apparently also now joined by inmates of other galleries, to raid the almost abandoned "M" gallery and take absolutely everything they found there.

That, of course, was not seen by the women, because they were by that time flat on the ground, protecting with their bodies their children, for a general shooting from the roofs and walls had started — against the women and children, not the prisoners.

Bullets criss-crossed the narrow hallway, almost hitting them, but so far there is no report of wounded women or children. Perhaps that can be attributed to the fact that police guards were among them, and if they had shot directly to kill, the policemen would have perished, too.

After having been under fire for about ten minutes, they were rushed out of jail. Meanwhile, inside, the ferocious fight continued, and a general looting with the connivance of the jail authorities took place.

Even cots were carried out of the cells! Nothing, but nothing is left, according to the wife of the writer José Revueltas, who was let in "by mistake" early the following day. Her husband (fifty-six years old and diabetic, he also participates in the hunger strike, never once having lost his sense of humor) even had to watch as they walked out with his desk, books, manuscripts and blankets, all the things that mean so much in a place like that, and that cost inconceivable effort to bring in because even to receive permission to introduce something as simple and necessary as a cot, countless trips have to be made in order to persuade the authorities to let it in.

So last night, the cold Mexican high-altitude night saw around 100 political prisoners with their bones sticking out already, sleeping, huddled together probably, on the cold cement floor without anything to cover them, except maybe, some newspapers the raiders may have disdained.

The sad part is, that in the same fashion many Mexicans sleep daily, and it may have reminded the political prisoners how necessary their

fight and that of all the Mexican people is.

This morning, January 2, about 100 wives, mothers or sisters congregated in front of Lecumberri jail in order to enter and see how their prisoners were. Most of them have so-called defendant's certificates, given to family members of the defendants by their lawyers. These permit them to see the accused two hours in the morning.

But this day, no one was let in, except, as already mentioned, the wife of the writer José Revueltas, who had come very early before the order not to let in anyone had gone into effect.

Immediately, the different lawyers were called. They were also denied entrance. About four hours later, they and some journalists and some women were granted an interview with the director of the jail, General Andrés Puentes Vargas. He gave them an official statement which blamed it all on the recalcitrant visitors, and gave a list of fifteen political prisoners that are under treatment in the hospital of the jail together with six common prisoners. He admitted that there were many others with contusions and possible fractures, but that they were in their gallery.

Jestingly he admitted that the gate of the "F" gallery had been opened, adding that everyone should feel very happy that he ordered that, because if he had let loose the guards, the results would have been much worse.

Evaluating all the evidence, one must come to the following conclusion:

The entire incident had been staged as a coarse provocation to make the political prisoners fight, with possible physical elimination of some, in order to break the strength of those participating in the hunger strike.

As a side product it could be "proven" that the political prisoners are really hoodlums attacking peaceful common prisoners, and that therefore holding them and using repressive measures against them are fully justified. Moreover, society has to be protected from these dangerous elements and it would be gross irresponsibility to give them the freedom they hope to attain through their hunger strike.

January 2, 1970.

Intercontinental Press

Le Monde confirms attack was led by prison director

According to an account carried by the Paris daily *Le Monde*, the attack on the political prisoners in Lecumberri prison during the night of January 1 was led by General Andrés Puentes Vargas, the director of this notorious Mexico City prison.

Le Monde said that at least ten political prisoners were wounded and that four were in critical condition. Moreover, the attackers were still wandering through the prison the next day, carrying knives and steel bars.

At the time of the attack, eighty-seven prisoners, the overwhelming majority of the political detainees, had been on a hunger strike for twenty-four days. They were protesting over being held longer than the constitutional limit without a trial and over the fact that the courts failed to ob-

serve the minimum norms in hearing evidence in their cases.

The Lecumberri strike had been winning increasing public support. That may be why the government has tried to suppress it with terror and intimidation.

Protests on behalf of the political prisoners can be sent to Lic. Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, Presidente de México, Palacio Nacional, México 1, D. F.; or Lic. Luis Echeverría, Secretario de Gobernación, Av. Bucareli y Calle General Prim, México 1, D. F.

Messages expressing solidarity with the prisoners will reach them if sent by registered mail. The address is Bernard Philip Ames, Administracion de Correos #9, Letra "M", México 9, D. F.

Intercontinental Press

'We teach from the point of view c

On Nov. 13 and 14, 1969, a Chicano symposium was held at California State College, Hayward. Froben Lozada, chairman of the Latin American Studies Department at Merritt College, Oakland, and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general in California, was one of the speakers. In his talk, he outlined the nature of the special studies department at Merritt which is completely controlled by the students themselves. The following is an abbreviated transcript of his speech.

* * *

I have been asked to speak on the relevancy of the Chicano Studies Department at Merritt College to the Chicano movement, to point out how Chicano Studies relates to the Chicano movement.

As a rule I'd look at universities, including Cal. State Hayward, as nothing but brothels where people sell their minds instead of their bodies. (applause) For example, we know the complicity of University of California at Berkeley which is only one of the many universities that do intensive research for wars, armaments, defoliants and everything of that sort. They also do intensive research for the growers, for the benefit of the growers, such as inventing a new grape-picking machine. They do absolutely nothing, however, for the farm workers. They don't want to and they won't do it.

At the Merritt College Chicano Studies Department we have a different situation. There the staff of 12 part-time instructors and two full-time instructors is chosen and recommended by the students. Not only that, the courses offered are also determined by the students. We make good use of the campus, holding conferences, producing leaflets, establishing a national communications network, getting lecture fees for people who are involved in the Chicano movement so they can come and talk to our classes.

Out of the 12 members of the staff, three of them were busted during the Third World Liberation strike at Berkeley last winter. Two of them are

present here tonight: Bernardo Garcia-Pandavenes and Antonio Camejo.

In making the courses relevant to Chicanos we have made a very serious effort to let them know what the nature of the ruling class of this country is. Some 30,000 persons dictate foreign and domestic policy to the puppets in Washington, Sacramento and elsewhere.

If you need confirmation of this all you have to do is pick up *Who Rules America?* written by Professor Domhoff, or pick up *The Rich and the Super Rich* by Ferdinand Lundberg and you will get an idea of how the ruling class works.

How do they rule?

How can this .016 percent of the total population run the country? They have several tricks. One of them is racism. Divide and rule is the name of the game. They will divide Blacks against Mexicans against poor whites. The ruling class also divides the Mexicans against the Blacks and the Blacks against the Blacks and the greater the division the greater power they can hold.

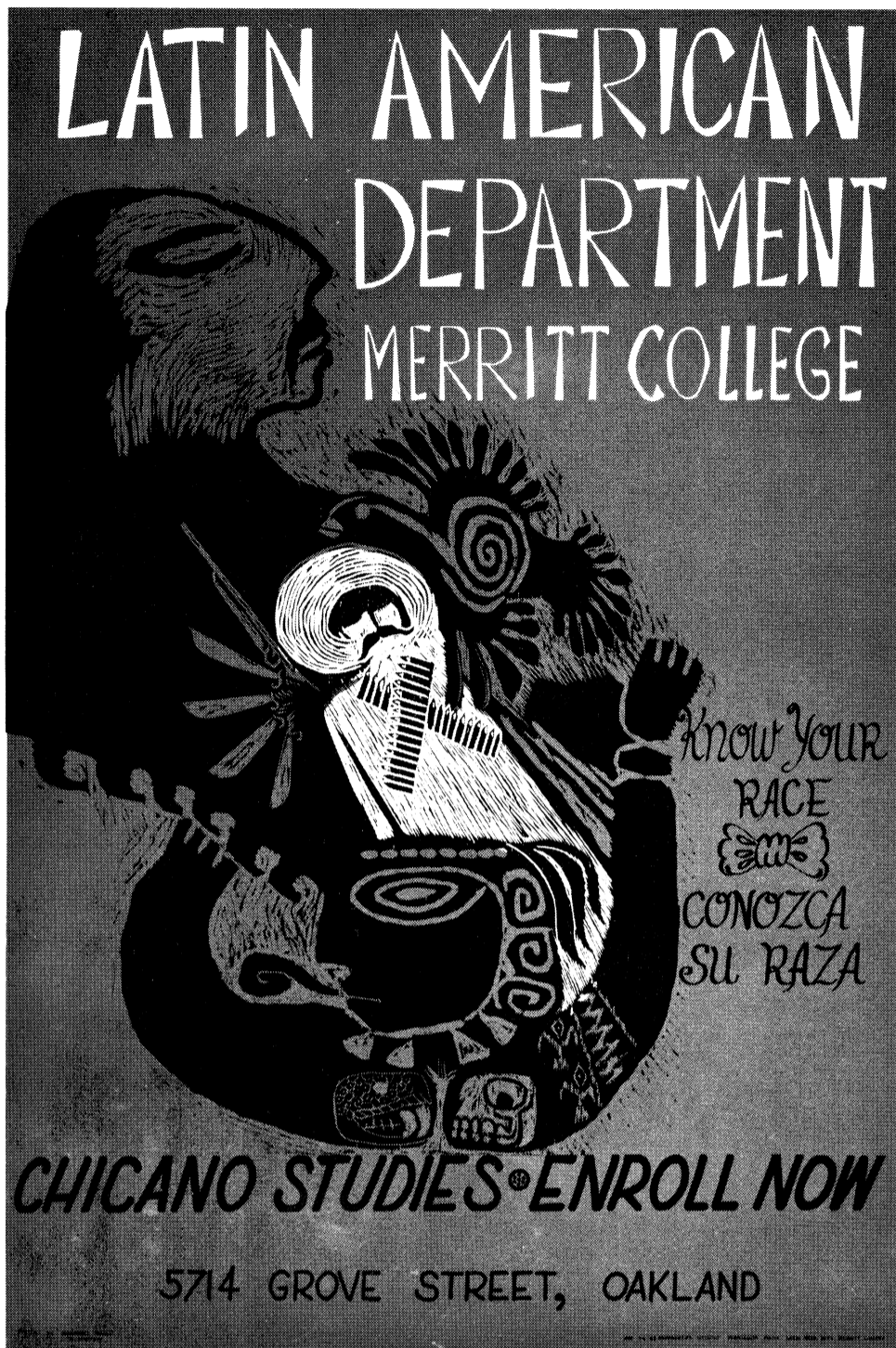
That's the only way they can retain control of the power since they constitute only .016 percent of the population. They can come into Oakland and bring in a million dollars of pie from the Office of Economic Opportunity and set it down there for the Blacks and Mexicans to fight it out. And when there was no enmity and animosity between the two *before*, after the million dollars are brought in by OEO, the Mexicans will end up fighting the Blacks saying, "We should get \$300,000." And the Blacks will say "We should get \$800,000." Instead of fighting the man who brought the pie in they'll end up fighting against each other. A very subtle trick. (applause)

Instead of fighting the man to get \$2,000,000 they end up fighting to get crumbs, the million dollars that was brought in. And this is what the ruling class wants.

Diverting struggles

They're also very sneaky in diverting struggles that might arise. For instance, if the Mexicans in South Texas or Southern California or anywhere in the Southwest are inclined to fight against the war, to oppose the Vietnam intervention, the rulers can very subtly come in and divert the struggle into trying to get more Mexicans on the draft boards — which does absolutely nothing to change the intervention that's going on in Vietnam.

They get all these liberal Mexicans fighting and shadowboxing with Frito Bandito [a racist Mexican caricature in a TV ad for Fritos]. They claim to be radical and they claim to be very courageous, because they are struggling and fighting against Frito Bandito, because it's an offensive advertisement, but in the meantime, they fail to examine the causes of racism and the roots of racism which is strictly a product of the system.



Poster by Hernandez Trujillo M. Montoya

Victim becomes criminal

Another trick that the ruling class uses is to always make the victim look like a criminal. The Indians rose up to resist and struggle against being enslaved—they were bent on making the Indians slaves too. The minute the Indians fought against being put in chains like the Black brothers, the minute they rose up against it, they were called savages! And this trick is used time and time again.

If the Blacks rise up to fight against the racism they face, they are quickly labeled "violent." The ruling class very subtly turns the tables on people.

Zapata, Pancho Villa are made to look, in our eyes, as if they were criminals, and they keep pulling that trick on us. It's brought up to date. They make Che Guevara look like a crim-

inal, a bandito, the same thing they did to Zapata.

They don't restrict it to individuals, they make even nations look like criminals, when indeed they are the victims. Cuba, a little country of 8 to 10 million people, was made to look like it was about to take over the United States. (applause) Simply because they decided to have missiles *on their own land!*

The people in Washington and elsewhere point the finger of accusation and say, "Fidel is trying to export revolution." In the meantime, this country continues to export *counterrevolution*. So they turn the tables on everything in order to continue to deceive the people.

They will say, "The Communists want to use you; the Socialists want to use you; they want to use the Third World

Dean Rusk: credentials in question

By CLIFF CONNER

ATLANTA—The Board of Regents of Georgia's university system has appointed Dean Rusk to a professorship, amid an uproar of controversy. The dispute over Rusk's hiring came while students were home for Christmas holidays, and was sparked by dissension between right-wingers and ultraright-wingers on the Board of Regents.

The issue was not, as might have been expected, Rusk's complicity in the genocidal Vietnam war. Instead, the ultrarightists, led by Georgia's leading Wallace supporter, regent Roy V. Harris, opposed him because his daughter married an Afro-American. One legislator claimed that the main source of irritation was not so much the action of Rusk's daughter, but the fact that Rusk himself participated in the wedding ceremony. He was also opposed because, as Governor Lester Maddox put it, "He [Rusk] is an internationalist, and we've got too many of those already."

Maddox is apparently unable to appreciate Rusk's internationalism for what it is: the policy of American world domination which he pursued as Secretary of State.

Rusk's post is to be Professor of International Law, at a salary of a modest \$45,000 per year. Perhaps—though this is just speculation—his course title will be "International Law . . . and Order."

Hector Bejar in English

The prize-winning essay, "Peru 1965: Notes on a Guerrilla Experience," has been available in Spanish and French for almost a year. It is to be hoped that it will soon be printed in English. Meanwhile we would like to make it available to read-

ers of Intercontinental Press. Beginning with our next issue, we will run it in serial form in a translation by Gerry Foley.

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f the oppressed'

people." But these are the people who are using us! They talk about the "free world," when half of Latin America is under military dictatorship, and they call those countries part of the "free world." But they truly don't give a damn who runs them, as long as they satisfy the needs of the people in Washington.

The "liberals"

What we're trying to do is to tell the students at Merritt College that we should be sick and tired of these liberals coming in from Washington and Sacramento, coming over and embracing our leaders like Cesar Chavez and slobbering all over him and kissing him and saying, "I'm going to quit eating grapes today." (applause) Then they get on the United Airlines plane—which is the same airline that kept that Black sister from working because she was wearing a natural—they get back on that plane and start munching on grapes. They go back to Washington and defend the very same system whose Defense Department has made Vietnam the third greatest grape-consuming country in the world! (applause)

But it is nothing new. If you look back to Woodrow Wilson, he didn't want any Blacks in the White House. And another man with a magic name in liberal Democratic circles came up and opposed a federal anti-lynch law; that man's name was Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Then we have another figure, who said that "Asian wars should be fought by Asian boys"—another liberal. This liberal also said that the intervention in Cuba was a mistake—but it was no mistake. He only admitted that it was a mistake after it failed. (applause) Not only that, but this liberal Democrat is the same one who originated the green berets, and the same one who established counterinsurgency forces to go oppress brothers in the Third World, in Latin America—and that was John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Then came another liberal Democrat with his scare tactics, trying to scare the people into voting for the lesser of the two evils. See, we're not supposed to question, we're not supposed to ask, "Why the hell do I have to choose an evil?" (applause) We're not supposed

to say that evil is evil and there are no degrees to it.

Anyway, this liberal scared us into choosing him as a lesser evil over Goldwater. That was L. B. J.

After he gets out of the picture, another liberal Democrat comes running up who, when there were 249,999 GIs in Vietnam, thought the war was perfectly moral. The minute there were 250,000 GIs in Vietnam, all of a sudden, overnight, the war became immoral. That was Mr. Eugene McCarthy. (applause)

And we are supposed to look up to these scums with respect for their morals. And they have the guts to tell us to be nonviolent! (applause) And the pacifists want us to preach morality to them!

Another example came up recently, when this liberal Democrat swam across the lake without even getting wet—that was the Mary Kopechne case—with Ted Kennedy. And we're supposed to preach morality to these guys!

Our students at Merritt College know that the only difference that exists between the liberal Democrats and the conservative Republicans is that the liberals can deceive the people better.

Staff and courses

Now—very briefly—on the staff and how we evaluate teachers who are to teach courses in our department. We had a lady who came up to us and said that she had formerly been a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. I said, "You're hired." (applause) And then we asked her what her major was, and we found a course she could teach and now she's teaching United States relations with Mexico and Latin America from the point of view of the oppressed, which means the left-wing point of view. (applause)

And Ysidro Macias, who is now in Santa Rita [framed-up on charges that came out of the Third World strike at Berkeley last winter], set up the course in Mexican-American political thought, which includes the study of the Denver Crusade for Justice and the Delano farm workers' strike and Reis Tijerina and everything else. And we invite people from those movements who are actively involved to come over and lecture to our classes.

We have a course in music by Bernardo Garcia-Pandavenes, who is another of those busted during the Third World strike. But it's not restricted to music, because music has its protest songs and stories. And so it's all tied in.

In the literature courses, we look at it from the standpoint that this is Northern Mexico, and we select the best novels coming out of Mexico and the few that are beginning to come out here, novels by Carlos Fuentes and Jose Revueltas. Carlos Fuentes was banned from Puerto Rico by this system. They didn't want him to go into Puerto Rico because he's a left-winger—and yet they preach freedom of speech. Jose Revueltas is now in prison in Mexico City, accused of leading the demonstration where 500 students were slaughtered [Oct. 2, 1968].

We let the students know why there must be unemployment under this system—because it's profitable. Everything has to do with money. As long as you keep a large number of people unemployed, you can always say, "If you don't want to work for \$2.40 an hour, don't worry because some Black or Mexican will." It's very profitable and keeps the wages down.

We point out the nature of wars and the causes of wars. We point out the fact that Chicanos have to die in outrageous numbers in Vietnam, and not only do they have to give up their lives, but before they die they have to eat six pounds of grapes. (applause) So these guys are not satisfied with injury, they have to add insult to injury. This course on economic development of the Third World also will be presenting the point of view of the oppressed. This is very important to the students.

Each and every one of the students at Merritt College will be taking part in the antiwar march [Nov. 15] where Corky [Gonzalez] will be one of the speakers, along with Dolores Huerta, because we're tired of being in the front lines in Vietnam. The front lines that we should be in are the front lines of the antiwar demonstrations. (applause) We look at the barrio differently too, not as something confined by arbitrary city limits determined by corrupt politicians who want you to think in no broader terms than your own barrio, so that you won't bother to think of the people of the Third World as brothers. We look at our barrio as one not restricted or confined to arbitrary city limits. Our barrio goes beyond these fictitious city limits and extends into



Photo by Dave Warren

Froben Lozada

the Plaza de los Tres Culturas in Mexico City. Our barrio is projected into the favelas in Brazil. Our barrio extends into the jungles of Bolivia and the jungles of Vietnam. And that's what our barrio is! Our barrio, in fact, is the whole world, wherever the oppressed might be.

We furnish speakers everywhere. Tomorrow, most of the members of our staff will fan out to take part in the premarch demonstrations [Nov. 14], and our students will also be with us, so that we, the Merritt College Chicanos, go out to let the people know that *we remember the Alamo*, for the right reasons. (applause) And that we have to create two, three, four, many Alamos! (cheers and applause) And to those Birchers and sons of Birchers (laughter) who go around saying, "America: love it or leave it," to them we say, "America: change it or lose it!" (cheers, applause)

Editorial/Opinion Page

THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR

Wednesday, January 7, 1970

Young Socialist convention in perspective

By GLENN HOVEMANN

Star editorial/opinion page columnist

The Young Socialists who convened at the University of Minnesota went home more than a week ago and are now back in school, yet angry letters still passionately protest the Socialists' "promotion of our government's downfall in the guise of free speech."

To the contrary, the regrettable thing about the Young Socialist convention was that few students were on campus during the holidays to witness the proceedings. Because the Young Socialists, although far from having all the answers, are confronting more squarely than any other political group the source of so much distress in America: the contrast of private prosperity to public penury.

The dramatic paradox of our age is the imminence of either the millennium or Armageddon—either the accomplishment of dreams or the destruction of nightmares. Never before has any civilization so rapidly approached the capability of achieving both. But they are mutually incompatible and the 1970s may well be the decade in which society decides between the two.

Wealth, technology and leisure should make it possible for every American to develop his talents and live a happier, more peaceful life than ever before. Yet it would appear that if nuclear warfare doesn't dispose of our civilization, ecological deterioration or social convulsion will.

Already before 600 B.C. in ancient Israel, the Deuteronomic legislator decreed that no one shall starve. He wrote (Deut. 23: 25,26): "When thou comest into thy neighbor's vineyard, then thou mayest eat grapes until thou hath enough at thine own pleasure; but thou shalt not put any into thy vessel. When thou comest into thy neighbor's standing corn, then thou mayest pluck ears with thy hand; but thou shalt not move a sickle unto thy neighbor's standing corn." Only recently did the United States arrive at the same moral conclusion, and then hedged it with such degrading devices as food stamps.

Similarly, Arthur Naftalin this summer blamed the newspapers for "joining the pack of wolves demanding a tax cut. And for what? To relieve the 60 percent of America that is already affluent, that is already enjoying two automobiles, already enjoying three or four weeks of vacation, and already traveling like no nation in the world has traveled, spending billions for cosmetics, liquor, tobacco, and the rest." He continued: "You tell me we can't fight poverty? Or provide housing for our destitute and disadvantaged? This is the scandal of America. This is the fight for survival. And damn few people have joined it."

Considering its wealth, which is overwhelmingly applied to private enjoyment, America has responded inadequately. And the Young Socialists, with considerable justification blame the capitalist economic

system. They would substitute a socialist economy, with the means of production owned by the workers. Their Trotskyite solution is probably inadequate—but should not be considered heresy, much less banned from public discussion.

(Despite the popular misconception, neither the Young Socialists nor the Socialist Workers Party they support favors violent overthrow of the government. Unlike the Black Panthers, the Young Socialists have renounced private armaments, and have dedicated themselves to attracting a large corps of believers, starting with high school and college students. But they are realistic enough to recognize that economic struggle may precipitate violence—which they foresee from the resistance of the "ruling class".)

Should corporations and individuals continue to amass fantastic wealth at the expense of ordinary citizens? Should industry continue to wreck the environment for its own profit? Must large sectors of the capitalist economy continue to be dependent on our gargantuan military? Or can the nation's wealth be used to approach the millennium?

Trotskyism is not, to my way of thinking, the appropriate answer. But it becomes more inviting for many people when our leaderless political system offers no alternative answers.

Editor's Note: Glenn Hovemann is also editor of the Minnesota Daily.

As reported in last week's Militant, the recent convention of the Young Socialist Alliance received extensive press coverage. Characteristic of the coverage has been the seriousness with which the ideas of the YSA were treated and the recognition given the growing weight of the revolutionary socialist forces on the American left. This recognition led the Jan. 9 Christian Science Monitor, for example, to run a rather lengthy special report on the convention by Austin C. Wehrwein.

The accompanying article, which appeared in one of the two major Minneapolis dailies, is a good example of the kind of coverage the convention received. The author is not completely accurate in his interpretation of YSA positions on some questions—he seems to imply, for example, that YSA does not support the right of armed self-defense. But his comments on the reasons why so many American youth are becoming radical, and why they find the answers offered by the YSA so attractive, are extremely relevant.

New Mobe in further shift from mass action

By HARRY RING

A meeting of the steering committee of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, held in Philadelphia Jan. 10-11, registered an even further retreat for that body, away from mass actions against the war. It was another step toward becoming an ineffectual multi-issue hodge-podge.

Since the historic Nov. 15 Washington-San Francisco antiwar mobilization, the New Mobe steering committee has come under the increasing control of a heterogeneous grouping describing itself variously as a "new left caucus" and a "radical caucus."

The group has not as yet publicly acknowledged its existence, much less defined its political purpose. But it has made quite clear that its basic aim is to convert the Mobe from a coalition of diverse forces united on the need for action against the war into some kind of yet-to-be-defined multi-issue political movement which would be built by sacrificing the antiwar coalition.

The Philadelphia meeting essentially reaffirmed and elaborated a "three-prong" program that the "radical caucus" rammed through a steering committee meeting in December. The three prongs include: repression (focusing on defense of the Black Panthers and Conspiracy 8); economic issues relating to the war ("Who Pays for the War and Who Profits?"); and activity related to GIs and the draft.

The meeting also adopted a motion presented by New Mobe cochairman Sid Lens which sought to define demonstrations slated for April 15 as mass actions centered around the demand for immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. While this motion was formally approved, nothing that was said or done during the two-day meeting by those now in the process of taking control of the Mobe indicated that they have any serious intention of implementing it. While each of the three prongs embrace entirely worthy causes, the approach is such as to inevitably limit the scope of participation in activity around these issues.

Instead, for example, of seeking to mobilize a broad civil liberties movement in defense of the Panthers and the Conspiracy 8 there was much nebu-

lous rhetoric about opposing "repression" and "genocide" in the abstract.

Similarly on opposition to the draft, a central concern seemed to be not that of mobilizing broad opposition to the draft but rather of involving smaller numbers in civil disobedience actions at draft centers and in draft card turn-ins.

In relation to GIs, there seemed to be as great a concern with relating to the relatively small number of antiwar deserters as to relating to and helping to crystalize the broad antiwar sentiment within the armed forces.

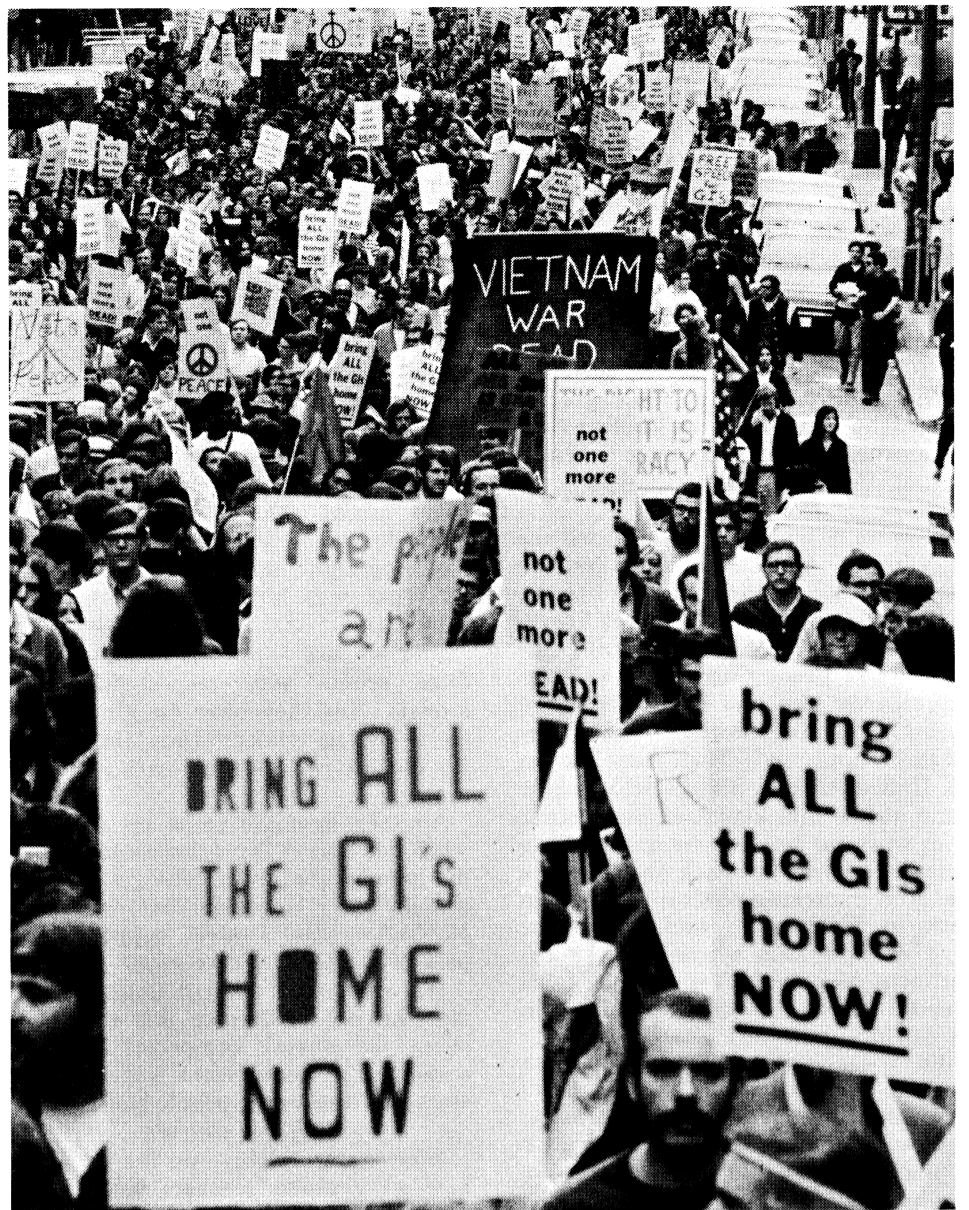
The program planned for April to "escalate" opposition to the war in a way that will assertedly educate masses of people as to the economic causes and consequences of Vietnam, is an impractical, grandiose mish-mash that, unless revised, has little prospect of getting off the ground.

As presented, the April scenario would include demonstrations and rallies that would join the antiwar and black struggles as well as rally support for the welfare rights movement, the Panthers and Young Lords, women's liberation and federal and telephone tax refusers. This would be coupled with workplace teach-ins and work stoppages, plus demonstrations at major corporation stockholders meetings. The April 15 demonstrations at tax offices would purportedly be the highlight of all this. There were no proposals to make concrete the formally approved Lens motion that the April 15 demonstration be a genuinely large-scale action in favor of immediate withdrawal.

Nor was there any effort to relate the Mobe's April 15th activity in a meaningful way to the projected April 15 Moratorium demonstrations which the organizers have announced will focus on protesting the use of taxpayers money for the war and to demand that the U.S. get out of Vietnam.

The lack of serious interest in organizing a massive antiwar action was also underlined by the utter disregard displayed by the "radical caucus" for maintaining the kind of a broad coalition which is needed to carry through such an action.

Holding together viable coalitions has been a task as arduous as it is nec-



San Francisco, Nov. 15

essary. There has been successful coalition activity against the war only to the degree that those in central positions of responsibility in such coalitions have been sensitive to the entire coalition. This involves recognizing that meaningful activity can be carried on only if differing political views and approaches are thrashed out and a consensus reached on strategy and objectives. The first fact about a coalition is that it is a voluntary association and no one sector of the coalition can cram its ideas—good, bad or indifferent—down the throats of the rest. And attempts to maneuver a coalition into activities it has not agreed on quickly lead to its dissolution.

Yet those now seeking to control the New Mobe appear to be oblivious to this fact of political life and seem afflicted with the illusion that through maneuvers and mechanical control they can somehow convert the Mobe coalition into a multi-issue organization. (It could replace SDS, opines Arthur Was-

know, a leading ideologue of the "radical caucus.")

Because the caucus is itself a highly mixed bag—including liberals, pacifists, confrontationists, RYM supporters, SDS graduates and others—its leadership apparently prefers avoiding a public thrashing out of political issues.

At the Philadelphia meeting a procedure was devised that is, for a coalition, at best highly unusual. It was decided that proposals brought before the body would be referred to various task forces for implementation without discussion unless five or more people agreed there were substantial issues of policy involved on which there was disagreement. In which case there would be two speakers for the proposal and two against!

Attempts were made to enforce this procedure until the question came up of selecting a new executive committee for the steering committee. On this point, in sharp contrast to the consideration of political issues, there was unlimited, extensive discussion.

In the selection of the committee, the "radical caucus" made quite clear its real attitude toward mass actions against the war. The old executive committee brought in a proposed slate of 31 people which included among others Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party and Brad Lyttle of the War Resisters League. Halstead and Lyttle were the chief marshals who carried through the enormous job of organizing the Death March and the mass march and the rally in Washington.

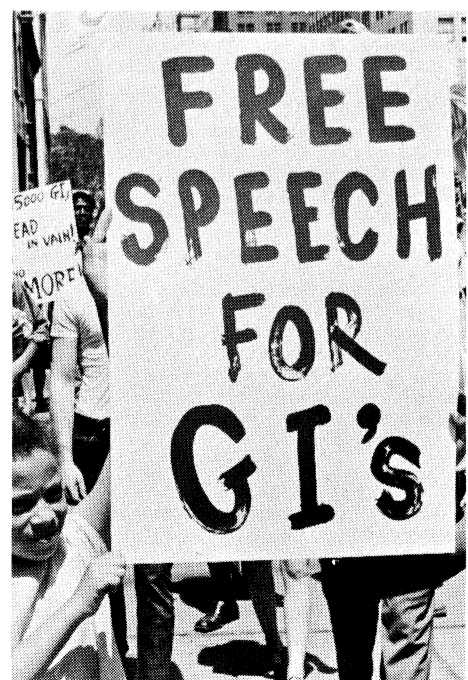
After lengthy discussion, it was voted to refer the slate to a subcommittee with instructions to return with a smaller list to ensure that the new committee would be a "working" body. Curiously, the new slate of 22 did not include Halstead or Lyttle who had proven their capacity for work, while others were included who have no known record in this regard.

During the opening hours of the two-day gathering there was at least a semblance of willingness to engage in an exchange of views. This may have resulted from a reported statement by a number of Mobe cochairmen that they intended to resign their posts unless a positive attitude was taken toward maintaining the coalition. But as the meeting proceeded, the "radical caucus" was apparently unable to restrain itself and it pressed ahead on a sectarian course which, unless reversed, can lead only to the dissolution of the Mobe.

Brass in new moves against GI rights

By DAVID THORSTAD

Three recent developments indicate the determination of the military brass to respond to increasing GI activism by keeping the pressure on and, wherever possible, attempting to take away previous concessions won by antiwar GIs. They clearly show the necessity for the



antiwar movement to be prepared for repeated and constant struggles for the right of GIs to organize against the war in Vietnam.

The Shelter Half Coffeehouse near Ft. Lewis in Tacoma, Washington, was recently notified that the Armed Forces Disciplinary Control Board had begun action to place it off limits to all servicemen. The Board's action was initiated by Lt. Gen. Stanley Larson, Commanding General of the Sixth U.S. Army, who was responsible for the prosecution of the Presidio 27 last year. At a hearing set for Jan. 22, the Board will make a final decision in the matter.

In a letter to the coffeehouse, the military stated: "The board took this action after receiving information that the Shelter Half Coffeehouse is a source of dissident counseling and literature and other activities inimical to the good morale, order and discipline within the Armed Services." By attempting to use its off-limits powers for political reasons, the Army is trying to tell GIs officially what they can read and who they can talk to on their off-duty hours.

Letters opposing the order to place the Shelter Half off limits should be sent to the Hon. Stanley R. Resor, Secretary of the Army, Washington, D.C., with copies to the Shelter Half Coffee-

house, 5437 S. Tacoma Way, Tacoma, Wash. 98409.

The two other developments relate to cases being handled by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee. The first was a Dec. 22, 1969 federal district court ruling denying that soldiers at Ft. Jackson, S.C., have the right to hold an open meeting on post to discuss the war and related issues. (See *The Militant*, Jan. 16)

In another GICLDC case, District Judge Algernon Butler has ruled that Lieut. Gen. John J. Tolson, commander of the 18th Airborne Corps at Ft. Bragg, N.C., has the right to restrict distribution of any publications that he believes might undermine the morale of GIs on his base. Tolson had violated the constitutional rights of GIs to free speech by forbidding Ft. Bragg GIs United Against the War in Vietnam to distribute their newspaper, *Bragg Briefs*, on post.

GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee attorney Leonard Boudin has filed an appeal of the court ruling. The GICLDC plans to pursue the fight against this decision, as well as the Ft. Jackson decision, as far as necessary. The address of the committee is: Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011.

N.Y. police brutality evokes new concern

By PAUL DAVIDSON

NEW YORK—While police brutality in New York has probably not been more widespread or more vicious in recent months, it has reached the public attention more often. And support given by Mayor John Lindsay for some of the most openly provocative actions taken by his cops has helped to strip away at least a corner of his liberal mask.

It has now reached the point where the man who is probably Lindsay's key ally in the labor movement, Victor Gotbaum, has been forced to speak out. Gotbaum, who is executive director of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, condemned the police after Carl Gaither, a member of his own union, was the victim of a racist beating by cops.

Gaither, a shop steward of Local 372 of the District Council, described the incident in an article by Jack Newfield in the Jan. 1 *Village Voice*:

"I was with three other people from my union. One of them was a white girl, and we stopped for a bite to eat on Empire Boulevard. When we left the diner, the fellow driving our car (Alex Shaw) got into an argument with another man in the parking lot about whether he hit his car. The police came, and asked Shaw for his ownership papers. He couldn't find them right away, so this one cop insisted he come to the precinct house. Me and the other two people went along for the ride.

"In the police car going to the station house, this one officer, Eugene Wagner, began making nasty comments to us. He said anti-Negro and anti-Semitic things to us. When Mary Jones said something back, this officer Wagner said, 'Shut up you black bitch.'

"Walking up the steps to the precinct house (the 71st) I said you shouldn't talk to a lady like that, and the officer knocked me down. Then he took me into the basement of the precinct house and beat me up. He punched me and kicked me. And he kept calling me names, and saying I was a 'black motherfucker,' and 'I'd like to kill all you black niggers.'

New York forum on Palestinian freedom struggle

By ROBERT LANGSTON

NEW YORK—Maan Ziyada, a representative of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, spoke before the Militant Labor Forum here Jan. 9 on "Palestine: From Resistance to Revolution."

Ziyada concentrated on explaining some of the most important programmatic points of the DPFLP: the rejection of any "political" solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict that would imply recognition of the legitimacy of the Zionist state and violate the Palestinians' right of self-determination; the need for Palestinian revolutionaries to link their efforts with revolutionary forces throughout the Arab world in a struggle against imperialism and Arab reaction; the necessity to combine armed struggle with intensive educational work to politicize the Palestinian and other Arab masses; the need for Palestinian revolutionaries to solidarize with socialist, anti-Zionist, anti-imperialist elements among the Israeli Jews; the perspective of a unified, socialist Arab East, in which every minority, including the Israeli Jews, would have absolute equality with the Arabs and have the full right to develop its own national culture; and, above all, the necessity of building a revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist, vanguard party that can win leadership of the struggle for national liberation.

"Later he beat me again right in front of about 15 police officers, and about four of them were Black, and they heard the names he was calling me. By that time I was all bloody and couldn't see, so I asked the officer at the desk to take me to the hospital."

Gaither was hospitalized from Dec. 16 to Dec. 24 as a result of the beating and it was feared he would lose his sight in one eye. In addition, he was charged by Wagner with carrying a dangerous weapon, possession of narcotics, resisting arrest, second degree assault, and disorderly conduct. Gaither is being represented by District Council 37 lawyers and awaiting trial.

Gaither later stated that one of the things that enraged Wagner the most was the red, black and green nationalist button he was wearing.

Another vicious and open attack by police occurred at the Dec. 9 antiwar and anti-Nixon demonstration outside the Waldorf Hotel. The cops were free with their use of clubs, blackjacks, and fists during and after the demonstration and the ranks of the demonstrators were also infiltrated by plainclothes provocateurs complete with long hair, sideburns, workshirts, and antiwar buttons. Later in the demonstration, after being spotted, they joined the uniformed cops on the other side of the barricades, but not before having started several fights and arresting the demonstrators they attacked.

The following day Lindsay praised the restraint of the police. No mention was made by Lindsay of the beating and torture that occurred in the precinct houses during the night after the



BEAT UP BY NY COPS. Carl Gaither, shop steward of municipal employe District Council 37, was attacked by New York police Dec. 16.

demonstrators were arrested. These beatings were described by Atty. Paul G. Chevigny of the New York Civil Liberties Union at a Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee press conference:

"I had occasion the night of Dec. 9 to visit in the 18th Precinct Jonah Raskin and Robert Riley. When I saw them they had injuries to their heads, but complained of nothing else. I noted my presence on the blotter and left,

in the hope that my having seen their condition would help insure that it would not get mysteriously worse.

"Nevertheless, later that night these prisoners were taken to the 17th Precinct and there systematically, severely and protractedly beaten. The upper parts of their bodies and legs were masses of welts. They were reviled and spit upon. In short, they were tortured . . ."

L.A. Chicanos battle Catholic Church

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES—The irritation of the Chicano community here with the ostentatious wealth of the Catholic Church has taken the form of a conflict between *Catolicos por La Raza* (Catholics for the people) and St. Basil's Church, with its new \$3-million structure in the Wilshire District.

About 75 Chicanos ended a three-day fast Jan. 4 and then entered St. Basil's for Mass. There was no repetition of the violence from off-duty deputy sheriffs and police that brought on head-busting and arrests on Christmas Day after about 300 young Chicanos demonstrated in front of the church and then attempted to enter it for services.

The arrogant response from Rev. John Urban, spokesman for the archdiocese headed by James Francis Cardinal McIntyre, to the Chicanos demanding social justice was that they were a "professionally organized minority plotting revolution."

There are over 12 million Spanish-speaking people in the United States, over 90 percent of whom are Catholics. The Spanish-speaking community is the largest ethnic minority group within the Catholic Church in the U.S., representing approximately 23 percent of the total U.S. Catholic population and 67 percent of the Catholics in the five southwestern states.

Catolicos por La Raza demand equal representation for Spanish-speaking people in the Catholic hierarchy and support for demands for education, housing, and civil rights.

A recent letter to Cardinal McIntyre from *Catolicos por La Raza* stated: "We have lived in barrios and slums, have received on the average an eighth grade education in the United States, and while we are treated as beasts of burden for the betterment of agribusiness, we know that, paradoxically, the Catholic Church is one of the richest and most powerful institutions in the

world and the United States.

"We know, for example, that in Los Angeles county alone, property owned by the Catholic Church is valued in excess of \$1 billion . . . We know of this wealth; yet Chicanos are praying to La Virgen de Guadalupe as they go to bed hungry."

Cardinal McIntyre responded to a recent delegation of *Catolicos por La Raza* by stating, "We are aware of the militants and radicals in our society and we are prepared and trained to deal with them." The Christmas Day attack was a reflection of that training.

The demands in education are for the elimination of fees for parochial schools and for subsidized educational expenses

for all Chicanos in need through high school, college and graduate school.

In housing, *Catolicos por La Raza* demands that the Church make funds available in loans or outright grants for building private homes or making repairs.

Catolicos por La Raza also demands that the Catholic Church make public commitments in support of the farm workers, the educational struggle of the Chicano, including the walkouts, against the racist grand jury in Los Angeles, and in support of the antiwar movement "because of the fact that 20 percent of the Vietnam dead are Chicano."

Israel bans left journal

By ROBERT LANGSTON

Israel's military censors have banned the December issue of *Matzpen*, the journal of the revolutionary, anti-Zionist Israeli Socialist Organization. Although individual articles in the Hebrew-language edition of the magazine have previously been censored, this is the first time it has been completely suppressed.

Last summer, the ISO tried to begin publishing an Arabic edition of *Matzpen*; the first issue was 80-percent censored and the second one was completely forbidden, although all the articles had previously been published in the Hebrew-language editions of the magazine.

This action by Golda Meir's new government is only a part of an intensified pattern of harassment of political dissidents. There have been numerous arrests of *Matzpen* salesmen in recent weeks. Jabra Nicola, one of the few Arab ISO militants who until recently

was not under house arrest or area restriction, has now been ordered by the military authorities not to leave Haifa without permission.

(These measures, similar to South African banning, are taken under the "emergency laws" inherited by the Zionist state from the British colonial administration in Palestine. Prior to the establishment of the state of Israel, Zionist spokesmen denounced these laws as "Hitlerian.")

The intensified repression of political dissent has hit not only the ISO. Militants of the largely Arab-based Rakah, one of the two Israeli Moscow-oriented Communist parties, and people regarded as associated with the El Ard group of nationalist Arab intellectuals, have also been arrested in larger numbers during the past month than previously. There are now several hundred Arabs holding Israeli citizenship who, by administrative action and without any sort of trial, are in prison or under house arrest or area restriction.

GE sidesteps fact-finding panel

By FRANK LOVELL

The 12-weeks-old GE strike has brought no outward change in attitude on the part of the anti-union corporation with its underpinning of U.S. government defense contracts and its network of plants and equipment in foreign countries. However, there were signs last week of mounting pressures to force a settlement.

As the new year got underway, Senator Jacob J. Javits (R-NY) proposed a three-member fact-finding panel to recommend a settlement. On Jan. 6 spokesmen for the 13-union bargaining coalition accepted the Javits proposal.

In accordance with past opposition to "third-party intervention," GE officials turned down the Javits proposal.

Labor Secretary Shultz supplied a pretext for GE president, Fred J. Borch, to sidestep the offer of a fact-finding panel. Shultz announced in Washington that J. Curtis Counts, director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, would personally intervene in the GE strike negotiations. Whereupon Borch, on behalf of GE, issued a statement that the appearance of Counts in negotiations "offers a shorter route toward ending the strike than the necessarily slower process of familiarizing a new fact-finding group with the complex economic and contractual issues involved."

It is clear that the reason GE avoids fact-finders like the plague is that it fears the disclosure of facts about the real nature of its far-flung financial empire.

Meanwhile, GE continues its propaganda campaign in the form of misleading advertisements to acquaint the strikers and unwary readers with "the complex economic and contractual issues." The latest such ad in the *New York Times* (Jan. 9) seeks to show that GE's 1968 profits of \$357-million derive from a 30 percent decline in profits since 1965. Such patently twisted claims of "poverty" convince no one.

Early in the current negotiations, on Oct. 7, GE made a 20-cent wage offer

GI who refused anti-riot training receives sentence

A Ft. Hood GI active in the antiwar and GI rights movement has been convicted for refusing to take part in "Operation Gardenplot," the government's national "riot control" training program. After being held in the Ft. Hood stockade since mid-October, Pvt. Richard Chase was convicted of the charge and sentenced on Dec. 20, 1969, to two years at hard labor and a dishonorable discharge.

When he was assigned to Ft. Hood at the beginning of 1969, Chase informed his first sergeant and his commanding officer that he would not take part in "riot control" training. By early summer he had become active in the GI antiwar movement. He also wrote for *Fatigue Press*, a Ft. Hood GI antiwar newspaper. It was after becoming an antiwar activist that he was ordered on Sept. 11 to participate in "riot control." According to defense committee literature on his case, he refused the order because he did not wish "to be used to crush movements that he supported."

Chase's lawyers are planning to appeal his case to the Military Board of Review, and have filed a suit against the Army challenging the legality of "riot control" and the court-martial system itself.

Petitions demanding that the charges against Pvt. Chase be dropped may be obtained from the Richard Chase Defense Committee, c/o Oleo Strut, 101 Ave. D, Killeen, Texas 76541.



GE plant at Hudson Falls, N. Y.

Photo by Mike Shuster/LNS

to bring the hourly average from \$3.25 to \$3.45. The union paper, *UE News*, reports that if GE's 20-cent offer had been accepted in October it would now be worth only 16 1/2 cents due to October and November increases in the cost of living.

In a strike-related development in New York City, the United Federation of Teachers has prepared a "teaching-

unit" of four lessons, explaining the facts in the GE strike, and showing that justice is on the side of the workers, not the company. This action aroused the editorial ire of the *New York Times* which finds the efforts of the teachers' union to reveal the facts about GE "a flagrant abuse of the classroom."

University students, with the opening of the new school term, are also pre-

paring fact-finding seminars about the holdings and activities of GE. The Student Mobilization Committee has announced plans to "drive GE off the campus" because it is one of the key producers of war materials. The SMC action promises to hurt GE by demanding that universities sever all relations with this corporation and respect the boycott that has been called for against all its products.

In passing: New Yorker on New Mobe

During the '50s the bourgeois press normally handled the radical movement by simply launching crude, crass and very unsubtle red-baiting attacks against it. During the '60s this began to change a bit, at least for the more sophisticated of the liberal bourgeois journals.

In the '60s radical sentiment became a mass phenomenon, hence the new mode of dealing with the left which may be characterized as the attempt to divide and conquer. The bourgeois press picks up on the ideological divisions that exist in the movement and attempts to shore up those tendencies which it believes can do the least damage to the system.

A case in point about how all this works is the article entitled "The Moratorium and the New Mobe" in the Jan. 3 *New Yorker*. This article attempts to leave you with the following phony notions:

(1) That the Moratorium differs from the New Mobilization Committee in being more vital, militant, youthful, idealistic and realistic, because radicals are basically ineffectual old purists whereas liberals really know where it's at.

(2) That within the New Mobe the revolutionary socialists in the Socialist Workers Party are more conservative than pacifists from such organizations as the American Friends Service Committee because they don't believe it is a good political tactic to voluntarily get people arrested through acts of civil disobedience.

(3) That the principle of non-exclusion of political tendencies from the antiwar movement seriously hampers its growth and impact.

The article, written by Francine Duplessix Gray, is written as if it had all

the inside information. What it actually has is a load of misinformation, distortion and, I suspect, misquotation.

Moral: Beware of smiling liberals bearing gifts; the mask of sympathy hides an evil intent.

* * *

Alice's Restaurant, like *Easy Rider*, is a movie which attempts to show the futility of the hippy drop out and do your own thing mode of social protest. (*Easy Rider* is the better movie because, among other things, it keeps more to the point.)

Alice's Restaurant is about how a couple in their thirties, Alice and Ray Brock, attempt to set up a free and happy commune in a desanctified church financed on the proceeds of a restaurant. They are frankly and very explicitly attempting to escape from the pressures and alienations of the social system, but these same pressures keep impinging on them and eventually the defeat of their attempt at escape becomes evident—Ray Brock admits it by trying to convince himself that if they abandoned the church and tried a farm things might work out better.

Like *Easy Rider*, *Alice's Restaurant* celebrates the hippy impulse while at the same time making it plain that as a mode of social protest it is both ineffectual and a deadend.

* * *

The January *Esquire* carries a fascinating exchange of letters between Steve Allen and Dalton Trumbo which centers around the question of whether Communists should be excluded from political activities supported by liberals. Steve Allen, who is an influential figure in Hollywood liberal political circles, takes the anticommunist position. Dalton Trumbo, the famous screenwriter who Allen recommended be politically excluded on the basis that he *might* be a Communist, takes the civil-libertarian position.

The liberal ideologist Arthur Schlesinger Jr. chips in with a brief note commending Allen's position.

For Trumbo, who was witch-hunted out of the movie industry in the McCarthy era, the whole thing must have seemed like a comic replay of history. His letters reflect the sarcastic attitude he must have felt about Allen's neo-McCarthyism.

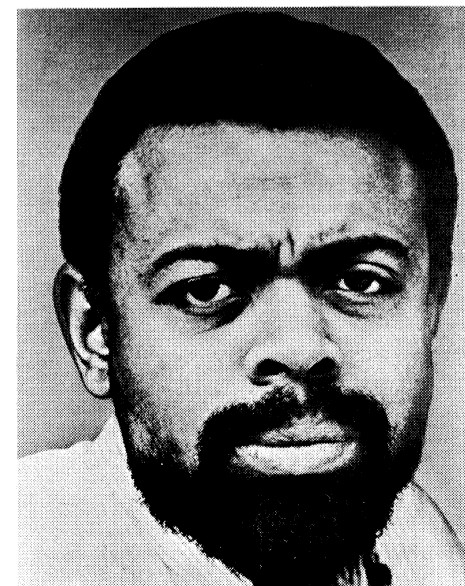
* * *

LeRoi Jones' new play, *Slaveship*, in the production now running in New York is one of the most powerful and moving plays I have seen since Peter Weiss' *Marat/Sade* and *Song of the Lusitanian Bogey*. The style of *Slaveship* is in fact very reminiscent of the two Weiss plays.

Jones' play is an encapsulated version of Black history from the beginnings of slavery to the future Black revolution.

In the New York production, the audience is seated very close to the stage. The ushers very carefully place the white members of the audience so that during a simulated slave auction they'll be where they're needed. This reviewer got a little Black doll representing a baby Black slave, plunked right in his lap.

—MALACHI CONSTANT



LeRoi Jones

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Life in an auto plant

A fresh look at union-boss relations



Students supported 1969 East Bay oil workers strike

By TOM CAGLE

(This is the final installment in a series of five 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.)

The present union "procedure" is based upon the recognition of management's "right" to make all important decisions: what to produce, where new plants are to be built, how much to produce, how many workers are to be hired, how many hours a day we must work, what prices shall be charged for all the things we produce. The only matters about which the union has anything at all to say are wages and line speedup, and union control even over these issues is more apparent than real.

"The good old days. . ."

When everything goes along alright, production is high, there is a lot of overtime work, few are unemployed, and take-home pay is enough at the end of the week to afford a beef roast for Sunday dinner. At such times it seems as if the union, through the established working-relationship with management, is able to keep wages high enough to give us a decent standard of living and hold line speed in check so that the job is tolerable for most workers.

Company profits are high and going higher, and the general attitude develops that management can afford to give a little, which it does from time to time under pressure of the union and the threat of strike action. The old policy of "give a little, take a little" seems to be the best course for the union to follow.

New times

But all this is changing now. The company continues to report high profits. But production is off. The overtime is being cut out. Unemployment is on the rise. Management is tougher about the line speedup, and refuses to make adjustments, add new operations, hire more workers.

What we see now is layoffs, and when adjustments are made on the line it is to eliminate some operations and combine others.

Meanwhile, prices on everything we must buy keep going up. But our take-home pay is much less.

A change for the worse

And it looks as if things will get worse.

The union bureaucrats' policy of class collaboration stands today in sharp contrast to the rising moods of struggle that permeate the ranks. Management's tougher attitude is provocative, a challenge to the worker everyday on the job.

Union officials are reduced to begging and pleading with management to be reasonable, to make some concessions, to mollify the workers. The old labor-management relationship of common interest and peaceful co-exis-

tence is undergoing some traumatic shocks.

Some militant caucuses are springing up. In the Fremont plant there has been collaboration between a broad caucus formation of both Black and white workers and the Black Panther caucus. Such organizations are different from the old clique-caucuses that operated for many years in the UAW, serving one set of self-seeking officials challenging another gang that happened to be in office. Those old caucuses usually came to life only around election time in the local union. The caucuses today are different. They are organized by workers who want to fight speedup, unemployment, high prices. The caucus attracts members who want the union to tackle these problems. There is nothing very attractive about this for the short-sighted, self-centered office seeker who is only looking for a soft job with the union.

Look outside

So long as union militants limit themselves to the union restrictions that have developed slowly over the past 20 years, we will remain caught in the jaws of "management prerogatives" and "the grievance procedure." In order to get out of this trap we must reach beyond the labor-management conference room, outside the plant gates, explain what goes on inside, and seek help from the outside.

Few who have never worked in a modern factory know what goes on behind the gates. They will never know unless the victims of the modern factory system begin to describe the class-struggles now building throughout all industry, tell about the speedup techniques of management, and let the whole story "spill out." This means that we must publish our caucus papers (and also our local union papers) for everyone to read, not just write a few little reports about who is out sick, whose wife had a baby, who got hurt on the job. We shouldn't confine our "solutions" to narrow "union programs" about how to make the grievance procedure work better and how to make the boss live up to the contract.

Our need in the UAW right now is to write a new contract with the boss, a contract that will challenge "management's prerogatives" and incorporate instead the *rights of the producers*.

Existing conditions inside the factories are stark evidence that workers on the assembly lines must seek allies if they are going to establish their rights and improve their working conditions.

Seek allies

Bridges of solidarity, communication, and cooperation must be built between workers and their natural allies. Here in the San Francisco area a beginning was made earlier this year when radical students from the State College came over to the East Bay to help the striking Oil Workers. And some of the Oil Workers, including some of their union officials, in turn went to San Francisco

to help the students who were having trouble. We should welcome such collaboration and extend this kind of mutual aid.

Students and Black workers and other minority groups, the Third World people, all have been hit harder by the war than many of us who have been spending our lives in the plants working overtime to turn out more profits for GM and other giant corporations. Now it looks like our turn. We can now see how the war-time inflation has crept up and is stealing our savings and reducing our wages.

We have also come to have a better appreciation of plant management. Now that production has overreached the demand for cars, they prefer to close the plant rather than slow down the assembly line. This is the message from the GM plant in Flint, Mich. And when sales drop off more and the new cars pile up on the dealers, then GM lays off more workers rather than cut-back on the hours of work.

New problems

These are problems of a new kind for us which we are only now beginning to feel. So we ought to look to others who know something about these problems, and maybe we can work on them together.

A high union official, president of the Michigan AFL-CIO, by the name of August Scholle, has sent out some New Year's resolutions. The first of these is "to withdraw our armed forces from all foreign bases including all of Asia."

"Next," Mr. Scholle writes, "I would resolve to eliminate entirely all draft laws and make our armed forces totally voluntary."

"I would then begin a disarmament program to reduce the size of all branches collectively of the armed forces to a maximum of 400,000."

"I would announce this program for peace to the world and challenge other nations to do likewise."

"I would then appropriate the bulk of the billions spent for war and convert it to more aid to education, eliminating slums, better medical care and a guaranteed minimum income with jobs. Start a real war on pollution of our water and air. I would turn the bulk of the Pentagon over to the Peace Corps."

There are more, all along the same line, published in the Dec. 24, 1969, *Michigan AFL-CIO News*.

I have confidence in New Year's resolutions. But I have learned not to have much confidence in most present-day union officials.

How to get started

It seems to me that what Mr. Scholle suggests is a very good beginning. And the best way to carry on from that beginning, I would think, is to go to the students who have been organizing some very impressive mass demonstrations against the war in Vietnam.

If we joined forces with the antiwar students we could probably interest them in helping us to expose some of these war-profiteers who have been making billions out of our labor and soldiers' lives.

It would be a good idea to force some of these giant corporations such as GM and GE and the steel trust to open their books for public inspection so everybody knows how much they have been stealing out of our pockets.

We have no need to wait for this to come about through some miracle, or until our International UAW begins contract negotiations. We can start now.

If our local UAW would make an appeal to the community, to other unions, to the students, we could interest them in joining with us to set up some local consumers committees to police prices and find out why everything we buy is skyrocketing out of sight. We could also interest these consumer committees in taking a closer look at the junk on the market today and bring some of these big-time operators to trial for producing poisonous food and unsafe cars and dangerous electrical equipment.

All over the country plants are laying off workers at the same time they speed up production. We ought to tell them now, "no more layoffs." If they are overproducing, let them slow down the lines and cut back the hours of work. Some in the UAW may think we might lose our Supplementary Unemployment Benefits [company contributed supplements to state unemployment payments], but these can be used now to keep the pay check up to the full 40-hour par, just as state unemployment benefits can now be used to maintain standard 40-hour union pay for everyone working reduced hours. Our demand should be a job for everyone.

Of course, the politicians in both the Republican and Democratic parties will set up a howl. They will try to tell us the unemployed funds can not be used to supplement workers wages. The employers will tell them what to say in this respect because they will have to put some of their swollen profits into the unemployment fund when it is depleted.

We have an answer for these self-serving politicians who always toady to the rich. We ought to start organizing some Labor Party clubs in the plant and around town to run our own candidates for public office. We need political representatives. And we ought to get rid of those who serve only our enemies.

George Novack on History

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The Understanding of History	40c
Uneven and Combined Development in History	85c

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Chicago courts stall on right-wing case

By JOHN STUDER

CHICAGO — Thomas Stewart, an identified participant in the Nov. 1 attack on the Chicago offices of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, had his case continued until Feb. 17 as the result of a court hearing here on Jan. 14.

Stewart has been charged with possession of stolen goods from the YSA and SWP offices. In addition, since he has been positively identified as one of those who attacked the hall, the Illinois state's attorney has stated that Stewart will also be charged with robbery, a felony. At the Jan. 14 hearing, however, the state's attorney "neglected" to enter the felony charge, and argued against issuing a warrant on the charge now.

This stalling action is part of a clear pattern by both the state and the police who have refused to seriously investigate the vicious attacks on the YSA and SWP in Chicago and DeKalb, Ill.

It is now more than one month since the attack on six young people in the DeKalb apartment of a YSAer, and the police in that town have not uncovered one piece of evidence. The attitude of the police was indicated by the DeKalb police chief, Victor Sarich, who stated in an interview published in the Dec. 30, 1969, *Chicago Daily News*, "We're continuing the investigation, but we have nothing to go on. We picked up two Legion For Justice members for questioning."

N.Y. Dominicans hear report on home situation

By MIRTA VIDAL
and EVA CHERTOV

NEW YORK — The largest political meeting ever staged by any section of the Spanish-speaking community of New York took place here Jan. 11. It was called by the *Partido Revolucionario Dominicano* [PRD—Dominican Revolutionary Party], led by former President Juan Bosch.

Perhaps as many as 3,000 people crammed into the Audubon Ballroom, which holds about 2,500. People were standing three abreast in the aisles, and the booths along the balcony looked like they would collapse at any minute under the weight of the people jammed into them.

Jose Francisco Pena Gomez, PRD secretary general, was the main speaker. From the chants taken up by the audience and the comments made around us, it was clear that the majority of those present agreed with the independence program of Juan Bosch's party and supported the PRD in its struggle against the U.S.-backed Balaguer dictatorship.

However, all the left-wing Dominican tendencies were represented at the rally and some raised counter-slogans to the ones voiced by Pena Gomez. Whenever this happened the chant of "Unidad!" [unity] would drown out the exchange.

This rally reflected a new heightened mood of struggle in the 250,000-strong Dominican population of this city.

"They came with their lawyer, Tom Sutton, and Tom made a joke of these people. They were just trying to use this thing to get a lot of publicity. One of the girls said she went to the university (Northern Illinois University) not for education but for revolution."

In Chicago, besides stalling on the clear evidence against Thomas Stewart, the investigation being carried out by the police is, at best, non-existent. No statement has been taken by the police from any of the occupants of the hall at the time of the attack, not one person associated with the Legion of Justice has been questioned, nothing has been discovered, no one has been charged.

Meanwhile, the seriousness of the threat which the Legion represents was underscored once again by the latest foray of the Legion. S. Thomas Sutton, spokesman for the Legion, spoke at the half-school, half-coffee house College of Complexes on Sat., Jan. 10. The topic was "Should Traitors be Publicly or Privately Executed?" Sutton argued that members of the YSA, SDS and other left-wing organizations should be publicly hanged because they are "traitorous" (read: they are against the war in Vietnam) and because the sight of someone squirming in agony at the end of a rope is so edifying.

While this macabre speech was being delivered, individuals associated with the Legion, including Thomas Stewart, threatened the YSAers present and attempted to provoke them.

These are the individuals the police know on a first-name basis, and refuse to investigate or press charges against.

In response to this stalling and inaction, and faced with the seriousness of the Legion's threat to the civil liberties of all, the Committee for Defense



Photo by Jack Dykinga/Chicago Sun Times

S. THOMAS SUTTON. At Nov. 12 news conference, with tapes stolen on Nov. 1 from YSA-SWP headquarters visible in foreground.

Against Terrorist Attacks (See *The Militant*, Jan. 16) has attempted to get out as much information as possible about the attacks and build broad support in defense of the victims.

In response to the committee's efforts, the Independent Voters of Illinois, an organization similar to the ADA, has decided to convene its Commission on Civil Liberties and Law Enforcement to take up the case. Val Klink, chairman of the Commission, stated that the purpose of the investigation will be to find out why the police and the state are not responding to these vicious attacks and why they are ignoring the grave civil liberties questions which are involved in physical attacks on persons for their political ideas.

Klink said that the behavior of the police must be characterized as complicity with the attacks as long as they so obviously refuse to investigate and prosecute them.

The Commission, composed mainly of attorneys, is highly respected, and plans to take the results of its investi-

gation to the police and the state's attorney to demand that action be taken. Also, it plans to issue the results in a public report and at a news conference, to highlight the seriousness of the matter and the need for the authorities to take action.

The Commission's plans complement those of the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks which is demanding a grand jury investigation into the Legion of Justice and S. Thomas Sutton as a step toward real prosecution of this fascist-like bunch. The committee plans to continue publicizing the case nationally and building the defense. Noam Chomsky and Louis Kampf of MIT have already added their names to the list of initiating sponsors.

Sponsorship and financial contributions to help offset the legal and publicity costs of the committee should be sent to: Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Ill. 60115.

Texas Chicano high schoolers win

By MARIANNE HERNANDEZ
Socialist Workers Party candidate
for U.S. Senator from Texas

AUSTIN, Texas — Chicano students in Crystal City, Texas, returned to classes on Jan. 5, claiming victory in their fight against discriminatory practices by school-board officials and teachers.

More than 1,600 students began a classroom boycott Dec. 9 after the school board refused to hear the students' grievances, which had been outlined in a petition. Chicanos charged that teachers sometimes used derogatory names like "banana" and "animal" when addressing Chicanos. They also pointed out that use of Spanish in the schools was restricted.

The Chicano students, who comprise 80 to 90 percent of the school population, were seeking an accredited bilingual-bicultural Mexican-American studies program, a better counseling program, which would include Mexicanos as counselors, hiring of Mexicanos from the community as teachers' aides, and direct election of "favorites" (such as cheerleaders and homecoming queens).

The students held demonstrations, rallies and picket lines at the school to make their demands known. Severita Lara, one of the student leaders, stated, "So far the government has been unwilling to solve our problems. We therefore resort to school walkouts in order to demonstrate our unity, persistence and willingness to remedy our predicament. Our people will resist all further infringements on our civil rights and God-given rights of dignity, health, and self-determination."

The students were supported by the majority of parents, who expressed pride in their children's willingness to

fight for changes in the Anglo-dominated system. The students stated that the problems in Crystal City were those faced by all Chicanos throughout the Southwest, and they indicated that Crystal City was another in a series of demonstrations which have been staged throughout south and west Texas in San Antonio, Sierra Blanca, Edcouch-Elsa, Kingsville, Abilene and other cities.

A federal "fact-finding" team of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare began an investigation of the school district one day after boycott leaders flew to Washington in mid-December to make their demands known to the federal government. Pressure from the students, who refused to go back to school until their demands were met, and from HEW officials, whose presence implied a possible cut in federal funds to the district, forced the school board to meet with the student leaders and their parents.

Despite rumors that the community was divided, the students and their parents continued with rallies explaining the issues. At a rally attended by 200 people on the day of negotiations, students declared they planned to carry their campaign for equality beyond the school.

(According to a report in the Jan. 11 *Daily Texan*, the student newspaper of the University of Texas at Austin, four Chicano teenagers, including two leaders of the school boycott, were arrested Jan. 10 while picketing a grocery store and a cleaners.)

During the Christmas holidays, some 500 students attended teach-ins covering subjects they had missed because of the boycott and Mexican-American history and culture. The classes were

taught by about 50 members of TEAM (Texans for the Educational Advancement of Mexican-Americans), which is comprised of teachers from around the state.

Amnesty was granted to the boycotting students, and the school was to open in the evenings for students to study.

Crystal City has a history of Chicano "takeovers." In 1963, Chicanos took over the entire city council after an election campaign supported by the Political Association of Spanish Speaking Organizations and the Teamsters' Union.

CALENDAR

CLEVELAND

WORLD YOUTH IN REVOLT: THE DYNAMICS OF THE EUROPEAN STUDENT MOVEMENT. Speaker: Peter Jensen, Danish revolutionary socialist student leader. Fri., Jan. 23, 8 p.m. Case Western Reserve U., Student Union (11111 Euclid Ave). Tel: 249-8250. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

HUMAN WELFARE VS. THE WELFARE STATE. Panel discussion: David Novogrodsky, exec. organizer, Social Workers Union Local 535; Walter Lippmann, member state exec. board, Social Workers Union; and a speaker from the Welfare Rights Organization. Fri., Jan. 23, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

THE STUDENT STRUGGLE IN MEXICO: "MEXICO 1968." Film on 1968 student revolt. Speaker on the present situation in Mexico. Fri., Jan. 23, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St). Contrib. \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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The Great Society

The American approach—H. Ross Perot, the Texas right-winger who made his bundle on government contracts, and has been busily if unsuccessfully trying to surface Nixon's "silent majority," is working on a new angle. He's offering to pay the North Vietnamese a hundred million cold cash for the release of U.S. prisoners. If they weren't so un-American, the Vietnamese might consider, for another \$20 or so, just selling him the country.

Now working other side—Attorney Pat Brown, former governor of California, is seeking reduction of sentence for three women imprisoned under a California statute mandating a 15-year, no-parole term for third offenders on marijuana possession. Brown correctly castigated the law as cruel and unfair. As governor, he was the man who signed it into law.

Blues band—Inmates of the federal penitentiary in Indiana have formed a combo called the Fifth Amendment.

The healers—The *Christian Science Monitor* may have its eyes fixed on the next world, but its feet are planted deep in contemporary American society. A subscription blurb proclaims: "A Beautiful Girl Could Use Some Good Ideas — Tips on fashions and cosmetics. Decorating ideas. Interviews with interesting and important women. And women-to-women talk. With it all comes budget suggestions, career counsel. Not to mention world affairs and Washington news she can understand."

A cop is a cop, is a cop . . .—A research poll of Soviet policemen showed that 80 of 159 queried did not think defense lawyers were necessary.

Final post-Xmas tip—Those who go

for caviar will be pleased to know that Neiman Marcus will soon be back on the market with the offer they ran out of before the holiday. It's a \$600 caviar-of-the-month deal featuring a crystal server refilled with a seven-ounce tin flown in monthly from Iran. Meanwhile, while you're waiting, Macy's is running a clearance on four-pound cans of Iranian caviar marked down from \$240 to \$192.

God rest ye, merry gentlemen—Brimming over with Xmas spirit, California canners gave thousands of cans of food to the hungry—their stock of fruits containing government-banned cyclamate. "One isn't going to hurt anyone," a philosophical canner shrugged.

Stereo balance—Noise pollution may make you deaf and psychotic, but the experts are working on the problem. One New York expert says people living near airports can mask aviation noise and adapt to it by maintaining a low-level background hum in the house (air-conditioner, dishwasher, etc.) And a regularly exploding cannon could counterbalance sonic boom.

It figures—New York distributors boosted the price of Coca Cola syrup a quarter a gallon (a bit over a penny a glass). The retail price was promptly hiked a nickel a glass.

Uptight for Jesus—Thirteen Catholic bishops are the first graduates of a special intensive course on how to project themselves on television. A spokesman said the project was intended to improve the church's position image-wise. He said the bishops often were too tense when facing the camera and this made them look aggressive in their defense of the church.

—HARRY RING

Reading for revolutionaries

Classic critique of Stalinism

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN. By Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press (formerly Merit Publishers). 400 pages.

This book deals with the most fundamental questions of world politics, not just as they appeared when it was written in 1928 but, for the most part, as they persist in our own times.

The main part of the work is a criticism of a draft program submitted by Stalin and Bukharin to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International held in 1928. Trotsky had already been exiled to Alma Ata in Soviet Asia and expelled from the Russian Communist Party. His critique was written under extremely difficult conditions but is, nevertheless, thorough and comprehensive.

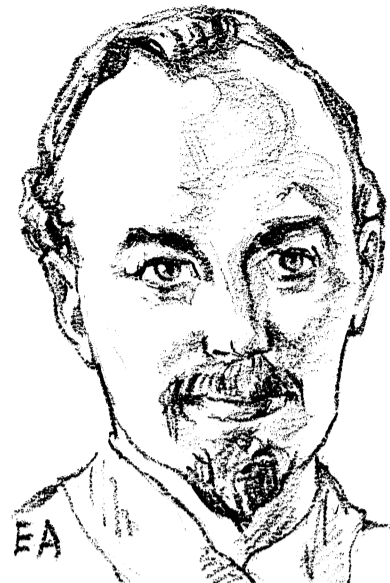
The sections that deal with the draft program analyze the theory of socialism in one country as against the program of international revolution, strategy and tactics in the imperialist epoch, and the Chinese Revolution of the 1920s. The last section is in the form of a letter summarizing the author's views on a variety of questions including the crisis in the Soviet Communist Party.

This letter was never submitted to the delegates at the Congress. However, a part of Trotsky's criticism of the draft program somehow did get to the commission in charge of these matters, was translated into other languages and was read by some of the delegates. James P. Cannon and Maurice Spector, delegates from the American and Canadian Communist Parties, respectively, were greatly influenced by Trotsky's critique and succeeded in smuggling copies of it out of Russia. Upon their return home they began building a movement in North America on the basis of Trotsky's ideas. Needless to say, they and their associates were summarily expelled from the Communist Parties.

Despite the fact that more than a half century has gone by since the Russian Revolution and almost that long since Stalin first developed his theory of building a socialist society in a single country, this idea, false to the core, continues to occupy the central place in the politics of all the Communist Parties, whether Moscow- or Peking-oriented. This alone invests Trotsky's analysis with the greatest importance.

It is impossible to make head or tail of the politics of Moscow and Peking, or the East European countries, without understanding thoroughly the difference between the theory of socialism in one country and the program of the international revolution. Trotsky's views on this decisive question, similar in all important respects to Lenin's, provide the most thorough and extensive analysis of why the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries follow conservative policies and practice class collaboration politics.

In the section, "Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch," Trotsky deals



Bukharin

comprehensively with the experience of the revolutionary situations in western Europe in the 1920s, particularly in Germany. Ultraleftism, and its counterpart, opportunism, are both examined, as well as the role of the party, its internal regime and the record of the Communist Left Opposition, of which Trotsky was the leader.

The section on the Chinese Revolution is especially valuable for understanding the problems of the colonial revolution in general, why so many of the uprisings in the Asian, African and Latin American countries during the last 25 years have ended in failure.

In the last section entitled "What Now?" Trotsky examines in detail how the Soviet Communist Party was bureaucratized under the leadership of the Stalin faction, and the disastrous political results that followed both in the Soviet Union and many other countries.

While just over 40 years have gone by since this work was written, many of the problems that are discussed in it are still with us. Ultraleftism, the colonial revolution, the revolutionary tasks of the workers in advanced capitalist nations and how they are to be carried out, and the struggle against bureaucracy in the workers' states, are all problems of prime importance to the world revolution today. Trotsky's views on all these and related questions are well worth studying.

—MILTON ALVIN

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

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.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA c/o Ed Jurenas, 720 Sunset Dr., Lexington, Ky. 40502.

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.

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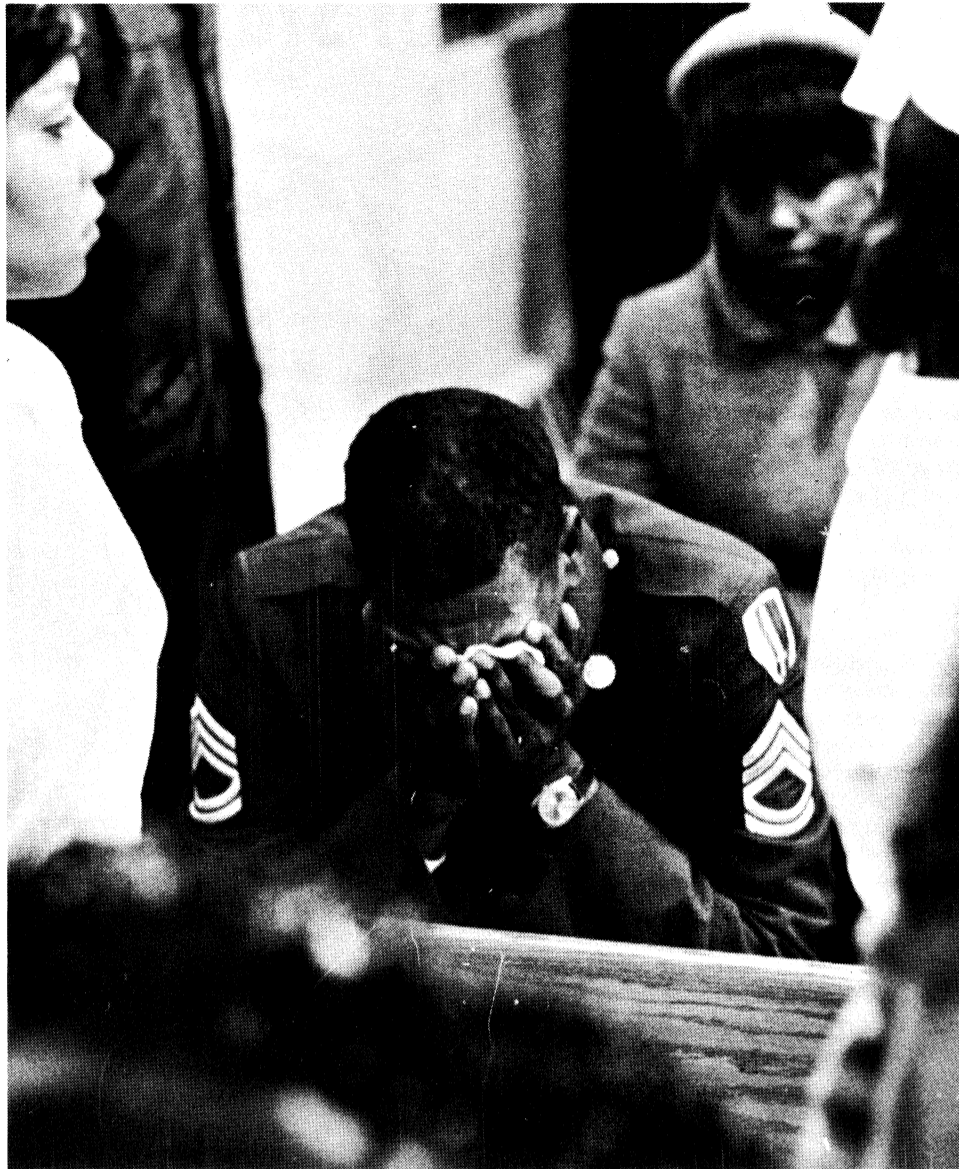


Photo by Bob Black/ Chicago Sun Times

GI at funeral for Panther leader Fred Hampton.

Inquest reveals police lies on Panther slaying

By ELIZABETH BARNES

The coroner's jury which is carrying out the investigation into the Chicago shooting of Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark is anything but an objective body. The prosecutor at the hearings was appointed by State's Attorney Hanrahan, the same man who ordered the police raid in the first place. Coroner Andrew J. Toman who appointed Martin Gerber as director of the inquest is also closely tied with the Daley administration.

In a public statement on the investigation, the Cook County Bar Association, an organization of Black attorneys in Chicago, summed up the situation: "The jury is not representative of the Black community, nor are the persons selected conducive to returning a 'fair and impartial verdict.'"

Despite the fraudulent nature of the proceedings, the police version of what happened is so inconsistent and full of holes that the longer the hearings continue, the more the cops are being exposed. It has been revealed, for example, that the police did not even bother to check for finger prints on the weapons they allegedly confiscated. If they were serious about their contention that these weapons had been used by the Panthers, this would have been an obvious first step.

The police have reversed their version of what happened on a whole series of questions. In the original accounts of the shooting, they charged that it was Panther Brenda Harris who fired when they entered the apartment. Since then, it has been discovered that the bullets would have had to travel in a looping trajectory in order to make the holes police claimed were made by Brenda Harris' shots. Sgt. Groth, who led the raid on the Panther apartment, now asserts, "My original contention was that Brenda Harris fired first. Now I feel that Mark Clark fired the first shot."

It was admitted that the police knew the Panthers' apartment would be empty during the evening the night before the

raid, due to meetings attended by the occupants. They nevertheless decided to make the attack in the early hours of the morning.

When the lawyer representing the Hampton family questioned Sgt. Groth as to why they didn't choose a time when the danger of gunfire would be minimized, Martin Gerber, who was presiding at the session, refused to let Groth answer on the phony grounds that the purpose of the inquest was to determine "why the incident happened, not why it did not happen at a certain time." There was an immediate outburst from the spectators at this, and Hampton's mother and brother, among others, came forward to try to question Groth further.

Such revelations as the above are continuing to win people to the defense of the Panthers against the vicious police attacks. Defense meetings continue to be held in many parts of the country.

SMC-Moratorium mark King anniversary in N.Y.

NEW YORK, Jan. 15—Some 400 people, largely high school students, attended the January High School Moratorium meeting at Hunter College here today. Commemorating the birthday of Martin Luther King, the meeting centered on the theme: the Black community and the Vietnam war. It was co-sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee and the Moratorium Committee.

Speakers included Charles Angel of the Afro-American Students Association, a student at Brooklyn Central High School suspended since last October for his Black liberation activities; Juan Gonzalez, minister of education and health of the Young Lords Organization; Eugene Nickerson, executive of the Nassau County, Long Island, coun-

Defense groups to aid Saigon GI newscaster

By ROBERT LANGSTON

NEW YORK, Jan. 14—The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee (GICLDC) and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC) have joined the defense effort on behalf of Sp/5 Robert Lawrence. Lawrence is the GI newscaster removed by the brass from his post with the U.S. military TV network in Saigon and threatened with a court-martial on trumped-up charges for having protested, on the air, censorship of the network's news broadcasts.

Through a friend employed by a New York TV station who served with him in Saigon, Lawrence requested the GICLDC to enter the case. The GI committee then asked the NECLC to provide legal counsel.

At a news conference here today, Stacey Seigle of the GICLDC and Leonard Boudin, NECLC general counsel, explained the significance of the case and described the steps the two committees are taking. What is at stake, they emphasized, is not only Lawrence's right to carry out his professional assignment in the Army without having to fear arbitrary punishment, but above all the right of servicemen in Vietnam to have access to accurate and full information.

In addition to defending Lawrence against the phony charges, the spokesmen of the two civil liberties organizations announced that a suit will be filed in federal district court requesting that the military authorities be enjoined from violating servicemen's right of free access to information and opinion.

The Lawrence case began when the GI newscaster concluded his regular 11 p.m. newscast on Jan. 3 with the statement:

"In a closing note tonight, and looking at the decade ahead as a broadcaster, I find myself making a self-evaluation of my experience in radio and television newscasting. And in making this evaluation, I am compelled to rededicate myself to the job that I'm trying to do.

"As a newscaster, I am dedicated to giving the public the news and events worldwide and on the local level. I am pledged to tell the truth at all times, and I will always tell the truth either in the military or as a civilian.

"In the military in Vietnam, I have found that a newscaster at AFVN [Armed Forces Vietnam Network] is not free to tell the truth and in essence to tell it like it is. MACV [Military Assistance Command, Vietnam] and the MACV office of information have seen to it that all those newscasters who are dedicated to their work are sent away to other areas, in some cases off the air completely.



Spec. 5 Robert Lawrence, victimized newscaster, at Saigon press conference.

"Former newscaster Mike Maxwell charged that there was censorship at AFVN and now he's doing menial tasks in the record library and on FM radio. Hugh Morgan's gone too—sent up country and is off the air. That was another MACV request. Rick Frederickson leaves Tuesday—Rick tried to tell it like it is. Rick Frederickson is dedicated.

"We have been suppressed and I'm probably in trouble for telling you tonight the truth. I hope you'll help stop censorship at AFVN and any American station under military rule. Thank you and goodbye."

Lawrence was right: he was in trouble. The next day, he was relieved of his assignment to AFVN, and he is now a chaplain's assistant.

Then, on Jan. 8, Lawrence was informed that he had been charged with "disrespect to a superior" and "absence without leave" for having refused to drive a truck on Dec. 29, after having been ordered to do so by his commanding sergeant. Lawrence refused to obey the order, he explained, because if he had followed it, he would have been unable to prepare and deliver the newscast he had been assigned to give that evening.

Lawrence was offered an "Article 15": administrative punishment involving a very light sentence imposed by a commander without trial. He refused the Article 15 and demanded a court-martial, where he will have the opportunity to show that the charges are not intended to punish him for having refused to drive the truck but to intimidate military newsmen.

At the news conference today, Boudin said he had sent a cable to U.S. Vietnam commander Gen. Creighton Abrams and to Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor requesting copies of all documents in the case and calling for all formal proceedings connected with the court-martial to be held not in Vietnam, but in the United States where the situation is more conducive to a fair trial.

Meanwhile, a group of people working in the information media have organized the Ad Hoc Media Committee to Support Sp/5 Robert Lawrence's Fight Against Censorship (FAC). The committee's honorary chairman is Jack Newfield of the *Village Voice*, the financial chairman is Joan Simon, and the cochairman is Mrs. Thomas Barry. FAC can be contacted in care of Mrs. Barry, 215 W. 78th St., New York, N.Y. 10024.

ty government; and Donald Cox, field marshal of the Black Panther Party.

The meeting was chaired by Julie Miller of the Student Mobilization Committee, who announced the forthcoming National Student Antiwar Conference and urged the participants in today's meeting to attend.

The conference, to be held Feb. 14 and 15 at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, will map out a program of action for the coming year. Information on program, travel, housing facilities, etc., may be obtained from the SMC national office in Washington or from local committees. The national office is located at 1029 Vermont Ave., N.W., Suite 907, Washington, D.C. 20005; tel: (202) 737-0072.