

THE MILITANT

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Young Socialist convention maps '70 action program



The ninth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance was the biggest in the history of the organization and marked the significant growth of the revolutionary socialist youth movement in the U.S. in the last year. But even more impressive than the size was the spirit, confidence and optimism of the more than 800 delegates, members and friends who gathered in Minneapolis at the end of December to discuss campus struggles, the Third World liberation movement, women's liberation, socialist electoral activity and other arenas of struggle. Coverage begins on page 6.

Resolution protests attacks on Panthers

Local union for release of all political prisoners

Los Angeles, Calif.

This statement was adopted by the executive board of the Los Angeles chapter of the Social Workers Union, Local 535:

"On Monday, Dec. 8, an army of 300 policemen invaded the Black community of Los Angeles, and with bombs, gas, and automatic weapons, attempted to kill or imprison a small group of Black militants. The previous week, in Chicago, police succeeded in murdering two leaders of the Black Panther Party—one while he was sleeping in bed. In every major city across the nation, members of the Black Panther Party, who have been leaders in the struggle against racism and poverty in this country, have been killed or imprisoned on trumped-up charges. This attack on the Panthers is clearly part of a nationwide pattern.

"As welfare workers, we have an important responsibility to express our outrage against these attacks. An attack on the Panthers is really an attack on the Black community as a whole, and on its right to self-defense. The Panthers are being singled out now for special repression, but police arrogance and brutality will continue and grow if these attacks are allowed to continue and if massive public opposition is not made manifest.

"When the government uses armed force to suppress dissent, every member of a political party, a trade union, a religious or racial minority is threatened. Therefore, we, as members of Local 535, must join with the communities we work in, to protest these armed attacks on a political party, and to demand the immediate release of all



"This looks like a foundry clinker; here's a fossilized liver segment full of pesticides, and these are crystallized hydrocarbons from combustion of petroleum derivatives, with a layer of sulphur dioxide from soft coal smoke . . . Obviously, the moon once had intelligent life in a friendly environment. What do you suppose happened?"

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.

political prisoners. Toward this end, we participated in last Thursday's [Dec. 11] demonstration at City Hall together with a broad coalition of community groups including the Panthers, the NAACP, and the Urban League, as well as figures like Senator Mervyn Dymally and others."

Walter Lippmann

A criticism

Los Angeles, Calif.

In an article in the Dec. 6 *Militant* a writer referred to an SWP candidate who ". . . would be running against tap-dancer George Murphy. . ." I am delighted that arch-conservative Murphy will face a socialist opponent in 1970.

I was not so happy to see the slighting reference to Murphy as a former tap-dancer. I oppose Murphy for his ruling class politics; not because he was once an entertainer.

The ruling class has fostered the idea that only those with a certain background and training are fit to serve in government. We must not yield one inch to this elitist concept, even in attacking the most unredeemed reactionary.

In the coming years, steelworkers and waitresses will be contending for power with university graduates and sons of America's "best" families. The reactionaries will scoff at waitresses aspiring to positions of leadership. But we know that only workers can lead us to a socialist America where, in Lenin's words, "every cook can be an administrator."

Hayden Perry

Shocked

San Francisco, Calif.

I was shocked by a terrible mistake in the Dec. 26 issue. The article, "Why Women's Liberation," was printed without any response or interpretation. Also, the cartoon made it worse. In this issue, *The Militant* failed to show that the primary cause of women's economic oppression and the restrictive role she plays in our society is due to Capital. Instead it leaves the impression that

men are at fault and that to solve her problems, she must abstain from heterosexual activity.

I also see *The Militant* use the term "sex object" in a sense that it is bad or evil. Being a sex object is not a problem. Males are sex objects to females, and females are sex objects to males. The problem is that in our capitalist society sex has become a commodity to be bought and sold on a market.

One more thing, the cover of *McCall's* Christmas issue depicts only a child with flowers in her hair. It suggests that Christmas is for children. To imply anything else would be an exaggeration.

Tom Hanna

[We would suggest that you reread the "Why Women's Liberation?" article and take another look at the picture of the *McCall's* cover. Responses from other readers are invited. — Editor]

Quotes not contained in 'little red book'

Philadelphia, Pa.

I am now finishing a seminar in Marxism given at the University of Pa. (The seminar is not, of course, given by a Marxist.) Readers might be interested in the book we are now reading, *The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung*, edited by Stuart R. Schram.

Schram's selections include essays not generally quoted by red-book-waving Maoists. For example, in an essay entitled "The Kuomintang has a brilliant future," (written only 11 years before the revolution!) Mao writes: "The Kuomintang and the Communist Party are the foundation of the Anti-Japanese United Front, but of these two it is the Kuomintang that occupies first place. Without the Kuomintang it would be inconceivable to undertake and pursue the War of Resistance. . . [The Kuomintang] has had two great leaders in succession—Mr. Sun Yat-sen and Mr. Chiang Kai-shek; it has a great number of faithful and patriotic active members."

In another essay, Mao contrasts his line with "the Trotskyite approach, which rejects the bourgeoisie and stigmatizes the alliance in the semi-colonial countries with the revolutionaries" Mao's emphasis! among the bourgeoisie as capitulationism simply because of the transitory nature of the bourgeoisie's participation in the revolution."

One of the most interesting features of the book is the footnotes which compare Mao's original version with the version of a later volume published by the Chinese CP. This technique was presumably learned from the man whom Mao constantly praises, Joseph Stalin.

Marc Bedner

Reply to Erickson

Bronx, N. Y.

In response to James Erickson's letter (*The Militant*, Dec. 12), I wish to differ with his characterization of the USSR as the "main bulwark against U.S. imperialism." The USSR's policy of peaceful co-existence has been translated into using its influence to appease imperialism by discouraging revolutionary activity around the world.

In Cuba, communism came to power despite and not because of the parliamentary politics of the so-called vanguard pro-Moscow CP.

In France, the pro-Moscow Communist Party voted war credits to help the fight against the Algerians, and the PCF moreover characterized the Algerian revolutionaries as provocateurs. In 1968, the PCF would have opposed the revolution whether or not it was premature, because the USSR had earlier this decade made a decision to side with the West against China. In this regard, it uses its influence to prop up Western capitalism—going so far as to build Krupp's factories inside the USSR.

In Italy, the PCI is dragging its heels

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Closing news date—Jan. 9

and communist administrations have been picketed by striking workers.

The USSR has lost its prestige in its own camp. Hence the boycott of the 1969 World Conference of Communist Parties by half of the world's communist parties (not including Trotskyist parties); hence also the opposition to the CPSU by great numbers of the CPs that did attend; and hence in addition, revolts by the working class and students against Soviet-oriented bureaucrats in Czechoslovakia. To characterize as counter-revolution, as you do Mr. Erickson, a revolt of labor against bureaucrats, is to stand Marxism-Leninism on its head.

In the U.S. the pro-Moscow CP is the betrayer of the American fight against imperialism with its opposition to a working-class party, and its support of the imperialistic Democratic Party. In short, the USSR is today the main prop of U.S. imperialism.

Hal Levin

The deepening radicalization

Philadelphia, Pa.

It seems the radicalization and anti-war sentiment reach down to younger and younger people. One of the supervisors where I work (who sometimes year a tie with peace symbols on it) told me that his daughter works as a salesgirl in a department store for the Christmas holidays, and at her counter she has crayons and paper for children to draw and write things. One six-year-old wrote: "How many shopping days before peace?"

A. L.

An appeal for victims of U.S. bombing

Seattle, Wash.

A medical relief committee is now sending desperately needed medical supplies to the resistance areas of Vietnam through a British counterpart which fills orders on the direct request of the Provisional Revolutionary Government's Ministry of Health and the NLF Red Cross.

The committee, Aid to Vietnamese Victims of U. S. Bombings, was formed last summer by individuals concerned by the medical situation in the resistance areas and the imbalance of what aid is provided by relief organizations in the liberated areas and North Vietnam compared with that received by the people under Thieu-Ky control. Sponsors include the Catholic Peace Fellowship, Dave Dellinger, Episcopal Peace Fellowship, and Dr. Spock among others.

The committee is now seeking other individuals and organizations to become involved with them in larger attempts at fund raising in hope that such actions would arouse generosity that might not otherwise be shown as well as helping to vitalize and expand mass antiwar sentiment.

More information can be obtained from and funds can be sent to the committee c/o Trinity Lutheran Church, 602 E. 9th St., New York, N. Y. 10009.

Jerry Deines

JOIN THE YSA

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

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

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

☐ I would like more information ☐ I want to join the YSA

Name

Address

City State Zip

West Coast Chicanos hit Viet war



Chicago Moratorium Day march

Photo by Della Rossa

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES—Chanting "Chicano Power!" and led by sharp-marching Brown Berets, nearly a thousand Chicanos marched down a hill and spilled into Obregon Park in East Los Angeles Dec. 20 in a Chicano Moratorium protest against the war in Vietnam.

Another 500, predominantly young Chicanos, joined the marchers for a rally in the park. Although the general feeling among Chicanos has been in opposition to the war in Vietnam this was the first Chicano antiwar demonstration of any proportions.

The demonstration was organized by a Chicano coalition composed mainly of the Brown Berets and MECHA (Match), the former United Mexican-American Students. Busloads and carloads of young Chicanos joined the demonstration from the Merritt College Latin American department in Oakland, from La Raza studies at Fresno State College, San Jose supporters of the Delano grape strikers, and from San Francisco, Riverside, Cucamonga, and San Diego.

The Merritt College delegation was led by Froben Lozada, head of the Latin and Mexican-American Studies department. The Oakland Chicanos marched with a streetwide banner reading "Venceremos. Merritt College Chicano Student Union" which was later

held in front of the speakers' stand.

Lozada, Socialist Workers Party candidate for California attorney general, said his group was there because "the majority of Chicanos around the state are beginning to realize the war is not a 'mistake' but part of the deliberate foreign policy of this country. They are beginning to find out this war has nothing to do with the interests of the Chicanos."

One sign carried by a demonstrator said, "No Dead Chicano for a Rich Man's War."

One of the rally speakers, Rosalio Munoz, former UCLA student body president and now head of Chicano Draft Resistance, said that draft deferments, such as for students, "are not really available to Chicanos because although about 70 percent of America's youth go to college, only about four percent of Chicano youth go to college. This means about 20 Anglos get deferments to every Chicano."

"The reason Chicanos are drafted and die," Munoz said in an interview at the rally, "is precisely because he does not have any economic security or political freedom here, the very reason for which wars are supposed to be fought."

"A Chicano will go into the service because the service will pay him more than he can get by working. A farm worker youth, for instance, will be paid

more by the army through the year than by the ranchers, and he will get fed every day.

"The ironic thing is that what would give the farm workers economic security and self-respect, a union with collective bargaining with the ranchers, such as Cesar Chavez is organizing, is being undercut by the Defense Department, which is the largest consumer of California table grapes. The Army is keeping the farm worker from economic security by supporting the ranchers, while they send the youth to be killed in Vietnam."

"The same thing is happening here in the barrios with the welfare system. If a Chicano youth works they take his mother off welfare, but if he goes into the Army, his mother can keep her welfare check, and he gets a check from the Army."

Alicia Escalante of the Welfare Rights Organization, told the rally, "If Nixon doesn't stop the war in Vietnam he will find a war on his hands in his own country."

In an interview later she said, "There should be an immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam. The money being spent in Vietnam should be used here for the kids who are doing without food and mattresses and beds. I feel this is a useless war and too many Chicanos are dying."

"The general feeling of Chicanos is completely against the war in Vietnam. Twenty percent of the guys who die over there are Chicanos, yet we are not recognized here in our own country, we don't have equal rights to housing, to education or opportunities."

"I live among my people, the people on welfare, and I know the feelings. There could be a war right here, because a lot of us are ready to die for our rights."

Oscar Acosta, Chicano movement attorney, read a list of Chicanos who had died in Vietnam to the rally and asked, "Why did they die? Not for their families, but for the U.S. government which sent them to Vietnam against their will."

"What did they leave behind? The police harassing us on the streets and the police helicopters like the one flying over us now!"

Carlos Montez, a Brown Beret spokesman at the rally, said, "We're here to protest the high death rate of Chicanos and to protest U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people."

Through the march and rally, demonstrators greeted each other with "Viva La Raza!" Speakers would yell out, "Chicano—", to be answered with "Power!" from the crowd. It was a day for La Raza.

In passing: Women's lib; The Committee; Palestinians

The movement for women's liberation is now emerging as the newest struggle of mass proportions on the American scene. It comes upon the stage of history as a movement-wide trauma, as Vicki Pollard writes in an article in the initial issue of *Women: A Journal of Liberation*:

"Many radicals do a great deal of talking about their politics, but they seem to lack seriousness because they do nothing to change their own lives in accordance with their beliefs. The women's liberation movement has such

revolutionary force because it absolutely necessitates a change in life style."

For women or men, to support women's liberation without hypocrisy requires a genuinely self-critical attitude. The ideology of male supremacy is largely a nonconscious ideology as Sandra L. and Daryl J. Bem point out in another article in *Women*. This means that sexist, as opposed to racist, attitudes are seldom explicitly articulated although they are constantly acted upon in an unthinking way as the "natural" manner of doing things. Supposedly it is "natural" for women to do the housework and care for the children, while it is equally "natural" for men to work for money and not be tied to the home. Within the nonconscious male supremacist frame of reference, a man's home is his castle and his woman is his maid.

Thus, supporting women's liberation means that revolution begins at home, although it certainly doesn't end there.

(*Women: A Journal of Liberation* is a new quarterly that is open to a variety of different approaches to the question of women's liberation. The articles in the first issue are consistently sophisticated and informative. Subs are \$5 a year to *Women: A Journal of Liberation*, 3011 Guilford Ave., Baltimore, Maryland 21218.)

In 1955, Joyce Cowley wrote, "I believe it is significant that the first women who fought for equality and woman's rights directed a large part of their protest against bourgeois family relationships. Only at a later date did they

center their attention on issues like the vote. It may be that in our re-examination of women's problems we will return to their starting point."

Joyce Cowley's prognosis has been confirmed over the course of the past year. Women's liberation groups have, for example, demonstrated against commercialized bridal fairs, marriage license bureaus and abortion laws—all of which strike at the foundations of the social relations governing the bourgeois family structure.

Joyce Cowley's article has been reprinted as a pamphlet entitled *Pioneers of Women's Liberation* (Pathfinder Press, 873 Broadway, N.Y. 10003. 25c). It reviews and analyzes the history of the women's liberation movement in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

You wouldn't think that a history of the House Un-American Activities Committee written from a liberal anti-communist point of view would be worth much, but, for the most part, Walter Goodman's *The Committee* makes up in sound and scrupulous scholarship for what it lacks in political clarity.

Goodman doesn't explain why capitalism requires witch-hunters and witch-hunting committees as an integral part of its repressive apparatus. Nevertheless, the information contained in *The Committee* conveys how wide-ranging and scurrilous the activities of one of the most infamous of the government's thought control agencies has been and is likely to continue to be.

(*The Committee: The Extraordinary*

Career of the House Committee on Un-American Activities by Walter Goodman. Published by Penguin Books. 564 pages. \$2.95 paperback.)

* * *

Four spokesmen for various Palestinian guerrilla organizations outline their political positions in the September-October issue of *Tricontinental* magazine which is published in Havana by the Organization of Solidarity of the People of Asia, Africa and Latin America and has just recently arrived in the U.S.

Yasser Arafat, Commander of Al Fatah, Dr. Mandua, a spokesman for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Abu Hicham, leader of Al Saika, and Nayif Hauatmch, secretary of the political bureau of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, all strongly emphasize their opposition to anti-Semitism while affirming that their struggle is with the racist, expansionist Zionist state.

As the ultimate political solution to the Palestinian situation all four spokesmen (in the words of Arafat) envision that a free Palestine will be "a democratic, secular, nonracial state where all Palestinians—Christians, Jews, and Moslems—will have equal rights."

Hicham and Hauatmch add (in Hicham's words) that "the best solution to all the problems that might affect or concern the citizens [both Arabs and Jews] is to set up a democratic and socialist nation that will shelter them under the banner of a common homeland." Arafat and Mandua do not state the political solution in terms of socialism.

—MALACHI CONSTANT



Cuban exiles make attack on Los Angeles socialists

LOS ANGELES—At 8:25 p.m. New Year's eve three armed, unmasked thugs, believed to be Cuban counter-revolutionaries walked into a private residence where a New Year's celebration of the Cuban revolution was scheduled and threw a fire bomb combined with tear gas. The celebration, sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance was continued at a different address. Extensive damage to the home was averted only by the quick action of the residents. This is the third terrorist attack on the SWP and YSA in the last year and a half.

Dave Frankel, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor of California stated: "This attack, following so soon after the recent YSA convention where plans were made for further activities in behalf of the Cuban revolution, antiwar actions and building the revolutionary socialist movement can only be seen as an attempt to terrorize the growing left movement in the United States into dropping its activities. They will not succeed. We will not only continue but strengthen the activities projected at our convention."

Terry Hardy, SWP candidate for state controller and a resident of the district in which the bombing occurred, issued the following statement: "This attack is a direct result of the climate fostered by the government and the police of this country. By their actions in the Chicago murder of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton, in the Los Angeles attack on the Black Panther headquarters the police nationally have by example encouraged violent attack on organizations of the left. In Chicago and DeKalb, Illinois, identified members of Legion of Justice, a fascist-like ultraright organization, invaded YSA and SWP headquarters and other antiwar, antiracist organizations.

"We demand that the Los Angeles police take every possible step to apprehend these three thugs and arsonists and that they make available to witnesses present photos of known Cuban counter-revolutionaries for possible identification. The continued failure of the police to stop this kind of attack means we must continue our effort to organize and defend ourselves."

She announced that a united front meeting of all key people and organizations interested in halting attacks of this character will be held soon to discuss defense measures that can and will be taken.

Meanwhile messages of solidarity were received from individuals and or-



Photo by John Gray

Dave Frankel

ganizations, including Dr. Bruce de Monterice, executive secretary of the Berkeley-Oakland Medical Committee for Human Rights; Prof. Willard Carpenter of the American Federation of Teachers; and eleven members of the coordinating committee of the Bay Area Peace Action Council.

Paris meeting is attacked by Zionist goons

By ROBERT LANGSTON

A right-wing Zionist goon squad injured several dozen students in an attack on a Palestine-solidarity meeting Dec. 9 at the Censier campus of the University of Paris. Four of the injured students were hospitalized according to *Rouge*, a French Trotskyist publication.

The meeting was called by the Palestinian Committee, and its participants included members of the Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee Abroad (ISRACA), which is in political solidarity with the revolutionary anti-Zionist Israeli Socialist Organization.

The goon squad was composed of members of the Bethar, a Zionist organization associated with the fascist-like Herut Party in Israel. (The Herut has merged with the National Liberal Party to form the Gahal, which holds a fourth of the cabinet posts in the government of "socialist" Golda Meir.)

The attack came just as the meeting was starting. Some 50 of the Zionist thugs, helmeted and armed with clubs and knives, burst in on the assembled students. The meeting was undefended.

The goon squad clearly had instructions on where to concentrate its violence: three of the hospitalized students were members of ISRACA, and the fourth was a member of the Palestinian Committee.

Similar right-wing Zionist violence was directed against Palestinian-solidarity meetings at two other French campuses, on Nov. 13 and Dec. 5. In those attacks, no one was seriously injured.

Following the Dec. 9 events, activists supporting the Palestine national struggle drew the obvious conclusion. On Dec. 11, the Palestinian Committee and the Communist League (the French section of the Fourth International) called a meeting at Censier. This time, though, a large, carefully organized defense guard was present. There were no incidents.

Great Train Robbery: N.Y. straphangers hit

The pattern of transit worker wage negotiations in New York reveals the types of attitudes and practices that keep workers everywhere on a treadmill trying to catch up with the rising cost of living.

As soon as the Transport Workers Union (TWU) calls its 100-member negotiating committee together and draws up its list of contract demands, almost everyone else in the city begins to talk about two questions.

The first is, will the fare go up?

The idea that the politicians and the press have built up over the years since 1948, when the nickel fare was raised to a dime, is that wages and fares go together like bread and butter.

The other question is will the subways be tied up again the way they were in 1966? That closed the city down for almost two weeks.

This time a settlement was reached when the contract expired Jan. 1. The TWU, headed by Matthew Guinan, had been asking for a 30-percent wage raise, plus some fringe benefits. The average wage of subway workers was \$4.02 an hour, and they thought they should get \$5 at least. The union negotiators settled for less.

The new wage for porters, the lowest scale, is now \$3.68, up from \$3.40. On July 1, 1971, it goes to \$4.05. Skilled maintenance men now get \$5, and will



Rockefeller

go to \$5.50 July 1, 1971. The contract expires Jan. 1, 1972.

There is no escalator clause. The rise is calculated to be 18 percent over the two-year period. TWU officials hope the cost of living will not climb more than 18 percent in the next two years. The Consumer Price Index for urban wage earners shows cost of living up 15.1 percent from January 1967 through October 1969 and still rising.

The head of the Metropolitan Transit Authority, which is the state agency that negotiates with TWU over wages and working conditions, is headed by Dr. William J. Ronan, a Rockefeller appointee. Ronan gets \$70,000 a year.

Very little was said throughout wage negotiations about the problems of inflation. But its presence was felt. TWU negotiators kept explaining that the wage gains of two years ago had been completely wiped out by the rise in prices.

But most of the talk, especially in the newspapers, was about what the Transit Authority could afford to pay. The TA complained about a \$120-million deficit. And after the wage settlement they said this added another \$120-million to the costs of operating the transit system. The pay raise does not amount to that much, but they always add something to round out the figures.

It seemed unreasonable that an outfit that can afford to pay one man \$70,000 a year would be so far in debt. Others argued that this might be the reason.

Whatever the reason, the Transit Authority announced the very next day after the wage settlement that subway

and bus fares would be raised to 30 cents. And they were, immediately. This was up 50 percent from the old 20 cent fare.

This is the way it is all over. When wages go up, the boss raises prices. Then he complains about inflation, hoping everyone will accept this as part of the natural order of things. General Motors raises the price of cars every year whether or not auto workers get a wage increase. General Electric raises prices on household appliances while GE workers are striking for wages to catch up with previous price rises.

Dr. Ronan said, "You can't run the system on words and promises." He took the hard cash.

There are some protesters. Mayor Lindsay says he thinks the fare ought to have been raised only to 25 cents. Some union leaders deplored the big jump in the cost of getting to work. Moe Foner, an official of local 1199, Drug and Hospital union, was quoted as saying, "We in the hospitals know you can't expect the working people on the subways to subsidize the transit fares through their wages." The TWU rank and file committee, headed by Joseph S. Carnegie, campaigns against charging to ride the subways.

The subways were subsidized from the beginning. Otherwise they would never have been built. For 44 years the fare was a nickel, from 1904 until 1948. In those years the general concept of public service financed by taxes levied on commercial and industrial property and on high incomes was common. Nobody was expected to pay the fire department when his house caught fire. The free school system was accepted. Bridges and roads and rapid transit systems were built with public funds, and there were few toll bridges. Toll roads disappeared. The subway charged a toll, but it was kept low and was meant for the use of working people to be on time at the job—or to get to Macy's and Gimbel's to do their buying. By 1935 the need of free medical care for everyone was very generally accepted and it was shunted aside in the U.S. Congress only by the most reactionary wing.

Following World War II the idea that working people ought to pay for everything gained ascendancy. The rich still have most of the money. But they are not supposed to pay for anything. Whatever they buy—their cars, their dinners, their club fees—is all tax deductible. Their money is different. It is not supposed to be spent, only invested. Otherwise, it would not make more money.

This is what business is all about. This idea is fostered by Big Business. And in accordance with this we now have an abundance of toll roads. The private school system is gaining favor again. There is serious talk in high circles of seeking private management for the postal system. The water reservoirs are polluted and anyone concerned about the water he drinks is advised to shun the public drinking fountain (if any are available) and buy pure bottled water. And in accordance with the tenor of the times and the general drift of events it is only natural that the New York subway fare should keep going up.

Now they tell subway riders how well off they are because bus fares in some other cities are higher. Business interests explain how necessary it is to charge for all public services. The politicians all accept the idea in principle. They argue about how much. And it won't change until the working class moves into the political picture with its own independent party and a whole different set of ideas about how society must be organized.

—FRANK LOVELL

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Calif. teachers face union-busters

By ANATOL ANTON
and WILLARD CARPENTER

[The following article was written Dec. 6 by two professors who have been fired in the wave of victimizations of American Federation of Teachers members attempting to unionize the state college system. Anatol Anton is a professor of philosophy; Willard Carpenter, a professor in international relations.]

The firing last month of 21 teachers of AFT Local 1352 at San Francisco State College is traditional union busting. In this case it is particularly open

and blatant. Every nontenured member of the union's executive committee has been fired, including the union's president.

In many cases these firings come down unilaterally from President Hayakawa's office, usurping the traditional faculty prerogative of having hiring and firing decisions a purely professional and thus departmental matter.

In a number of other cases, such as S. F. State's notorious Dept. of International Relations, departments have determined to do the establishment's house cleaning with a vengeance. What started two years ago with the arbitrary dismissal of John Gerassi on the part of the International Relations department has now become all but institutionalized.

The 21 AFT teachers fired most recently at S. F. State are only one part of a larger assault. Earlier in the year Drs. Nathan Hare and Juan Martinez were dismissed as a result of their political commitment to the rights of minority peoples in the U. S.

Professors William Stanton and Lucille Birnbaum and a small army of disguised victims of the strike were fired last year for one or another bureaucratic excuse. Union busting has not been confined to S. F. State; word arrives of AFT teachers being fired at San Fernando Valley State College, San Jose State College, Chico State College and others.

With state and federal employees constituting more than 30 percent of the national labor force at present and the fastest growing occupational category, with the right of state employees to strike unestablished, with the very grave threat to the principle of collective bargaining in the private sector posed by multinational corporate giants like GE, the fight of S. F. State's teachers union to preserve itself is of dramatic importance.

Nevertheless, the attack on State's AFT represents far more than mere union busting, significant as that may be in itself. In recent years S. F. State has evolved from an isolated white-tower institution into one of the most important centers initiating political and socio-economic action in the Bay Area.

Along with SDS, YSA, the Black Students Union and other Third World groups, AFT faculty members have helped catalyze action against the "Un-American Activities Committee," the Vietnam war, oppression and exploitation of the poor, and contributed important support at critical times for the Black Panthers.

More recently, activists at State have moved out to support trade union actions, an alliance which might result in radicalizing labor and teaching students and scholars what real struggle means. This has undoubtedly been taken seriously by the power structure.

Firing of AFT militants must be seen in this context. It is part of a general pattern which includes a continuing struggle between Hayakawa, his undergraduate dean, Urban Whitaker and the Black Studies Department to determine whether this department can continue to focus on serious problems in Hunter's Point and Fillmore [Black communities in San Francisco] or whether it will retrogress to study safe subjects such as ancient African history — whether Black students and faculty can continue the unity of theory and practice, or whether the activists will be fired and expelled.

White student radicals face the same oppression. Some have been expelled; others are now being called in by the Financial Aid office to discuss termination of loans.

Just as in the case of the Panthers, the courts are part of the process. Activists arrested during the strike last year face 12 months in jail for "crimes"

which would normally result in 15-day suspended sentences. Continual petty and serious harassment by the institutions of justice has been our experience from the original denial of "own recognizances" release to denial of free transcripts on appeal.

In the face of this repression the campus has polarized. Most of the liberal faculty have moved to support Hayakawa, either openly cheering his attacks on the BSU and taking positions in his

administration, or remaining silent, hoping against hope that no one will notice them.

The AFT is united on the issue of job security for the brothers and sisters being fired. There is less agreement that this struggle requires an alliance with the other groups mentioned above.

Yet, as we see it, short of an alliance between all groups concerned and a fight of nationwide proportions, ideological control of institutions of higher education and therefore of elementary and secondary education and mass media will be merely handed over to the establishment.

This would be a tragic outcome when for the first time since the end of World War II a serious threat to establishment thought and establishment norms for legitimate dissent is beginning to emerge.

We recommend our fight at S. F. State to the attention of all. The intense struggles on our campus have resulted in the most intense counterinsurgency. If the strategic hamlet concept of higher education prevails at S. F. State, it will not be long before it gains general currency.

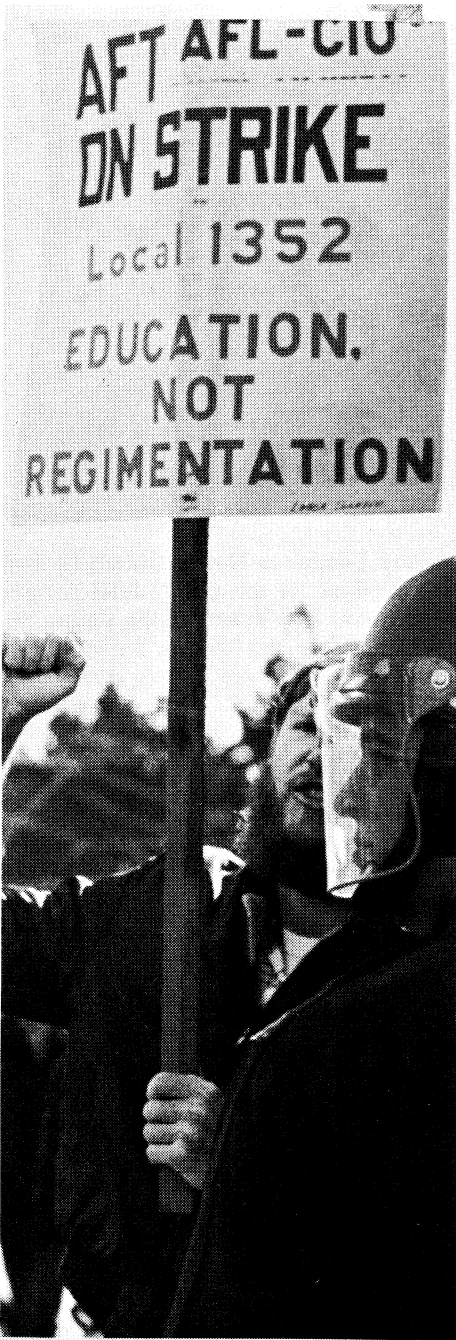


Photo by Ron Alexander

AFT pickets at S. F. State last winter

Arizona meeting hears plea to defend Panthers

By MORRIS J. STARKY

TEMPE, Ariz. — "You're next, if you allow the rulers of America to silence the Black Panther Party," Herman Fagg told an audience of 400 at Arizona State University. Fagg, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California was addressing a Dec. 17 rally in defense of the Black Panthers.

It was sponsored by a coalition composed of the Student Mobilization Committee, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Revolutionary Youth Movement and the Black Liberation Organizational Committee.

Other speakers included Bob Dale of BLOC and Lawrence Fisher, a member of the Afro-American Society of Phoenix College. Four TV stations covered the rally.

Hilliard, Garry speak in Cleveland

By MAX KIRSCH

CLEVELAND — A rally for the defense of the Black Panther Party in face of the systematic murder of its leaders was held at Case-Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Dec. 21.

Over 600 persons attended. The meeting was sponsored by 24 organizations, including the American Civil Liberties Union, the New Democratic Coalition, the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party of Ohio.

Charles Garry, BPP lawyer, called on the American Bar to "take the responsibility of the great lawyers of the past who have fought for freedom."

Garry charged the U. S. government and the Oakland Police Dept. with genocide and warned that the genocide and harassment of the Black Panthers is "only the prelude to the genocide of all types of undesirables by the men and women who rule this country."

David Hilliard, BPP chief of staff, spoke on the need to demand free speech and stated that "the only people who enjoy the right of free speech are those who have nothing to say."

Other speakers included Mae Mallory of the July 23 Defense Committee and

Jerry Gordon, chairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, who chaired the meeting.

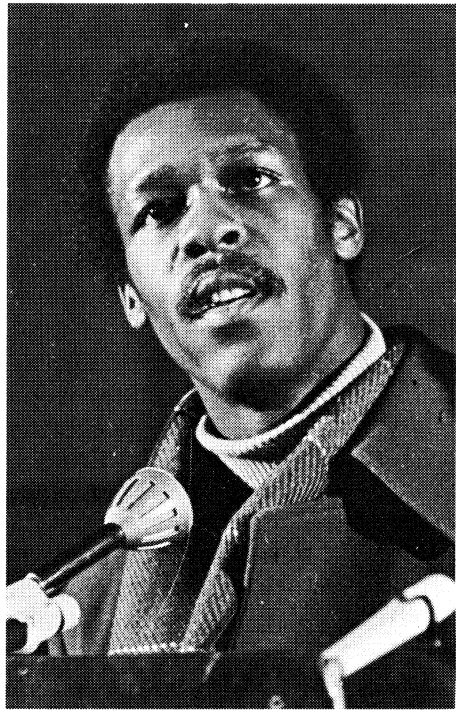


Photo by Dave Wulp

David Hilliard

Clark U students to hear lectures on Marxism

By ALAN EINHORN

WORCESTER, Mass. — The Clark University chapter of the YSA is sponsoring a three-week educational series on revolutionary socialism. The series of daily classes will run from Jan. 19-Feb. 4. The classes are being given as an independent study project as part of Clark's January study program.

Subjects to be covered include: Marxism, Leninism, Trotskyism, The Russian Revolution and its impact upon the American communist movement, and contemporary issues such as Black liberation, the Cuban revolution, the worker-student uprising in France 1968, women's liberation, Vietnam and American imperialism, and the revolutionary potential of the working class.

Over 30 Clark students have expressed an interest in attending all of the sessions. Many others will attend one or more of the classes. Most of the course will be taught by Boston members of the Socialist Workers Party and Clark YSAers.

Young Socialist convention maps expanded action program for 1970

By MARY-ALICE WATERS

MINNEAPOLIS—The ninth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, which was held on the campus of the University of Minnesota here Dec. 27-30, was the largest convention in the 10-year history of the organization. But far more impressive than the size even was the confidence, optimism and spirit of the more than 800 delegates, members and sympathizers who made their way through heavy snow and freezing weather to attend the convention.

The mood of the delegates reflected the significant growth of the YSA in the last year, the successes registered by the YSA in its many fields of work. Present in the hall were many of the key organizers of the million-strong antiwar demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco on Nov. 15; leaders of some of the most successful Black and Third World student actions of the last year; leaders of many other campus struggles; organizers and leaders of the growing women's liberation movement.

The experiences gained, the victories won, and the lessons learned from some of the defeats suffered by other radical organizations with opposing perspectives and analyses of the needs of the current stage of struggle—all these things were reflected in the reports and discussion throughout the four-day convention.

For those who had attended a number of YSA conventions, the growth, both qualitative and quantitative, was striking.

Delegates were present from 30 states plus the District of Columbia, representing locals from Florida to Washington, California to Maine. And greetings were received from Anchorage, Alaska, from YSAers Joe and Matilde Miles. Pvt. Miles was exiled to Alaska last July by the Army as punishment for his GI-organizing activities. More than 20 new locals were represented and dozens of new campuses and cities sent fraternal delegates. The growth of the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican cadre of the YSA was clearly evident.

While the convention had the broadest national scope ever, it was also the most international.

Members of the YSA's fraternal organizations in six countries were present: Pete Jensen of the Revolutionary Socialists in Denmark; John Percy of the International Marxist League in Australia; George Fyson of the Socialist



Delegates to ninth national YSA convention

Photo by Dave Wulp

Action League in New Zealand; Catherine Versene of the Communist League in France; Joe Young of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes in Canada; and Pierre Martin of the Revolutionary Marxist League in Switzerland. They brought greetings from their organizations and took part in a panel discussion on international socialist youth activity.

The convention was also greeted by three representatives of the Palestinian liberation struggle.

There were five major reports discussed and adopted by the YSA delegates.

Caroline Lund gave the report on the resolution entitled "The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International." The document, which was originally presented by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International to a world congress of that organization last spring, is currently under discussion in the world Trotskyist movement. Neither the YSA nor the Socialist Workers Party are affiliated to the Fourth International because of reactionary legislation which prohibits it, but they are both in political solidarity with the Fourth International, which was founded by Leon Trotsky.

The document discusses the changes that have taken place in the student movement on an international scale

since the Second World War, changes that have resulted in the qualitatively greater social and political weight of the student movement. On the basis of this analysis and the concrete experiences of the student movement, it projects a program of democratic and transitional demands for the student radicalization, designed to tie the student struggles into those being waged by other sectors of society and lead them in an anticapitalist direction.

The convention report, which centered on explaining the basic Marxist concept of the transitional program, dealt with some of the questions that have been discussed in the international Trotskyist movement concerning this perspective. The discussion that followed was one of the best of the convention, following which both the report and resolution were adopted by the delegates.

Larry Seigle, YSA national chairman, reported on the document, "The Deepening Radicalization: Revolutionary Perspectives for the 1970s." Seigle discussed the relationship of the YSA, the Marxist current in the new radicalization, to the other political tendencies in the youth movement, and placed the various campaigns in which the YSA is involved—antiwar movement, Black and Third World struggles, campus actions, women's liberation, socialist election campaigns—in an overall perspective.

The report and resolution adopted by the convention stressed the central importance of the 1970 socialist election campaigns which will be conducted all over the country by the Socialist Workers Party, and projected the building of young socialist supporter groups for these campaigns.

The YSA is an independent youth organization that has fraternal ties to the Socialist Workers Party which it considers to be the only revolutionary party in the United States today. The mutual respect and close relationship, based on common political goals, that exists between the two organizations was reflected in the greetings brought from the SWP by *Militant* editor Harry Ring, and by the warm response he received from the YSA delegates.

YSA national field secretary Tony Thomas gave the report on "Strategy and Tactics in the Struggle for Black Self-Determination." (See story by Derrick Morrison.)

"The New Stage in the Antiwar Movement: A Strategy for Young Socialists," was reported on by Susan LaMont. The war in Vietnam, far from being nearly over, remains the focal point of the world class struggle. Revolution-

aries the world over, but particularly here in the U.S., must be judged not by their verbal protestations of solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution, but by the effectiveness of their actions. The YSA can be proud of the key role its members played in mobilizing one million Americans in the streets of Washington and San Francisco on Nov. 15, demanding an end to the Vietnam war—the largest political demonstration in American history. While every other political tendency, without exception, has failed to consistently support and build such mass, anti-imperialist actions, the revolutionary socialist movement has played the indispensable



Photo by Hermes

Caroline Lund

role in building them.

Questions that had been raised during the preconvention written discussion about the way the YSA should relate to such actions as the peripheral demonstrations that took place in Washington on Nov. 15, and the attitude YSA should have to such slogans as "Support the Vietnamese Revolution," were thoroughly discussed by the delegates and the perspectives outlined in the report and resolution adopted.

The YSA voted to support and help build the upcoming national conference of the Student Mobilization Committee, which will lay plans for future mass actions against the war. An antiwar workshop held during the convention discussed concrete plans for implementing the decisions made by the delegates.

The report on the internal functioning of the YSA was given by Nelson Blackstock, national organizational secretary. After a brief summary of the history of the YSA, he reviewed many of

Credentials data shows YSA gains

MINNEAPOLIS—The credentials committee of the ninth annual YSA convention, meeting here Dec. 27-30, reported a total convention attendance of 821.

The average age of those at the convention was 23.5. Fifty percent were students, including 60 high and junior high school students. Forty percent were under 21.

Of those in the YSA, the average length of membership was one year, four months, a sharp drop from the two-year average of the previous convention.

Thirty-seven percent of those present were not members of either the YSA or the Socialist Workers Party.

There were 30 states represented at the convention. Among the most significant delegations were: Minnesota, 229; New York, 108; California, 77; Illinois, 73; Texas, 21; and Georgia, 18.

In a related report by Nelson Blackstock, YSA national organizational secretary, figures were given for the composition of the YSA as of a survey of membership Dec. 15.

Blackstock reported YSA members in 41 of the 50 states. Forty percent were women; 10 percent were Third World, including Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, Asian-Americans and other oppressed national minorities; 55 percent were students; 8 percent, high school and junior high school students.

the various organizational tasks of the locals, at-large members and national office—finances, education, literature sales and distribution, regional traveling, national tours, recruitment, expansion of the national staff, defense work, and publications. In addition to the decisions made on publications, reported on separately, the convention voted to launch a \$28,000 fund drive in the spring. The YSA, which is a totally self-financing organization, raises its entire budget from such fund drives plus regular dues and contributions from the locals.

The importance of each local becoming a regional center for organizing new YSA units was a perspective enthusiastically endorsed by the delegates.

Telegrams of solidarity were sent by the convention to a number of individuals and organizations, particularly victims of political repression in Latin America and the Black Panther Party.

In addition to the major resolutions and reports there were a number of excellent panel discussions and special sessions. Aside from the panels reported on separately, there were workshop discussions on high school organizing and *The Militant*—both sales and distribution, and writing for the paper.

There were two special sessions of the convention for which the commercial press was admitted. One was the report by Lee Smith and Laura Miller concerning the recent attacks by a fascist-like gang on DeKalb and Chicago YSAers. The other was a session paying tribute to the men and women who led the drive to unionize Minneapolis in the 1930s. Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and one of the leaders of the Minneapolis strikes gave the main address.

(The radical press was permitted to cover the entire convention and the *Guardian*, *Liberation News Service*, the *Daily World*, and a number of underground newspapers sent reporters.)

At the final, closed session of the convention, a new national leadership was elected to carry out the decisions of the convention during the coming year. A national committee of 30 members and 27 alternate members was elected. In a national committee meeting following the adjournment of the convention, a national executive committee was selected and Larry Seigle was elected national chairman, Susan LaMont national secretary, and Nelson Blackstock national organizational secretary. National field secretaries and editors of the YSA publications will be elected by the new national executive committee.

The YSA convention took place on the threshold of the '70s. With a decade of development behind them, with deep roots sunk in the radical student movement of the United States, with important ties to all the developing arenas of struggle, with a history they can be proud of, the YSA convention projected a course of struggle for the next year, and took a confident step into a new decade.



Photo by Ron Payne

Tony Thomas



Photo by Dave Wulp

WORKING CLASS FIGHTERS. Convention paid warm tribute to participants in historic 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strike. From left to right: Orrie

Norton; Farrell Dobbs; Marvel Scholl; Harry DeBoer; Max Geldman; Lou Miller; Jake Cooper; Ray Rainbolt; V. R. Dunne.

'There was no generation gap'

By ROBERT LANGSTON

"Old militants met young militants at the University of Minnesota Saturday night, and there was no generation gap." Thus did Jack Miller of the *Minneapolis Tribune* report his impression of the Dec. 27 session of the Young Socialist Alliance's ninth convention that honored the Trotskyist militants who 35 years ago led the bitter but successful struggle to transform Minneapolis from an open-shop, slugger-ridden town into a bastion of trade-union strength.

Nine veterans of the 1934 strikes and of the great organizing drives that followed were on the platform that night. The chairwoman, Mimi Harary, introduced each of them to the thousand YSA members and supporters, and told a little about the role each played in the class wars of the 1930s. Harry DeBoer, Max Geldman, Vincent Raymond Dunne, Jake Cooper, Orrie Norton, Ray Rainbolt, Lou Miller, Marvel Scholl and Farrell Dobbs: they are among the men and women who organized the Minneapolis truck drivers, coal handlers, warehousemen and unemployed in 1934. They were among the rank-and-file leaders who conceived the tactics and sustained the workers' willingness to fight that ended the Minneapolis bosses' reign of anti-union terror and even, for six years, held the Teamsters' bureaucrats and their hired goons at bay. They brought the over-the-road truckdrivers into the organized labor movement for the first time. Five of them served more than a year in prison on frame-up charges of violating the witchhunt Smith Act, because of their opposition to the Second World War; several others served time on frame-up felony charges of one sort or another for their trade-union activity. They have remained revolutionary socialists, members or supporters of the Socialist Workers Party. And they have educated two generations of revolutionary socialists and trade-union activists.

Jack Miller was right: there was no generation gap on Dec. 27. These veterans were honored by the assembled Young Socialists. They were honored, however, not as monuments of a distant and heroic past but as comrades, older contemporaries, whose experience and reflection are sources of the knowledge that is essential today to the successful accomplishment of the tasks that confront and will confront the new generation of Bolsheviks.

Farrell Dobbs, who is now national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, addressed the session. Consistent with the whole tone of the evening, his talk was anything but ceremonial. It was a carefully stated distillation of the lessons of the 1934 struggle and of their application to the social movements that have been developing again in the last decade and a half.

Specifically, Dobbs related these lessons to the tasks of the 1970 socialist electoral campaigns. "Let's make it an all-out socialist propaganda offensive," he said. Let's help the young rebels "develop a whole new outlook, out through the capitalist propaganda, refute the lesser-evil swindle, point the way toward mass anticapitalist political action."



Photo by Karl Berman

Farrell Dobbs

Further, Dobbs asserted, "Our campaign should relate directly to more than the electoral sphere. In the course of the electioneering, questions will arise about mass action around specific issues and opportunities will arise to help educate militants against ultraleft adventurism, against sectarians who don't know how to read the mood of the mass. It is necessary to educate in the concepts of a transitional approach to the building of the social struggles against the status quo as they are developing today in the direction of anticapitalist consciousness and anticapitalist political action. To show how it is necessary to relate to the issues that are the most cogent to given sections of the population at this time, and on that basis, and with an understanding and appreciation of the present level of political understanding, help those battling for one or another progressive cause to carry the struggle forward and learn politically in the process and develop a deeper political consciousness that must, in the very nature of things in life today, go in an anticapitalist direction."

At the same time, Dobbs stressed the need "to refute the scoundrels who corrupt program in the name of bigness. Sheer force of numbers does not assure attainment of goals. If a movement lacks a class-struggle program and a class-conscious leadership, it will crumble in the test of battle, no matter how big it may be. The pages of history are replete with proof of that fundamental

fact. Program decides everything, provided there is a revolutionary combat organization and a leadership capable of carrying through the program."

As Dobbs pointed out frequently in the course of his speech, "constructing the revolutionary socialist vanguard is the most basic need." The delegates agreed with him, and were conscious of the vital contributions he and the other leaders on the platform had made toward that goal. Their appreciation was reflected in the numerous standing ovations accorded the veteran revolutionaries.

Greetings sent to Hugo Blanco

The following telegram was sent by the YSA convention to Hugo Blanco, a leader of the Peruvian section of the Fourth International, who has been in jail for more than six and a half years. He is currently serving a 25 year sentence, imposed on him by a military court, for his key role in organizing the Peruvian peasants.

* * *

The 1969 YSA national convention, meeting in Minneapolis, Minnesota, the site of mass workers struggles led by our movement in the thirties, is a concrete expression of the growing revolutionary socialist youth vanguard in the heart of world imperialism.

This convention, more than any other national gathering in our history, embodies the spirit of the growing international struggle for socialism. Comrades and allies from France, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, the Palestine liberation struggle, the Dominican revolutionary struggle have joined us here in the Twin Cities.

This convention has outlined plans to build our part of the international campaign to help free comrades jailed in Bolivia and Peru.

Free all Latin American political prisoners!

Revolutionary solidarity and greetings.

Panel forsees mass women's movement

By ELIZABETH BARNES

The workshop on women's liberation at the YSA convention provided the first opportunity for YSAers active in the women's liberation movement to get together on a nationwide basis and compare experiences. The most striking aspect of the discussion was the tremendous optimism about the potential for building a mass women's liberation movement in this country.

Almost all the speakers stressed the need to build broader struggles and actions around the concrete issues and demands being raised by the movement—demands such as repeal of abortion laws, equal employment opportunity, women's studies programs on college campuses, etc. It was felt that if the movement became more action-oriented, and in this way more visible, tens of thousands of women can be won to the struggle in the coming period.

Five YSAers who have been active in the women's liberation movement in different parts of the country made initial presentations to the workshop. Ruthann Miller discussed the rapid growth of the women's liberation in New York, where there are now some 100 different women's liberation groups.

A focus of YSA activity in New York has been support for an abortion suit challenging the constitutionality of the New York state abortion law. A major demonstration around this issue is planned for March.

YSAers are also participating in the coalition which was formed at the Congress to Unite Women in New York last month and are working with others in the coalition to implement the proposals passed at the Congress.

Toba Singer, who has been active in the women's liberation movement in Boston, described some of the groups which have developed there: Cell-16, which was formed by some of the earliest initiators of the women's liberation movement, Bread and Roses, which serves as a coordinating group for many of the radical women's groups and which was instrumental in calling the New Haven demonstration in support of the jailed Black Panther Party women, and Womens Liberation, another prominent group of radical women who have been carrying out projects around abortion reform and child-care centers. She also reported on a very successful women's liberation class sponsored by the YSA at Boston University.

Dianne Feeley, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in California, described how a course on "Women as An Oppressed Minority," at San Francisco State became the basis for organizing a teach-in on women's liberation which attracted 500 people. A united front of campus organizations including YSA, PL, an independent SDS group, and others, was set up as a result of the teach-in.

Another important vehicle for winning broader support for the struggle for women's liberation will be the SWP election campaigns. Dianne Feeley pointed out that women's liberation has become a key issue in her own campaign.

A highly significant aspect of the movement in California has been the growth of a militant women's caucus in the Western Pulp and Paper Workers Union. Women telephone workers have also formed a group called "Women Against Ma Bell" which is protesting job discrimination in the Telephone Company.

Jacqueline Rice, SWP candidate for Congress in Michigan, devoted most of her remarks to a discussion of the triple oppression of Black women "as part of the working class, as part of the Black nation, and as Black women." She pointed out the changes which have taken place since the days of the civil rights movement, before the rise of nationalism, when "white women were on



Photo by Elizabeth Barnes

TRIPLE OPPRESSION. At women's liberation workshop Jacqueline Rice of Detroit discussed oppression of Black women as Blacks, as women and as workers.

a pedestal and Black women were denied pride, beauty and so forth."

"Now you have the radicalization of the youth, the whole development of nationalist sentiment starting with Malcolm X, the feeling of pride and dignity and respect for Black women." But, this has been contradictory, she said. "You have Blackwomen being told by Black men that they must take a step behind the men, that they should not be too aggressive, that their role is to support the men and bring up revolutionary children. But, we are also seeing a reaction against this, we see changes going on among Black women, we see them demanding their rights and identifying with women's liberation, for example the New Haven Panther demonstration."

Ruth Getz, who has been active in a liberation group in DeKalb, Ill., made clear YSA's support for the building of an independent women's liberation movement. It is only by organizing ourselves that we can build the independent power to free ourselves, she said. "If you don't have a women's liberation group on your campus or in your community, you can start one."

Kipp Dawson, who was chairman of the workshop, summed up the political significance of women's liberation movement as a "historically unprecedented, extremely revolutionary development which is exposing the deeply oppressive nature of the basic institutions of this society and of the capitalist system itself." She pointed out that "when we participate in this movement, we aid history in not only liberating ourselves, but men as well, through a socialist revolution."

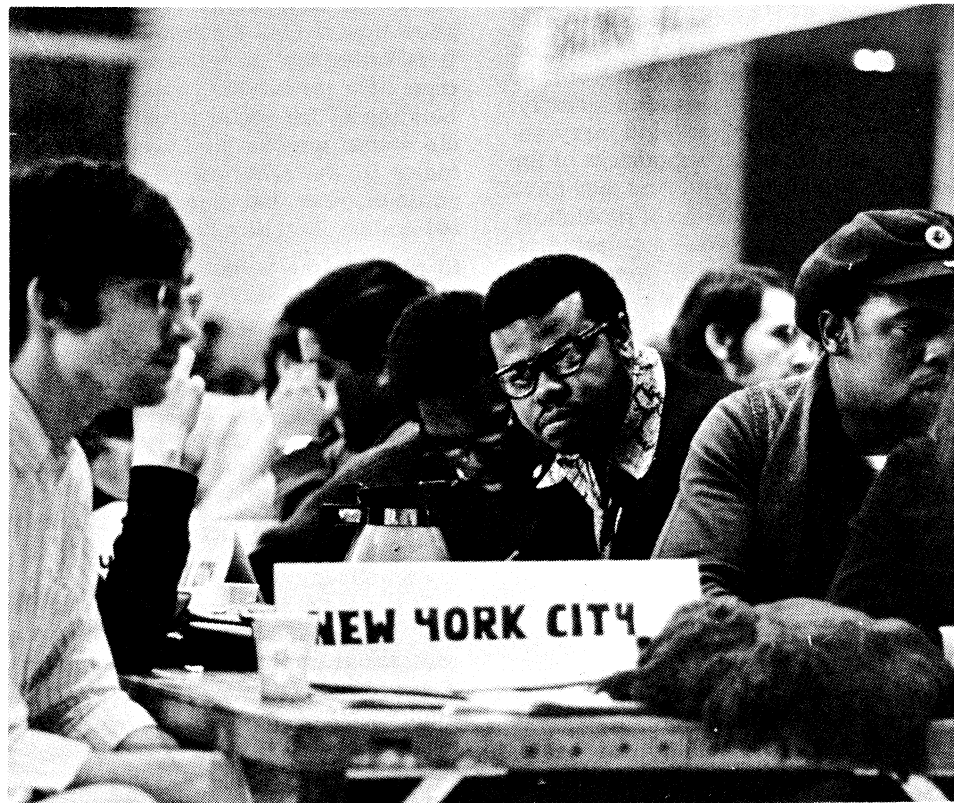


Photo by Hermes

Members of New York delegation

Greet imprisoned Mexican fighters

The 87 political prisoners in Mexico City's Lecumberri jail who are conducting an unlimited hunger strike called for an international day of solidarity, Jan. 10. The 87, in wards C, M and N, will have completed one month of their strike by that date. They are demanding the unconditional release of all Mexican political prisoners.

The following telegram was sent in the name of the YSA national convention in solidarity with these comrades:

* * *

A central theme of the ninth national YSA convention has been the revolutionary implications of the international youth struggle, of which the 1968 struggle in Mexico City, for which many of you were imprisoned, set the highest example.

We shared with you and with revolutionary forces the world over shock and horror at the vicious campaign of repression launched against your movement by the Diaz Ordaz regime, above all symbolized by the Tlatelolco massacre of Oct. 2, 1968, a date that will never be forgotten in the history of imperialist ignominy.

We will not let the world forget or ignore the fate of those who today remain buried in the prisons of Mexico.

We intend to press the international revolutionary struggle until this regime stands exposed and all its prisoners are freed.

We salute your courageous hunger strike!

Free all Latin American political prisoners!

Venceremos!

Solidarity with Bolivia revolutionaries

The following telegram was sent by the YSA convention to the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR), the Bolivian section of the Fourth International, many of whose members have been recently arrested and tortured on charges of engaging in guerrilla activity.

* * *

The ninth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance solidarizes itself with you in your heroic fight against the barbaric attempts of the Bolivian military junta to destroy your movement.

We are confident of your ability with the backing of the revolutionary movement throughout the world to thwart the savage repression carried out by the demagogic, inhuman Ovando regime.

Though this struggle will be difficult, it is in the tradition of the Trotskyist movement in Bolivia and throughout the world to not only survive against enormous odds but to turn the bourgeois repression around by utilizing defense against it to help build the very movement under attack.

We pledge our support in your struggle to defeat the counterrevolutionary bootlickers of American imperialism who are responsible for the current campaign of victimization and harassment which you are fighting.

The intrigues of General Ovando and his military clique are a real but temporary obstacle in the historic struggle of the Bolivian working class and peasant masses. Their struggles, led by the revolutionary Marxist vanguard, will one day sweep away all the General Ovandos and their ilk in the coming Bolivian revolution.

Venceremos!

Black students playing key role in struggle

By DERRICK MORRISON

The report and discussion on the resolution entitled "Strategy and Tactics in the Black Struggle for Self-Determination" marked a new stage in the development of the YSA's analysis and participation in the struggle.

In the report, Tony Thomas attributed the initial stages of the present upsurge to the popularization of revolutionary nationalist ideas by Malcolm X. Since Malcolm, the struggle has been characterized "by the ghetto uprisings of 1964-68, by the growth of massive struggles for community control such as the struggle in New York in 1968, by the growth of Black caucuses within the labor movement, and most evidently by the explosion of Black student struggles in the past year."

The depth of this struggle, Thomas stated, "flows from the combined national and class aspects of the oppression and exploitation of Black people." It is the class exploitation of Black people

through national oppression that makes Black workers the most exploited section of the North American working class. By the maintenance of this double yoke, the North American ruling class is able to concentrate the worst aspects of poverty, exploitation, and unemployment among Black and other Third World national minorities.

Central to enforcing this situation is the control exercised by the U.S. ruling class over the Black community. The struggle of Black people for control of the community thus has far-reaching anticapitalist implications. The democratic task of self-determination will have to be won through the overturning of capitalism, i.e., socialist revolution.

In terms of the present level of struggle, Thomas pointed to the need for a mass Black political party to coordinate and unify the struggles among the students, workers, and rebellious GI's. Such an instrument could bridge the ever widening gap between the combative mood of Black people and the lack of an authoritative national leadership and organization.

Of the independent struggles moving in this direction, it is the Black student struggles that are setting the pace.

The campus battles truly display the power of the Black minority. Faced by the transitional and democratic demands of Black students, the liberal pretensions of the university administrations have been ripped away. As the undemocratic and racist nature of the university rises to the surface, whole campuses have been mobilized in support of the Black students. And this in turn has detonated self-determination struggles amongst Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Native and Asian American students.

At the same time, because different sectors of the Black community develop political consciousness unevenly, the Black student movement is plagued with the problem of ultraleftism. As Thomas analyzed it, the problem arises from the absence of any thought-out social perspective, a lack of confidence in the masses, and the relative paucity of Black revolutionary socialists. Mistaking the tempo of radicalization, some of the revolutionary nationalists act out the ninth month pregnancy in the third, thereby aborting the struggle and isolating themselves from the masses.

Ultraleftism has affected not only the campus, but also those advanced organizations that were initiated by student elements, such as the Black Panther Party and the Detroit League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

Thomas outlined the united front as the key to the strategy of Third World

YSAers and other revolutionary-minded nationalists. The united front is the achievement of the broadest possible unity in the community when confronting the government over the issues raised in the struggle for self-determination. If this type of policy is pursued on the campus, in the community, factories, high schools, and barracks, it cuts across the isolation of the revolutionaries and provides them with a base. Actions stemming from such formations will educate the masses as to the need for a Black political party.

Coupled with this strategy, Thomas indicated that the SWP election campaigns would also provide a channel through which to wage the campaign for a Black party. He considered the task of building the multi-national youth vanguard organization, the YSA, as central to this whole course of action.

The discussion that followed concretely took up some of the points made in the report.

Several delegates discussed their experiences in building united fronts of Black and other Third World people against the war in Vietnam. In some cities, like New York and Chicago, this gave rise to Third World Committees for Solidarity with Viet Nam. And in others, such as Philadelphia and Detroit, Black militants used the vehicle of the Student Mobilization Committee to build opposition to the war.

A couple of delegates pointed out that both the reformists and ultralefts try to skirt the issue of mass mobilization in the Black community against the war. The reformists, such as SCLC, Urban League, and NAACP, limit their opposition to talking about the impropriety of the war, avoiding like the plague mass actions which could slip out of their control. The ultralefts, lacking faith in their ability to mobilize the people, avoid the antiwar movement. But it is the growing numbers of high school and campus militants who are involved in mobilizing masses of people around Black demands that see the war as an issue around which to organize.

There was also a lot of discussion about the experiences that YSA locals have had with the Black and Third World student struggle. Delegates from Boston and Providence and Chicago described recent struggles at Tufts, Brown University, and the University of Illinois. At issue was the exclusion of Black workers from university construction sites.

From Cleveland came a report by a delegate on the recent united front defense meeting held for the Black Panther Party and delegates from Detroit, San Francisco, and New York dealt with the ultraleftist tendencies in the movement.

There was also a Third World workshop at the convention, led by a panel of Miguel Padilla, a New York delegate who discussed the Puerto Rican student movement; James Harris, a Cleveland delegate who ran for board of education last fall and spoke on the Black struggle and the antiwar movement; Herman Fagg, a delegate from San Francisco and the SWP gubernatorial candidate in California, who spoke on the state of the Black student movement; Antonio Rios, a delegate from Berkeley and a teacher in the Chicano studies program at Merritt college, who spoke on the history of the Chicano movement; and Froben Lozada, head of the Chicano Studies program at Merritt and SWP candidate for attorney general of California, who spoke on the Merritt program.

What came through to those attending the workshop was the significance of the Merritt College Latin American Studies program. Operating under the democratic control of the Chicano Student Union, which decides what is taught and who teaches it, it is probably the most advanced Third World studies program in the U.S. From this discussion and others, one could sense the rising influence of revolutionary socialist ideas and organization as the struggle for self-determination deepens.

Support received from Palestinian revolutionaries

Greetings to the YSA convention were received from three representatives of the Palestinian liberation struggle, and telegrams were received from the Beirut headquarters of two of the organizations.

Abu Marwan of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Ibn Al-Mtn from the magazine Free Palestine, and Abu Walid from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine saluted the young socialists and called for unity in the world revolutionary struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

The telegram from Fatah stated, "The Palestine National Liberation Movement extends its greetings to the ninth convention of the Young Socialist Alliance and wishes it success in exposing to American revolutionaries our common enemy which is world imperialism and its Zionist offshoot. We extend our hand to all movements in the world for the solidarity and revolutionary coordination of efforts against the common enemy."

A telegram was also received from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and a representative of the Democratic Popular Front participated in the panel discussion on the international revolutionary movement.

Pledge efforts in defense of Panthers

The following telegram was sent by the YSA convention to the Black Panther Party.

* * *

The ninth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance declares its outrage at the vicious repression and nationwide series of murders that have been unleashed against your party by the white capitalist protectors of racism and private property.

The rulers see in the dramatic rise of Black nationalism a terrifying threat to their barbaric rule. We consider this Murder Inc. to be a conscious assault on the entire movement for social change and we reaffirm our commitment to defend the Black Panther Party against these attempts to harass and liquidate it.

This convention has decided to intensify our campaign to win mass support for the right of Black people to engage in political activity and to organize their own political party.



Photo by Ron Payne

CONVENTION TABLE. Des Moines Black Panthers were among groups with literature tables at convention. A Des Moines Panther brought greetings to the convention.



Photo by Ron Payne

CHANGING TIMES. Long noted for its abstinence from such "reformist" activity as picketing, the Socialist Labor Party startled YSA convention with half dozen pickets.

YSA notice to right-wing thugs



Photo by Hermes

Media covers Lee Smith's convention report on right-wingers

By DICK ROBERTS

MINNEAPOLIS—A national effort to mobilize opposition to the fascist-like Northern Illinois "Legion of Justice" was described Dec. 29 at the ninth annual convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. This report was open to the major press and covered by NBC and CBS-TV as well as local TV, radio and newspapers.

Last Dec. 6, Legion thugs broke into an apartment, gassed and attempted to beat up six members of the DeKalb, Illinois, YSA. (See *The Militant*, Dec. 19 and Dec. 26, 1969.) The attack appeared to be part of a local drive to intimidate revolutionary socialists. On Nov. 1, the same gang attacked the headquarters of the YSA and Socialist Workers Party in Chicago. Chicago SWP organizer Richard Hill received a written death threat from them Dec. 10.

But intimidation couldn't have been further from the tone of the reports given to the convention by YSA national executive committee member Lee Smith, and DeKalb YSA organizer Laura Miller, one of the six attacked.

They described the formation of a defense committee that sets an example to the entire movement on how to respond to right-wing attacks. They explained to the convention why it is important to take such attacks seriously, and mobilize support against them immediately.

Within 20 minutes of returning from the hospital the night they were gassed, the DeKalb YSAers were on the phones ringing up support for a broad defense committee.

Within hours they had enlisted the sponsorship of leaders of such diverse groups as the Young Americans for Freedom, the Young Republicans, the Arab Club, the Students for Israel, and over 100 faculty members.

A "Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks" has been established with headquarters at Northern Illinois University. Its officers are: chairman, Dr. Sean Shesgreen, English Dept., NIU; treasurer, Dr. Stephen Haliczzer, History Dept., NIU; secretary, Laura Miller; attorney, Irving Birnbaum.

Initiating sponsors of the committee include: Leonard Boudin, New York attorney; Richard Criley, Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights; Sidney Lens, cochairman, New Mobe; Carol Lipman, executive secretary, Student Mobe; and Bob Lucas of the Black Liberation Alliance in Chicago.

Lee Smith outlined four main goals of the defense committee. The first is to expose the Legion of Justice and its apparent spokesman S. Thomas Sutton.

The committee intends to make the goals and methods of this illegal fascist-like organization known to individuals concerned about the democratic rights of American citizens.

A revealing summary of the activities of the Legion has been written by 1968 SWP presidential candidate and national antiwar leader Fred Halstead. This summary includes reproductions of the Legion's avowed statement of purposes and the death threat to Richard Hill. It is available from Fred Halstead, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

The second purpose of the committee is to get Sutton de-barred in Illinois. Charges have been filed against him for association with the theft of material from the SWP-YSA hall in Chicago on Nov. 1.

The third purpose of the committee is to expose the role of the police in relation to Legion activities. At a press conference following the YSA convention report, Smith and Miller cited evidence of police sympathy for and leniency toward the fascist-like gang.

When cops arrived on the scene of the DeKalb attack, for example, instead of finding out about the attackers and

going after them, the police interrogated the YSAers about their revolutionary activity. Almost the first question a detective asked them was, "can you prove Blacks did not participate in the attack?"

At the hospital, police wrote on the medical records that the YSAers were "injured in a political action altercation."

It proved extremely difficult for the defense committee to obtain charges from the police against Sutton and it was obvious that the police and right-wingers were on a first-name basis. When Richard Hill brought the death threat to the Chicago police and asked that it be entered into evidence, the cops shrugged it off.

The most bizarre evidence of the police attitude also occurred in the DeKalb interrogation of YSAers, according to Laura Miller. One cop asked them if Fred Hampton was in the apartment. The Black Panther Party leader had been brutally gunned down by Chicago police two days earlier.

The fourth defense committee goal, Smith said, was to build a list of national sponsors for the committee and raise funds that would be needed to

carry out its activities. The committee has made available a brochure stating its aims, present sponsors, background of the DeKalb attack, and other information helpful in bringing pressure to bear against the Legion and its supporters.

The committee address is: Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks, Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois Univ., DeKalb, Illinois 60115.

"Sutton is subject to the error of underestimating his adversaries," Smith told the convention, "and the statements he made before the DeKalb city council meeting Dec. 20 indicate that he has made just such an error in Laura's case."

Sutton appeared before the city council to answer a resolution brought to the council by the Northern Illinois University Student Association condemning the police for their behavior following the Dec. 6 attack. In the course of his speech, Sutton referred to Laura Miller as "a little teenage girl who is the tool of adults who are intellectual prostitutes and moral whores."

"Laura and the other comrades in DeKalb are, like most of our membership, young in years," Smith said, "but their actions in this case and the confidence and professionalism with which they carried them out have demonstrated that they are Bolsheviks and leaders. We have a movement of leaders, not tools and stooges."

Sutton made this mistake, not only in regard to Laura and the others in DeKalb, Smith said, "but in ever daring in the first place to touch one hair on the head of any one of our people."

Chicago trials are postponed

At court hearings in Chicago on Jan. 6, the trial of Richard Hill and Carl Finamore, framed up on charges of illegal restraint by Legion of Justice associate Greg Schulz, was continued to Feb. 19. The trial of S. Thomas Sutton for possession of stolen property was continued to Feb. 17.

Election activity a YSA-builder

"Our candidates must be the very best. We should know more than anyone else." This remark expressed the spirit of a panel on 1970 election campaigns at the YSA's ninth convention in Minneapolis.

The panel discussed YSA plans to help launch and actively support a number of statewide election campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party in 1970. Building Young Socialist supporter groups for the campaigns was projected. Key to the success of the campaigns, it was felt, was making them relevant to the ongoing concerns and immediate issues of local communities.

"In order to do this we must become experts in each field," stated Dianne Feeley, who is running for U. S. Senate in California. Areas that YSAers are researching include: the effect of the Vietnam war on inflation; union struggles; antiwar GI activities on California bases; the educational system for Blacks and Chicanos; and the problems of air and water pollution.

The 29-year-old senatorial candidate, who is a leading activist in the women's liberation movement and a well-known speaker on the question of women's

oppression and the history of women's struggles, explained that the campaign committee was holding meetings with professional ecologists in order to learn more about the effects of industrialization on nature.

The California campaign committee is also planning fact-finding tours for its candidates in the Far East, Middle East and Cuba, Miss Feeley announced.

Another factor that was stressed was good relations with the press. Bill Perdue of the Washington State campaign committee noted that contacts established with newsmen in Seattle made it possible for the SWP to hold well-attended monthly press conferences in order to present its stand on current issues.

Marcia Sweetenham, who is running for governor of Ohio, emphasized the possibilities for this revolutionary socialist campaign in Ohio to build a functioning regional apparatus of the YSA.

She pointed out that in 1968 supporter groups for the Halstead-Boutelle campaign had developed into YSA locals. Regional work this year will lead to a "huge breakthrough on campus," Marcia Sweetenham predicted.

Travis Burgeson, speaking for the

Texas SWP campaign, was equally optimistic. So far, he stated, the press doesn't really believe the YSA is serious about supporting a socialist campaign in Texas. By the end of the campaign, however, he predicted that the SWP and YSA would be known as the socialist tendency in Texas.

He underlined the importance of Chicano liberation as an issue in the Texas campaign. Marianne Hernandez, a Texas-born Chicano, is the SWP candidate for U. S. Senate. Speaking at the panel, she urged Latino socialists to coordinate their electoral work on a national basis.

Campaigns for campus posts were also examined by the panel. Gary Wurtzel, who is the student-body president at Harpur College in Binghamton, N. Y., discussed some of the problems as well as advantages of student election campaigns.

The biggest difficulty, Wurtzel felt, was in explaining why the election of socialists to campus posts alone was insufficient to fundamentally alter university conditions. It is necessary to mobilize massive student and faculty support to bring about significant changes.

Young Socialists

—We Are No. 1

By WILLIAM WOODWARD
New York Post Correspondent

MINNEAPOLIS—Eight-hundred Young Socialist Alliance delegates, meeting in convention here, claimed they have pushed to the fore a Democratic Society out of first place in the struggle for leftist leadership.

ST. PAUL DISPATCH 12/29/69

ROLE CHANGE DEMANDED

Family Oppressing Women, Socialist Activist Claims

By ROBERT PROTZMAN
Staff Writer

Angela Vinther says women are oppressed.

YSA has strongly en are oppressed.

And as a participant in the women's liberation movement.

THE WASHINGTON POST

Continued from Page 17

state and run by women and staffed by men or women.

"We want full control of our bodies, and part of this is the right to have an abortion free of charge, if we want it. We are calling for it."

Socialist Raps Family Role

YSA delegate looks more like a square than a hippie. She has a square face, a square nose, a square chin, a square jaw, a square neck, a square head, a square body, a square soul, a square everything.

YSA constitution says: "You can wear whatever you want."

YSA delegate looks more like a square than a hippie. She has a square face, a square nose, a square chin, a square jaw, a square neck, a square head, a square body, a square soul, a square everything.

YSA constitution says: "You can wear whatever you want."

Young Socialists Claim Gain At Expense of Splintered SDS

By Paul W. Valentine
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Young Socialist Alliance, disciplined and strict, yesterday claimed a victory over the splintered SDS.

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 28 (UPI)—The Young Socialist Alliance, a group of college students and young workers, claimed a victory over the splintered SDS at a convention here today.

Delegates attending an inter-collegiate convention of the Young Socialist Alliance voted to support the Young Socialist Alliance and to oppose the SDS.

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Young Socialists Seek New Road

By BILL WOODWARD
New York Post Correspondent

MINNEAPOLIS — Pledging to continue the revolution, 800 Young Socialists ended their convention here today.

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Delegates attending an inter-collegiate convention of the Young Socialist Alliance voted to support the Young Socialist Alliance and to oppose the SDS.

Radicals say crises made them so

By TED SMERAKEN
Minneapolis Star Staff Writer

What leads a young person to become a radical?

It's the way the world is supposed to be, respectively, not stand out.

It's the way the world is supposed to be, respectively, not stand out.

It's the way the world is supposed to be, respectively, not stand out.

Young Socialists Plan to Aid Panthers

By Austin Wehrwein
The Washington Post

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Minnesota Boy Is Coming Home With 1,000 Revolutionaries

By FRANK WRIGHT
Minneapolis Tribune Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Segle looks the way the establishment is supposed to look — dressed, conserved, managed.

It's the way the world is supposed to be, respectively, not stand out.

It's the way the world is supposed to be, respectively, not stand out.

It's the way the world is supposed to be, respectively, not stand out.

YSA seeks free college plus pay, guaranteed jobs

By BILL WOODWARD
New York Post Correspondent

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Socialist Unit Asks Support For Arabs

By BILL WOODWARD
New York Post Correspondent

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 28 — Demands were made today from the floor at the Young Socialist Alliance convention here.

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Delegates attending an inter-collegiate convention of the Young Socialist Alliance voted to support the Young Socialist Alliance and to oppose the SDS.

Convention was given major media coverage

By LES EVANS

One indication of the growing influence of the Young Socialist Alliance, the American Trotskyist youth organization, was the coverage given by the daily press to its national convention in Minneapolis December 27-30. Newspapers ranging from the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* to the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* and the *Chicago Tribune* featured accounts of the proceedings. In Minneapolis itself the press carried daily reports of the convention decisions and interviews with the participants.

The *New York Times* singled out the YSA's support for the antiwar movement as the most newsworthy feature of the gathering. A United Press International dispatch appeared in the December 29 issue of the influential Eastern daily, reporting that delegates "attending an international convention of the Young Socialist Alliance voted today [December 28] to support a new round of antiwar demonstrations planned for the spring of 1970. A secret vote by about 900 of the 1,000 delegates from the United States and nine foreign countries was said to be unanimous, but there was reportedly heated debate over protest tactics."

The *New York Post* contrasted the YSA convention to a gathering of the "Weatherman" faction of Students for a Democratic Society held simultaneously in Flint, Michigan.

"Eight-hundred Young Socialist Alliance delegates, meeting in convention here, claimed they have pushed Students for a Democratic Society out of first place in the struggle for leftist leadership on the campuses," wrote *Post* correspondent William Woodward in the December 29 issue.

"YSA has [more] active members than any of the SDS factions," said Jon Rothschild, 19, a student organizer from New York.

The press seemed puzzled by the fact that the YSA did not seem to fit the stereotypes of how revolutionists are supposed to look and act. "Larry Seigle," the *Minneapolis Tribune* said December 14, "looks the way the Es-

tablishment is supposed to look — conservatively dressed, conservatively maned."

The *Minneapolis Star* interviewed Nelson Blackstock, the YSA's national organizational secretary, on December 25. The reporter commented that there was "nothing garish" about Blackstock's clothes. His background, the interviewer said, was "poor, white, and Southern," which "might disqualify him for membership in the 'impudent snob' corps popularized by Vice President Spiro Agnew."

The solidarity between old and young revolutionists, evident at the December 27 rally during the convention honoring the leaders of the 1934 Teamsters' strikes, flew in the face of another favorite notion of the press, that youth do not trust anyone over thirty.

"Old militants met young militants at the University of Minnesota Saturday night," the December 28 *Minneapolis Tribune* reported, "and there was no generation gap."

"The old militants were leaders of the 1934 truck drivers strike in Minneapolis, and the young militants were delegates to the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) national convention."

In addition to summarizing the resolutions passed by the convention — which, except for two sessions, was closed to the press — reporters interviewed YSA members and leaders extensively.

"By contrast with the long-haired, bitter, cynical rebels of the New Left," the December 30 *Minneapolis Tribune* wrote, "members of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) tend to be clean-cut, cool, confident and optimistic. . . ."

"The way they look reflects their aim of winning support from all segments of American society."

"They reject arrogance and elitism — what one of them calls the 'liberal-intellectual milieu.' And they eschew the individualistic pleasure-seeking of the hippie and drug subcultures. . . ."

"Ultimately, the YSA believes, there must be a worldwide socialist revolution. It sees a massive general strike as a prelude to the revolution, and

now supports strikes such as the one against General Electric."

Reporters were particularly interested in the YSA's participation in the new upsurge in the movement for women's rights. Several papers interviewed women leaders of the YSA. The December 29 *St. Paul Dispatch*, for example, carried an extensive interview with Angela Vinther.

"Angela Vinther says women are oppressed," staff writer Robert Protzman began. "And as a participant in the women's liberation movement of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, she and thousands like her hope to do something about it. . . ."

"What she and others in the liberation movement are against is the role they say they are forced by society to play. . . ."

"A socialistic society in which women were totally equal to men would be the only way to liberate women and men and children, she says. 'The supportive role of women in our society also warps men, and even children.'"

The December 31 *New York Post* reported the closing of the SDS and YSA conventions.

From Flint, the *Post* said the 400 SDSers were "disappointed as they end a five-day convention here that has been more an ideological bull session than the war council that was planned." To avoid "factionalism," the Weatherman leadership had decided that no concrete plans would be made and no policy statements adopted, with the result that the sessions "went no further than general agreement on the need for armed revolution some time in the future."

The mood, according to the *Post*, was summed up by one delegate who complained: "Abstractions, nothing but abstractions."

From Minneapolis, *Post* correspondent Bill Woodward wrote:

"Pledging 'to continue the revolution,' 800 Socialist students ended their convention here today. They left in a cloud of rhetoric, preaching the thoughts of Marx, Trotsky and Che Guevara, and arguing for a new democracy and an end to war."

The YSAers, the reporter said, "adopted a program of building their own campus chapters and organizing students for this spring's planned antiwar demonstrations."

Intercontinental Press

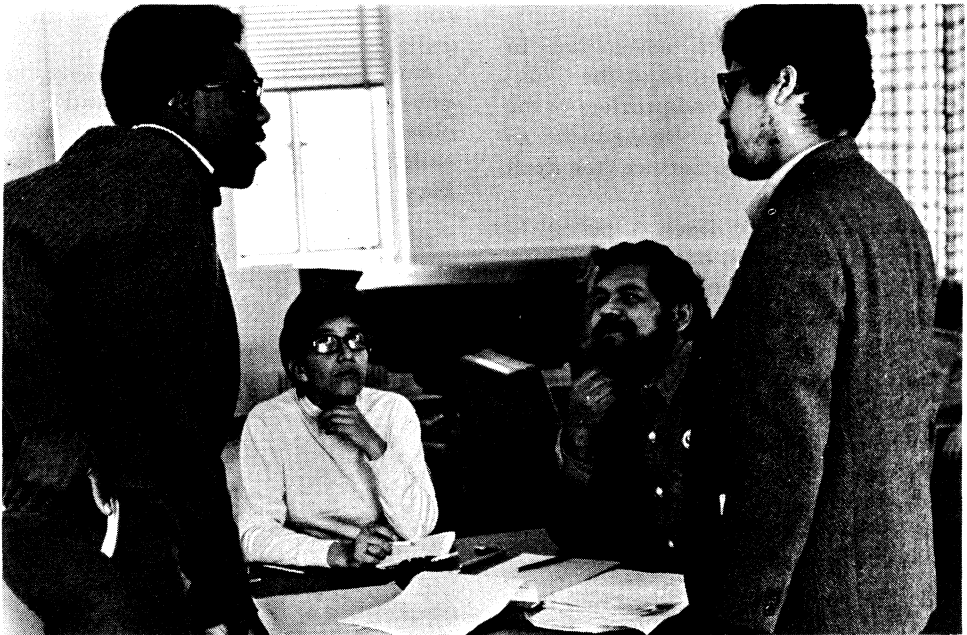


Photo by Harry Ring

BETWEEN SESSIONS. Among convention delegates and participants were (left to right): Militant staff writer Derrick Morrison; Marianne Hernandez, Texas SWP candidate for U. S. Senator; Froben Lozada, head of Merritt College, Oakland, Latin American Studies Dept. and SWP candidate for Calif. attorney general; Antonio Rios, faculty, Merritt Latin American Studies Dept.

2 major publication steps agreed upon by delegates

Two important proposed steps in the publication plans of the revolutionary socialist movement were discussed and approved by the ninth YSA convention in Minneapolis.

These steps reflected the basic political perspective of the convention that this country is in a period of steadily deepening radicalization in which there will be continued and expanded recruitment to the revolutionary socialist program.

The first step is the publication beginning this January, of a biweekly newspaper, *The Organizer*. This newspaper will have several functions.

For some time the national office of the YSA in New York has regularly distributed a number of mimeographed reports, covering such activities as: fund raising campaigns; subscription drives for *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist*; recruitment of new locals and "at large" members (that is, members where there are no locals); antiwar actions; election campaigns; participation in conferences of other radical tendencies; and policy statements by the national office.

These reports will now appear in *The Organizer* so that they will be easily accessible to all YSA members and also available to those who are thinking about joining the YSA.

Further, *The Organizer* will provide a regular forum for the exchange of ideas and experiences of locals and

members throughout the country.

Leaflets and posters that have proved effective in campaigns; discussions and debates with members of other tendencies; activities of antiwar, Third World, women's liberation and other local fractions; high school and college campus actions; work with antiwar GIs — the many-layered local activities of YSAers will become rapidly known to the whole organization and serve as a basis for more effective work.

This will be particularly helpful to the increasing number of YSAers who are joining in high schools and colleges far away from established locals and it will be distributed by the regional organizers of the YSA who are continuously in the field.

The second step, planned for this spring, is the publication of a new, monthly theoretical magazine of revolutionary socialism. At this time the *Young Socialist* and the *International Socialist Review*, the bimonthly publication of the Socialist Workers Party, will be discontinued. The new magazine will be published in collaboration with the SWP.

"We want to wage an offensive in the field of ideas," Blackstock stated. The new magazine will provide a forum for new forces in the ranks of revolutionary journalism and help carry the program and theory of Marxism to radicalizing young people.

Australian antiwar fighters hear Student Mobe leader

Sydney

Some 3,000 persons took part December 15 in the most militant street demonstration ever held here to protest the war in Vietnam. The action was called in solidarity with an appeal of the U. S. Student Mobilization Committee for international protests from October 15 to December 15. The main slogan of the action was "Withdraw All Troops from Vietnam Now!" (There are 8,000 Australian troops in Vietnam.)

The rally was enthusiastic and militant. One of the main speakers was Allen Myers, a former GI now on the staff of the Student Mobilization Committee in New York. He is editor of the *GI Press Service*, a biweekly news service for the more than fifty GI antiwar newspapers that have sprung up inside the U. S. army around the world. Myers twice successfully fought courts-martial for his antiwar activity in the army.

The demonstrators assembled in Chifley Square, in front of the Commonwealth Centre, headquarters of the federal government's Department of Labor and National Service (the draft agency).

Police refused to issue a permit to march in the streets, but the protesters, through force of numbers, spilled out onto the roadway shortly after leaving Chifley Square.

Large squads of cops made repeated attacks on the marchers as they headed up the narrow canyon of Pitt Street, past the U. S. consulate, toward the town hall. But the police were unable to disperse the demonstration or make it keep to the sidewalks.

At the corner of Pitt Street and Martin Place, the city's "business heart," the police used vans and buses to barricade the road. The cops sought to prevent the marchers from outflanking the roadblock. After a sharp clash in which a dozen persons were arrested, the police line broke. A few hundred demonstrators, who were unable to get through the break, quickly circled the block and rejoined the main contingent.

Demonstrations were also held in other cities around Australia the same weekend. There were protests in Canberra, Melbourne, Newcastle, and Manly, a suburb of Sydney. In Canberra, eight persons were arrested, one of them for climbing the Christmas tree in the prime minister's garden and affixing a large star reading "Get Out of Vietnam Now!"

The Sydney demonstration was organized by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, a coalition of young radical groups spearheaded by Resistance (a militant, left-wing youth organization), the Vietnam Action Campaign, High School Students Against the War in Vietnam, Students for a Democratic Society, and the Labor clubs at Sydney and New South Wales universities. The action was successful in spite of the virtual abstention of part of the more conservative section of the peace movement and a significant section of the Communist party of Australia.

Both sections of the movement, the younger antiwar activists and the older peace movement, have now called for mass actions in April or May.



Photo by Shannon

Allen Myers

U.S. district court rules against Ft. Jackson GIs; appeal is slated

A federal district court has denied GIs the constitutional right of freedom of assembly in a ruling on a civil liberties suit arising out of the Fort Jackson Eight case. But the decision opens the path for further appeals in higher courts.

These details were contained in a Dec. 25 press release issued by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee in New York:

Dec. 22, Chief Judge Donald Russell of the U. S. District Court in South Carolina, denied that soldiers at Ft. Jackson have the right to hold an open meeting on post to discuss the war and related issues.

His decision was in response to a suit which grew out of the harassment and imprisonment of eight leaders of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam at the South Carolina base last spring. The day following an informal meeting at which many GIs spoke out against the war, eight leaders were arrested; three of them served 61 days imprisonment in the base stockade. They were released when their case received nationwide attention.

The present suit was filed in behalf

of the GIs by attorneys Leonard Boudin of New York, David Rein of Washington, D. C., Howard Moore of Atlanta, and Thomas Broadwater of Columbia, S. C.

Judge Russell ruled against the GIs on the grounds that "... the denial of the right for open, public meetings at advertised meetings on post for the discussion of the propriety of the political decision to participate in the Vietnam War was justified 'by reason of the peculiar circumstances of the military' and represented no infringement of the constitutional rights of the plaintiffs. . . ."

But the judgment grants the jurisdiction of the federal court to intervene in cases involving constitutional rights in the military and this was a defeat for Army lawyers. They had tried to keep the case in military courts and also argued that since the Ft. Jackson Eight were no longer in the Army the case was moot.

The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee has announced plans to continue the suit. The address of GICLDC is: Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N. Y. 10011, 212-243-4775.



PRONOUNCED SPLIT. Bernadine Dohrn announces split with Progressive Labor at June 1969 SDS convention. Anti-PL group then split into Weathermen and RYM. She became a principal leader of Weathermen.

The Weathermen: violence for the sake of violence

(When several hundred SDS Weathermen tried to take on the Chicago police force last October it was clear that they had extended SDS's ultraleftism to the point of near lunacy. Now the national convention of the Weathermen, held in Flint Dec. 27-30, indicates the process of degeneration has gone even further.

(The following are excerpts from a Liberation News Service report on the gathering. Space limitations make it necessary to present it in this abbreviated form.)

* * *

Weathermen now talk less about a "strategy to win," more about their historic role as catalyst. . . .

A new Weatherman catchword was "barbarism." The Weathermen see themselves as playing a role similar to that of the barbarian tribes, such as the Vandals and the Visigoths, who invaded and destroyed the decadent, corrupt Rome. . . .

Bernadine Dohrn, former inter-organizational secretary of SDS for 1968-69, gave the opening speech. . . . She began by admitting that a lot of Weatherman's actions have been motivated by a "white guilt trip."

"But we fucked up a lot anyway. We didn't fight around Bobby Seale when he was shackled at the Conspiracy trial. We should have torn the courtroom apart. We didn't smash them when Mobe peace creeps hissed David Hilliard on Moratorium Day in San Francisco. We didn't burn Chicago down when Fred was killed."

Dohrn characterized violent, militant response in the streets as "armed struggle against imperialism." "Since Oct. 11 [the last day of the national SDS window-breaking action] we've been wimpy on armed struggle. . . . We're about being a fighting force alongside the Blacks, but a lot of us are still honkies and we're still scared of fighting. We have to get into armed struggle."

Part of armed struggle as Dohrn and others laid it down is terrorism. Political assassination — openly joked about by some Weathermen — and literally any kind of violence that is considered antisocial were put forward as legitimate forms of armed struggle.

"We were in an airplane," Dohrn related, "and we went up and down the aisle 'borrowing' food from people's plates. They didn't know we were Weathermen; they just knew we were crazy. That's what we're about, being

crazy motherfuckers and scaring the shit out of honky America."

A 20-foot poster adorned another wall of the ballroom. It was covered with drawings of bullets, each with a name. Along with the understandable targets like Chicago's Mayor Daley, the Weathermen deemed as legitimate enemies to be offed, among others, the *Guardian* [the radical newsweekly which has criticized the Weathermen] and Sharon Tate.

"Honkies are going to be afraid of us," Dohrn insisted. She went on to tell the war council about Charlie Manson, the accused leader of the "Tate Eight," who allegedly murdered the movie star and eight others. . . .

Weathermen, the Bureau says, digs Manson. Not only for his understanding of white America — the killer purportedly wrote PIG on the wall in blood after the murder — but also because he's a "bad motherfucker."

"Dig it, first they killed those pigs, then they ate dinner in the same room with them, then they even shoved a fork into a victim's stomach! Wild!" said Bernadine. . . .

The "crazy, violent motherfucker" theme was picked up in a long address . . . by Weather Bureau member John "J.J." Jacobs, who laid out the "White Devil" theory of all world history. . . .

"We're against everything that's 'good and decent,'" J.J. declared. This notion, coupled with the "White Devil" theory, formed the basis of what they call "Serve the People Shit."

Works by Ernest Mandel

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U.E. News

GE revives 'Yellow Peril'

By FRANK LOVELL

General Electric rounded out its back-to-work appeal to strikers at year's end with a play upon race prejudice and patriotism, thus adding the oldest of strikebreaking tricks to the long list already tried.

On Dec. 30, a full-page ad in the *New York Times* and other major dailies carried what is called "The Utica Story" wherein the complaint was made that the 13-union coalition refuses to bargain on company terms. None will comply with wages and conditions dictated by GE. So the company speaks directly to its former employees.

In this year-end appeal, the strikers are asked to forsake their unions and crawl back to the old conditions of work after being out for ten weeks. In purporting to tell how the machinists' union allegedly tyrannized workers at the Utica plant, GE taunts the strikers with the following twisted and loaded observation (just something to think about): "Funds recently pledged by Japanese labor unions to keep the General Electric strike going must have seemed particularly ironic to Utica employees. Japanese workers can only gain from a prolonged strike, or a super-inflationary settlement which pushes U.S. wage rates even further out of line."

There are some known facts about GE's foreign investments and its financial ties with manufacturers of electrical equipment in other countries, and the huge amounts of money stockholders rake out of this far-flung empire.

●GE stockholders received \$375-million in 1968. In the first nine months of 1969 they took another \$250-million.

●Fred J. Borch, chairman of GE, reported on Dec. 10, 1969, "The installed value of GE information systems equipment has been increasing very rapidly to the point where it now totals some \$1.3-billion on a worldwide basis."

●J. Stanford Smith, director of GE international operations, reported foreign sales in 1969 at nearly \$2-billion. Only about \$500-million of this was exported from the U.S., all the rest being manufactured in plants abroad representing GE's foreign investments.

●Some of GE's biggest holdings are

in Japan. GE owns 10.64 percent of Toshiba (Tokyo Shibaura Electric Co.) which has sales of nearly \$2-billion annually and is expanding rapidly.

●GE reports in "The Utica Story" that radios may cease to be manufactured in this country. "In 1966 General Electric had 4,877 employees making radios in Utica. In August 1969, that number had dropped to 2,505 and we were the last major company making radios in this country." The fact that GE was still making radios in its Utica, N.Y., plant had nothing to do with tender concern for the workers by GE management as is here implied, nor does the present strike have anything to do with GE plans for radio production. Long ago, as revealed by its own statement, GE began shifting this operation to its Japanese plants.

●GE deals mostly in heavy equipment—power plants, dynamos, jet engines, nuclear power reactors. Consumer items are a small part of GE sales. In November 1969, GE sold to the

2,000 in Portland march demand end to Viet War

By HERMAN PORTER

PORTLAND, Ore. — More than 2,000 antiwar demonstrators marched through downtown Portland during the noon hour the day before Christmas. The theme of the march and rally that followed, "Bring All Our Men Home from Vietnam Now," was displayed on many banners and hundreds of signs.

The march was the third successive monthly mass demonstration through downtown called by the Oregon Vietnam Moratorium Committee. The Moratorium Committee decided to call the march despite the likelihood of inclement weather and the fact that the colleges would not be in session. The previous marches had been so successful (about 10,000 participants in each) that it was felt an adequate, though much smaller, demonstration could be mounted at this time traditionally given to "peace" messages.

Japanese government technological information relevant to SEFOR, a fast-breeding nuclear power reactor, developed by GE with U.S. government funds. This can become one link in the chain leading to the development of Japan as a nuclear power.

●GE still has holdings in West Germany, and recently increased its share of the AEG-Telefunken electrical trust there.

●In France it is Bull-General Electric.

●General Electric Information Systems Italia is a wholly owned GE operation in Italy.

This brief listing, far from complete, shows some of GE's international connections and touches upon the deep involvement of this giant corporation in the power politics of this country and the world. It is, therefore, ironical that GE's labor relations experts should try to stampede GE strikers in Utica back into the plant by pretending that Japanese electrical workers have hatched a cleverly diabolical scheme to steal jobs away from workers in this country.

All the jobs being stolen from workers here are stolen by GE and farmed out to its foreign subsidiaries because in this way it increases its profits. If GE workers in Utica would leave their unions and ask GE to please pay them lower wages than are paid the Japanese workers, then GE might consider resumption of radio manufacturing in this country.

Whatever help the GE strikers receive from any source is badly needed and will surely be welcomed. The Japanese electrical workers and the 147,000 GE strikers here have a common enemy, GE. So it is natural and proper that they would try to help each other.

The "yellow peril" scare story about Utica appeared after the collapse of a more elaborate propaganda campaign to get the GE strikers back to work during the Christmas holidays. Union negotiators obtained a confidential GE memo revealing the company plans which consisted of letters and telephone calls to strikers homes—plus radio and newspaper advertisements—in an all-out effort to convince them to return to work before Christmas. The plan was for each striker to get at least nine letters besides phone calls from foremen and local plant managers.

John Shambo, chief negotiator for the strikers, declared that the campaign was "doomed to failure. It is another example," he said "of this arrogant company's self-delusion—as far from reality as when GE's top management told lower-echelon officials that the strike would collapse in the third week."

GE's strike strategy is to starve the strikers back to their jobs. But as the strike entered its 11th week, there are more GE workers on strike than the first week.

Meanwhile the company even tries to do its scab-herding on the cheap. Strikers at the GE Hudson Falls-Fort Edwards plant, across the Hudson River from Glens Falls, N.Y., learned that the company was offering big \$10 rewards to office employees who would recruit strikebreakers for the production lines. The facts spread quickly and GE retreated.

Speakers in the rally at the South Park Blocks were selected to represent the broad range of participants in the antiwar movement. They included: David Linn, chairman of the High School Moratorium Committee; Robert Reynolds, chairman of the Oregon Council for New Politics; Mike McCusker, a Vietnam veteran; Tonie Porter, of the Young Socialist Alliance; Kent Ford, captain of the Portland Black Panther Party; Nick Braun, of the Workers Revolutionary Movement; and Father Dubey representing the clergy. Jim Garner, a clergyman associated with Portland State University, chaired the rally.

One of the more interesting talks at the rally was given by McCusker who had been a photographer and reporter with the Marines in Vietnam. He told of a number of atrocities he had witnessed in Vietnam.

Right-wing thugs vandalize paper in San Diego

By BERNIE SENTER

SAN DIEGO—On Dec. 25, the *San Diego Street Journal*, (SDSJ), formerly the *Free Press*, suffered over \$4,000 damage to their type-setting and office equipment due to vandalism by right-wing thugs.

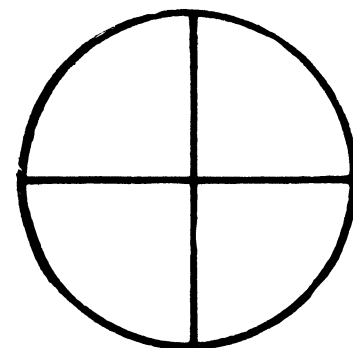
This latest attack is part of a pattern of threats, harassment and attacks aimed at the left in San Diego. As reported in the Dec. 5 *Militant*, the local SMC has been subjected to phone harassment and threats. Minutemen stickers with gunsight symbols have appeared and a sulfuric acid bomb was thrown doing \$500 worth of damage to the SMC chairman's car.

The staff of the *Street Journal* has had similar threats on their lives, and a month ago 2,500 papers were stolen from the *Journal's* office.

The present rash of attacks against the *San Diego Street Journal* began shortly after the first appearance of a fine expose series on James S. Copley and C. Arnholt Smith.

Copley owns and controls the Copley Press and other affiliated press services. He owns a major portion of UPI and enjoys a monopoly in 26 of the 28 cities he publishes in, including San Diego.

C. Arnholt Smith is director of Ryan Aeronautical, a big war contractor, part



You have been
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owner of the San Diego Padres, and is a board member and president of Westgate-California Corp. and U.S. National Bank.

The *San Diego Street Journal* has suffered bullet holes through their windows, arrest of staff members on contrived charges, threats on the life of their landlord which has led to their eviction, as well as two previous incidents of breaking and entering and vandalism at their offices.

Conspiracy?

The *Street Journal* has reported that according to a reliable source with close connections in the "Smith-Copley circle" a telephone conversation was held between Copley and Smith in which they agreed to "crush" the *Free Press/Street Journal*.

So far no libel action has been taken against the *Street Journal* regarding this reported conversation.

Although the police have maintained constant surveillance of the SDSJ offices, photographing all those seen entering, they were missing on the three nights in which the incidents of vandalism occurred.

Many concerned people have made the move to form a broad united front defense committee. We have as yet met with little help from the established news media, particularly that part which is owned and controlled by Copley. However we are determined to defend our constitutional rights and to repel these sinister attacks.

Life in an auto plant

At contract time workers face bosses, bureaucrats

By TOM CAGLE

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

When it appeared that a Black Panther caucus at the Fremont GM plant might influence UAW membership decisions, General Motors moved swiftly against the caucus. The company's actions were described in a statement by the central committee of the Black Panther caucus, Local 1364. It said:

"On Thursday, Oct. 23, the BPC was distributing leaflets concerning the settlement they (GM) are trying to shove on us.

"GM sent one of their company pigs by the name of Hughes #38 to investigate the leaflets. When pig Hughes reported to the lion's den (Borden's office) he was instructed to return for reinforcements.

"Pig Hughes came back with another labor relations member, camera in hand. They took pictures of the union brothers handing out leaflets OFF OF COMPANY PROPERTY. When they finished this, another labor rep. (pig in clean white shirt) by the name of John Myers asked for a copy of the leaflet.

"Ten minutes later GM called the Fremont police dept. and instructed them to arrest the leader of the BPC, Kenny Horston, at any cost.

"The Fremont police are in fact tools of racist and fascist GM.

"GM wants a 'yes' vote Sunday on the settlement. They do not want opposition from anybody.

"We must stand together against GM. They are animals, insane madmen, exploiters of people, anti-union. We must beware the beasts are upon us. If we vote 'yes,' GM will eat us alive."

Despite acts of intimidation such as this, the workers at GM Fremont are not afraid of a fight. They proved this

two years ago when they rejected the UAW national agreement by a two-to-one vote. Of the seven "rebel" GM locals throughout the country (out of 300) our local racked up the largest "no" vote, on a percentage basis. The workers showed a willingness to take on both GM and the UAW International, if need be, to maintain and advance our working conditions and living standard.

In the last plant election, our membership—angered and disappointed—dumped (defeated) the majority of the shop committee and top local officers in an effort to improve the fighting quality of our local leadership.

Sober approach

Workers, of objective economic necessity, tend to be realistic. They value the union and they try to improve it by replacing and renewing local union leadership.

There are other ways they show their sober, realistic judgment. If striking for an additional week will not produce any tangible results, they will settle for the best offer now. This "common sense" will always prevail when workers discuss the advantages of strike action, or what tactic is best, or if a certain strategy will produce maximum results. Only out of desperation or anger will they act against great odds, or take unnecessary risks, or engage in what appears to be "irrational action." When it comes to deciding what must be done the "level heads" always win out.

This is what happened at the contract ratification meeting that Sunday as arguments were presented by the chairman of the shop committee and by the International negotiator. They explained that in their opinion the offer of management was the best we could possibly get without a lengthy strike.

This report was greeted with boos and catcalls. Then the floor-mike was open for questions and discussions.

One worker, seizing the mike, stated that "this is the worst speedup we have



CELEBRANTS. UAW President Walter Reuther and machine members celebrate reelection at union convention. Principal function of "team" is to ram unsatisfactory settlements down throats of union ranks.

ever had, and a provocative management seems only too anxious to take us on in a strike." He added that this settlement "may be" the best that our committee can come up with, "but it does not begin to fill our needs or solve our problems." His opinion was that "it only shows up the inadequacy of the union's collective bargaining procedure, when management is waging open class warfare against us in the form of speedup and discipline." He then called on the membership to organize their own action within the plant in the form of slowdown and mass organized resistance.

It should have surprised no one when the International negotiator agreed, endorsing the "job action" approach. He seized the opportunity to take some heat off himself.

Another member got the mike to say that this was probably the best settlement our committee could come up with without striking. He also said he was opposed to a strike against speedup because management has the power to regulate line speed and take away our "victory" the day after we settle. He charged that our union uses "obsolete tools," and suggested that we "find more effective means to oppose the abusive power of GM."

In support of his general attitude about the possible success of a strike, this speaker cited a recent four-week strike at the Van Nuys, Calif., plant where a good settlement was won, forcing the company to put additional manpower on the line. Management canceled out this "victory" the week after the strikers returned to work. "They just cranked up the line speed."

This generally distrustful and uncertain approach prevailed and the settlement was ratified, without enthusiasm.

"So it came to pass. . ."

Management lost no time in hedging on their agreement. One example of how they did this occurred on our motor line. Here 15 grievances of speedup and overwork had been filed. All these were settled in exchange for one additional job, a new operation on the line. But management was not satisfied with this. They brought new work from the chassis line to the motor line, leaving us with only an additional half an operation to take the pressure off 15 overworked men.

Then to make matters worse, management eliminated one repairman. This left us with minus one-half operation. In other words, we ended up doing more work with fewer men. (Bunko artists please take note: if GM didn't invent the old shell game, they discovered a lot of new ways to operate it.) And while all this goes on, they crank up the line enough to steal an extra job or two per hour out of our labor.

There are some general conclusions I have come to from these, and other, experiences in the auto plants. In another article I want to write about what I think ought to be done.

'Riot conspiracy' charges against Austin students

AUSTIN, Texas—Twenty-two young people who were present at a disturbance on the University of Texas campus have been charged with rioting and property damage, according to the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The charges—which are based on the idea that anyone present at the time of the disturbance was a conspirator in it—carry prison terms of two to 20 years.

The incident occurred in the Chuck Wagon—a cafe in the student-subsidized Union Building. It has been a haven for activists from the community as well as the university.

Police were harassed there in early November, when they came in to take away an 11-year-old runaway. The police drew guns to silence the crowd; their car tires were slashed; four nonstudents were arrested; and the student-controlled Union board closed the Chuck Wagon to people not connected with the University.

On Nov. 11, a large group of students and nonstudents occupied the Chuck Wagon to protest the ruling. At 4:15, they were told they would be arrested if they did not leave. Most people moved toward the exits, but before they could get out about 50 riot-equipped police moved in. They sprayed mace into the crowd. In the rush to leave, several windows were broken, tables were overturned, and crockery was broken. Eight people were arrested that day.

Three weeks later, the grand jury issued sealed indictments for riot and destruction of property against 22 people. They gathered their information from police and by looking at photographs taken at the scene. Apparently they believe that anyone identified as being at the Chuck Wagon when the incident occurred is liable for prosecution under Texas riot laws.

Bond has been set at \$2,500 each. Eighteen people have been arrested so far, and the FBI has charged two people with unlawful flight to avoid prosecution.

'Sterile Cuckoo': reverse image still comes out same

Everyone interested in women's liberation should see the movie, "The Sterile Cuckoo." On the surface, the plot is of the old-fashioned boy-meets-girl variety with a titillating twist: in this case it is the girl who acts the typically aggressive masculine role by initiating a friendly relationship and then pushing the boy into dating and sexual involvement; the boy plays the traditionally passive female role throughout the first part of the movie, at first accepting and then responding to the girl's advances, finally falling in love with her.

But then the double-twist comes in. Despite the seemingly masculine behavior of the girl, she is totally dependent upon males. The worst tragedy of her life to date was that her father failed to love her sufficiently. Now that she has formed this attachment with the young hero, her whole life, her every thought is centered on their moments together. She lives only with him and through him. It is when she thinks she is pregnant that she is at last able to face the world with the greatest degree of self-confidence. You see, in spite of her seemingly masculine pursuit of the hero, she is caught in the traditional sex role assigned to her by society and fully accepted by her as part of her womanly nature.

The boy, however, has a whole world

to relate to outside of his relationship with the girl. He has friends with whom he enjoys spending time, he is worried about his college grades, he is concerned with his future career. Love and sex are an enjoyable part of his life but not the totality of his existence and certainly not the most vital expression of his selfhood. He is a true male after all as society defines that sex role.

His basically masculine nature is made even more obvious by contrasting him with his roommate, a he-man type who boasts continuously about his sexual conquests. In a moment of candor, the roommate reveals that he is really a virgin and all his manly talk is false. So, there is the very masculine-looking and sounding roommate—who is really a failure in living up to society's expectations of male behavior. And there is the hero—on the surface not very masculine but underneath it all, a real man.

I think the makers of "The Sterile Cuckoo" only wanted to make a poignant film about first love and growing up and the joys and miseries thereof—and they have succeeded in creating a sensitive portrayal of young men and women in today's America. They have, also, succeeded in presenting the negative aspects of sex roles as defined by our society.

—EVELYN SELL

The Great Society

Post-Xmas note — Neiman-Marcus had the perfect symbolic American gift for that successful relative or friend—a \$400 antique candy machine filled with antacid pills.

Non-cause-and-effect dep't — A Dec. 31 *New York Times* editorial notes that Dr. Mina S. Rees is now the first woman president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and somewhat sourly adds: "The modern breed of women militants will no doubt take it for granted that male chauvinism was primarily responsible for denying members of their sex earlier occupancy of the AAAS presidency." Ever tolerant, the *Times* adds: "There is probably some truth to that view." But, it explains, "a more fundamental reason is simply the relative paucity of women scientists in this country." And clearly there couldn't be the faintest relation between that paucity and discrimination against women.

Progress report—The New Jersey Supreme Court ruled that the city of Bayonne can no longer prohibit serving liquor to women seated at a bar. The decision, which seems to leave moot whether or not they can be served standing at or leaning on the bar, said that the presence of women in saloons can no longer be considered "a threat to the health, safety and welfare of the public."

Can't win—A young Ohio entrepreneur who hires hippies for his electronics company finds, according to the *New York Times*, "that they would work for practically nothing just to earn a decent living [??] but he also found they were methodical and clean and took pride in their work." Meanwhile, the UPI reported Dec. 17: "The House Agricultural Committee voted yesterday to withhold food stamps from non-working adults, strikers, hippies

and students who get support from their parents."

Oops, wrong image—Vatican officials were chagrined when a donated painting on their press office wall which seemed to be a tunic-garbed umbrella-bearing priest turned out to be a copy of a painting of Mao Tsetung.

Not so wrong—Maybe those Vatican officials weren't too far off, religion-wise, about that Mao painting. A description of the original in *Peking Review* says it "vividly portrays the lofty, great image of Chairman Mao. His eyes, encompassing the turbulent storms of the era, are gazing ahead over the road of advance for the revolution. . . The worn umbrella symbolizes Chairman Mao's working style of shirking no hardships for the revolution and travelling from place to place in all kinds of weather. . . Against a background of seething unrest and impending storm, the brilliant image of our great leader in his youth appears majestically. . ."

Second worst—The courts have taken a dim view of Pall Mall Golds and Silva Thin advertising which proclaims them "lower in tar than the best selling filter king." This may be, but 18 other brands are lower in tar than Silva Kings and 37 are lower than Pall Mall Golds.

Wants to police advertising—According to the *Wall Street Journal*, a Madison Avenue executive has proposed an annual "pig" award to the company producing the most distasteful ad.

White House gift item?—A former British Air Force pilot is offering to sell a souvenir he liberated in Germany at the close of World War II—a mahogany toilet seat used personally by Adolf Hitler.

—HARRY RING

Reading for revolutionaries

Marxist view of the USSR

IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM. By Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press (formerly Merit Publishers). 211 pages. \$2.45 paperback.

A common mistake made by both friends and enemies of the Soviet Union is to look upon it as a single, undifferentiated phenomenon. In reality, the first workers' state is a complex of various elements, with different economic, political and other interests.

No one has more thoroughly and accurately analyzed Soviet society than Leon Trotsky, and *In Defense of Marxism* is a collection of his writings on the question. The occasion was the appearance of differences regarding the Soviet Union which arose in the Socialist Workers Party in the fall of 1939 at the start of the Second World War. These differences led to a protracted factional struggle in which virtually everything about the Soviet Union and the attitude of revolutionaries toward it were debated. Trotsky's contributions to the debate, in the form of articles and letters, comprise the content of this volume.

Trotsky's opponents were members of his own organization, the Fourth International. A number of them had been associates for years. These were politically educated people who knew, or more accurately had known, a good deal about the Soviet Union and the Stalinist bureaucracy. They raised every conceivable objection to the position held by Trotsky and the majority of the Fourth International. In taking up their arguments, the author throws light upon some difficult questions, questions that are still debated within the radical movement to this day.

Some of the problems in finding a correct attitude toward the Soviet Union and the ruling bureaucracy are: What is the class nature of the Soviet state? Is it a workers' state, or as some claim, a form of state capitalism? Is the bureaucracy a social class with an independent role in the economy, a new kind of class that appears for the first time in history? Or is it an outgrowth from the workers' movement that has developed its own interests because of international and national developments? Should revolutionaries defend the Soviet Union when it is attacked by capitalist countries?

What position should revolutionaries take when the Soviet government does obviously reactionary things? What is the role of the different classes in Soviet society? Has the USSR achieved socialism, as its leaders claim? Is it possible



Stalin

to build a socialist society in a single country?

These are the questions dealt with by Trotsky. A mere listing of them indicates the fundamental importance of this matter. The very fact that the first successful workers' revolution was made in Russia and the first workers' state established there in 1917, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, imposes upon all modern-day revolutionaries the duty to study this question and understand it completely.

The opposition that arose in the Socialist Workers Party, and later split from it, tried to overthrow all the basic principles of Marxism that had guided the work of the fourth International and the Third International before its degeneration under Stalin's leadership. In his struggle for the correct program, principles and theories, Trotsky not only clarifies these things but makes important contributions to understanding how various elements within the revolutionary party itself can, under certain conditions, abandon Marxism.

In addition, the author deals extensively with the larger questions of world politics, the roles of the main nations and classes, and explains how revolutionaries should orient themselves under complicated and difficult conditions. Very likely this volume contains the most mature thoughts of Trotsky, most of which holds good for the present time and, in fact, for the whole epoch in history through which we are destined to pass.

In Defense of Marxism reveals the very best of Trotsky, his utilization of Marxist method to analyze the complex questions that arise in our times. He is an unabashed, bold practitioner of the materialist dialectic and defends it thoroughly against all varieties of its detractors. Here he stands on the same ground as those whom he acknowledges as his teachers, Marx, Engels and Lenin.

—MILTON ALVIN

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

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 686 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Penna. 19130. Tel: (215) CE6-6998.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, c/o Jeff Powers, 15 Creighton St., Providence, R.I. 02902.

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

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

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

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Points the way

Chomsky urges mass actions against war

By ROBERT LANGSTON

Last Nov. 15, a million Americans went into the streets of Washington and San Francisco to protest the U.S. imperialist genocide in Vietnam. Just a month later, the steering committee of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam—the national coalition under whose auspices these actions were organized—met in Cleveland. This meeting rejected the strategy of building yet bigger and more militant mass demonstrations around the principled, anti-imperialist demand, "Bring the troops home now." It adopted, instead, a program that would, at a time of rapid growth of popular antiwar sentiment, dissolve the movement into an inchoate mass of small, uncoordinated and unrelated actions around a multitude of issues. (See *The Militant*, Dec. 26, 1969.)

Permeating much of the argument that seeks to justify this kind of retreat from the struggle against the Vietnam war are two closely related, usually unspoken, assumptions. One is that the U.S. has been militarily defeated by the forces of the National Liberation Front and of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The other is that the U.S. government has, in any case, "decided" to "phase out" the war.

In an excellent article, "After Pinkville," in the Jan. 1 *New York Review of Books*, Prof. Noam Chomsky of MIT convincingly refutes both of these assumptions. And from his analysis, he draws the compelling political conclusion: militant mass action against the war must continue if the Vietnamese nation is to survive.

He stresses the central strategic importance of control of Vietnam to the U.S. imperialist goal of a "new Pacific age." "To perpetuate this new order," Chomsky notes, "we need military bases such as that at Cam Ranh Bay, which can play the role of the Canal Zone in the Western Hemisphere. There we can base our own forces and train those of our loyal dependencies."

Further, Chomsky points out, central to U.S. military strategy in Vietnam is the attempt to utterly destroy the social fabric of Vietnamese life. For only in this way is there some chance to undermine the rural popular base of support for the NLF. To defeat a people's war, the people must be destroyed.

Thus far, this effort has not succeeded. The almost incredible morale of the Vietnamese people and of the NLF soldiers has been able to withstand the systematic destruction of the country. But it would be foolish to fall into any mystique of people's war. The ever growing technological sophistication of U.S. weapons and information systems makes it possible to inflict ever more diabolical wounds on the land and its

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people with an ever smaller direct combat commitment of men.

Chomsky writes, "Our science may yet succeed in bringing to reality the fears of Bernard Fall—no alarmist, and fundamentally in favor of the war during its early years—who wrote in one of his last essays that 'Vietnam as a cultural and historic entity is threatened with extinction as the country literally dies under the blows of the largest military machine ever unleashed on an area of this size.'" The final defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, in short, must be a political defeat inflicted within the United States itself.

Contrary to those "radicals" now engaged in a race away from mass mobilization, Chomsky draws the necessary conclusion from this insight: "The large upsurge of antiwar sentiment can be an effective device for changing national policy if it is sustained in continuing mass actions across the country. Otherwise the administration can ride out the storm and continue as before to systematically demolish the society of South Vietnam and Laos."

The government of the DRV concurs in regarding mass demonstrations in the United States as vitally important to the struggle against U.S. imperialism. The Nov. 24, 1969, *Vietnam Courier*, the DRV's English-language information weekly, headlined its news story on the Nov. 15 actions, "U.S. Mid-November Mass Actions—A Relevant Answer to Nixon Policy." And its front-page editorial on the November mobilizations speaks of "this combination of efforts, those of the Vietnamese and American peoples," that "will carry ever greater weight in the evolution of events."

In contrast to the serious work of Chomsky, one may consider the frivolous nonsense solemnly purveyed by Arthur Waskow of the Institute of Policy Studies, who has emerged as a leading spokesman for the Mobe.

In a Dec. 2 memorandum to Mobe steering committee members, Waskow

asserts that "a merely liberal President . . . could stop the war," but as there is no possibility of doing anything along this line until 1972, he suggests three "actions or approaches" that—note well—"would need minimal organization." The most extraordinary of these proposals is presented under the rubric, "The economy": "If we were urging and assisting the organization of workplace peace committees, by May or June we could think seriously about a massive one or two day strike. We could start this by calling for teach-ins in every workplace in the country on Jan. 20..."

But what really excites Waskow's imagination is contained in the last paragraph of his memo. The Mobe "should give a Left direction to the country" by attacking the "Death Machine."

Now the Death Machine has two "aspects." One is "the hunger and malnutrition, bad medical care, rat-infested housing, etc., which afflict the underclass"; the other is "pollution, dangerous autos and other machinery, and abominable working conditions which afflict middle-class and workingclass Americans as well as the poor." To get at the double-decker Death Machine, Waskow suggests a "two-pronged major action in April," one prong to poke each deck.

Of course, the evils inflicted on human beings by decaying capitalist society, which Waskow hints at with his "Death Machine" metaphor, are real and terrible. But such a heterogeneous coalition as the New Mobe would be wholly unsuited to the task of taking on the Death Machine. On the other hand, groups like the New Mobe have shown that they can effectively mobilize militant opposition to the imperialist war in Vietnam. Waskow is proposing to renounce this real chance to deepen the process of radicalization in the U.S.—and to preserve the Vietnamese revolution and nation from destruction—for the sake of his version of an impotent "left."

Student Mobe sets national conference

The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam has called a national student antiwar conference to be held Feb. 14 and 15 at Case-Western Reserve University in Cleveland. Hundreds of young people, especially high school and college students and GIs, are expected to attend.

The SMC national office has reported that the topics to be discussed include the organization of mass antiwar demonstrations in the spring, developing campus struggles against university complicity in the war, organizing high school students, cooperation with the GI antiwar movement, developing the relationship of the student antiwar movement to the rising struggles of workers for higher wages to compensate for the war-caused inflation, and resisting recent government attacks on sections of the movement.

To register in advance for the conference or to receive information on arrangements, agenda, housing and transportation, write to Student Mobilization Committee, 1029 Vermont Ave. NW, Suite 907, Washington, D.C. 20005, or call (202) 737-0072.

Feb. 2 trial date for Panther 21

By ELIZABETH BARNES

NEW YORK—On Feb. 2 the Panther 21 will be going to trial here, ten months after they were arrested. The final pretrial hearings were held Dec. 18 as hundreds of demonstrators picketed outside the court building in solidarity with the Panthers. At a news conference in the courthouse pressroom, actress Ruby Dee spoke out against the victimization of the Panthers, calling it "outrageous."

The frame-up charges against the Panther 21 include conspiracy, attempted murder, arson, attempted arson and about 20 weapons-possession charges. The 16 Panthers in custody are scattered in seven different jails, each in a solitary cell and under 24-hours-a-day, lights-on surveillance.

Lee Berry, a Panther defendant who has suffered serious epileptic seizures during his imprisonment, has been held in maximum security since his arrest. He was transferred to Bellevue Hospital prison ward only after his condition became so bad that he went into a coma.

A demonstration was held outside Bellevue Jan. 3 demanding that Berry, who is in serious condition, be transferred out of the prison ward to a ward where he can get adequate medical attention.

A Christmas vigil which lasted from Christmas Eve to New Year's day was held to support the Panther 21 and other political prisoners. Some 2,000 people took part at one time of another. Another demonstration for the Panther 21 will take place Jan. 10 across from the Women's House of Detention at one o'clock.

Meanwhile, in Chicago, the Black Panther Party has condemned the city-sponsored coroner's investigation into the shooting of Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Asserting that the investigation is a handpicked "tool" of the Daley-Hanrahan administration, the Panthers have refused to take part in the inquest.

CALENDAR

LOS ANGELES

REPORT FROM AUSTRALIA. Speaker: John Percy, secretary of the Int'l Marxist League; founder of Resistance, Australian revolutionary youth organization; organizer of antiwar demonstrations. Fri, Jan. 16, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

THE NEW RADICALIZATION AND THE TRADE UNIONS. Speaker: Frank Lovell, staff writer for *The Militant*. Sun, Jan. 18, 8:00 p.m. Skoglund Hall, 1 Univ. Ave. NE. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

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