

New York socialist campaign launched

— See page 16

THE MILITANT

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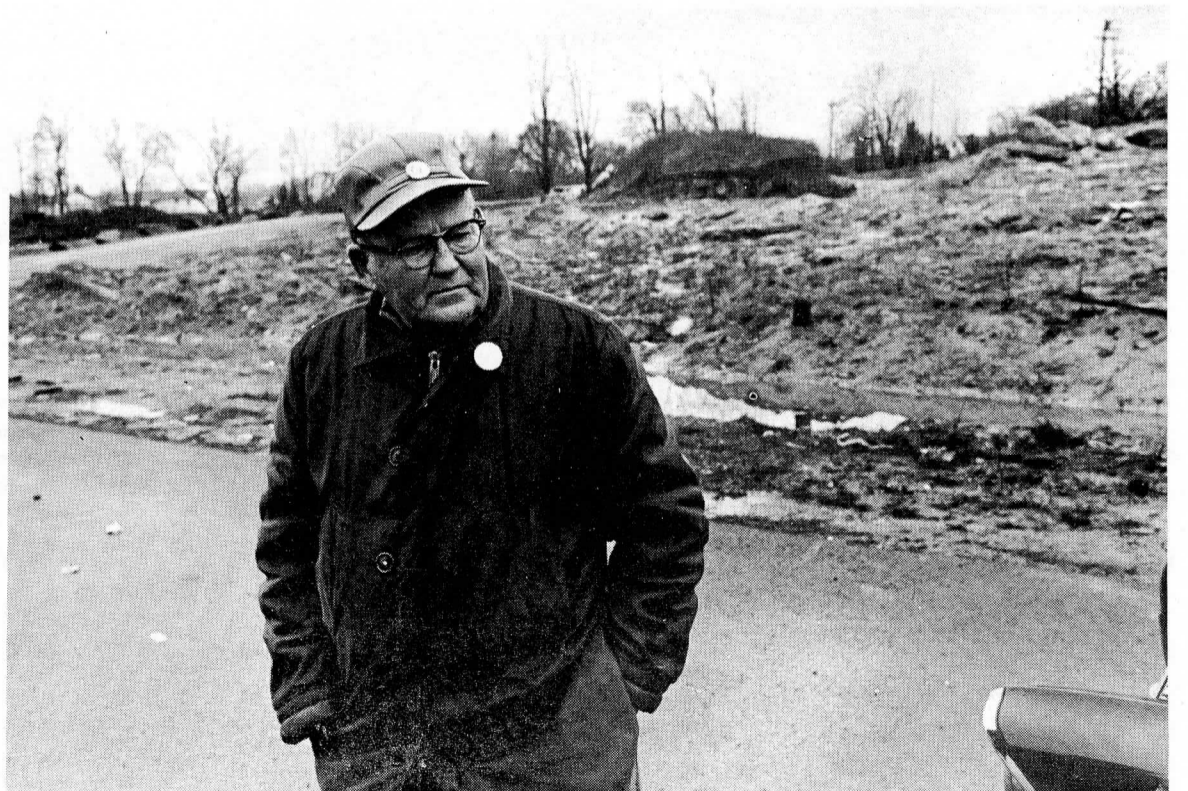
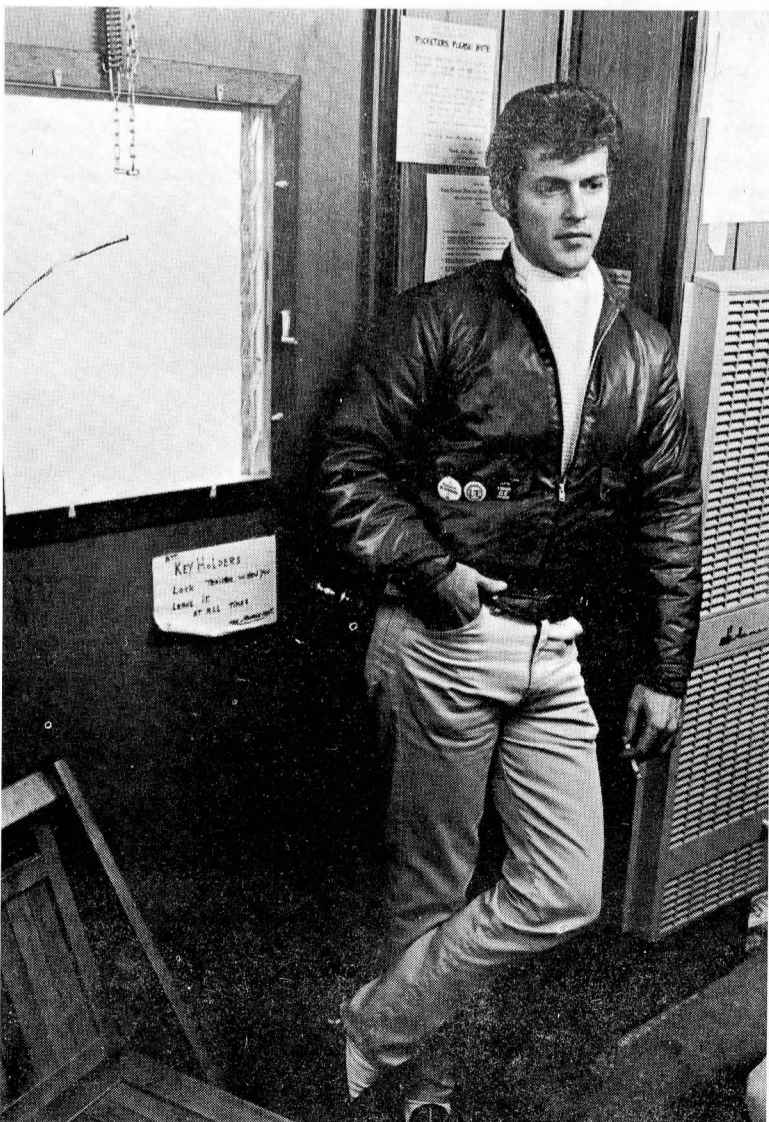
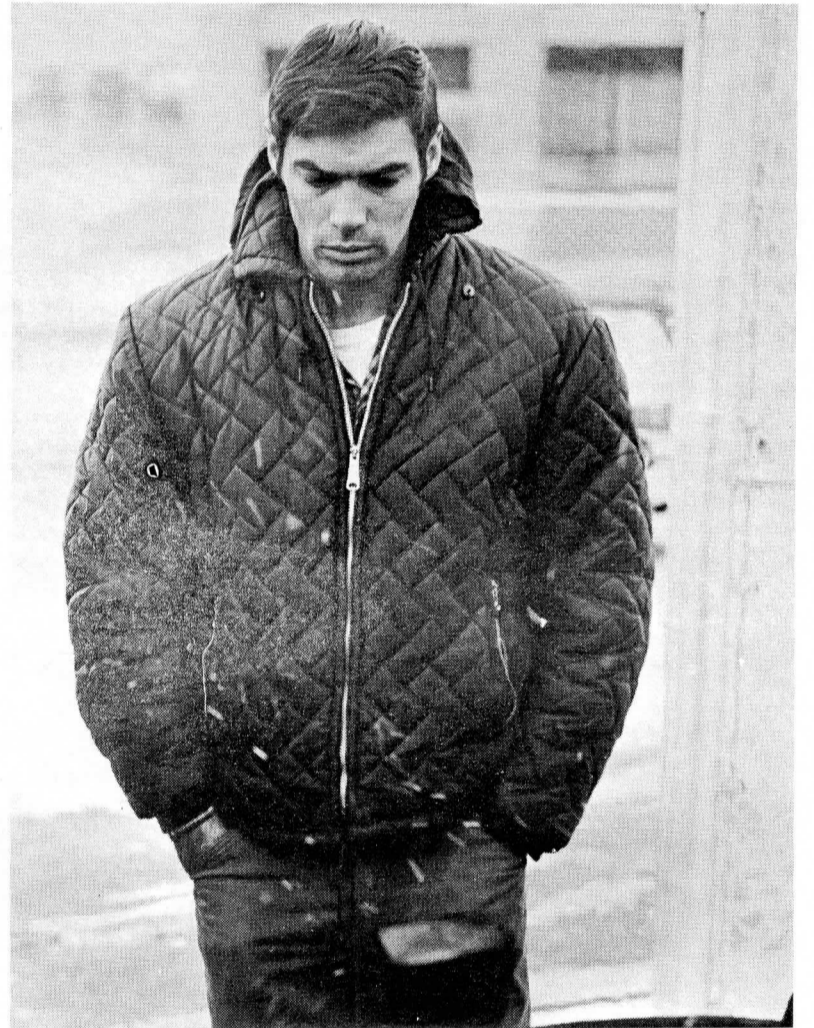
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Double squeeze coming up; less jobs, higher prices

— see page 10

Liberation News Service photos of GE strikers by Mike Shuster



RESIST PROFITEERS. These striking GE workers are fighting a greedy corporate giant which is demanding a short, skimpy contract because it is banking on increased unemployment providing it with a club to drive down wages. GE's greed does not flow from want. For a specially researched report on WHO RULES GE? see pp. 8-9.

High school radicals reject RYM

For linking student and non-student struggles

Los Angeles, Calif.

The following are excerpts from an article by Jack Weinberg which appeared in the Jan. 9 *Los Angeles Free Press*:

"About 75 radical high school students from more than a dozen L.A. schools got together for a conference over the weekend of Dec. 26 through 28. It began as a conference of high school SDS, RYM II. By the end, however, the group had severed its connections with SDS, and the RYM II faction, which once dominated the organization, emerged from the meeting as a minority, but a large one . . . The name, Radical Student Union (RSU), now replaces SDS as the organizational banner under which the group will operate.

"Besides the RYM II caucus, which included the incumbent leadership of the organization, there was a Valley Independent Student Coalition caucus and a Revolutionary Socialist Caucus . . .

"Members of the Valley group asserted that RYM II had refused to at all concern itself with the problems students face and as a result was unable to appeal to students. . . .

"RYM members argued against organizing high school students around their oppression as students because students, as such, were a privileged group. It is necessary to get them to repudiate their privileges in order to effectively forge a unity of the oppressed. . . .

"The RSC attacked the Maoism of RYM and expressed the view that socialism could not be separated from workers democracy—something, they asserted, which was not present in the countries RYM idolized. . . .

"The decisive vote at the convention came on a resolution submitted by the Valley group and supported by the RSC. . . . Quoting from the introduc-

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.

tion to the resolution: 'The Radical Student Union's eventual goal is the abolition of all exploitation, racism and imperialism . . . Under capitalism there can be no equality, only division. Its basic foundation is exploitation, its extension is imperialism. The fight against student oppression must be fought simultaneously with the fight against the oppression of all peoples . . . We must fight this system, attacking it from every possible aspect. . . .

"The Radical Student Union has set up temporary headquarters in Van Nuys at 7105 Hayvenhurst Ave., 91401. The phone is 787-6925. . . ."

In sending this article, I'd like to make a correction. The convention began as High School SDS, not High School SDS, RYM II. High School SDS began originally as High School Student Union. But at its founding convention in Sept. 1969, Mike Klonsky of RYM II attended and persuaded the people there to change the name to High School SDS. The people in the organization merely took on the name of SDS while only partly agreeing with its politics.

Gary Vogan

Revolutionary Socialist Caucus

"Boy, You Had Me Worried for a Moment There—I Thought You Said Three to Five Years!"



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

An appeal

New York, N.Y.

In the Chicago "conspiracy" trial we see the features of the political trial which is directed at the climate of our country rather than the defendants.

In 1951, at the time of the Rosenberg-Sobell conspiracy trial, the issues of the day were the Cold War with the Soviet union, the atom bomb, the Korean War, and the need to intimidate and press into conformity those who sought peace and brotherhood. The scapegoats were minority group dissenters.

Today the issues are domestic ones which can be resolved only with our withdrawal from Vietnam. The 8 defendants (Bobby Seale was separated solely as a tactical move) represent movements directed toward peace and justice. It is for this reason they have been handpicked as the focal point for all of the hate and prejudice, rampant and latent, which is still being nurtured in our country.

Each of these men of conscience has committed the crime of refusing to accept war and injustice. David Dellinger, Tom Hayden, Lee Weiner, Bobby Seale, John Froines, Abbie Hoffman, Rennie Davis, and Jerry Rubin are vital, thinking human beings. We must not remain silent while they are pushed around as pawns in political attacks upon the people.

Let it not be too little and too late. Speak out now, organize now. Give unstintingly, of your store of skills and money. Please send your check now to the Chicago Defense Fund, 28 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill. 60604.

We urge that you make this action your New Year's wish, as we have made it ours.

Morton and Helen Sobell

Curious

New York, N.Y.

I am curious (red). According to the article in *The Militant* Jan. 16 there was a Chicano Moratorium Day demonstration in Los Angeles. But the accompanying photo referred to it as a "Chicago" demonstration. Which was it?

J. B.

[We goofed. The "Chicago" in the caption should have been "Chicano."—Editor]

Meaningful answers

Lake Elmo, Minn.

Thanks for providing a newspaper that inspires free spirit, gives meaningful answers to today's tragedy in political problems, and, most of all, encourages many to work for a better way of life rather than give up and ride the polluted sea of American social, political, economic, and racist sewage.

B. P.

Grateful

Endicott, N.Y.

Without a doubt *The Militant* is the most important and most useful printed material we've found in our efforts to stop American aggression throughout the world as well as here at home.

Overall, we've learned from all the articles you've printed but our greatest knowledge has been learned from your informative antiwar articles.

Since all of our members are totally opposed to American "involvement" in Vietnam, and while most of us support world revolution and express support for the National Liberation Front, we are grateful for your publication.

Larry Paradis, Chairman
Students for Radical Change

Those sneaky capitalists

Philadelphia, Pa.

The sneakiness of capitalists never ceases to amaze me. The Pennsylvania

THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING
Managing Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
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Volume 34 Number 3

Friday, Jan. 30, 1970

Closing news date—Jan. 23

cigarette tax just went up 5c this past weekend, and at least one supermarket chain I know of (and probably all of them) was busy stamping cigarettes on Friday with Friday's date so that they would not have to pay the new tax which went into effect Monday. Of course, customers have to pay the new tax, and the store profits to the tune of 5c a pack.

It certainly pays not to smoke. I would suggest that any Pennsylvania smokers who buy cigarettes in the near future look for the date stamped on the pack, and if it is before January 12, demand to pay the lower price.

Amy Lowenstein

A responsible socialist

The following letter was recently received by the Young Socialist Alliance national office.

Everett, Wash.

I read the December *Young Socialist* and found its ideas very sound and convincing. I therefore feel that it is my responsibility as a socialist to ask to join the YSA.

I would like information on how I can start a YSA movement in my school, Cascade High School.

M. F.

Benefit film showings

New York, N.Y.

Co-defendants Jane Alpert and Dave Hughey charged with bombing capitalist office buildings and federal property, will be at two film screenings at the Elgin Theater, 19th Street and 8th Avenue, Manhattan, on Sunday, Jan. 25 at midnight, and Tuesday, Jan. 27 at midnight. *Yippie!* and Emile de Antonio's *In the Year of the Pig* will be shown Jan. 25, *The Battle of Algiers* and *Yippie!* will be shown Jan. 27.

A \$1.50 per person contribution will go to the Alpert-Hughey-Melville Defense Fund. Sam Melville, the third defendant, is still in jail in lieu of \$100,000 bail. Call American Documentary Films, co-sponsor of the midnight movies, at 212-790-7440 for further information. If you cannot come, send checks made out to Alpert-Hughey-Melville Defense Fund to: American Documentary Films, 336 W. 84 St., New York, N.Y. 10024.

Henry L. Hoffman
American Documentary Films

Now a Pamphlet!

Revolutionary Strategy in the Imperialist Countries

By Ernest Mandel 35¢

THE SPEECH NIXON AND MITCHELL TRIED TO BAN

Pathfinder Press
(formerly Merit Publishers)

873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

A MILITANT INTERVIEW

How N.Y. Young Lords developed

NEW YORK—The New York Young Lords Organization recently gained national prominence when on Dec. 28 they occupied the First Spanish Methodist Church in overwhelmingly Puerto Rican East Harlem. The church authorities had refused to cooperate in providing any of the social programs desperately needed in the barrio. During their occupation of the church, which ended with a mass bust on Jan. 7, the Young Lords conducted a breakfast program for children, health programs, a variety of classes, and other social programs.

Miguel Padilla, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York state attorney general interviewed Felipe Luciano, New York state chairman of the Young Lords Organization, for *The Militant*. The following is the transcript of that interview.)



Felipe Luciano (at mike) in church steps interview

Photo by Derrick Morrison

* * *

Q. The first question I'd like to ask you is when and why did the Young Lords get together?

A. It started really in Chicago, primarily as a street gang. As you know, Chicago is a community where the aggression, as in any ghetto community, is turned inward, leading to the formation of gangs. And a lot of social status depends upon what gang you are in and what position you hold. As time went by, political consciousness, gained through the mass media, through contacts with the Panthers, and through contacts with other political groups, forced the Young Lords to decide as a group that cutting each other up was not alleviating the problems of housing, jobs, racism, police oppression, etc. So they decided to become political. And when they did that, they changed from the Young Lords to the Young Lords Organization. Cha Cha Jimenez became the national chairman after making the transition from gang leader to political organization leader.

What happened here in New York is that a group of Puerto Ricans, myself included, had a kind of a college-street Puerto Rican organization called La Sociedad Albizu Campos. [Pedro Albizu Campos was a martyred leader of the Puerto Rican independence movement.] And we were trying to find ways to relate not only to the campus but to the streets as well. Some of us had gone over to Chicago, liked what we saw, were very impressed by the kind of organization that the Young Lords had in Chicago, and brought the idea over here. We decided, after meeting, that it would be the best kind of organizational structure to adhere to

because it related not only to the campus, not only to the homes, but also to the streets. And by unanimous vote we decided to switch over to become the Young Lords Organization. We still have most of the members of the La Sociedad Albizu Campos in the YLO.

This was the summer of '69. Our first offensive, as you know, was the garbage thing.

Now there are a multiplicity of problems here in El Barrio. We decided upon garbage, because it was the area that was most neglected and lended itself to a great deal of visibility since it was lying all over the streets. As you know the Department of Garbage, DOG, was not in any way responding to the problems of garbage pickup. Here in El Barrio it's a haphazard pickup. And when there is pickup, most of the residents get very mad because half of the garbage is thrown into the truck, and the other half is strewn in the streets. We felt that this would be the kind of thing that would attract people's attention and begin to let them know that we were not raving maniacs, as many revolutionary organizations are labeled already.

But we found that the cleanup was basically ineffective. Because after we'd pile it up and put it in garbage cans, it would never be picked up. So after three weeks, the community residents and ourselves decided that the only thing to do in order to focus the problem on garbage disposal is to throw the garbage into the streets. And so we blocked northbound and southbound traffic on Lexington Avenue, Madison Avenue, and many times on First Avenue, 111th Street, and 109th Street in lightning-like guerrilla raids. Now we knew that this would have a dual effect: one, the garbage would get picked up; and two, white folks would get very mad at the fact that they couldn't get to Yonkers, New Rochelle, and Mount Vernon.

Having that dual advantage, we could really begin to focus upon the problem of garbage disposal. Needless to say, the garbage was picked up in two hours. And the people saw that once they took to the streets to demand the redress of their grievances, they would get an answer to their problems. And the answer was pickup. So it was effective, and it was a victory for us. That was the beginning, the first formal campaign by the Young Lords Organization.

Q. What was your next campaign?

A. The next thing we decided to do was to go through a whole period of internal restructuring. You see, many organizations, unfortunately, are based on image rather than substance. And what they tend to do is involve themselves so much in offensives that they never really have a chance to restructure their organization, instill the kind of discipline, the kind of revolutionary discipline gained through political education, that is needed for effective offensives.

Many people can quote this and can quote that, but they have no substantive background in terms of how those quotes are related to El Barrio. We went through a very heavy political education, where our people would not only know the facets of Marxism and the different factions within it, but also begin to understand the nature of nationalism, revolutionary nationalism; what our island is about; the hookups between Puerto Rico and the mainland; the difference between urban Puerto Ricans and rural Puerto Ricans; what conditions brought about the 1937 Ponce massacre; and how we evolved here in New York City.

Q. What were the basic issues involved in the First Spanish Methodist Church occupation?

A. The basic issue was that a church that was in the community, that was public property, and that received tax exemptions on that basis, had to be responsive to the community, had to open up its doors to the community. The church was closed six days a week, and 85% of the congregation didn't live in El Barrio. The last fact would not have been so bad had they had programs that were responding to the community's needs, but they didn't. Their objection to any breakfast program or any community program was based on an isolationist point of view. We went around to other churches in El Barrio and each of them had some kind of antipoverty or church program running, so they had no space available. We decided to focus on the First Spanish Methodist Church because it had the space and was not using it.

Q. How did the community react to the occupation?

A. The community reacted very favorably. Leaflets, rallies, and marches

through the streets proved to be effective in terms of getting the people out. We had tried to get to the board of directors, and had been met by six cops at the door. We had written a letter to the congregation, and had been given a no. For six or seven weeks, we went to services with the congregation, worshipped with them, sang with them, and then after the services, we would go down in coffee clutches and talk to them. Many of them were coming around to our point of view.

I think it was around Dec. 1 when Carrazana made one of the most venomous sermons that I've ever heard, comparing the Young Lords Organization to Hitler, Mussolini, Al Capone, John Dillinger, and every other maniac. We had asked for programs to be run in cooperation, in conjunction, with the church—not that we control the whole institution.

So on Dec. 7, I rose to speak during services. I think I got a few words out before the police rolled in and pounced upon us. We had about 20 Young Lords in there, with a lot of community supporters. Four community supporters and nine Young Lords were arrested. I received a broken arm—two bones in my right arm were broken by the clubs—and eight stitches in my head. Some of the other Lords were beaten and required stitches; five were hospitalized. The minimum amount of stitches required was eight, by the way—they were deep cuts. One sister received 22 stitches in her head.

The issue then became one of the state storming into a traditional sanctuary, the church. And that is when the community really came out. From community leaders to the politicians and the media, the relation of the church to the community began to come into clear focus.

* * *

(At present 107 people are facing civil contempt charges stemming from the occupation of the First Spanish Methodist Church. A hearing has been scheduled for January 26. In addition, six Young Lords including Felipe Luciano are facing additional charges stemming from the Dec. 7 incident. Their trials will take place in April.

(Contributions to the legal defense can be sent to Young Lords Organization, 1678 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 10029. Telephone: 427-7754 or 427-7755.)



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A view from Black Africa

Biafra and self-determination

We are presenting this analysis of the Nigerian civil war, by I. B. Tabata, for the information of our readers. A long-time leader of the struggle against South Africa's apartheid system, I. B. Tabata is president of the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa (APDUSA). He is now living in exile in Zambia.

Though written last March, Tabata's article offers a valuable analysis of the Nigerian conflict. It is especially useful in light of the difficulty revolutionaries in this country have had gathering adequate facts upon which to base an informed assessment of a very complex situation.

This article is abridged. A complete version appears in the Jan. 26 issue of *Intercontinental Press* which also features a news article on the defeat of Biafra by Les Evans, managing editor of *IP*. (See abridged version below.) The same issue contains a description of U.S. penetration of Nigeria, by the African Study Group of Cambridge, Mass., and a statement by Jean-Paul Sartre and other leading French intellectuals decrying the wholesale slaughter of the Biafran people.

A 6-month subscription to *Intercontinental Press* (published weekly) costs \$7.50. Single issues are 50c. Send to P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Sta., New York, N. Y. 10010.

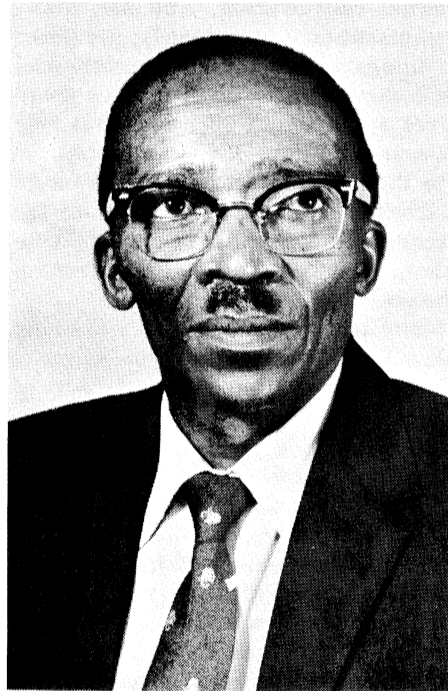
* * *

The Nigeria-Biafra conflict must be seen in its historic setting, for it carries within it all the sources of conflicts and contradictions so applicable to the continent of Africa as a whole. In it are to be found the relics of ancient social organisms existing side by side with the most modern social structures of an industrial age. We find the hoe alongside the tractor, the spear with the machine gun. The witch-doctor with his craft exists side by side with the nuclear physicist; in a word, a tribalist, a slave, a feudalist, a trader, an industrialist, and a worker live side by side. All these stages were represented in the British-created Nigerian state.

When Britain conquered that part of the world, she brought together under one administration, peoples of different cultural levels of development while at the same time carefully maintaining and nurturing the differences amongst them. The Fulanis and Hausas of the North lived under a des-

potic oriental medievalism, the Yorubas under feudalism, and the Ibos, through force of circumstance, developed a trading class. It was on these heterogeneous nationalities and numerous others that Britain imposed a single national state of Nigeria immediately before she granted political independence to it with a constitution that ensured that political power was fully in the hands of the most backward section of the North.

The point to remember is that the national state was not born as a result of the struggle of the national bourgeoisie, that is to say, it did not arise as a consequence of the inner dynamics of the natural development of progressive forces. It was an arbitrary imposition solely in the interests of foreign finance capital. Despite the constitution, the different groups, by and large, continued to identify themselves according to their tribal affiliations. The notable exception was the Ibo section. Within this group had developed a merchant class whose interests demanded a unified national state. Its representatives spread all over Nigeria in pursuit of their trade. In this sense, the Ibos were the only group who regarded themselves as Nigerians. It was only within this group and its struggles for a unified nation that "a general democratic content which is directed against oppression" was to be found.



I. B. Tabata

It was to be expected that soon after the overlordship of the British was withdrawn, the centrifugal forces within the society would come to the fore. The contradictions within were many and varied. There were the emirates of the North which sought to impose their political influence over the whole of Nigeria. In this they had the backing of Britain, for with their backward-looking social system, imperialism could ensure its continued economic domination. There were the kingdoms of the Yorubas, who were interested in entrenching their own hierarchical system, with all its privileges, over the minority groups and serfs. Then there was the Ibo merchant class, whose interest lay in the abolition of all medieval and feudal vestiges for the free development of capital. And, finally, there were the working class and poor peasantry.

In the welter of these irreconcilable forces at work, it was inevitable that an explosion would sooner or later occur. For a time the leaders of various groupings attempted to effect a reconciliation to stave off the coming holocaust, but the almost unbelievable corruption and other malpractices in the higher circles triggered the working class to take action in self-defense. Whoever engineered the first coup succeeded in forestalling an upheaval of no small magnitude from below. A revolt by the working class at that time would certainly have had the sympathy of the dispossessed semi-slaves in the North and the peasantry in the South, Midwest and the East. Such a movement had all the potentialities of a broad national movement that would cut across all tribal affiliations; sweep aside all vestiges of medievalism and forge a truly national state, thus performing a task that properly belongs to the bourgeoisie.

The military intervention succeeded in hoodwinking the masses without being able to eliminate any of the social contradictions. Faced with the sharpening social crisis and mounting discontent, the rulers dissipated the energy of the masses into the launching of pogroms which had the effect of debasing the political struggle to a most primitive level. In this way, they quashed the nascent aspirations for nationhood while at the same time they whipped up fresh fires of racism-tribalism.



It does not follow from this that socialists should support Ojukwu and all his policies. But it has to be remembered that the right of equality of nationalities, including secession, is indisputable. The only questions to be asked are: what are the motives for such a demand? Would the satisfaction of such a demand help to bring nearer the achievement of proletarian democracy? Biafra is not only a viable state but a potentially rich one. It is also an indubitable fact that its base is capitalism pure and simple, with all the social and political relationships that go with it.

This does not of course mean that all the relics of tribalism and other relationships of the past have been completely replaced by bourgeois democratic norms. But what it does mean is that the circumstances created by the present situation clear the field and create a terrain favorable for the struggle for socialism. It goes without saying that this is not the aim of the national bourgeoisie. Theirs is the creation and maintenance of a capitalist exploitative system. To achieve this end, the bourgeoisie as a class will not scruple to put their country in pawn to imperialism so long as they can be made junior partners in an exploiting joint-stock company Ltd.

The discovery of the rich oil deposits in the East is probably the chief motivating factor that influenced the Biafran bourgeoisie to break with Nigeria.

The same prospects of rich dividends galvanized the federal leaders to stake their claim to the spoils. Thus in the final analysis, the bourgeoisie on both sides impelled by the same motive—greed—plunged the country into a grim and bloody carnage. As would be expected, this situation sets the stage for intervention by rival imperialisms.

It is true that the policy of the Biafran bourgeoisie is in many respects condemnable. The despicable speech delivered the other day by one of the spokesmen calling upon American imperialism to save their country from communism reflects the opportunism and the basic reactionary nature of this class. *But this must not be allowed to cloud the issue—the principle of self-determination and concretely the right of the Biafrans to secede. There is no question but that in so far as the Biafrans are concerned theirs is a people's war for survival.*

The toll of imperialism in Nigeria

By Les Evans

The thirty-month Nigerian civil war ended January 12 when secessionist Biafra was finally overwhelmed by federal troops. The toll in human lives was at least 2,000,000 dead, more than have perished in the war in Vietnam.

From the beginning, rival imperialist interests intervened in the Nigerian civil war, seeking to deepen their influence on the African continent. Both sides accepted and sought aid from the most reactionary sources, and each accused the other of making important concessions to imperialism to secure military backing.

The governments of the capitalist world did not regard either side as a revolutionary threat to their interests.

Britain, whose British Petroleum-Shell group alone had investments in Nigeria of nearly \$500,000,000, became a heavy supplier of arms to the federal government at Lagos.

France, Britain's old colonial rival, was Biafra's chief supporter, although

it never gave the Ojukwu regime formal recognition and never provided the volume of aid the Wilson government gave to the other side.

Some of the most unsavory governments in Europe intervened, although not usually on the same side. Thus, Portugal aided Biafra, while Spain was reputedly running guns to Nigeria.

In Africa itself, only four regimes recognized secessionist Biafra: Gabon and the Ivory Coast, both former French colonies; and Zambia and Tanzania.

Washington maintained an ostentatious neutrality, but tacitly supported the Nigerian government, while providing some \$80,000,000 in food relief for Biafra—a "humanitarian" policy that was also designed to assure its influence there if the Biafrans should win their bid for independence.

Both Moscow and Peking intervened, too. Moscow joined British imperialism and Franco Spain in providing massive military aid to the neocolonialist government of General Yakubu Gowon in Lagos. Peking condemned the Soviet bureaucrats, expressing its own support, albeit critical, for the Biafrans' right to self-determination.

The civil conflict was further complicated by the mixing of tribal, class, and regional issues. The country itself was an artificial creation of British imperialism, bringing within arbitrary geographical boundaries people with no common culture or history. The federation united the seminomadic Hausas of the North, the Yorubas of the West, and the Ibos of the East, along with many smaller tribes.

With its 60,000,000 people, Nigeria is the most populous country of Africa. Biafra, with its Ibo majority, claimed 14,000,000 of this number when it seceded on May 30, 1967. An estimated 3,000,000 persons remained in the Biafran enclave at the final collapse.

(continued on page 5)

SMUGGLED FROM MEXICAN PRISON

How hunger strikers were beaten

[In our last issue we published a report from Mexico City on how the political prisoners, on a hunger strike in Lecumberri prison, were attacked. That account, based on the testimony of the wives of the prisoners, described how visitors, mainly women and children, were locked in a prison hallway and not permitted to go home. When the political prisoners heard their cries, they broke open the gates to their wards and went to aid their wives and children.]

[The prison authorities thereupon armed several hundred common prisoners with knives, sticks, and pipes, and turned them loose on the political prisoners.]

[The following eyewitness report was smuggled out of Lecumberri. It describes what happened in the cell-blocks after the visitors were finally released.]

Mexico City

January 1 — I have nothing, not even pen or paper, for these are borrowed. The room is so empty that the sound of my breath echoes. My headache reminds me of our defeat. A pipe — I think twice, but I do not remember. I had no time to take in all of what surrounded me.

The prison riot—common prisoners versus political prisoners—a spectacle, short-lived but as disastrous as planned. The prison subdirector gave the word to those from gallery S [common prisoners] and opened their gal-

lery [ward] door. We had left our gallery sometime before, as our visitors were being held and not allowed to leave, and we could hear them calling us.

Those from gallery M had to force open two of the barred gates in order to open other gates to galleries C and N so their comrades could help. When we reached where the women were being held, the prisoners from S were waiting for us with knives and pipes.

After some argument, bottles and bricks were thrown and it really began. Guards on the roof began firing while the guards below directed the common prisoners against us.



Gustavo Diaz Ordaz

... Biafra toll

(continued from page 4)

The Ibos, who were once the favored instruments of British rule in Nigeria, became the principal victims of the artificial state after independence.

Without the protection of the British, the Ibos, hated for their role as colonial administrators, became easy targets for pogroms along tribal lines. In face of widespread fraud, the Ibos' political representatives boycotted the federal elections of '964, which a northern-dominated alliance won by default.

In January 1966, Eastern army officers led by Major General J. T. U. Aguiyi-Ironsi, an Ibo, staged a coup, deposing the "elected" government. Ironsi was overthrown in a counter-coup in July 1966, which was followed by a pogrom in which as many as 50,000 Ibos were killed. This set the stage for secession.

It can still be debated whether Biafra constituted a nation, and as such has been denied its legitimate right to self-determination. It may yet be seen that the Ibos were right in believing that they could never be secure in a Nigeria controlled by their traditional enemies.

But the factor that outweighed all others, in the absence of a working-class party or a revolutionary movement on either side, was the deepening influence of Western imperialism — in Nigeria and Biafra alike. The *New York Times* gave its estimate of the outcome of the war in its January 13 issue.

Nigeria, the *Times* said, "has enough oil to put her among the top six or seven producers in the world and the population to sustain industrialization. . . . The end of the war will make it possible to reopen oil fields disrupted by the fighting, including tracts owned by French, Italian, British and Dutch interests. Overall, the British are the big winners, because they dominate the Nigerian economy."

Intercontinental Press

In the fight I saw the general [General Andrés Puentes Vargas], the director of the prison, no more than two feet away from me, standing as calmly as if he were at mass, or like an addict at the height of his trip. Nothing seemed to faze him and he had no reason to be fazed. Who else could have planned it? Several hundred common criminals were armed and sent against 115 political prisoners, eighty-five of whom had been on a hunger strike for more than twenty-three days. The general stood calmly among the common prisoners . . .

We were quickly beaten back to our galleries, many of us hurt. We had to decide how to defend ourselves when the common prisoners would come again.

* * *

January 2—The night has passed. Everyone is tired; we are under siege. Surrounded by the common prisoners, who are armed with pipes, etc., no one is allowed to leave or enter. It was not the best of judgment that led us to gallery M, just a sort of protective instinct. Here we are in the worst position. Half of those who were here were cut off from us last night and went to galleries C and N. We are only about twenty and if something should arise we will not be able to defend ourselves. Even the guards, who were once sympathetic to our cause, are now against us.

Three of our comrades in the hospital are in bad shape. One was shot

and the other two knifed. Another comrade is now having his fingers (smashed last night by a pipe) bandaged by a friend here in this room. The families of the political prisoners have been outside the jail protesting since morning and they continue to telephone and visit every important government official. No results, and the danger still exists that even a single common prisoner could touch off the spark that would bring the mob back, perhaps to commit mass murder.

* * *

January 3— Grenaderos armed with submachine guns are outside the prison and have been since Thursday. Visitors were allowed to see us for the first time since the attack. Blankets have been sent us from the outside. Everyone has protested in our behalf; that is, friends, families, and those students who know what happened. Conditions are really bad in [ward] C. You can look nowhere without seeing blood.

[Ward] N has not been entered, but we fear for them as they could be attacked at any time. But at least we know that they are well organized and able to put up one hell of a fight.

We need help in a big way as quickly as possible. This is the twenty-fifth day of the hunger strike and we have decided to continue.

Intercontinental Press

Antiwar spokesman fights frame-up in Chicago case

By DERRICK MORRISON

In the aftermath of the police attack on the demonstrations during the 1968 Democratic Party convention in Chicago, the process continues of making out the victims to be the criminals and the criminals to be the victims.

The "conspiracy" trial of the Chicago Eight is now in progress; around Jan. 21, the trial of Professor Sidney Peck will open. Peck is charged with two counts of aggravated battery, a felony, and two counts of resisting arrest. States Attorney Edward Hanrahan, whose office is prosecuting Peck, is the same man who ordered the search and destroy mission that resulted in the deaths of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. If convicted, Peck faces a maximum sentence of 12 years in prison and a \$22,000 fine.

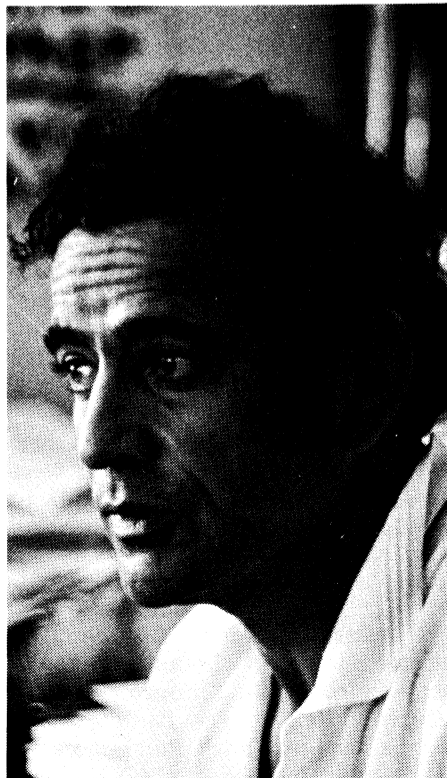
Peck is associate professor of sociology at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland. A co-chairman of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which sponsored the massive marches in Washington and San Francisco last November, Peck is a long-time activist in the antiwar movement. He is a founding chairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council and of the Ohio Peace Action Council.

At the time of the demonstrations in Chicago, Peck represented the protestors in negotiations with the Daley regime for parade permits. While attempting to carry out his mission, he was brutally beaten by the Chicago police on the evening of Aug. 28, the night cop violence reached its height.

After the cops got through with him, Peck had severe scalp wounds, body bruises, swollen testes, and a multiple fracture of the left hand which required surgery.

Peck was first charged with disorderly conduct, aggravated assault, and resisting arrest, all misdemeanors. But after Peck filed a suit against Chicago police officials and city authorities for depriving him of his civil rights and refused to make a deal with the prosecutor on the misdemeanor charges, the charges against him were escalated to felonies.

Funds for the legal defense are urgently needed. Contributions should be sent to the Professor Sydney Peck Defense Fund, c/o Rev. Ray Milkethun, University Christian Movement, 11205 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44106.



Prof. Sidney Peck

Black man wins acquittal in Detroit case

By JOHN HAWKINS

DETROIT—Alfred Hibbit, one of three men framed up on felony charges growing out of a police attack on a Republic of New Africa convention here last March, was found not guilty Dec. 22 by a jury of six Blacks and six whites. The unanimous verdict of the jurors was returned after only six hours of deliberation.

The composition of the jury, and the verdict itself, represent an important civil-liberties victory. Only a few months ago, one of the patrolmen charged with the murder of two Black youths during the July-August 1967 ghetto rebellion was acquitted by an all-white jury.

Hibbit was charged with assault with intent to commit murder. A cop was killed and another wounded last March 29, when police attacked the New Bethel Baptist Church, where the Republic of New Africa was holding its convention. The police fired indiscriminately into the church, forcing everyone inside, including many women and children, to huddle for safety on the floor.

Rafael Viera and Clarence Fuller are awaiting trial in connection with the same incident. Viera's trial has been set for March; no date has yet been set for Fuller's.

During the six-week trial, presided over by Circuit Court Judge Stewart A. Newblatt, Hibbit was defended by attorneys Kenneth Cockrel, Milton Henry and Justin Ravitz.

Only two of the dozen witnesses in the trial even tried to identify Hibbit as the assailant of the cop. One, a cop, could only identify a "lone Negro man." The other, David Brown Jr., identified Hibbit as the man he allegedly saw shoot at one of the cops outside the church. But Brown had himself originally been held in connection with the incident and released on probation as a juvenile offender after agreeing to testify against Hibbit.

ALL THE NEWS THAT FITS

How GI newscasts are censored

By ROBERT LANGSTON

JAN. 22—U.S. Army investigators in Saigon have not surprisingly declared charges that armed forces newscasts in Vietnam are censored to be unfounded. Sp/5 Robert Lawrence, the GI television newscaster who on his regular program Jan. 3 protested censorship and who was removed from the air and faces a special court-martial on trumped-up charges because of it, has been transferred "up country" from Saigon to a II Corps advisory group in Kontum in the central highlands.

The Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (MACV) brass' investigation of itself reached the conclusion that not censorship but "editorial judgment" is at work in the Armed Forces Vietnam Network's (AFVN) presentation of the news. Documents made public on Jan. 14 by Lawrence make clear just what this "editorial judgment" consists of.

One of the documents released by Lawrence is a long letter dated Jan. 2 to Congressman John Moss from Sp/5 Michael Maxwell, who was taken off the air last November after he protested censorship during a television interview and requested an official investigation. (That investigation, too, ended with a whitewash of censorship policies.)

Maxwell points out that AFVN censorship violates even formal Department of Defense policy, which is stated in a memorandum dated May 1, 1967, from the then secretary of defense, Robert McNamara. In that memorandum, McNamara proclaimed that "the public information policy of the Department of Defense demands maximum disclosure of information except for that which would be of material assistance to potential enemies." Specifically, McNamara goes on to state, members of the armed forces "are entitled to the same unrestricted access to news as

are all other citizens. . . . Calculated withholding of unfavorable news stories and wire service reports from troop information publications such as *Stars and Stripes*, or the censorship of news stories or broadcasts over such outlets as Armed Forces Radio and Television Service, is prohibited."

Far below the sublime heights of Pentagon promulgation, however, paragraph 10 of the statement governing AFVN operations declares, ". . . it is extremely important to maintain complete objectivity in the reporting of news and to report all news in a manner commensurate with the ethics of good broadcasting and so as not to be detrimental to the best interests of the United States." And paragraph 16 of the same statement decrees, "Within the existing framework of factual and objective reporting, the best interests of the United States government and support of U. S. national objectives will be the keynote of all news selection."

Just how the AFVN brass reconcile "objectivity" and the "ethics of good broadcasting" with "support of U. S. national objectives" may be gathered from Maxwell's detailed list of 30 specific, newsworthy occurrences that were supposed to remain unfacts for GIs dependent on AFVN for their information. The following is an arbitrary selection:

● July 1968: Senator Gruening's charge that several high-ranking Vietnamese officials were involved in illegal narcotics traffic.

● July 1969: An ABC film report on Cambodia's recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

● August 1969: The refusal by members of Co. A, 196th Brigade, Americal Division, to move out on a mission.

● Summer 1969: Racial incidents, including the uprising at the Long Binh stockade and at Cam Ranh Bay.

● Sept. 1969: A CBS report by Charles Collingwood on the death of Ho Chi Minh.

● Sept. 1969: South Vietnam Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky's statement on the withdrawal of 40,500 U.S. troops from Vietnam.

● Oct. 1969: Portions of a speech by Vice President Agnew.

● Dec. 22, 1969: A demonstration against the South Vietnamese government.

● Dec. 25, 1969: An antiwar rally at Kennedy Square in Saigon. (The original story was termed "too insignificant." Later film reports were called "dated.")

Furthermore, Maxwell discloses, AFVN newscasters are supposed to report the news without ever using certain phrases, including "napalm," "South Vietnam," "troop withdrawal," "National Liberation Front," "search and destroy," and "VC deserter or defector."

When GI newscasters have protested these policies, they have been barred from the air, transferred "up country," vilified, and threatened. The MACV assistant adjutant general, Lt. Col. L. R. Bardwell, for example, told Lawrence: "You are subject to an investigation by the MACV inspector general for making statements not consistent to[sic] MACV policy and we have placed you in a capacity to utilize your services. You are a young, inexperienced newsman and do not use good judgment in handling news." (The 27-year-old Lawrence has had seven years' professional experience. Before entering the Army, he was a radio station manager, and his professional colleagues saw fit to elect him vice president of the Georgia Broadcasters Association.)

Some insight into the mentality of these brass bureaucrats, whose journalistic experience, in many cases, has been limited to wielding the red pencil wherever copy does not coincide with their prejudices, is provided by a letter to the *New York Times* commenting on the Lawrence case from one Reginald S. Jackson, who explains that he



ROBERT McNAMARA. Johnson's secretary of defense issued 1967 order that purportedly assured that GIs "are entitled to the same unrestricted access to news as are all other citizens." In fact, brass has consistently "managed news" and harassed GI journalists protesting censorship.

was "a public relations officer for the XIV Army Corps in the Pacific in World War II and deputy information officer of United States forces in Korea. . . ."

"The Armed Forces Radio," Reginald writes, "the unit and camp newspapers and others are primarily morale factors and the principal business is fighting the war. . . ."

"Specialist 5 Lawrence should realize he is willingly or unwillingly working for the Army. What would happen to correspondents for newspapers, radio and television stations and magazines if they started to criticize in writing or broadcasting the people for whom they work?"

Jersey City headquarters of Black Panthers attacked

By DERRICK MORRISON

JERSEY CITY, N. J., Jan. 20—Last night, at around 11:30 p.m., a gasoline fire was started in front of the headquarters door of the Jersey City Black Panther Party. The lone Panther occupying the office quickly called other members, and through quick action, the fire was put out before the arrival of the fire department.

Before and after the fire, Panthers spotted a white male sitting in a blue car across the street from the headquar-

ters. When a Panther attempted to approach the car, the driver sped away, with his gas tank opened.

Immediately after this incident, Panthers and community residents occupied the office. Then, at around 1:30 a.m., a car rode past the office, firing into the place with an automatic or semi-automatic weapon. Luckily, no one was hit. However, the jacket of a Puerto Rican Panther was singed. The bullets also set fire to a poster of Malcolm X on the wall.

According to Panther spokesmen, this is the first time the office has experienced an assault like the one last night. They think it might have occurred due to the Panther's support of the community's effort to bring to trial a policeman's wife who shot to death a Black man on New Year's Day. The incident arose when the policeman, off duty, made some inflammatory remarks to a group of Brothers, who then went to inquire about the statements. His wife saw this, she came out of the house firing a pistol, killing one Brother. The policeman's wife, although charged with murder, is free on bail.

When the Panthers came over to their office this morning, several cops were standing out in front. They had come to investigate. Whether anything will come out of such an investigation is very dubious.

At present, the Jersey City Panthers are operating a free breakfast for children and free clothing program.

Contributions to the Panther Party can be sent to: Black Panther Party, 384 Pacific Ave., Jersey City, New Jersey 07304.

New York forum hears spokesmen for Panther 21

NEW YORK—Close to 150 people attended a defense meeting for the Panther 21 at the Militant Labor Forum here Jan. 16. Speakers included Zayd Shakur of the Harlem Black Panther Party, attorney Bill Crain of the legal defense for the 21, Mirta Vidal of the Young Socialist Alliance, and Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York state. The YSA and SWP representatives affirmed the two organizations' unconditional support of the rights of the Panther Party in the face of the recent government attacks. They emphasized the threat these attacks pose to the antiwar movement and the struggle of other national minorities for self-determination.

Zayd Shakur, who is the brother of Lumumba Abdul Shakur, one of the 21, explained that unlike other cities, which use more blatant tactics such as murdering Panther leaders and armed assaults on Panther headquarters, New York uses the more sophisticated methods of undercover agents and conspiracy busts. He urged people to participate in mass mobilizations around the courthouse when the trial starts Feb. 2.

In the same vein, attorney William Crain said, "The only way there is going to be any kind of victory for the 21 is to have the same kind of support in New York that Huey had in Oakland at his trial."

The audience, mostly students, contributed \$86.18 to the Committee to Defend the Panther 21, 37 Union Square West, 4th floor, New York, N. Y. 10003.

CALENDAR

BAY AREA-BERKELEY-SAN FRANCISCO

THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND THE NEW RADICALIZATION. Speaker: Frank Lovell, labor writer for *The Militant*. Fri., Jan. 30, 8:00 p.m. Donation: \$1. 2338 Market St. Tel: 626-9958. Ausp: Bay Area Militant Labor Forum.

BOSTON

THE STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION. Panel: Florence Luscomb, Suffragette; Toba Singer, YSA, activist at B.U. for women's liberation, author of articles in *B.U. News* on women; Augusta Trainor, socialist woman, trade unionist, active in Boston Women's Liberation. Fri., Jan. 30, 8:00 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Room 317. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

CLEVELAND

GRAND OPENING CELEBRATION OF NEW YSA-SWP HEADQUARTERS. Guest speaker: George Novack, noted Marxist author. **THE SCIENCE OF REVOLUTION AND THE ART OF MAKING THEM.** Banquet and party with live band and light show. Fri., Jan. 30, 6:00 p.m., 180 N. Wacker Dr. (cr. of Lake and Wacker), Rm. 310. Tel: 249-8250. Contrib: \$2.50.

LOS ANGELES

ABORTION—WOMAN'S RIGHT TO DETERMINE HER OWN DESTINY. Speakers: Panel including Elizabeth Canfield, head counselor, L.A. Free Clinic; a representative from *Women for Abortion Repeal*; a representative from the *Socialist Workers Party*. Fri., Jan. 30, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

THE HIGH SCHOOL REVOLT. Panel of high school students from the Twin City Area. Sat., Jan. 31, 8:00 p.m. Skoglund Hall, 1 Univ. Ave. NE. Ausp: Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

BORICUA DESPERTADO! (AN AWAKENING PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITY). Speaker from the Young Lords Organization. Fri., Jan. 30, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.) Contrib: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

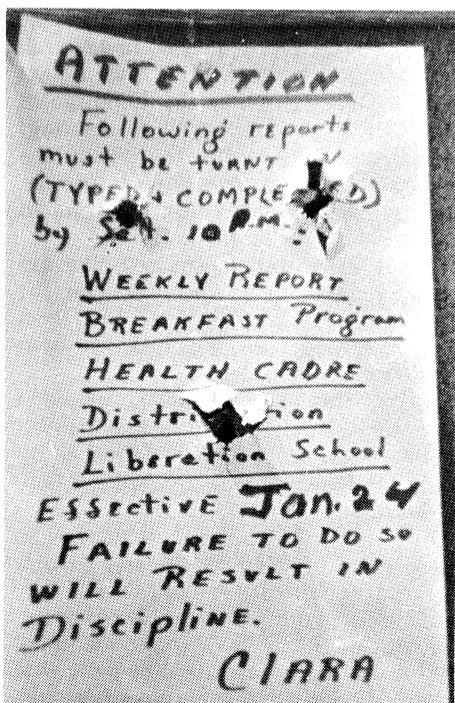


Photo by Howard Petrick

Bullets ripped through Jersey City Panther headquarters. Cops say they're looking into it.

N.Y. women press suit against abortion laws

By DAVID THORSTAD

NEW YORK—Public hearings began here last week on a suit being brought by New York Women's Liberation against the New York state abortion law.

The suit, being brought by nearly 350 plaintiffs, argues that the New York law is unconstitutional because it denies women the right to privacy in their personal and sexual associations and their right to life and liberty by denying them the right to control their own motherhood.

The hearings finally got under way Jan. 15 after being delayed by the state's attorneys who had demanded a ruling on their objection that the hearings should be closed to the press. U. S. District Judge Edward Weinfeld ordered that the hearings be open.

A group of seven doctors and one psychiatrist have been permitted to intervene as defendants in the case along with the state. These doctors, some if not all of whom are Catholics, are referred to by the plaintiffs as "Friends of the Unborn Fetus," the actual name of another group with similar convictions that was denied court permission to intervene.

Their interest in the case, as stated in their petition to intervene, includes theological and ideological grounds, as well as the very practical fear that if the suit succeeds, "an abridgement of opportunity for them to advance to head a Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology in accredited hospitals will result. . . ."

Women's Liberation is producing witnesses who represent a broad spectrum of reasons for opposing the existing abortion law: scientific, religious, civil libertarian, and just plain human.

Many of them have had abortions.

One of the witnesses, Rabbi David Feldman, author of *Birth Control and Jewish Law*, testified that the New York law prevents him from counseling as Jewish law would warrant. He explained that under Jewish law "the welfare of the woman is paramount."

Patience with the state's attorneys began to run out during the moving testimony of a woman who related the mental anguish and humiliation of having been unmarried, pregnant and a Catholic. An objection at the outset by Joel Lewittes, Assistant Attorney General of the State of New York, to any testimony regarding the Catholic Church as being "irrelevant" drew groans from many in the audience.

At the conclusion of her testimony, he moved that it all be struck out as "irrelevant." This motion was met with even louder groans and shouts of "Pig!" Florynce Kennedy, one of the attorneys for the plaintiffs, called Lewittes' attitude "gratuitously insulting and typical of the callous disregard the state of New York has consistently shown women." She was applauded.

The hearings will be continued on Jan. 30. Oral depositions on the suit will be presented before a three-judge federal district court on April 15. If its decision is unfavorable, it will be appealed directly to the Supreme Court.

Nearly 100 people attended a Jan. 19 planning meeting called by People to Abolish Abortion Laws. This group has set Mar. 21 as the date for a massive demonstration supporting the abortion law suit and calling for free legal abortions. For information contact People to Abolish Abortion Laws, 135 West 4th St., N. Y., N. Y. (212) 254-4488.

Feeley: "Her confidence shows . . . Her enthusiasm is contagious"

By ROBERT DAVIS

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 17 — Newspaper reporters here had their first opportunity to meet and talk with Dianne Feeley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate in California, in a series of informal interviews this week. The various news articles which resulted stressed the issue of women's liberation as a central focus of the campaign.

Mildred Hamilton, writing for the women's page of the *San Francisco Examiner*, asked the inevitable question, "How does a [nice] Catholic high school graduate, the daughter of working class Democrats, become an energetic revolutionary who teaches, demonstrates and now seeks political office?" Art Beeghley of the *S. F. State College Phoenix* wrote, "Far from being wild-eyed and angry, with soiled combat boots, Miss Feeley is comfortable to talk to . . . Her confidence shows . . . her enthusiasm is contagious."

It was the seriousness and reasonableness of Dianne Feeley's ideas and her confidence about winning people to them that came through most strongly for these reporters. The *Stanford Daily* carried its article under a front-page headline: "Socialism! 'Serious Alternative!'"

Judith Anderson, *S. F. Chronicle*, expressed surprise that Dianne Feeley could explain "quite matter-of-factly" the relationship of women's rights to the revolution.

And *The Examiner* said: "In her concept of a liberated future, Miss Feeley . . . sees a guaranteed adequate wage paid by society to a woman who chooses to be a homemaker, textbooks rewritten to remove myths of women's inferiority, no discriminatory practices in education and employment . . . [She] sees the political, social and economic changes of the future linked with new

freedoms for women . . . The serious issues of peace and minority rights concern her more than banning bras and false eyelashes."

The *Stanford Daily* said: "Miss Feeley mounts a serious attack on our present system at various levels including ecological destruction, worldwide U. S. imperialism and the repression of minorities and other dissidents . . . [She] feels that there is a growing awareness of the problems and effects of capitalism . . . that people want an alternative."

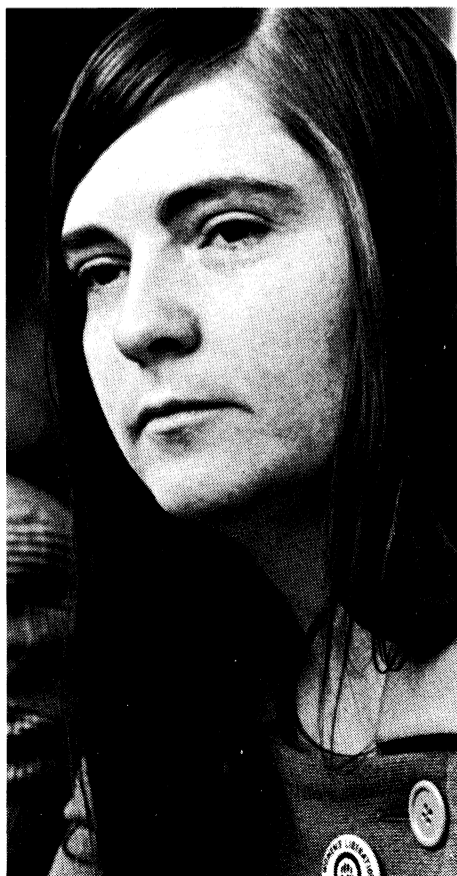


Photo by John Gray

Dianne Feeley



Photo by Jude Coren

PLANNING SESSION. Kipp Dawson (standing center) takes part in discussion of plans for mass demonstration against New York abortion laws.

Seattle socialist nominees help spark women's drive

By WENDY REISSNER

SEATTLE—Two Socialist Workers Party campaign action in support of women's liberation have received widespread attention here.

On Jan. 10, campaign supporters and representatives from various women's liberation organizations took part in a picket line protesting the "Bridal Fair." The annual "Bridal Fair" is a show put on by a local radio station which offers Seattle merchants the opportunity to assemble women for a hard sell on the necessity of buying the "right attire and right products to get and keep a man." The fair typifies male chauvinism and commercialization of women in this society. The woman herself is presented as a commodity that must be sold to a man by the use of the "right clothes" and the "proper make-up."

In addition to the radio and TV coverage of the picket line, Harriet Ashton, SWP candidate for state Senate, appeared along with a campaign supporter for two hours on a radio talk show, explaining their objections to the "Bridal Fair" and the general problem of the oppression of women in capitalist society. The questions raised by the show were still being discussed on the air wave after it took place, and

a good number of people called the campaign headquarters to seek involvement in the women's liberation aspect of the campaign.

On Jan. 12, Harriet Ashton and Sue Shinn, SWP candidate for the House, participated in a demonstration of over 100 at the state capitol to demand repeal of reactionary abortion laws. The demonstration was called by Women's Liberation Front and Radical Women and endorsed by the SWP and Young Socialist campaign committee.

The right of women to control their own bodies was the major theme of the protest. In addition to this demand, placards read, "Repeal Compulsory Pregnancy Laws!" and "Women are People, Not Rabbits!"

A rally was held in the rotunda of the capitol building featuring Dr. Franz Koome. Dr. Koome recently made nationwide news when he stated in the press that he has illegally performed over 140 inexpensive abortions because he feels that women have the right to decide whether they will bear children. Representatives from the Women's Liberation Front and Radical Women also spoke. Harriet Ashton pledged at the rally to continue to use her campaign to raise the issue of women's liberation and to build the women's liberation movement.

New coalition in Detroit seeks to coordinate women's groups

By JACQUELINE RICE

DETROIT—The second meeting of a newly formed Women's Liberation Coalition involving both university students and working women was held here Jan. 10. The coalition will attempt to bring together all women's liberation groups and independents in the Detroit metropolitan area to make it easier for us to work together in all the areas of our lives where we are oppressed as women.

The opening session devoted much discussion to issues that the coalition could take action on. A central office has been opened which will coordinate communication and facilitate activities of individual groups in the coalition. Many women felt the need for a newsletter.

Later in the meeting, "action" groups met to discuss abortion laws, employment, child care, a newsletter, and the political origins of male chauvinism. The discussion mainly centered around ways to organize women into mass action against their oppression.

At the abortion workshop, a state-wide conference on the repeal of the

existing abortion laws was planned for sometime in March.

The employment workshop discussed possibilities of action in support of the Fruehauf strikers. Women strikers are striking for union recognition at this plant. Their picket lines have been attacked by the police, and several women have been hospitalized.

At the political action workshop, which took up the question of the causes of women's oppression, an incorrect analysis prevailed. Instead of drawing a direct link between the oppression of women and class society, the "common enemy" was defined as "male chauvinism, individual and institutionalized."

Despite an incorrect historical analysis of the oppression of women, the coalition does recognize the importance of mass action to win struggles. The ideas expressed at this meeting indicate the rising level of consciousness of women toward their oppression, and the expansion of the women's liberation movement.

For more information write: Women's Liberation Coalition, 5705 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48202.

WHO RULES GE?

By DICK ROBERTS

● The 19 men who sit on the board of directors of GE are also presidents or chairmen of the board of eight of the nation's largest industrial corporations including Coca Cola and Procter and Gamble.

● They are directors of 13 others of the 500 largest U.S. corporations including Chrysler, Texaco and Union Carbide.

● They include the presidents of two of the world's six largest banks—First National City Bank of New York and Morgan Guaranty Trust; and they are directors of five other banks among the top 50 in the U.S. including Chase Manhattan.

● Two of them are former secretaries of defense and one was secretary of the Army.

● They are directors of three of the largest retail chains including J. C. Penney and First National Stores; six of the largest insurance companies including Equitable and Aetna; and three mutual funds.

● They include one university president and trustees or regents of ten of the major U.S. universities.

● They occupy leading positions in the most important semi-governmental agencies which formulate national and foreign policy, including the Business Council, the Council on Foreign Relations and the Committee for Economic Development.

* * *

These men are representatives of the most powerful financial and industrial interest groups in the U.S. and consequently in the entire capitalist world.

A look at who they are and what they do illustrates more than just how one multi-national corporation like GE is run. It casts a revealing light on the whole ruling structure of capitalism: its main agents and agencies and their interconnecting bases of power.

And this underlines and emphasizes the fact that the 150,000 striking GE workers are pitted against one of the central bastions of capitalist rule.

* * *

GE is the fourth largest corporation in the U.S. and fifth largest in the world. With assets in 1968 of over \$5 billion and sales of over \$8 billion, it is more "wealthy" than most of the countries in the world. Its 1968 total sales figure is about the same as the total exports of Italy.

GE "had 170 decentralized operating

departments focusing on separate aspects of the world markets in 1968," boasts its 1968 *Annual Report*.

"Its production ranged over some 3,000 different categories of products and 200,000 different models and sizes.

"Its multi-national operations included 280 separate manufacturing plants in 33 states of the U.S., Puerto Rico, five Canadian provinces and 22 other countries around the world."

The report shows that 30 percent of GE's 1968 production was in industrial components and materials; 25 percent in heavy capital goods; 25 percent in consumer products; and 20 percent in war products, ranking it as the world's third largest producer of war machinery.

A MORGAN HOLDING

But this giant corporation is only one part—and not even the biggest part—of the mighty holdings of the Morgan family and its banking partners. The Morgan group acquired control of GE when it was founded in 1892. Morgan financed the electrical company mergers which brought GE into existence.

But at that time the Morgan group already controlled the world's largest steel combine, U.S. Steel. In the electrical field, in addition to GE, the Morgan group gained control of Westinghouse [sic]; American Telephone and Telegraph; Radio Corp. of America; and Western Union.

The total assets of these six corporations equaled \$58 billion in 1968. If the assets of the Morgan Guaranty Trust are added to this figure—an additional \$10 billion—the Morgan-group holdings, counting only the seven biggest, are "worth" more than the GNP of Italy.

But there is no way for the American public to get anything like an exact estimate of the holdings of the Morgan empire. Congressional investigators have been able to approximate the wealth of the Rockefeller, Mellon, Ford and DuPont trusts because of certain large stockholdings of these powerful families.

But the Morgan group has concealed its empire through a network of privately-owned brokerage houses and banks which no government agency or private researcher has ever been able to penetrate.

Suffice it to say that if Ferdinand

Lundberg is right in estimating a Rockefeller or Mellon fortune at several billion dollars based on stockholdings alone (*The Rich and the Super-Rich*, Lyle Stuart, 1968), the Morgan banking fortune is in the tens of billions of dollars.

The chart on this page, produced by Rep. Wright Patman (D.-Texas) after years of scuffles with the big banks (Patman is a veteran Congressional representative of small midwestern business), is only indicative.

It shows director interlocks and stock holdings of the Morgan Guaranty bank's trust department. This omits the much larger holdings of the bank itself and the owners of the bank.

Nevertheless, as one reads the various corporate boards listed below on which the 19 GE directors also sit, and the corporations linked with the Morgan Guaranty Trust shown on the chart, there is a clear pattern of Morgan domination of GE.

From the inner sanctum of J. P. Morgan and Co. at 23 Wall Street, down to most of the directors of corporations, there is a precipitous drop in personal wealth and power.

But neither the wealth of these corporate directors, nor their individual influence within the governing institutions of capitalism, should be underestimated.

For example, the four men who constitute GE's highest managerial body (the Corporate Executive Office—Fred Borch, William Dennler, Jack Parker and Herman Weiss) own together 53,660 shares of GE, worth over \$5 million. The yearly dividend from GE stock dividends alone, of these four executives, totals about \$140,000—and that is more than the average yearly wages of 20 GE workers, as estimated by GE.

It is typical for the top managers of corporations to be large shareholders because of special tax-favoring stock-option privileges open to them, and this ties their immediate personal interests directly to the interests of the ruling-class families who are the biggest shareholders. This is not to speak of the immense salaries of corporate managers, in the case of the GE executives mentioned above, averaging about \$200,000 annually.

In addition to their locus of power on corporate boards, however, these men are also the top officers of the privately-funded semi-governmental

agencies which are key formulators of government policies.

Such agencies as the Business Council, the Council on Foreign Relations and the National Petroleum Council bring together corporate executives, highly-paid specialists in each field and government representatives, to hammer out behind closed doors the central policies of the ruling class.

The corporation directors are also the trustees of the major universities and the private foundations which finance both the universities and the private decision-making institutions.

And they are men who at various times in their careers hold crucial posts in the federal government itself, most importantly at the cabinet and sub-cabinet levels of the Pentagon, Treasury and State departments.

Two recent studies of the top layer in the ruling hierarchy of U.S. capitalist society should be mentioned, both by Prof. G. William Domhoff of the University of California at Santa Cruz: *Who Rules America?* (Prentice Hall, 1967); and "Who Made American Foreign Policy, 1945-1963?" an essay which appears in *Corporations and the Cold War* (Monthly Review Press, 1969).

What Domhoff shows is that a tiny coterie of businessmen, numbering no more than 2,000—one one-hundred thousandth of the U.S. population!—"based upon fabulous corporate wealth . . . knit together by exclusive private schools, Ivy League colleges, expensive summer resorts, sedate gentlemen's clubs . . ." rule America. Nineteen of them are on the GE board of directors:

THE BOARD

JOHN PAUL AUSTIN, Atlanta. President of Coca Cola, salary \$150,000, owns 48,298 shares of Coca Cola (worth \$4,200,000). Director: Morgan Guaranty Trust; Continental Oil; Trust Co. of Georgia; Southern Mills Inc. (Austin is one of several GE directors who serve on the boards of the notoriously racist, union-busting southern textile mills.)

FRED J. BORCH, New York. President, chief executive officer and director of GE, salary \$287,486, owns 20,027 shares of GE (worth \$2,000,000); board of governors, Case Western Reserve University; Defense Industry Advisory Council; Council for Latin America; chairman, Business Council; N. Y. C. Mayor's Management Advisory Council; Balance of Payments Advisory Council; trustee, Committee for Economic Development.

WILLIAM H. DENNLER, New York. Vice chairman of the board, executive officer of GE, owns 9,080 shares of GE (worth \$1,000,000). (The average salary of the 84 top executives of GE is \$90,000.)

FREDERICK B. DENT, Arcadia, S. C. President of Mayfair Mills, Arcadia. Director: Joshua L. Bailey and Co. (selling agents for textile mills); TaCo Corp.; South Carolina National Bank.

THOMAS S. GATES, New York. Chairman of Morgan Guaranty Trust. (A Morgan partner, mentioned in *Amer-*



Photo Mike Shuster/LNS

GE WORKERS. According to GE, the average pay of its workers is \$6,760. Of the 19 men who sit on the board of directors of GE, eight are presidents

or chairmen of the board of directors of major U.S. corporations. Their average salary is \$223,566.

Financial Empires of the American Ruling Class

by Dick Roberts

in the May-June 1969

International
Socialist Review

50 cents

873 Broadway,
N. Y., N. Y. 10003

ica's Sixty Families, formerly of Drexel and Co., one of the Morgan brokerage houses.) Director: Campbell Soup; Cities Service; Scott Paper; Smith, Kline and French; Life Insurance Co. of North America; trustee, Foxcroft School; former president and life trustee of the University of Pennsylvania; under secretary of Navy, 1955-57; secretary of Navy, 1957-59; deputy secretary of defense, 1959-60; secretary of defense, 1960; Council on Foreign Relations. (In 1965 Gates functioned on a committee to counteract the antiwar movement, see *The Nation*, Oct. 11, 1965.)

GILBERT W. HUMPHREY, Cleveland. Chairman of Hanna Mining, salary \$229,000, owns 146,818 shares of Hanna Mining (worth \$6,500,000); chairman of National Steel, salary \$50,000, owns 54,322 shares of National Steel (worth \$3,000,000). Director: National City Bank of Cleveland; Massey Ferguson (Canada); Algoma Steel (Canada); Sun Life Assurance (Canada); overseer, Case Western Reserve University.

FREDERICK L. HOVDE, Lafayette, Ind. President of Purdue University. Director: Inland Steel; Investors Mutual; Variable Payment Fund; Investors Selective Fund. (Hovde has a long record during and after World War II of administering government war research; he served as advisor to military training schools, including the National War College, Air Force Academy and U.S. Military Academy; he served on the President's Committee on Education Beyond High School and was chairman of the President's Task Force Committee on Education.)

JOHN E. LAWRENCE, Boston. Partner, James Lawrence Co. (cotton). Director: Old Colony Trust; Great American Insurance; American National Fire Insurance; First National Stores; West Point-Pepperell; member of the corporation of Northeastern University.

RALPH LAZARUS, Cincinnati.

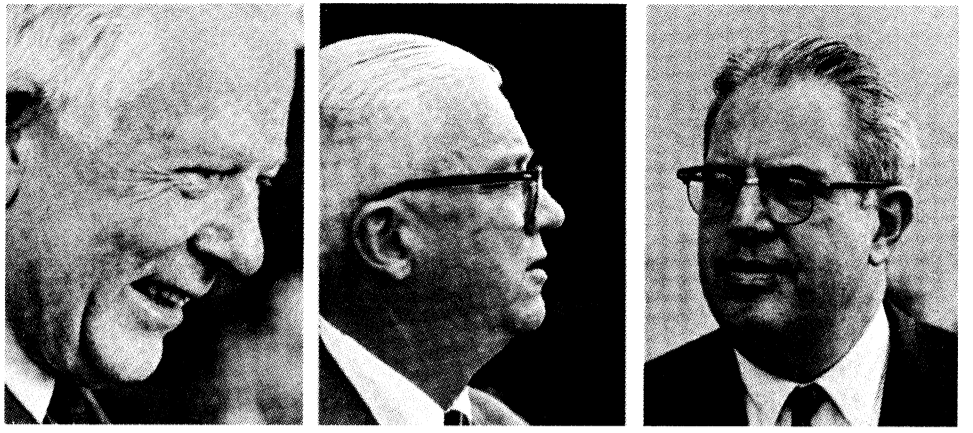
Chairman of Federated Dept. Stores, salary \$212,000, owns 147,868 shares of Federated (worth \$6,000,000). Director: Chase Manhattan Bank; Associated Merchandising; Urban America; Scott Paper; trustee, Dartmouth College; vice chairman, Business Council; vice chairman, Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development.

EDMUND W. LITTLEFIELD, San Francisco. President of Utah Construction, salary \$130,500, owns 162,564 shares of Utah Construction (worth \$7,600,000). Director: Wells Fargo Bank; Del Monte; Hewlett-Packard; trustee, Stanford University; board of regents, University of San Francisco; National Industrial Conference Board; Business Council.

GEORGE H. LOVE, Pittsburgh. Chairman of Consolidation Coal. (This company, now a subsidiary of Continental Oil, owns Console 9, scene of the November 1968 West Virginia mine disaster which took 78 lives. Love is an executive of various Mellon trusts and his presence on the GE board suggests Mellon penetration of GE.) Director: Mellon National Bank and Trust; Continental Oil, owns 37,500 shares of Continental Oil (worth \$1,000,000); Hanna Mining; Chrysler, owns 168,671 shares of Chrysler (worth \$9,500,000); Union Carbide; trustee, Princeton University; trustee, University of Pittsburgh; American Mining Congress Business Council.

NEIL H. McELROY, Cincinnati. Chairman of Proctor and Gamble, salary \$375,000, owns 85,702 shares of Proctor and Gamble (worth \$9,700,000). Director: Chrysler; Equitable Life; secretary of defense, 1957-59; Business Council.

DEAN A. McGEE, Oklahoma City. Chairman of Kerr-McGee Corp., salary \$253,066, owns \$3,517,000 worth of Kerr-McGee convertible debentures, and 303,028 shares of Kerr-McGee common (worth \$38,000,000). (King of the



GE DIRECTORS. Neil McElroy, chairman of the board of Proctor and Gamble; Robert T. Stevens, president of J.P. Stevens; Ralph Lazarus, chairman of the board of Federated Dept. Stores. Including salaries and incomes from stock dividends, they average about \$500,000 a year.

Oklahoma oil business and powerful figure in right-wing politics, McGee's various connections are too numerous to list. He serves on 31 boards of directors and is trustee of a number of mid-west oil "research" institutions, the Oklahoma City University, and serves on the National Petroleum Council.)

HENRY S. MORGAN, New York. Partner of Morgan, Stanley and Co. (J.P. Morgan's son.) Director: Aetna Life Insurance; Connecticut General Life Insurance; Century Indemnity; trustee, Carnegie Institution.

JACK S. PARKER, New York. Vice chairman of the board and executive officer of GE, salary \$202,526, owns 14,698 shares of GE (worth \$1,500,000). (Top manager of GE war production, manager of GE's Aircraft Nuclear Propulsion Project, group executive of GE's Aerospace and Defense Group.)

GILBERT H. SCRIBNER, Jr., Chicago. President of Scribner and Co. (real estate and insurance). Director: Quaker Oats; Abbott Laboratories; Peoples Gas, Light and Coke; Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance; trustee, Northwestern University; Committee for

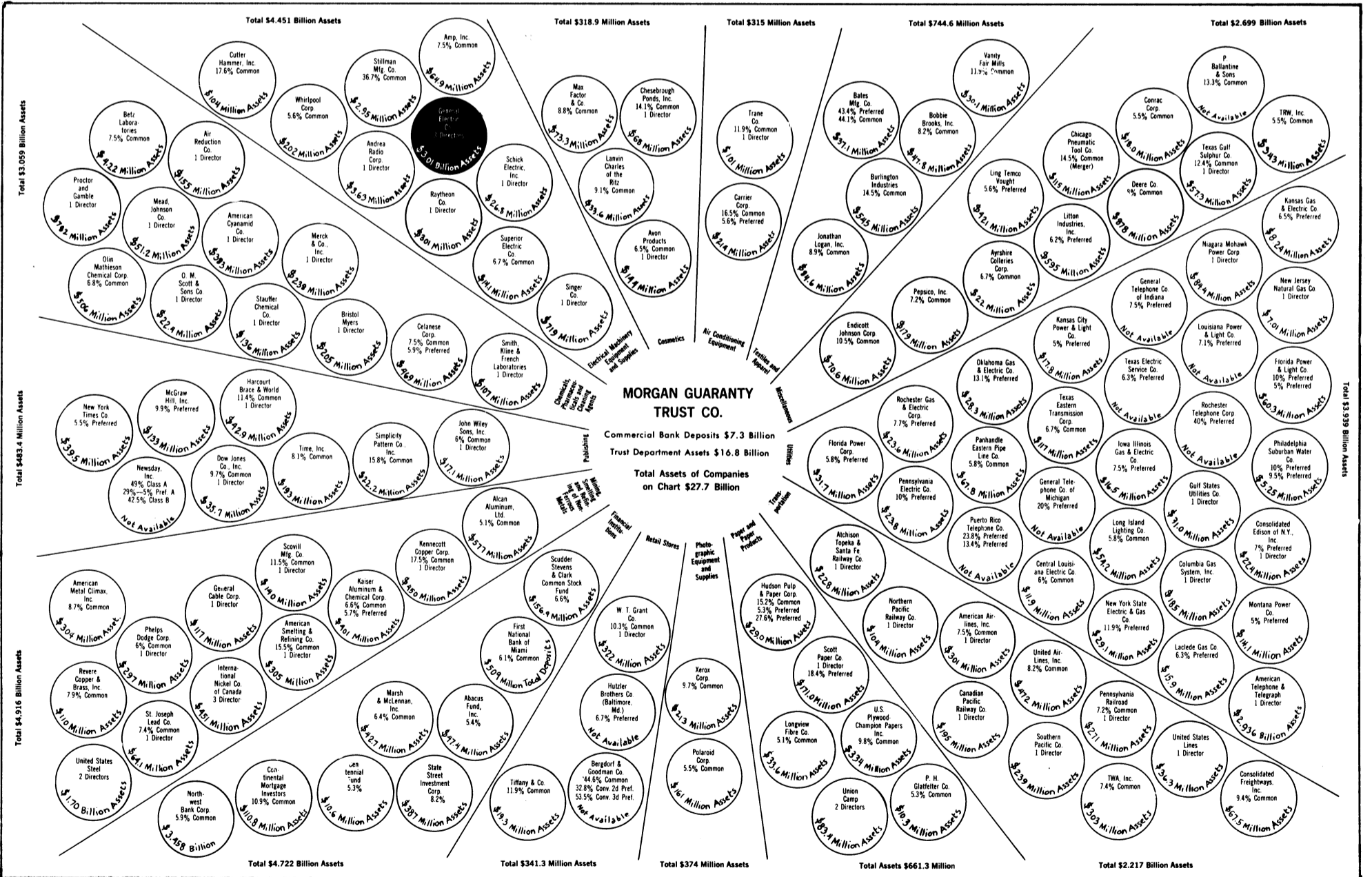
Economic Development.

ROBERT T. STEVENS, New York. President of J.P. Stevens, salary \$151,343, owns 115,000 shares of J.P. Stevens (worth \$7,500,000). (This large southern textile outfit has taken the lead in maintaining open shop against unionization struggles in southern corporations.) Director: Morgan Guaranty Trust; Mutual Life Insurance; secretary of the Army, 1953-55; Business Council.

HERMAN L. WEISS, New York. Vice chairman of the board and executive officer of GE, owns 9,855 shares of GE (worth \$1,000,000).

WALTER B. WRISTON, New York. President of First National City Bank; chairman, Bank of Monrovia; president, International Banking Corp; chairman, Mercantile Bank of Canada. Director: First National City Trust Co. (Bahamas); First National City Overseas Investment; J.C. Penney; trustee, Carnegie Corp.; Council on Foreign Relations.

All of which illuminates GE's central slogan: "Progress is our most important product."



"J.P. Morgan (or a partner), a director of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, causes that company to sell to J.P. Morgan & Co. an issue of bonds. J.P. Morgan & Co. borrows the money with which to pay for the bonds from the Guaranty Trust Co., of which Mr. Morgan (or a partner) is a director. J. P. Morgan & Co. sells the bonds to the Penn Mutual Life Insurance, of which Mr. Morgan (or a partner) is a director. The New Haven spends the proceeds of the bonds in purchasing steel rails from the U.S. Steel Corp., of which Mr. Morgan (or a partner) is a director. The U.S. Steel Corp. spends the proceeds of the rails in purchasing electrical supplies from the General Electric Co., of which Mr. Morgan (or a partner) is a director. GE sells supplies to the Western Union Telegraph Co.,

a subsidiary of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co.; and in both, Mr. Morgan (or a partner) is a director. . . . U.S. Steel, AT&T, the New Haven, the Reading, the Pullman and the Baldwin companies, like the Western Union, buy electrical supplies from GE. GE, like the New Haven, buys steel products from U.S. Steel. Each and every one of the companies last named markets its securities through J.P. Morgan & Co.; each deposits its funds with J.P. Morgan & Co.; and with these funds of each, the firm enters upon further operations." — Louis Brandeis, *Harpers Magazine*, 1914.

(The diagram is taken from "Commercial Banks and Their Trust Activities," a staff report for the House Committee on Banking and Currency, 1968.)

Double squeeze play coming up: fewer jobs and higher prices

By DICK ROBERTS

The U. S. economy ground to a standstill in the last quarter of 1969—the effect, partially, of federal economic policies originated two years ago by the Johnson administration and continued since he took office by Nixon.

Job layoffs have begun in plants across the nation. Auto, farm machinery and the aircraft industry are the hardest hit so far. The first to lose their jobs have been those who need them most, unskilled Black workers, many of them hired for the first time as a result of highly publicized job-training programs following the stormy Black uprising in Detroit of 1967.

But the economic slowdown has not even made a dent in the inflation it is supposed to bring to a halt. Price rises in December brought the national annual rate up to 6.1 percent for 1969 compared to 4.2 percent in 1968. In New York City, prices jumped one percent in December alone, the steepest price rise since 1951. And this does not take into consideration the 50 percent increase in subway fares which went into effect in January.

The Johnson-Nixon economic policies have contributed to the slowdown in two ways: by tightening the money supply and cutting federal spending in key areas.

The Federal Reserve Board's tight-money policies drive up interest rates and make it more expensive to borrow money. This cuts into the purchase of houses and cars, which depend on high-interest rate mortgages and auto loans.

Federal spending has been cut back in construction, urban-improvement, and, most heavily so far, in the military area.

On Jan. 16, Defense Secretary Laird announced that present and planned cuts of \$6-billion in military spending would ultimately cost 1,250,000 jobs counting those directly and indirectly affected.

Boeing Co., a big manufacturer of military aircraft, fired 25,000 workers in 1969, including 14,500 in Seattle alone. It projects an even faster rate of layoffs, possibly totaling 50,000 nationally, in 1970.

An ironic effect of military cutbacks was GE's announcement that it is laying off workers in its Springfield, Mass., armaments division. Workers have continued to work in this plant, in spite of the national strike against GE. This is the thanks they get for "acting in the national interests" of capitalism.

At the same time the economic slowdown is caused by capitalist competition. In their scramble to control markets, corporations manufacture more and more goods, and ultimately too many goods for the market to absorb.

These goods pile up in the warehouses and in dealers' hands and a cutback in production is required while the over-produced supply is depleted. Over production has hit the auto industry, on top of the problems caused by high interest rates.

There was an eight percent decline

in auto assemblies in December. There have been heavy layoffs, particularly in Chrysler. Ford has closed permanently its 1,900-worker auto and truck assembly plant in Dallas.

"Unemployment will be rising from here on," *Business Week* magazine declared in its "Business Outlook" column Jan. 17.

"Average weekly hours worked by employes on private nonfarm payrolls slipped a bit in December, to 37.5 hours [to its] lowest level since the data were first recorded in 1964.

"Job turnover is also reflecting the slackening in the demand for labor in manufacturing. New hiring rates are declining throughout industry. And the quit rate, which is a good measure of job availability, is declining."

Business Week recorded the demise of the job training programs: "Layoffs are threatening nationwide efforts to rehabilitate people once thought unemployable. Many of the so-called hard-core unemployed have lost new jobs in auto and farm equipment plants, and others are likely to lose their jobs in steel and other industries if industrial slowdowns continue.

"The numbers are relatively small so far, probably only in the low thousands. But the layoffs have only begun. At General Motors and Chrysler about 10 percent of those laid off are hard-core workers.

"Beyond the layoffs, however, is some-

thing worse for the campaign to put the ghetto people into jobs: New hiring is at a low level, and there are fewer and fewer starting jobs for those recruited from the ghettos and trained to work."

The Detroit hiring program was headed up by such well-placed individuals in the capitalist hierarchy as Henry Ford II, James M. Roche (head of GM) and Lynn Townsend (head of Chrysler) and their "National Alliance of Businessmen."

"Of the 38,600 hard-core unemployed originally hired by the auto companies, only 16,356 remain on the job, a 42 percent batting average," *Business Week* reports.

And so the very beginning of a recession takes its toll where it always does, on "the last hired and first fired."

In a prolonged boom like the economic upswing of the last eight years, many of the "reserve army of unemployed" eventually find work. And in the case of those hired in the Detroit job program, it meant that 38,600 finally did—for less than two years out of the eight.

Now they are being thrown back into the ranks of the unemployed, and to top it off, they face rapidly soaring prices. Little wonder that *Business Week* expresses a certain amount of concern: "The worry is, it states, "that they will drop out of the productive labor force and go back to the streets."

THE NEW YORK TIMES

JANUARY 17, 1970

ECONOMIC GROWTH
HAS BEEN HALTED,
AS WAS PLANNED



Training for what?

A day in New York welfare center

By HOWARD REED

NEW YORK—Two years ago the Department of Welfare changed its name to the Department of Social Services, reflecting the increased emphasis it allegedly proposed to give to the "delivery of services" to the community.

Caseworkers in the Department, many of whom took the job because they thought they could help people while earning a living, were skeptical of whether the Department really intended to provide useful services to clients, but some were hopeful.

The caseworkers' union, District Council 37 of the State, County and Municipal Employees, had endorsed Lindsay for mayor and had hailed his victory as a blow to reaction—a step forward for welfare recipients, or "clients" as they are delicately called in department terminology.

Big day

Jan. 2 was a not untypical check day. Check day is when almost one million clients are supposed to receive their semimonthly checks. We came to work that morning, and learned that many of the checks were not mailed out, due to a breakdown of the computers downtown. The checks would arrive several days late, but we would not be able to give any emergency funds to clients. That would violate Department procedures.

At 10 a.m. a client came in and told us that he had not received his check, had no money for food, and that his rent was due. The records were checked, and it was established that his check was sent to the wrong address. He was advised that Department procedure required him to wait until the check was returned by mail to the center next week.

Another client told us he had not received his check, but the records showed that it had been mailed out to him. There is a Department rule that checks cannot be replaced more than once during a two-month period, and

since he had a check replaced in December, he was sent away.

The same thing happened when a client came in to report that all the money from his check had been stolen. Department procedures prevent stolen money from being replaced.

After lunch, a woman came in with her two children. She explained that she was two months behind in her rent and that the landlord was threatening eviction. The caseworker started preparing an emergency check for the two months' rent, but the supervisor refused to approve it. It seems that the state doesn't reimburse the city for emergency rent checks.

During the afternoon, while hundreds of clients were waiting to be serviced, we were attending a required orientation seminar about the new Federal Work Incentive Program, which is supposed to provide jobs for clients. This program is abbreviated WIN. Actually, its initials are WIP, but officials were apparently sensitive on this.

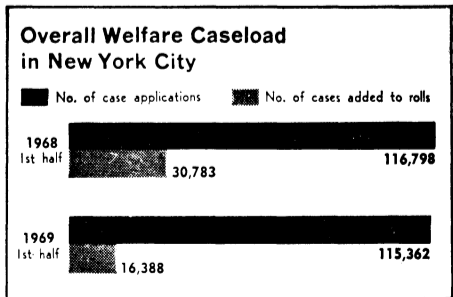
We were told to close the case of any man who did not show up for a WIN appointment. One caseworker complained that his client could not keep his WIN appointment because he did not have a winter coat. He was informed by the supervisor that the \$35 that the client received semimonthly was expected to provide for clothing, as well as food.

At 3 p.m., the director of the center, noting that there were more clients waiting than could possibly be taken care of, told the welfare cops to bar the entrance of the center, so more clients wouldn't be able to come in.

At 5 p.m., the center closed, with 50 clients still sitting there. They were told that they would have to leave if they didn't want to be arrested for trespassing. I went home and read in the newspaper that Mayor Lindsay was going to make a speech about the need for a new commitment to abolish poverty.



Photo by Howard Petrick



The New York Times

Jan. 12, 1970

PIOUS. New York's Mayor Lindsay at a memorial meeting for Rev. King. During the past year his "get tough" policy nearly doubled the number of needy denied welfare. This cold-blooded policy improves his image with anti-welfare voters.

ANTIWAR GIs SPEAK OUT

Interviews with Ft. Jackson GIs United Against the War

by Fred Halstead

48 pp 50¢

PATHFINDER PRESS, INC.

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New York, N. Y. 10003

Atlanta antiwar forces map plans

By GINNY OSTEEEN

ATLANTA—The largest, most successful antiwar conference in this city's history took place Jan. 17. The conference, sponsored by the Atlanta Mobilization Committee, mapped an ambitious program of action for the coming winter-spring offensive against the war. Over 110 people attended, representing broad sectors of the movement. Four campus SMCs were represented, along with the high school SMC, RYM, the YSA, SWP, Newsreel, GIs from Ft. Benning, Ga., and Ft. McClellan, Ala., Concerned Clergy, and a large number of independents.

The conference opened with reports from various organizations on their past antiwar activities, revealing the rapid growth of the antiwar movement in Atlanta. A ROTC lieutenant from the University of Georgia discussed the growing antiwar sentiment among low-ranking infantry officers; and a GI from Ft. Benning announced the recent formation of "Patriots for Peace," which has over 150 GIs around it. The reports set a spirited tone which was to remain throughout the conference.

The major proposal for action was a call for a mass, peaceful picket line and rally, with the main slogan of "U.S. Out of Vietnam Now!," at the Marriot Motel on Feb. 21, when Spiro Agnew will address a Republican fundraising party. After much discussion over the question of secondary slogans, the proposal was unanimously adopted.

S.F. highschoolers harassed on King's birthday

By ROY WILSON

SAN FRANCISCO—A walkout of some 150 to 200 students took place at Mission High School here Jan. 15 in memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The decision to hold the walkout was made the day before by a group of Black students at Mission. Because it was called on short notice the group had little time to organize for the walkout.

Throughout the walkout the students were harassed by petty administrators and by hall monitors (mothers of students and hired men who patrol the halls looking for students who have cut class).

At one point the students left the building and occupied the front steps where they talked of leaving the school grounds to prevent police attack. They felt sure, however, that the police would not enter the building, and at the suggestion of a YSAer the group reentered to rally more support. In an attempt to isolate and divide the students, the administration offered them use of the cafeteria, which is in an out-of-the-way section of the first floor.

When that failed, school officials stated that only five students could go upstairs in order to get more students to join the walkout. One of the walkout organizers, in answer to the administration, immediately indicated himself, two other Black leaders, a member of the Chicano group, Basta Ya!, and a YSAer.

Nevertheless, by this time every one of the demonstrators had charged up the stairs. This was typical of the militant spirit of the students.

After a hundred or more students had gathered, they marched outside and dispersed to avoid trouble with the police. Several of the students said that although you couldn't see the police, you could smell them.

The walkout has opened up the possibilities of Mission High students uniting around future actions including the commemoration of Malcolm X Day and the spring antiwar offensive.

Further proposals adopted included the sending of as many AMC representatives as possible to the national SMC conference in Cleveland, and the forming of a speakers bureau.

Telegrams of support were sent to the GE strikers and to Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers, and a telegram was sent to the Black Panther Party condemning the recent attacks by the police on Black Panther Party leaders.

A GI committee was formed to work with GIs at Ft. Benning. The conference

also voted to give as much aid as possible to the UFO coffee house in Columbia, S. C., whose staff has recently been arrested on a number of petty charges.

A women's caucus, which constituted itself as a permanent body, came forward with several proposals which were adopted. A women's contingent will be organized as part of the Agnew demonstration and at all future actions. The caucus will take part in the women's liberation groups in Atlanta, in an effort to develop closer ties between

the antiwar movement and the women's liberation movement. The caucus also asked for a permanent seat on the Atlanta Mobilization steering committee.

A steering committee was formed, with one representative from each organization, as well as three independents who were elected by the conference.

Paterson students agree on plans to aid GE strikers

By RAY CHIMILESKI

PATERSON, N. J. — Representatives of Newark Local 492 of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) addressed a Jan. 13 meeting sponsored by the newly-formed Paterson State College SMC in Wayne, N. J. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the GE strike and its implications for the campus community.

Several campus groups have been circulating an open letter to the president of the college requesting "an immediate suspension of the purchasing of all GE products by this college for the duration of this strike."

The demand is endorsed by the Paterson State College Federation of Teachers (AFT) and by representatives of various campus groups, including the Student Government Association, Student Union Provisional Committee, SDS, YSA, Women's Liberation Movement, Philosophy Club, International Relations Club, SMC, and Black Student Union.

Campus groups are also making plans to help GE strikers man picket lines in Newark and East Rutherford.

High school SMC conducts antiwar poll in Cleveland

By MAX KIRSCH

CLEVELAND—In a citywide referendum here in December, three out of four of the 1,929 students voting—71 percent—voted for either immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, or withdrawal by an announced deadline. This confirms that Nixon's war policies have been totally rejected by the majority, and his claim of support of a "silent majority" is a fraud.

Only a limited number of schools participated in the referendum because on Dec. 5 high school principals and superintendents met with an FBI agent who smeared the antiwar movement as "red controlled," and cited the SMC national leadership as 100 percent hard-line communists. The FBI agent told them that at a meeting in Stockholm the Communist Party resolved to infiltrate the U.S. antiwar movement and use it to create chaos in the U.S., thereby helping North Vietnam to win a

victory.

In light of this, the principal of Mayfield High School issued a statement to his staff stating that they could not lend their support to any outside organization, and furthermore stating, "We believe that a study of foreign affairs belongs in the classroom, not in the halls." This was followed up by the Ohio Association of Secondary School Principals stating that they were opposed to "any loss of school time" for politically oriented activity.

Replying to the Joe McCarthy-type red-baiting, the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council held a press conference exposing the FBI and declaring that they would fight the issue by enforcing a section of the Ohio Revised Code which sets forth that "any responsible organization" or "group of at least seven citizens" can use the facilities of a high school for any public meeting after school hours.

Where do we go from here?

ATTEND A NATIONAL STUDENT ANTIWAR CONFERENCE

CALLLED BY THE STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

FEBRUARY 14-15 CLEVELAND, OHIO

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For more information, clip and mail to:

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I plan to attend.

I cannot attend but am enclosing a donation of \$ _____

Please send me:

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Student Mobilizers, includes pre-conference discussion articles. (\$7/100; 10¢ each.)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

School and/or organization _____

For more information of conference arrangements and housing, clip, and mail to:

SMC
2102 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44115
216 - 621 - 6516

I plan to attend.

I will need housing for _____ Friday, _____ Saturday, _____ Sunday.

I will stay at a cheap hotel.

I will bring a sleeping bag.

I am organizing conference transportation from my area.

I will have my own housing.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

School and/or organization _____

EVERYBODY OUT FEB. 14. Unprecedented mail response and bus charters indicate SMC national antiwar conference will be biggest ever. SMC is urging all young people and organizations to attend and participate in democratic discussion and decisions on next steps for antiwar movement. Adult peace forces, coalitions and groups are invited to

send fraternal representatives and observers. Special 24-page discussion issue of Student Mobilizer is now available from SMC national office. Antiwar activists and organizations are invited to contribute discussion articles for subsequent pre-conference issue.

Some professional tailoring

How the Daily World reported YSA parley

By DAVID THORSTAD

Recent issues of *The Militant* have reported on the extensive press coverage received by the December Young Socialist Alliance convention. Much of that coverage—even by the commercial press—recognized and reflected the seriousness of the proceedings. One notable exception is an article by Ted Pearson which appeared in the Jan. 7 issue of the *Daily World*, the organ of the Communist Party.

So much is wrong with this article that one might wonder if Pearson weren't reporting some other convention. Even the registration figures are inaccurate. Pearson reports that "only 358" of the 821 participants were YSA members. In fact, this figure referred to the number of participants who were not YSA members, although more than 60 of them applied to join during the course of the convention.

There is hardly a paragraph that is not to some extent erroneous. To deal with all of these misstatements would be both lengthy and tedious. We will limit ourselves to only the most blatant.

First some complete fabrications.

According to Pearson, "The main activities, it was announced, will include campaigns to 'expose' peace candidates, polemics against the Black Panther Party and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and 'united fronts' for the defense of the Panthers, vehicles for launching an all-black political party."

In fact, no decision whatsoever was made to begin campaigns of "polemics against the Black Panther Party and the National Liberation Front of South

Vietnam." Nor was anything vaguely resembling such campaigns even proposed.

In the same category is the assertion that the convention resolution on the "Strategy and Tactics in the Struggle for Black Self-Determination" "attributes the murderous attack of the ruling class on the Black Panther Party as being caused primarily by the Panthers' 'ultra-leftism.'" The suggestion that the YSA places the blame for this vicious campaign of repression on the victim is nothing short of slander.

This slander takes on its full flavor when it is recalled that while the Trotskyist movement was the first to recognize the importance of Black nationalism and to actively support it, the Communist Party resolutely opposed it, going so far as to call Malcolm X "reactionary" and a Black "racist" in the pages of its press.

The repression of the Panthers is, of course, in no way caused by the ultra-leftism of the Black Panther Party, but by the ruling class' fear of Black nationalism and the threat it sees in Black people organizing their own political party.

Presumably the passage Pearson has in mind is the one which states that "the sectarianism and ultra-left rhetoric of the Panthers has helped open the door for the government in its jailing and destruction, physically and politically, of hundreds of politically valuable cadres, leaders, and organizers." This statement, of course, bears no resemblance to Pearson's assertion. Nor do any other statements in the resolution. That is why he prefers to rewrite it rather than quote from it.

In passing: The press meets YSA

The December convention of the Young Socialist Alliance prompted a great deal of reportage and comment. Some of it was crude red-baiting stuff, and some distorted more subtly by burying politics in a discussion of "style." But a good part of it—especially in the radical press—was serious journalism.

The London *Economist*, an important organ of liberal bourgeois opinion in Britain, in its Jan. 10 issue stated:

"The key to YSA's rise is not its Marxist doctrine but its facility for playing the old united-front game, particularly on the issue of the Vietnam war. It has a strategic position on the Student Mobilization Committee, which organized the October and November Moratoria.

"Related to this is the bold venture of organising soldiers in uniform 'for mass antiwar action'; YSA members disdain evasion of conscription or desertion.

"Although the leaders of YSA will not concede that de-escalation of the war will erode the mass of rebellious students which they have helped to assemble, their next major programme is the capture of orthodox students' councils."

The moderately conservative *Christian Science Monitor* reported on Jan. 9:

"Both groups [the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party] are supporters of the position of Leon Trotsky, one of the pillars of the Russian revolution, who broke with Stalin and was assassinated because he insisted that the Communist cause demanded worldwide revolution rather than the Stalin-

ist policy of building socialism in Russia first.

"But for all its obsession with the rigid, dialectical Marxist jargon of the Trotskyite movement, the YSA was pursuing a pragmatic, united-front course at its convention here at the University of Minnesota.

"Under the huge red and black posters of Lenin and Trotsky in the Student Union's Grand Ballroom, the mood was that of dedicated, earnest missionaries destined to spread an optimistic faith for mankind's salvation. The YSA looked forward to the next decade 'confident that we are preparing the ground for the final elimination of capitalism.'"

Radical opinion and reportage was quite good. The Jan. 14 Liberation News Service packet sent out to hundreds of underground papers stated:

"More than 800 members and guests of the Trotskyist Young Socialist Alliance met at the University of Minnesota campus over Christmas weekend for their ninth annual convention.

"The YSA, which is closely linked to the Socialist Workers Party, is best known for its work in helping to build the mass movement in this country for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

"Among the resolutions passed by the delegates were:

"** to use the opportunity of upcoming electoral campaigns to work against the reliance of the American people on the Democratic and Republican parties, and to educate about socialism;

"** to build for a mass march in the spring around the slogan, 'Bring All the Troops Home Now!';

"** to develop vigorous defense of



YSA pre-convention press conference Photo by David Thorstad

The resolution goes on to explain how, through united defense efforts with other organizations, the Black Panther Party can hope to reverse the current repression it is undergoing. What Pearson does not seem to understand is that defense efforts can, and should, be built for organizations with which one may not be in complete political agreement. Permitting political disagreement to stand in the way of a defense effort on behalf of an organization under ruling-class attack can harm the entire radical movement.

So much for the complete fabrications.

Most of the rest of the article fits into the category of distortion. Typical is Pearson's treatment of the convention discussion on the antiwar movement. Some delegates had proposed that the YSA, when marching under its own

banner, focus on the slogan, "Support the Vietnamese Revolution!" The *Daily World* reports that the proposed slogan was "Support the NLF," although in fact these same delegates indicated they didn't favor that slogan because it implied full agreement with the program of the NLF. Apparently the distinction was lost on the *Daily World* reporter. But while making this distinction, the YSA stands unreservedly for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution, as Pearson well knows.

The reason for the defeat of this proposal was very simple: It is not the kind of slogan that can mobilize masses of Americans to oppose the war, a process that is simultaneously in their interest and in the interest of the Vietnamese revolution. Experience has demonstrated that slogans centered on the demand for immediate U.S. withdrawal are the most effective in rallying such mass opposition to the war.

This twisted criticism of the YSA for not raising the slogan, "Support the NLF," is especially odd coming as it does from this source. It is only recently that the CP has finally accepted the demand for immediate U.S. withdrawal, having previously counterposed such slogans as "Peace Now" and "Negotiations." Never has it even suggested raising in the antiwar movement the slogan, "Support the NLF."

Pearson's article deserves to be read by all those who attended the YSA convention. It is a relatively minor product of the Stalinist school of falsification. Yet as such it provides a pretty good idea of the magnitude of really big examples of Stalinist falsification.

It should be read for another reason too. It is eloquent testimony to the CP's frustration at its inability to build a viable youth movement during a period of growing radicalization among youth. The reformist program of the Stalinists (which led them to initially oppose immediate withdrawal from Vietnam in the antiwar movement and Black nationalism, for instance) has caused serious, revolutionary-minded youth to look elsewhere. (The DuBois Clubs are virtually defunct.)

Particularly frustrating for the CP, no doubt, is the fact that the real dynamism of the youth radicalization is reflected in the rapid growth of the YSA and that it permeated the entire convention.

all black organizations now suffering repression, and to use the slogan, 'Black Control of the Black Community';

"** to push for campus demands that are anticapitalist and are linked up with other national and international struggles."

The Jan. 17 *Guardian* carries an article by Randy Furst which opened with the following remarks:

"The Young Socialist Alliance outlined a strategy for a 1970 offensive at its ninth national convention here Dec. 27-30. More than 800 persons attended.

"The 140 convention delegates—representing more than 1,100 YSA members—debated and passed resolutions on the antiwar movement, black self-determination and a strategy for 'the red university.'

"A huge red banner emblazoned with a hammer and sickle and giant posters of Lenin and Trotsky and other revolutionaries hung from the walls of the convention auditorium.

"The discussions were marked by a critique of the new left. 'We are not part of the new left,' Larry Seigle, YSA national chairman, said at the opening session. 'We are the socialist—the Marxist wing of the new radicalization—and the fastest growing current within this radicalization.'"

—MALACHI CONSTANT



The electronic news in Minneapolis

New frame-up trials in hopper?

Czech gov't finds 'Trotskyite plot'

The Czechoslovak government invoked the specter of a "Trotskyite plot" January 12 to justify widespread arrests of young opponents of the Kremlin-backed regime. The January 17 *New York Times* reported that more than 1,700 persons in many cities had been "investigated . . . in a crack-down on alleged lawbreakers and antisocial elements." An unknown number were held by the police.

The State Interior Ministry announced the "discovery" of an "illegal" organization "active in the spirit of Trotskyite ideas."

This was followed on January 16 with the announced arrest of an "espionage ring" in Slovakia.

The January 12 communiqué declared: "The Czech Ministry of the Interior has recently unmasked the activities of an illegal organization, hostile to the state, aimed at disturbing the process of consolidation and at creating political crises."

The statement, reprinted in the January 14 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, continued:

"The members of this organization, who utilized conspiratorial methods, distributed various publications hostile to the state, their aim being to overthrow the socialist regime and provoke resistance against the leadership

of the Communist party and against the leaders of political life in Czechoslovakia. . . .

"The organization tried to create cells throughout Czechoslovakia. These cells were to work in conformity with the Trotskyist ideology. The organizers maintained permanent contacts abroad from whom they received instructions in carrying out activities hostile to the republic, and the Trotskyist literature they needed. The network of the Czech Ministry of the Interior has seized various leaflets put out by this organization, as well as the technical equipment used to produce them." The ministry gave no details on the arrests, but said a report would be made "shortly."

A further account was published simultaneously in *Rudé Pravo* of Prague and *Pravda* in Bratislava January 17. According to the January 18 *New York Times*, the arrested youths were accused of calling for an "antibureaucratic revolution," not only in Czechoslovakia, but "in other socialist countries, in particular the Soviet Union." They were said to be members of "a 'revolutionary socialist party,' an underground group of students and young workers that had infiltrated institutes of higher learning and such labor organizations as the metal workers and printing industry unions."

The *Times* did not indicate whether the precise name of the proscribed organization was given. It is known that several left-Communist organizations, with various political views, had coalesced during the "Prague spring"

and in the period following the Soviet invasion of August 1968.

The *Rudé Pravo* article sought to associate the arrested "plotters" with the revolutionary youth of the West, of whom the paper took a dim view:

"The members of the organization saw an example for themselves in certain extremist groups in the West, in anarchy, disorder, riots and chaos provoked by them."

"Many facts unequivocally prove connections with various Trotskyite organizations in the West." *Rudé Pravo* claimed that "functionaries of Trotskyite organizations in the West" had visited Czechoslovakia recently and taken part in clandestine student meetings.

The January 16 *Le Monde* suggested that a wide range of groups have been hit in the roundup. "It has been learned, in fact, from a good source, that between December 22 and January 1, thirty-five members of the Student Union of Bohemia-Moravia were arrested. They belonged mainly to the section in charge of contacts with the unions. Also arrested were a certain number of young Communists who have been meeting since March 1968 in a 'revisionist' organization, which was never legalized, known as the 'Revolutionary Youth Movement.'

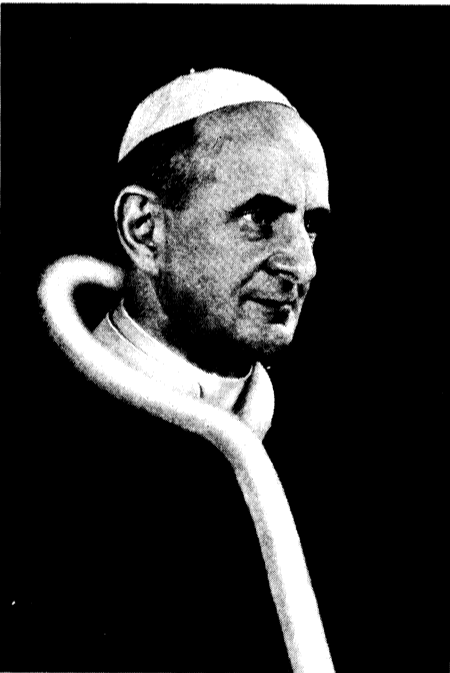
The Husák regime is preparing a frame-up in the style of the notorious Moscow Trials of the thirties to silence its critics on the left. The men in the Kremlin who installed Husák by force of Soviet tanks are old hands at show trials. They learned the technique from Stalin himself. The procedure is simple.



Husak

Representatives of all kinds of opposition tendencies are lumped together in an amalgam accusing them of participating in a common "plot." Fighters for proletarian democracy on the left may thus be accused of associating with the most reactionary forces in a projected crime against the state. To make it look more plausible, one or two real agents of imperialism may be included.

Intercontinental Press



The Pope

Catholic hierarchy gets earthy

The Holy Roman Catholic Church, one of the richest organizations in the world, is not noted for its generosity to its lay employees.

This week two segments of workers at both ends of the economic scale, the lay teachers at the top and the gravediggers at the bottom, demonstrated their extreme dissatisfaction.

The gravediggers walked out of 44 of New York City's nonsectarian, Jewish, and Catholic cemeteries a week ago. On Sunday, Jan. 18, a hundred striking Catholic workers picketed St. Patrick's Cathedral for two hours, then laid down their signs to attend the 11 o'clock mass to pray for the end of the strike.

Neither the god they prayed to nor his chief ambassador, Cardinal Cooke, have heard their prayers. The strike goes on. On Jan. 19, 13 pickets were arrested at a Catholic cemetery when they lay down at the gate to stop a hearse from entering.

A strike of lay Catholic elementary and high school teachers was narrowly averted Jan. 18 when, by a vote of 335-255, the members of the Catholic Lay Teachers Group accepted a proposed contract. Under the new agreement, elementary teachers will receive an \$800 increase this year (retroactive to Sept. 1, 1969) and another \$500 for the 1970-71 school year, bringing their minimum range of wages up from its previous levels of \$5,000 to \$8,000 to a low of \$6,300 and a high of \$9,300 in two years.

High school teachers won parity with instructors in 12 high schools not affected by the threatened strike. They will now receive a minimum of \$6,800 to \$12,800, with another \$400 raise next year.

Elementary teachers are dissatisfied and the discussion at the ratification meeting indicated the possibility of a split off of this group.

The National Picketline

Barry Ryan, head of the newly organized independent group, said that "we felt that the possibility of getting parity at this time was absolutely nil . . . the members have put the archdiocese on notice that the problem of parity must be solved at the next negotiations. The gap must be closed."

Cardinal Cooke expressed thanks that the negotiations had been successful but decried the cost. "More than \$5-million has been added to the already heavy financial burden of our parishes of the archdiocese," he cried, and "[the contract] places increased pressure on the financially squeezed parochial schools . . . traditionally financed by Sunday morning collections."

Tuition fees in parochial high schools were raised recently by \$400.

Internationally, the Catholic Church is in trouble in many spheres, but lack of money is not one of them.

During the past several years it has lost many teaching nuns and priests who returned to the lay world. More than just this loss has also plagued the church-school problem. Educational standards in these schools were so low that federal laws were passed forcing the church to hire a certain percentage of lay teachers to augment their faculties. They have had trouble recruiting these lay teachers and then of holding them because of the low level pay scale. The church charges that the lay teachers remain only long enough to earn more university credits, then desert to the public school systems. The turnover is high—from 40 to 60 percent a year.

Meanwhile, Jewish elementary and secondary school teachers are demanding

that the New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropies change its order of priorities and provide more money for education.

The Association of New York Yeshiva Principals announced it is ready to close 150 Jewish Day Centers. They have said they will put 48,000 pupils on picket lines around the federation headquarters if they feel the move would help gain their objectives.

The Passaic, N.J., Educational Association walked out on Jan. 19, closing the city's 430 public schools in an effort to force the Passaic city council to include a pay raise for them in the next city budget—the deadline for which is Feb. 2. The current contract covering the teachers does not expire until Aug. 31, 1970.

Under current schedules, teachers with bachelor's degrees receive a minimum of \$6,500 rising to a maximum of \$10,800 in 15 steps. Teachers with master's degrees receive a minimum of \$7,000 rising to a maximum of \$12,000.

The board of education has offered a package valued at \$562,000 to be allocated as the union would decide. The union is demanding a package totaling \$739,300.

—MARVEL SCHOLL

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Book review

Rockefeller's plan for Latin America

THE ROCKEFELLER REPORT ON THE AMERICAS. By Nelson Rockefeller. Quadrangle Books, Chicago. 1969. \$1.25.

The Rockefeller Report on the Americas is couched in personalist-philosophy, social-work language of the gooier sort. "Personal growth," "concern with people," "creativity," "value systems," and similar expressions abound. In the 144 pages of the book, the phrase, "quality of life," occurs no fewer than 25 times. Rockefeller's wisdom ranges from such deep moral insight as, "Individuals and nations expect much for themselves and too little for others," to such profound economic analysis as, "Assistance can be fully effective only where a country is making maximum use of its own productive resources," and such probing observations on national (or racial?) psychology as, "A characteristic of the Latin temperament is to put more faith in people than in institutions."

Even after having gotten used to this sort of mind and sensibility, however, it is hard to suppress a guffaw when Nelson Rockefeller is so overcome by his yearning to improve the quality of life in Latin America as to write: "It is for each individual, each family, each community, each nation, each region to define its own particular aspirations—but these share one splendid bias: that no man be exploited or degraded to enrich another, and that we work together so that each can grow."

Nevertheless, a serious statement runs through the embarrassing banality of

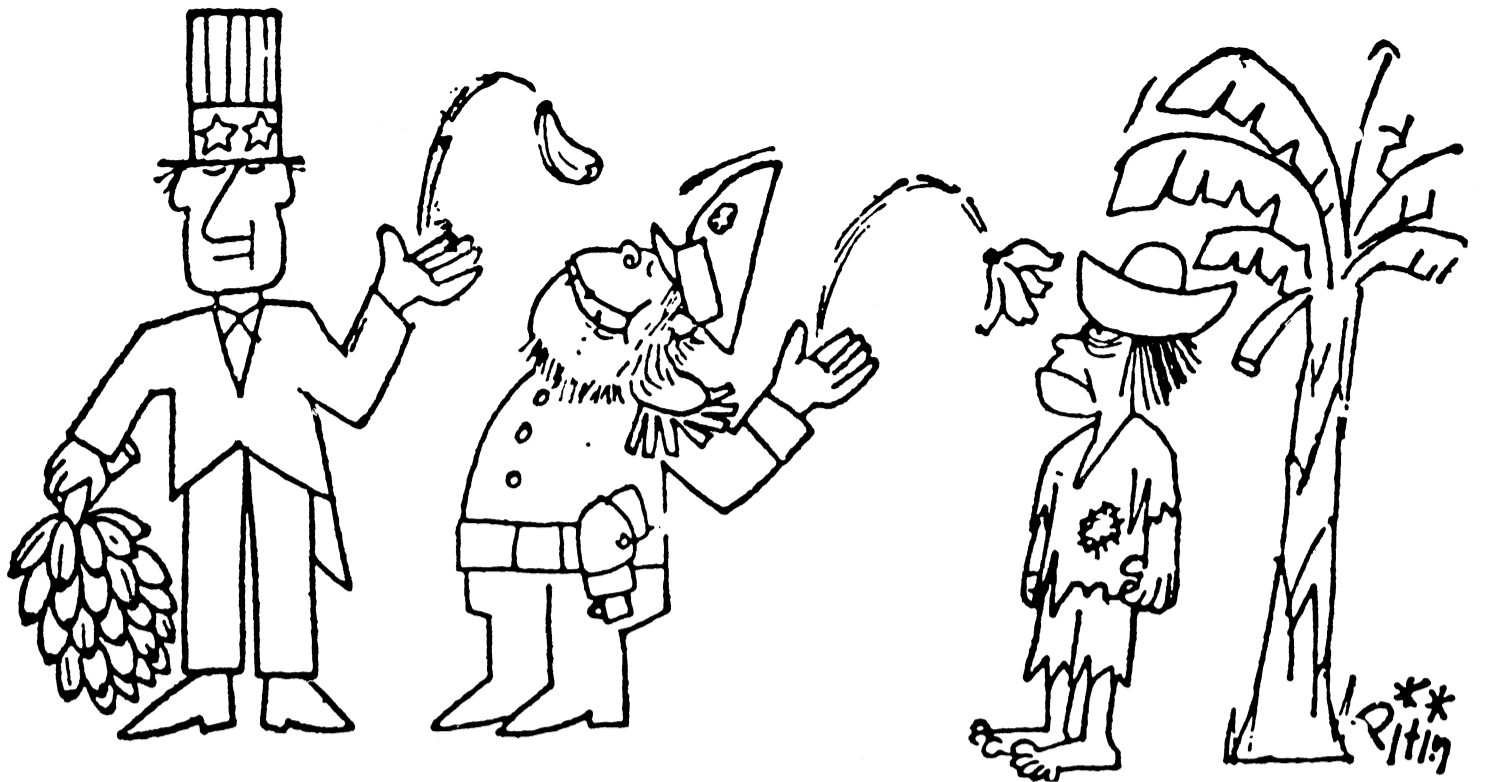
Penn students protest killings in Ethiopia

By NATALIE BOMBARO

PHILADELPHIA — Demonstrators here braved freezing temperatures Jan. 9 to participate in a march protesting the repressive Ethiopian regime of Haile Selassie and the recent murders of students in Addis Ababa. A coffin, symbolizing the body of Tilahun Gizaw, slain president of the University Students Union of Addis Ababa, was carried in the march, and a memorial service was held at the rally which followed.

Participants in the demonstration, which was organized by the Ethiopian Students Union of Pennsylvania, also included members of the University of Pennsylvania Arab Students Organization, Drexel Institute Black Students Union, and the Young Socialist Alliance. At the rally, representatives of these organizations delivered messages of solidarity with the Ethiopian Students' struggle and condemned United States government support of the Selassie regime.

The Ethiopian Students Union pledged a continued and intensified struggle against the feudal regime in Ethiopia and its imperialist supporters in the United States, and they called on all progressive forces to join them in their efforts.



this sonorous nonsense. Rockefeller, the representative of the richest, most powerful, most sophisticated and most internationally extended section of the U.S. capitalist class, is here outlining a plan to mobilize, in the most efficient and flexible possible way, all the resources of the Western Hemisphere to the end of making as secure and as vast as possible the profits of such giant, U.S.-based, international monopolies as the Rockefeller family's own Standard Oil-Chase Manhattan Bank complex. This plan can be outlined under six points.

1. To the extent that it is consistent with the other points of the plan, the social status quo in Latin America is to be maintained. There is no room here for Alliance for Progress-type rhetoric about the need for the "ruling elites" in the region to carry out radical land reform, tax reform and income redistribution in favor of the poor masses. Land reform is hinted at exactly twice, and in both instances it is submerged in a welter of socially more superficial categories like farm-to-market roads, good agricultural management, and more extensive credit facilities for farmers. There are one direct and two or three oblique references to tax reform. There is no suggestion that anything might be done about the immensely lopsided income distribution.

2. U.S. monopoly capital will undertake the *selective* industrialization of the region. It will be able to derive maximum benefit from Latin America's low labor costs and the nearness to some natural resources and markets. At the same time, transferring some manufacturing operations from the U.S. to Latin America will help avoid "overfull" employment of U.S. workers and thus put a downward pressure on U.S. wages.

This industrialization will be carried out to the extent and in a way that is in the interest of the U.S.-based, international monopolies. When Rockefeller refers to the "efficiency" of the "new international division of labor" he envisages, he is talking about the profitability of this monopoly capital.

3. The primary social groups which the United States will rely on to secure the social framework for carrying out this economic reorganization are the military establishments. Gone is the Alliance for Progress' affection for parliamentary, democratic facades. "For many of these societies. . .," Rockefeller proclaims, "the question is less one of democracy or lack of it than it is simply of orderly ways of getting along." Again, referring to "military leaders," Rockefeller writes, "They are searching for ways to bring education and better standards of living to their people while avoiding anarchy or violent revolution. In many cases, it will be more useful for the United States to try to work with them in these efforts, rather than to abandon or insult them because we are conditioned by arbitrary ideological stereotypes." Rockefeller stresses the need to comprehend

the military's sensitivity to the nationalist sentiment of the people. He even hints that occasional nationalizations (with "adequate" compensation) of U.S. property should be graciously accepted as an unpleasant overhead cost.

Specifically, Rockefeller recommends the end of restrictions on the purchase of U.S. arms by the military and police of the capitalist countries of Latin America. He stresses the rising threat of urban-based revolutionary movements, and the superiority of military regimes in dealing with them. And he proposes virtually unlimited grants to these gorilla regimes: "The United States should respond to requests for assistance of the police and security forces of the hemisphere nations by providing them with the essential tools to do their job."

4. Trade barriers between the U.S. and Latin American countries and between the Latin American countries themselves, are to be eliminated. Since there is to be no planned income redistribution, the broader markets required to support profitable, selective industrialization can only be built by getting rid of the tariffs and quotas that restrict international trade in the region. Such measures will, of course, meet resistance from local industrial capitalists, who are only able to stay in business because import restrictions protect their high-cost products. Presumably, however, they will be pacified by making them into junior partners in the "joint" U.S.-local enterprises so dear to Rockefeller's heart.

Trade liberalization will meet intense resistance from those U.S. capitalists who can only make profits behind tariff and import-quota walls (e.g., U.S. textiles could face a serious threat from material produced by superexploited Latin American labor). Rockefeller hopes to buy them off, however, with the U.S. working class' tax dollars: he calls for "new procedures" and "supporting funds" to make sure "adjustment assistance" is provided for industries in the U.S. made noncompetitive by the trade liberalization.

5. Rockefeller proposes a host of new financial institutions and arrangements for Latin America. They would have three basic functions. First, they would suck up every stray bit of capital floating around the region and place it at the disposal of U.S. monopoly capital. Secondly, they would provide for the frictionless flow of capital across national and industrial boundaries to wherever it might momentarily be most advantageous to the U.S. international monopolists. Third, they would help assure that these capital flows would not be impeded by balance-of-payments difficulties either of the Latin American countries or of the United States.

Finally, Rockefeller calls for liberal use of U.S. "aid" funds for two specific purposes, in addition to support of police and military establishments. In the first place, they will be used to finance just the kind and amount of "infrastructure" development—public health, edu-

cation, transportation, housing, conservation, etc.—that is essential to the envisaged selective industrialization, but which are unprofitable. Secondly, they will be used to make the initial investments in ventures that are risky or that require a number of years to begin to show high profits, but which are potentially highly profitable in the long run. Private enterprise would have the option to acquire these ventures after the high-risk, low-return period is passed. But no "aid" funds should be used in competition with private capital.

Rockefeller does well to refer to this plan as a means of revivifying the U.S.'s "special relationship" to Latin America, for that relationship has been historically one of virtually unrestrained plunder. Rockefeller's proposals are aimed at modernizing, rationalizing and streamlining that plunder. To the extent that they are realized, they will not contribute to the solution of any of the urgent problems of the region. They will only convert even more than before the people and the natural wealth of the continent into things to be juggled by imperialist capital in its unending quest for profit.

—ROBERT LANGSTON

Rights attorney draws penalty in Kentucky

Daniel T. Taylor, noted civil rights and criminal lawyer, has been suspended for one year from the Kentucky Bar Association. The suspension was based upon the findings of a three-man trial committee of the KBA.

Most of the charges stem from encounters that Taylor had with former Judge J. Miles Pound, a 62-year-old former policeman. Pound is a former judge because he was not re-elected to the Jefferson County Criminal Court last November. This resulted from disclosures during Taylor's disbarment proceedings that the judge drank and toted a gun while on the bench.

In January of 1969, when Taylor was defending a Black militant before Pound, the judge lost his grip on a pistol hidden beneath his robes. He ended up juggling the pistol in the air before regaining control of it. The judge sought to justify the gun on the limp excuse that somebody had threatened his life.

According to one of the charges against Taylor, he is supposed to have directed a "vile, low, mean, base, contemptible, derogatory, contumelious, injudicious statement" at the judge, namely, "You dirty son of a bitch."

Taylor denies all of the charges saying that his suspension was based on his defense of draft resisters, Black and white militants, and victims of police brutality.

The Great Society

Wrong tune—The 185 people on trial in Washington for having participated in a Nov. 13 hymn-singing "mass for peace" at the Pentagon are charged with having created "a loud and unusual noise."

It may come to that—Theos Thompson is concerned about those bleeding-heart scientists who keep admonishing about the danger of radiation pollution of the air. Mr. Thompson, an AEC commissioner, says, "It's as though we decided not to get out of bed any more because we might slip on the way to the bathroom. It's a sign of age—of growing old, of decaying. In fact, in the ultimate application of this philosophy, we should each of us stop breathing."

No itch, no bunions—If you want to know why the Beautiful People are Beautiful, it's because, unlike common people, they know how to dress properly. For instance, a *New York Times* feature on those who ski by day and party by night at Sun Valley, Idaho, reports that current in things include custom molded ski boots (\$70 a leg) and cashmere long johns.

The games some people play—The Beautiful People at Sun Valley also have hobbies. For instance, W. W. Winans gets his kicks from remote control model planes. His wife Mignon, the J. C. Penney heiress, says that back home at Pacifica Palisades, Calif., "we drop bombs from the planes and hit spots on the ground."

Floral note—Beautiful People also know how to set themselves off esthetically. Women's Wear Daily reports on a plush club in the Bahamas: "Besides the 'weed women' who are constantly doing just what the job suggests—keeping an eagle eye on the golf course fairways and greens for unwelcome

growths—there's that white-uniformed attendant in the ladies' changing room at the pool who daily lays pink and apricot hibiscus on tiny shelves outside each cubicle."

Fashion note—We reported recently that the dry cleaning industry regards the maxi-skirt as a significant advance over the mini. Meanwhile, a leading department store security man says the maxi-skirt represents a major gain over the mini for shoplifters.

The children's friend—"The 'bound-to-last' concept for textbooks will diminish in importance. Let each kid have a new book. Don't inhibit him by making a fetish of keeping his book clean or make a neurotic of him by not allowing him to write in it."—James B. Blaine, long-time leader in the book-binding industry.

Getting down to nitty-gritty—A New York stockbroker's ad inquires: "Would a solution in Vietnam find you in the wrong stocks?" If that may be the case, and if your stock portfolio totals more than \$100,000 they'll be glad to give you free advice.

No-comment dep't—The January *Atlas* reports that a British auction netted \$72,000 on relics of Napoleon including a packet of his hair. *Atlas* quotes the British satirical magazine *Punch*: "Undoubtedly the saddest news item in a long time: The fact that Napoleon's penis was withdrawn (sorry, that's the auctioneer's word, not ours) from a sale at Christie's because no one was willing to pay more than \$40,000 for it. A bitter fate, even for something described in the sale catalogue as a 'small, dried-up object.' So it's been replaced in its box and returned to its American owner where, no doubt, it will await an upturn in the market." —HARRY RING

BOOK REVIEW

A hidden history

NORTH FROM MEXICO. By Carey McWilliams. Greenwood Press, Inc. Westport, Conn. 324 pages. Paperback. \$2.95.

"Historically, the Spanish-speaking have often complained that little is known about them (which is true) and that their problems have received little attention by the larger American public (which is also true)."

McWilliams, having stated this, then proceeds to slash through the "fantasy heritage" which has prevented present-day residents of the Southwest in par-

ticular and the United States in general from seeing the pattern of violent oppression of Mexicanos.

Also hidden from the American public is the long history of militant struggles for self-determination waged by Mexicanos since the days when the Anglo literally fought his way into the Southwest.

In this well documented book, McWilliams describes the antagonism between the two cultures, aside from mere language problems and stereotyping on both sides. Not surprising, initial conflicts arose over the slavery question. The new Texans moving into the region with their slaves resented and blamed the Mexicano for the rebellions among the Blacks who crossed the border into Mexico, where slavery had been abolished, in order to escape their masters.

During the years of "manifest destiny" and well after World War II, Mexicanos had no civil rights in the Southwest. In fact, wholesale massacres, lynchings, and beatings were the norm. In a chapter entitled, "Blood on Pavements," McWilliams describes racist attacks on young Mexicanos during the 1940s which had the tacit approval of the Los Angeles police force and the L. A. newspapers whose distorted reporting set the white community against the Mexicanos.

Mexicanos did not accept this vicious attempt to relegate them into obscurity—as evidenced by the Salt War and other bloody battles. Mexicanos organized and in copper mines, sugar beet industries, steel mills, and agricultural products and conducted militant and often successful strikes. Many of these strikes were broken by mass arrests and deportation to Mexico.

McWilliams sees a growth of political awareness among Mexicanos but does not draw revolutionary or radical conclusions in his book. This work is the most concise of the many books by McWilliams on the history of the struggles of Mexican-Americans to free themselves from bloody oppression. It should be read by revolutionists.

—MARIANNE HERNANDEZ



Marianne Hernandez is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate from Texas.

Westmoreland picketed by civilians, GIs in El Paso, Texas

By ERIC KANGAS

EL PASO, Texas—On the evening of Jan. 15, Gen. William Westmoreland attended a cocktail hour at the Airport Hilton here. The event was sponsored by the Association of the United States Army.

Outside were over a hundred pickets organized by the Fort Bliss GIs for Peace. The crowd was composed of off-duty soldiers, their wives and girl friends, college students, and high school students, but the majority were GIs.

Some of the signs that were carried said, "Bring the Troops Home Now," "Peace is Patriotic," "GIs are Citizens Too," and "GIs for Peace." The pickets paraded in an orderly fashion for about an hour in cold, windy weather, then quietly departed. Gen. Westmoreland came into the hotel through a rear entrance, but reportedly observed the demonstration for about a half an hour.

Fort Bliss GIs for Peace intends to use the demonstration as a basis for building a mass rally to be held in mid-February.

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GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St., SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7817, Atlanta, Ga., 30309. Tel: (404) 876, 2230.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o Bill Moffett, P.O. Box 166, Carbondale, Ill. 62901. Tel: (618) 549-6214.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Detroit: SWP and YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

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

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

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Paul Schmidlein, 4409 Virginia, K.C., Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 561-0872.

St. Louis: YSA, c/o Larry Swingle, 5817 Waterman, St. Louis, Mo. 63112.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WASHINGTON: Cheney: E. Wash. State YSA, Sub Box 1040, EWSC, Cheney, Wash. 99004. Tel: 235-6749.

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

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

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

N.Y. SWP opens state campaign



Photo by Hermes

SOCIALIST NOMINEES. The New York Socialist Workers Party state ticket (left to right): Hedda Garza for Nassau County Executive; Jon Rothschild for Lt. Governor; Ruthann Miller for Comp-

troller; Clifton DeBerry for Governor; and Kipp Dawson for Senator. Miguel Padilla (below) is candidate for Attorney General.

By TERRY HILLMAN
NEW YORK—The New York State Socialist Workers Party announced an action-oriented election campaign at a news conference here Jan. 22.

The campaign is designed to build the antiwar, Black and Puerto Rican, women's liberation, and high school and college movements that are now sweeping the state, and to provide a socialist perspective.

The central campaign theme is the necessity of ending the dictatorship of the small, wealthy minority over the lives of the great majority of people. Some key platform planks are:

- Bring all the troops home from Vietnam now. Build massive antiwar demonstrations this spring. No phony "Vietnamization" of the war. For a referendum on the war.

- Black and Puerto Rican control of Black and Puerto Rican communities. For mass, independent Black and Puerto Rican political parties. Against the planned state office building in Harlem.

- Restore the demonstration school districts under community control. Free the Panther 21. Hands off the Young Lords.

- Support the women's liberation movement. Abolish abortion laws. Build the March 21 demonstration against abortion laws. End forced sterilization of poor women. Equal pay for equal work, and full access for women to all employment and educational opportunities. Wages for housework. Free, 24-hour child-care centers controlled by those who use them.

- Full constitutional rights for high school students. Get the cops out of the high schools. Student and faculty control of higher education. End high school and campus complicity with the war and with racist and antilabor institutions. Open admissions to all state and city universities. Free higher education for all.

- End unemployment through a shorter work week with no loss of pay. For the right of public employees to

- strike; repeal the Taylor Law. For a labor party based on the unions.

- Free, complete, high-quality health care. Free public transportation. For a crash program to end pollution of air and water. A 100 percent tax on all incomes over \$25,000.

- For a government of the majority—working people, Afro-Americans, Puerto Ricans, other Third World people, women, students. For a socialist America.

The SWP campaign committee plans an attack on restrictive election laws. A major target will be the undemocratic requirement that nominating petitions have at least 50 signatures of registered voters from each of New York's 62 counties. Similar laws in Illinois and Michigan have already been declared unconstitutional.

The leading contender for governor is the Republican incumbent, Nelson Rockefeller. As a member of one of the country's wealthiest families, he has an obvious reason for wanting to main-

Feminist Theater at SWP rally

NEW YORK — A performance by the New Feminist Theater will highlight a banquet and rally to open the 1970 Socialist Workers Party election campaign on Feb. 7 at 873 Broadway (near 18th Street). The dinner will begin at 6 p.m., and the rally at 8:30 p.m.

Speakers at the rally will include Clifton DeBerry, the party's candidate for governor; Kipp Dawson, candidate for U. S. senator; Ruthann Miller, candidate for comptroller; Randy Furst, staff writer for the Guardian; and Michael Weissman, High School Student Mobilization Committee.

For further information, call (212) 477-8950.

tain the status quo. Despite his record as a squeeze-the-poor and cut-back-on-public services governor, Rockefeller is attempting to project a "liberal" image.

Similarly with "peace candidate" Charles Goodell. As U. S. senator, he has talked about "phasing out" the war. At the same time, he has tried to curb the mass antiwar movement which calls for bringing the troops home now. He has stated that he wants to get that movement off the streets.

The capitalist-party candidates are assured of big-money backing and machine support. The SWP campaign will have very little money. But a strong team of young leaders is building the revolutionary movement around New York state. The Young Socialist Alliance is actively supporting the SWP campaign, and New York state chapters of the YSA are already arranging meetings for the candidates on campuses around the state, building broad supporter groups, and raising funds to cover the very heavy expenses of a campaign as extensive as the one projected.

Contributions and inquiries should be sent to the New York State Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003; telephone: (212) 477-8950.

The socialist ticket: militant fighters all

The New York State Socialist Workers Party candidates are:

- CLIFTON DEBERRY FOR GOVERNOR. Clifton DeBerry moved to Chicago from rural Mississippi during the depression years. His long history as a radical labor and Black-struggle leader began in the Chicago slums in 1940, when he organized a union of his fellow bowling-alley pinsetters.

As a member of United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America, Local 108, he was chairman of the steward's committee, chairman of the local's Black caucus, and a member of the committees which led the bitter International Harvester strikes of 1942-43 and 1946.

He was the SWP's candidate for President in 1964, and has authored numerous articles on Marxism and the Black struggle.

- KIPP DAWSON FOR U. S. SENATOR. Kipp Dawson was a national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and is currently active in the women's liberation movement. She has been an active participant in the struggles for civil rights for Black and Chicano peoples, in defense of the Cuban Revolution, against the war in Vietnam, and for women's liberation.

Kipp Dawson turned toward revolutionary politics in her sophomore year

at San Francisco State College because of events involving the Cuban Revolution.

She chaired the San Francisco committee which organized participation in the 1965 March on Washington against the war in Vietnam. She was elected West Coast executive director of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam for the April 15, 1967, demonstrations, and she addressed that rally of 70,000.

She served on the national executive committee of the Young Socialist Alliance from 1967-1969.

- JON ROTHSCHILD FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR. Like many revolutionary activists, Jon Rothschild became aware of socialist ideas through his participation in the antiwar movement.

Rothschild joined the Young Socialist Alliance after working with members of the Ann Arbor YSA on the various International Days of Protest Against the War in Vietnam.

He is known around the country as a YSA spokesman in defense of the Arab revolution. Articles by him have appeared in the *Young Socialist* and in *Al Hadaf*, the magazine of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

- MIGUEL PADILLA FOR ATTOR-

NEY GENERAL. Living in the South Bronx led Miguel Padilla to the early realization that some sort of organized political action would be necessary in order to change existing social conditions.



Photo by Hermes

Miguel Padilla

Padilla joined the Young Socialist Alliance at the City College of New York. He is currently a member of the YSA's national committee. He is a member of the CCNY Puerto Ricans Involved in Student Action, and during the spring of 1969, he was a leader in the CCNY strike called by the Black and Puerto Rican Student Committee to demand that CCNY enroll in its classes the same proportion of Third World students as attend the city's high schools.

- RUTHANN MILLER FOR COMPTROLLER. Ruthann Miller is a leader in New York's People to Abolish Abortion Laws, the committee which is building a March 21 demonstration against abortion laws in conjunction with four federal suits against abortion laws.

She is a key figure in the women's liberation movement here.

She joined the YSA at Columbia University in 1967, where she was active in the antiwar committee.

- HEDDA GARZA FOR NASSAU COUNTY EXECUTIVE. Hedda Garza is a working mother of four children. She has been a radical since her early teens.

In the mid-50s, she was Long Island representative for the *National Guardian*. She became interested in the Independent Socialist Party campaign of 1958, through which she came into contact with the Socialist Workers Party.