

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE



## Thousands commemorate Kent-Jackson murders

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# In Brief

**FLORIDA BLACK ACTIVIST SENTENCED:** The Junta of Military Organizations (JOMO), a St. Petersburg-based Black liberation organization, is raising money to appeal the conviction of the group's 20-year-old state chairwoman, Connie Tucker, who was sentenced to five years in prison last month on frame-up charges of marijuana possession. Tucker's conviction and sentencing is only the latest of a two-year-long chain of events in the campaign by Florida cops to "get Tucker" and smash the organizing efforts of Black groups in the state. After other attempts to frame Tucker on shoplifting charges failed, the cops planted the dope and then "found" it on a raid of her Tampa home in February 1970. Otha and Sharon Favors, who were seized in the same raid, had charges against them dropped. (Otha Favors is a member of Black Youth for Peace and Power. Sharon Favors is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.) JOMO spokesman Joseph Waller, in appealing for funds to fight the conviction, said that Tucker's life may be in danger in Ocala prison. His fear is based on previous incidents at the prison and threats received by other JOMO leaders, he said. For more information, or to send donations, write JOMO, P. O. Box 12792, St. Petersburg, Fla. 33733, or phone (813) 896-2036.

**YOUNG SOCIALISTS CALL FOR DEFENSE OF SIR GEORGE VICTIMS:** On May 4, after sentences of up to 2 years in jail plus \$5,000 fine were handed down against leaders of a Black student protest at Canada's Sir George Williams University in 1969, Joe Young, executive secretary of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, issued a statement in which he said: "The YS/LJS calls on students across the country to protest this attack against the Black and the student movement in Canada. We demand the immediate release of Rosie Douglas and Ann Cool and the dropping of all charges."

**"VICTORY" MARCH ATTRACTS LOSERS:** Right-wing radio Bible-thumper Carl McIntire's May 8 "Patriots March for Victory" in Washington, D. C., reportedly drew between 10,000 and 15,000 persons, few of them young, making it look pretty poor in relation to the massive antiwar outpouring two weeks earlier. Chanting for a U.S. victory in Indochina and for Alabama demagogue George C. Wallace, the march not only fell short of the 250,000 figure forecast by McIntire, but it revealed a trend compared to McIntire's past prowar marches. According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, the first such rally in 1969 drew almost 50,000. Last year, 20,000 came.

**CHILDREN'S LIBERATION:** The April 29 issue of the *Daily Collegian*, University of Massachusetts student newspaper, carried an article on a new group in Amherst—Children's Liberation, founded by Mike Forget, 11; Nina Mankin, 6; and Eric Mankin, 11. The three go to school in a program connected with the U Mass school of education. The main spokesperson for the group is Eric, who says: "When you're 18, you resent being called a kid. Why should you resent being called something that is very nice. Everyone was once a kid, you know."

**COLUMBIA PRESIDENT DUMPS ON GAYS:** Forty members of Gay People at Columbia University, a gay liberation group, are currently occupying a lounge in protest over the school's refusal to allow them to use facilities available to other organizations. Explaining the double standard, William McGill, the school's president, said: "I make a very sharp distinction between their political and social orientation on the one hand and their medical and psychiatric situation on the other." Gay People believes direct action is good therapy for administrators who have a psychiatric problem with an antihomosexual phobia, and has vowed to remain in the lounge.

**WHO'S IN CHARGE HERE?** Sometimes bureaucratic bungling has the fortunate effect of helping to undermine bureaucracy. Pathfinder Press informed *In Brief* about an order received May 12 that we suspect reflects the desire of the military brass to cool off militant Black GIs—it was for 1,500 Malcolm X books and it came from the European command of the U. S. Army.

**WHAT ELSE?** An interview with a nameless NPAC marshal in Washington April 24 appeared in the April 26 *Indiana Daily Student* (Bloomington). We quote the last part of the interview: "Q—Are you going to participate in the May actions?" "A—No, I'm from Minnesota. I have to go home." "Q—What are you going to do when you get back?" "A—I think I'll join the YSA (Young Socialist Alliance)."

**PUBLIC HEALTH:** Two guards at the Mateawan State Hospital in New York, an institution for the "criminally insane," have been indicted for manslaughter by a county grand jury. The indictment charges that the two guards beat and kicked 22-year-old Edison Galarza to death.

**UFT ELECTIONS:** The New York Teachers Action Committee filed the required number of signatures April 28 to be able to run a full slate of candidates against the Shanker leadership in the coming UFT election. The group is fielding three candidates, two Black women and one white man, for president, vice-president and treasurer. Their program includes the following points: 1) getting the U.S. out of Indochina and spending the billions for education and other needs, 2) getting rid of the Board of Examiners, 3) getting rid of the UFT's alliance with the supervisors' association, 4) getting rid of "violence in the schools" with education, not "law and order" tactics, 5) democratic unionism—one delegate for every 10 members; membership-elected district representatives; space in the union's newspaper for dissenting views. For more information, write TAC, 1133 Broadway, Rm. 708, New York, N. Y. 10010, or call 242-5093.

**WOMAN UMPIRE WINS CASE:** Bernice Gera, who has been waging a legal battle against the New York-Pennsylvania Baseball League for her right to be hired as an umpire, won a decision in the New York Supreme Court's Appellate Division April 27. The league had tried to cloak its discrimination against Gera on the basis of her sex by asserting that she did not meet the height/weight standards, but the court knocked down the standards as unfair and ruled that Gera had been denied employment because she is a woman.

**READ NO EVIL:** New York Community School District 25, a predominantly white, middle-class district in Queens, banned from student libraries last month *Down These Mean Streets* by Piri Thomas. Thomas appeared at the school board meeting which banned his book to oppose the decision. Board members objected to "the use of four-letter words and descriptions of heterosexual and homosexual acts." One member, Rabbi Karl Applbaum, said he did not feel the book accurately described life in the Puerto Rican ghetto of East Harlem. Thomas, whose book is autobiographical, said such a judgment had to come from someone who "apparently hasn't been there."

**TWICE AS MANY (ADMITTED) TAPS:** The May 3 *New York Times* reported congressional findings that in 1970, there were nearly twice as many court-approved wiretaps as in 1969. Last year there were 597; in 1969 there were 302.

**ASBESTOS COATS POSE CANCER DANGER:** A vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union held a joint news conference in New York May 3 with a Mount Sinai laboratory researcher to announce that women's coats made of fabric containing asbestos fiber can cause cancer in the wearer as well as the workers who manufacture the coat. The two men declined to mention the names of companies producing such coats, however, and said there was little chance of recalling the more than 100,000 such coats already distributed to outlets around the country.

**MILITANT SALESPERSON TO PRESS CHARGE OF POLICE BRUTALITY:** Bob Gebert, the Boston Militant salesperson who was arrested and beaten by a cop after he sought the cop's aid in escaping from an unprovoked assault by a right-winger, is going to press charges against both the cop and the right-winger. The fake charge of petty larceny cooked up by the cop and Gebert's assailant to justify their actions was thrown out of Boston municipal court April 30.

**McGOVERN THE "PEACE" CANDIDATE:** In a speech before the American-Israel Public Affairs Society and the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington, Senator George McGovern, the liberal dove, expressed concern over the "ever-increasing possibility that the American people, who have come together from all sides in the peace movement, will allow their revulsion for the war in Indochina to . . . render us unable to carry out our responsibility for acting in support of peace in the world." Letting his chameleon skin show through his feathers, he continued, "I believe it is the obligation of those who have led the peace movement to educate our constituents to the vital distinction between . . . placing the American guaranty behind Israel's right to survive and perpetuating the war in Indochina."

— LEE SMITH

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COVER: May 5, Bryant Park rally, New York. Photo by Howard Petrick.

## THE MILITANT

VOLUME 35/NUMBER 19  
MAY 21, 1971  
CLOSING NEWS DATE—MAY 12

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS  
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Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone 243-6392. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$6 a year; foreign, \$7.50. By first class mail: domestic and Canada, \$18.00, all other countries, \$24.00. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$26.00; Latin America and Europe, \$40.00; Africa, Australia, Asia (including USSR), \$50.00. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

# Bangla Desh resistance continues

By MARCEL BLACK

MAY 11—Despite reports of major defeats of the regular forces of the Provisional Government of Bangla Desh, the resistance of the East Bengali people continues. One fact that belies the Pakistani militarists' statements about "total victory" over Bangla Desh is that recently they were forced to send two more full divisions to East Bengal to hold down the Bengali masses.

A dispatch in the May 11 *New York Times* from Chittagong, the major port of Bangla Desh, reports the continued resistance of the workers in territories occupied by the Pakistani invaders. The article dated May 10 from Chittagong, is based on an official Pakistani-organized tour for five selected Western reporters.

It claims that the refusal of Bengalis to report to work has paralyzed

production in Chittagong and other cities in Bangla Desh. "Throughout East Pakistan, the Bengalis . . . are staying away from their jobs, especially in the major towns. Threats of penalties have not brought many of them back." The type of "penalties" which the Pakistani butchers are threatening is hardly difficult to guess in the light of the atrocities they have already committed against the East Bengalis.

The *Times* gave the example of workers' housing for the Electrical Supply Company of East Pakistan, which once held 1,000 workers but is now nearly empty.

Soviet, Chinese, U.S. and British supplied arms have continued to flow to Pakistan during the war against the Bengalis. China has openly supported the slaughter as being in the interests of "unifying" Pakistan, while

the Soviet Union has attempted to promote a peaceful settlement based on a reunited Pakistan.

The defeats suffered by the Provisional Government of Bangla Desh have enabled the Indira Gandhi regime of India to drop its pretenses of support for Bangla Desh and begin to work out a "peaceful solution" with the Pakistani butchers.

An article in the May 6 *Christian Science Monitor* states, "The withdrawal from the brink of war by India and Pakistan after a number of direct and dangerous provocations has obscured the fact that Mrs. Indira Gandhi has quietly dropped Bangla Desh from her list of worthy causes. . . ."

"Direct and secret consultations were slowly set in motion between New Delhi and Islamabad on establishing an understanding essential to the preservation of Indo-Pakistani peace."

The *Monitor* describes how Mrs. Gandhi's previous statements of sympathy with Bangla Desh when the struggle was at a sharper level were not inconsistent with her current policies since she did nothing about them:

"The killing of Indian villagers by Pakistani troops firing across the border, the house confinement of Indian diplomats in Dacca, and the emotional explosion in Calcutta as 300,000 refugees streamed into West Bengal were more than enough to lay the basis for a subcontinental bloodbath [what the *Monitor* calls an Indian-supported war for the liberation of Bangla Desh] between its two uneasy occupants.

"Mrs. Gandhi, however, acted with shrewd caution, making suitably encouraging statements when the Bangla Desh irregulars had the Pakistani Army boxed in their cantonments, but promising nothing and making no move." Mrs. Gandhi's "shrewdness" has made her complicit in the wholesale slaughter of the Bengali people by the Pakistani Army. This is hardly surprising given her role in suppressing the struggles of hundreds of millions of Indians, including West Bengalis.

While the Indian capitalists turn their backs on the national liberation struggle of the Bengali people, the Socialist Workers Party, the Indian Section of the Fourth International, has unequivocally supported Bangla Desh against both the Pakistani regime and Indira Gandhi's complicity with it. Its declaration on Bangla Desh is published below.

In Bombay, the SWP has participated in a united-front Bangla Desh Solidarity Committee which included the Communist Party of India, the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the Lal Nishan Party, and the Revolutionary Socialist Party plus the All India Trade Union Congress, the Centre of Indian Trade Unions, and the United Trade Union Congress.

On March 31, the committee held a massive demonstration at the Calcutta offices of the Pakistani govern-

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East Bengali refugees who fell victim to West Pakistani flamethrowers while asleep in Dacca.

# Klan official is arrested in Houston

By PAUL McKNIGHT

HOUSTON—Two important developments occurred here on May 4 in relation to the campaign against right-wing terrorist attacks. The first was the arrest of the Houston public information officer of the United Klans of America, Paul Morratto, for placing a fake bomb in the building housing the studios of the local Pacifica radio station last Jan. 16.

The second was a debate between Debby Leonard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston, and Frank Converse, Klan grand dragon, on a special TV interview program.

Morratto was arrested on a misdemeanor charge of giving false information concerning the presence of a bomb because he phoned Pacifica stating that the fake bomb was real, and a felony charge of setting up a "fact situation" that caused an emergency vehicle to respond. There was no indication from the arson division that he will be charged with an actual incident of bombing.

The arson investigators indicate that they found Morratto's fingerprints on the fake bomb. They declined to state why it took them so long to arrest him, but they admitted that the Houston Police Department refused to cooperate in the arson division's investigation.

Alan Saltzstein, chairman of the Committee to Defend Democratic

Rights in Houston, stated at the City Council meeting on May 5, "The crime for which this man is accused is a very minor incident in a long and brutal history [of right-wing terrorism in Houston]. We hope that the investigation of these acts will go forth with greater diligence." The committee has stated that it will not slow down its campaign because of the recent arrest. The police have not indicated that they are any closer to solving any of the bombing cases than they were several weeks ago.

The national publicity that was recently focused on the Houston city administration by the May 3 *Newsweek* article on terrorism in Houston produced a quick change in attitude by the local arson division investigator and the U.S. Treasury agent who is investigating the bombing of the Socialist Workers Party headquarters last March 12. Before the *Newsweek* article appeared, both investigators were intimidating in their tone and belligerent in talking with members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party. Now both state their eagerness to solve the case and acknowledge that the terrorists who bombed the SWP campaign headquarters were probably right-wingers. The committee plans a stepped-up campaign to insure that the newly found eagerness to solve the bombing does not ebb.

The TV debate between Debby Leonard and Frank Converse was highly successful in exposing the Klan and getting facts about the Socialist Workers Party out to thousands of people. Many interested viewers phoned in, although the station also received five bomb threats. The program was so successful for the station as a half-hour special that an additional hour-long debate is scheduled to take place in two weeks.

Leonard stated during the debate that "the majority of Houstonians are getting sick and tired" of the kind of right-wing terrorism that has plagued the city for the past five or six years. "I think the whole country is watching now to see whether organizations such as the one I'm in, as well as antiwar organizations and individuals, are going to have the right to exist, to function publicly, to function openly, to make our ideas known," she said. "I think it's because of the ideas that I stand up for, and the fact that I have just declared as a candidate, that our campaign headquarters was bombed." She accused the Houston Police Department of framing up and brutally treating Black militants for allegedly possessing bombs. "This city," she said, "can stomp Bobby Lee Conner to death in a police station in full view of other policemen. This city can frame Lee Otis Johnson and send him to jail for 30 years, but

this city can't capture those responsible for attacks on liberals and left-wing organizations and individuals."

This "unequal enforcement of justice," she stated, is the result of "either direct or indirect collusion between the city administration, the police force, and right-wing elements in the city."

Converse said he thought that people who "don't like this form of government that has been so good for so long" should go to Cuba. The United Klans, he said, "believe that a man should believe in God and country—God first and country second. We believe that if this is the country you break bread in, certainly you shouldn't be out trying to change it, trying to change the form of government that has been given to us, and I might say one that has stood for 200 years." Leonard responded by saying that she indeed did want to change this country and defended her right to advocate change without the kind of terrorist harassment that has been so common in Houston.

Due to the wide viewing of the TV special and the public campaign against right-wing terrorists, Debby Leonard has received an increasingly favorable response to her candidacy. People on the street wave as she drives past, come up to her in restaurants to comment on her television appearance, and have sent messages of support to the campaign office.

# The Militant opens Southwest bureau

By LEE SMITH

On May 11, former *Militant* editor Harry Ring left for Los Angeles to head the new Southwest Bureau of *The Militant*. A few days before his departure, he sat down to discuss this new expansion and what it represents, in light of his 18 years of experience writing for the paper.

Ring said the bureau was something entirely new in *The Militant's* history; the paper has never before had a bureau outside of New York City.

"I'll be doing, in a sense," he said, "the same thing that any staff member does in the office here in New York—writing, editing, organizing cover-

he said, "which reflects the political developments taking place throughout the country. The purpose of the bureau is to strengthen our national coverage."

With reference to further plans for expansion, Ring explained, "From a political viewpoint, what is needed is a national weekly with a significantly expanded circulation." He pointed out that an immediate aim of *The Militant* "is to achieve a qualitative increase in our circulation by continuing to push with our subscription drives."

"We want an expanded weekly paper that provides people who are concerned with social change

"The circulation, which we intend to push way beyond what it is, has also made significant progress in this time," he said, "from under 3,000 during the witch-hunt in the 1950s to over 20,000 today."

*The Militant* has improved in other ways during this time, Ring said, "in terms of its balance—between news and analysis, between national and international coverage—in terms of its typography and layout." But one of the most important improvements stressed by Ring has been the growing ability to rely on direct sources.

When he began writing for the paper in 1953, Ring said, "Most of our writing was done in the office. Occasionally if there was a big development we would send someone out to cover it. For example, when the Montgomery bus boycott developed in 1956, it was a big project, I remember, and we were able to buy a Greyhound bus ticket for Fred Halstead and send him down there to cover that for us."

"It was a standing joke in the radical movement at that time that a paper like *The Militant* would not be able to appear if the *New York Times* stopped publication, and there was a kernel of truth in the joke," Ring said. "Much of what we had to say was commenting on various national and international events, as they were reported in the capitalist press. Not much was happening in the movement itself, and to a large degree we had to depend on the capitalist papers."

"Today, however," Ring said, "we have many more sources within the movements themselves—the antiwar movement, the Black and Chicano movements, the women's movement, the gay movement—far better sources than any of the capitalist papers." Even internationally, he added, "we have much more direct coverage of important developments."

Because the new bureau has an experimental character, Ring said, "there is no fixed calendar to follow. The improvements it will make in the paper will take place as a process," rather than as a sudden shift on a scheduled date.

Readers will be interested to know that the feature-column, currently called "The Great Society," which Ring has been writing, will continue to appear.

Ring will write the column from Los Angeles. "Now when I list possible 'gift items,' they will probably more often be those advertised where the ruling class shops in Los Angeles, rather than in New York," he said, but the column will retain its essential character, commenting on the society we live in from a sardonic viewpoint.

He still welcomes clippings to use in his column. They can be sent to the New York *Militant* office until an address is established in Los Angeles, and they will be forwarded to him.



One of the goals of a Southwest bureau of *The Militant* is to provide firsthand coverage of Chicano movement.

age of important developments throughout the region." In addition to his own regular writing, Ring will be promoting "a more consistent flow of news and political analysis from the Southwest."

The purpose of the bureau, he explained, is to enhance the national character of the paper. The Southwest was selected, Ring said, because "it is a place where some of the most important things are happening, particularly developments in the Chicano movement."

While there is no immediate prospect of setting up other bureaus, "we do hope that we will be able to establish them in additional areas over time." Because the Southwest Bureau is the first one, "there is a certain experimental character to it, and we will learn a great deal in the process."

In response to questions, Ring emphasized that the setting up of a Southwest Bureau does not represent a step toward a separate edition of the paper. "Our perspective is to build *The Militant* into an increasingly effective national newspaper,"

a picture of what's going on in the country from both a news viewpoint and from an analytical, socialist viewpoint."

Ring spoke of the changes that have taken place in *The Militant* during his 18 years with the paper. The "low point," he recalled, occurred in 1961, when the paper went from a four-page, standard-size newspaper to a four-page tabloid, cutting its size by one-half. Then, in September 1962, the beginning radicalization among Black students and among other students concerned with the Black struggle, the Cuban revolution, and the reactionary domestic and international aspects of the cold war, reflected itself in the expansion of the paper to an eight-page tabloid.

Since then, *The Militant's* expansion has steadily accelerated with the radicalization. "Within the last several years," Ring recalled, "we have gone from eight to 12 pages, then from 12 to 16, from 16 to 20 to the present 24, and now can look forward to even more."

## JDL provokes N.Y. Black students

By DENNIS BRASKY

New York—On May 4, at Brooklyn College, the reactionary Jewish Defense League sparked a physical confrontation between Zionist and Black and Puerto Rican students. After more than 200 students became involved in the fighting, about 100 New York City cops were called onto the campus. They made liberal use of their nightsticks on Black and Puerto Rican heads.

It all started the previous Friday, April 30, in the school cafeteria. Zionist students repeatedly played a Hebrew record entitled "Next Year: Jerusalem" on the cafeteria juke box. The juke box is situated in the area of the cafeteria normally occupied by Black and Puerto Rican students. After about the tenth consecutive playing of the imperialist, racist song, a Black stu-

dent pulled the plug out of the box.

That afternoon, Black students opened up the box and removed the Israeli record as well as several others.

Tuesday, May 4, Rabbi Meir Kahane, leader of the JDL, spoke on campus as part of the JDL-sponsored "Soviet Jewry Day." When he finished, he led 20 to 30 Zionists over to the cafeteria. They invaded the Black area and proceeded to sing Israeli songs.

Looking upon these JDLers as racists, obviously trying to provoke an incident, and not as some barbershop quartet, the 20 or so Black students tried to ignore them. However, a few went to get help in case it was needed. The Black and Puerto Rican students were meeting at the time to discuss the budget cuts. By the time more Black students arrived, the fighting had begun.

The JDL is a Zionist organization that has identified itself with the terrorist bombings of the Palestine Liberation Organization offices and the headquarters of the American Communist Party.

On the day after this incident, the JDL came down near the campus in force and held a rally of 500 people. They couldn't come onto the campus, which was ringed with police checking for student ID cards.

Given the fact that Brooklyn College,

a campus of 31,000 students, is predominantly Jewish, a lot of sympathy exists for the JDL. There are close to 2,000 Black students.

## Jackson plans memorial meetings

In tribute to Phillip Gibbs and James Earl Green, the Jackson State College Student Government Association has set aside May 10-14 as a week of memorial activities.

On the theme of "Lest We Forget," the activities are not only to protest the police killing of these two Black students last May 14, but the subsequent whitewash of the event by local, state and federal authorities.

According to Joseph T. Hardy Jr., president of the Jackson State SGA, not much has happened since the May 14 invasion of the campus by state troopers and Jackson city police. Hardy was in New York City to speak to

an antiwar rally of over 10,000 people near Times Square May 5.

The police killing of Gibbs and Green was the State of Mississippi's response to antiwar protests on the all-Black campus. At the time, as part of the nationwide protests against the invasion of Cambodia and the Kent State killings, over 300 Jackson State students peaceably assembled May 13. The mayor of Jackson then ordered roadblocks set up around the Black community and a call-up of the National Guard.

The next day, the police fired shotgun, machine-gun, rifle, and armor-piercing shells into a crowd of Black students. The students were massed in front of Alexander Hall, the women's dormitory. The 28-second barrage killed two students and wounded 12.

The police story is that somebody fired at them from the dormitory. But even the President's Commission on Campus Unrest refused to believe that lie. It stated, in a report released last Oct. 1, "The commission concludes that racial animosity on the part of white police officers was a substantial contributing factor in the deaths of two Black youths and the gunshot injuries of 12 more."

Despite abundant evidence of police guilt, state and federal authorities have refused to indict anyone.

# SWP campaign sparks high school rights fight

WORCESTER, Mass.—On May 4, Brent Farrand, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Worcester School Committee, was invited by Gerald O'Conner, an English teacher and SWP campaign endorser, to speak to students at Chandler Street Junior High School. The repercussions of that day's event are still growing. Farrand spoke on the topic "Why Worcester Needs a Revolutionary Change." He placed special emphasis on the high school rights movement, Black and Puerto Rican control of Black and Puerto Rican education, and the deteriorating condition of Worcester's educational system.

The full responsibility for the crumbling school building, Farrand said, lies with the 50 largest taxpayers in Worcester, because while controlling a vast majority of the city's wealth they pay only 25 percent of the school budget.

Everything proceeded without incident during the first class of approximately 30 students. Six students signed up to work on the campaign. As Farrand was finishing speaking to the second class, however, two assistant principals walked into the classroom, examined a few leaflets, and sat down. As the question period began, they took the teacher out of the room. A few minutes later, one returned to take Farrand, who was in the middle of answering a question, out as well. The students reacted angrily.

Both O'Conner and Farrand were taken to the principal, who informed O'Conner that he should have gone through the "proper channels," that political ideas and leaflets were not permitted in the school, and that Farrand could not speak to any more classes that day. O'Conner replied that according to the U.S. Constitution and Supreme Court rulings, he was completely within his rights to have invited Farrand and that he intended to allow Farrand to continue speaking to his classes for the rest of the day. The principal dismissed the two and said he would have to call the superintendent.

O'Conner then explained to his third-period class what had happened. Farrand began his talk, but was soon

interrupted again and removed. He was told to leave the building immediately. When he protested to both the principal and the superintendent, he was told simply, "I'm sorry, it's not within the rules." No further explanation was given. The superintendent added that he was sure "the teacher involved had nothing but the best intentions in mind."

Meanwhile, O'Conner had been taken from the classroom followed by his students, who proceeded to the principal's office to find out why Farrand was not being allowed to speak.

The next day it was announced at the May 5 antiwar rally in Worcester that O'Conner had been suspended from his job for seven days. He was accused of having acted "without knowledge and consent of the principal" for having permitted Farrand, "a known socialist candidate for Worcester School Committee, to enter upon school premises and deliver a speech to your class, and to distribute political literature in furtherance of his candidacy."

While O'Conner began proceedings for a lawsuit, over 200 Chandler Street Junior High School students walked out in protest and joined the May 5 antiwar rally. At the rally, the Socialist Workers Party speaker clearly stated the SWP's support for the high school rights movement. O'Conner then addressed the crowd of 1,000, two-thirds of whom were high school and junior high school students.

The next day, approximately 300 students walked out of Chandler Street Junior High School and marched to the Worcester Administration of Public Schools. Both Eric Poulos, SWP candidate for City Council, and Farrand attended the march. The Student Mobilization Committee High School Bill of Rights was enthusiastically distributed.

The 300 students met with the superintendent of public schools, although he refused to allow Farrand into the meeting. Students who attended the meeting reported that the discussion was largely characterized by the su-

perintendent's refusal to comment on anything. One asked if O'Conner would have been suspended if the speaker had been the mayor. He received no answer.

As the discussion warmed up, the Chandler principal is reported to have "hung his head and walked out without a word." The day's actions ended with a rally in Elm Park.

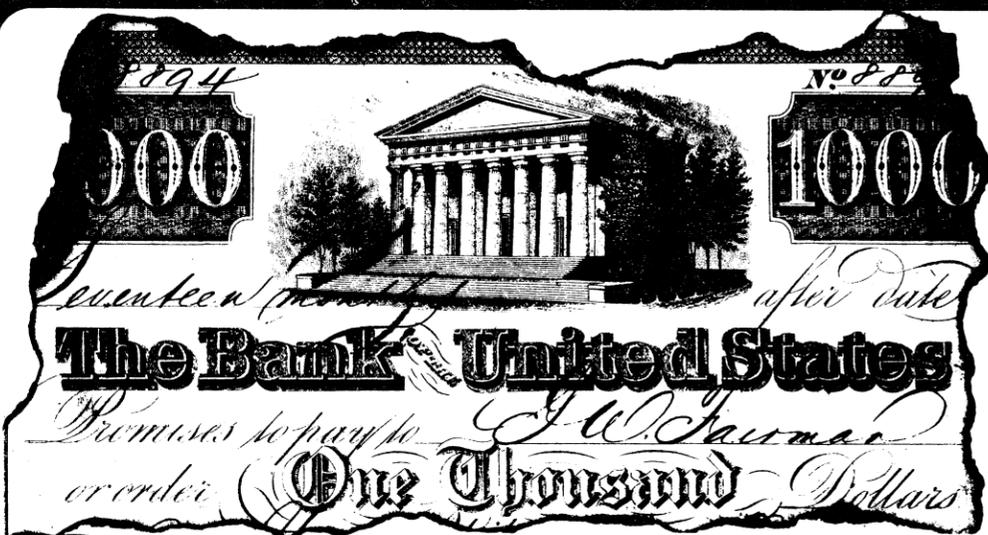
The students are planning a rally for May 11 around the issues of O'Conner's suspension and high school rights. Both Poulos and Farrand have been invited to speak.

In another SWP campaign development, Kay Lydon, a 19-year-old women's liberation activist, announced her candidacy for the Worcester City Council on May 6. A sophomore at Clark University, she helped organize the first women's liberation group there and was active in organizing International Women's Day activities and the Worcester Women's Contingent for the April 24 demonstration in Washington, D. C.



New York antiwar protest, April 15, 1970

Photo by Howard Petrick



## Our solution to the money crisis. Get rid of capitalism.

BUT TO DO THAT WE NEED MONEY. HELP BY GIVING TO THE MILITANT IMPROVEMENT FUND.

During the past week, \$363.75 was contributed by readers to the Militant Improvement Fund. Of this, \$200 was raised at a May Day banquet sponsored by the Chicago Socialist Workers Party. Close to \$100 more was pledged to the fund at the banquet.

We have set the goal of raising \$5,000 so we can purchase two labor- and time-saving machines: A Cheshire labeling machine, which will automate our present, cumbersome method of individually stamping each subscriber's name and address onto **The Militant** by hand; and a photo typositor, which will help us improve the appearance of the paper by providing us with virtually any style of headline type available. To date, we have received \$2,985 toward our goal. To meet the goal, we will have to raise another \$2,015 within the next week or so.

"I am glad to make a contribution to the new machines," said J.G.B. in Sangudo, Alberta. "Sorry it can't be more. We certainly have come a long way since I first made my acquaintance with the **Socialist Appeal** (a predecessor of **The Militant**) back in 1937."

Whether you're a long-time reader or only recently began reading **The Militant**, we hope you'll make a special effort in the next week to help us meet our goal. Any contribution, no matter how small, will be greatly appreciated. Please send yours in--today.

I want to help expand and improve **The Militant**.

Enclosed is my contribution of (circle):

\$1,000 \$500 \$100 \$50 \$20 \$10 \$5 Other: \$

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Militant Improvement Fund  
14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014

## Who pays?

During World War II the American rulers, with the aid of patriotic demagoguery and under the phony guise of "equality of sacrifice" between workers and their employers, were able to use numerous devices to force the working class to finance the imperialist war effort. A virtual wage freeze was imposed; a no-strike pledge was adopted by the unions; and immense pressure was used to force people to buy "liberty bonds."

The widespread unpopularity of the Vietnam war, however, has made impossible such open, direct means of getting the American workers to pay for U.S. aggression. They have refused to subordinate their right to strike and their fight for higher wages to demagogic pleas that they should support the "national interest." Far from accepting any idea of a wage freeze, growing numbers of unions are fighting for cost-of-living wage increases to help compensate for war-primed inflation.

But most Americans are being forced to pay the cost of the war in numerous indirect ways.

One of the most odious is inflation. In the past year alone the cost-of-living, reflected in the government's consumer price index, jumped 5.9 percent—the largest annual jump since the Korean war. Wages, however, have not kept up with this sharp rise in prices and thus the standard of living for millions has gone down.

The Nixon administration's attempts to halt inflation have not only failed, but have resulted in an admitted unemployment rate of 6.1 percent—a nine-year high. In April, overall unemployment jumped from 6.0 to 6.1 percent and from 9.4 to 10 percent for Blacks. For Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican youth, it's well over 50 percent.

With millions out of work, the welfare rolls in cities all over the country are growing. In New York City alone over one million persons (one-seventh of the population) are receiving welfare payments and an average of 13,000 more are being added to the rolls each month.

In addition, the government's Census Bureau reports that for the first time in 10 years the number of persons living in poverty has increased. Although the government's criterion for "poverty" (annual income of below \$3,968 for a family of four) is in fact well below the real poverty level, even these official figures reflect the profound impact of unemployment and inflation.

Thousands more workers face unemployment and the welfare rolls as city and state governments start implementing major budget cuts in education, health care, welfare, and other social services. In New York City Mayor Lindsay is threatening to fire as many as 90,000 city employees.

Budget cuts not only mean a significant loss of jobs but the drastic reduction of already inadequate social services. For example, in New York City monthly welfare payments have already been cut 10 percent. With inflationary price increases further eating away at these less-than-subsistence incomes, welfare recipients have taken cuts of closer to 25 percent of their income.

The meager social services which exist in this country—won only through years of hard struggle—are being consciously eroded and undermined by the ruling class in order to pay for the war. This hits the most oppressed hardest—particularly Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women. The Census Bureau figures show that while one out of 10 whites lives in poverty, the figure is one in three for Blacks. While families headed by women account for 14 percent of the population, they account for 44 percent of the population living in poverty.

It is not the American people who have decided to pay for the war in this manner; and their resistance is growing. This is shown in the increased participation of Blacks, Chicanos and unionists in antiwar actions. It is also seen in the growing number of demonstrations and rallies against city and state governments protesting budget cuts, layoffs, school deterioration, and welfare reductions.

A May 5 demonstration against cutbacks in badly needed and already inadequate community services in the poverty-stricken Brownsville section of Brooklyn, N.Y., exploded into a large-scale revolt in which dozens of stores were "expropriated" and burned.

The kind of anger that expressed itself in the streets of Brooklyn is a sharp indication that more and more people are consciously rejecting the attempts of the ruling class—indirect as well as direct—to make them pay the price of U.S. foreign policy.

## From an old timer

The Socialist Workers Party has outgrown me. I helped in 1930 to build a branch of the SWP in San Diego right next to the Communist Party, which I also built and had to leave with the advent of Stalin.

I received a bundle of *Militants* and other papers, and I always had articles in them.

I am now 84, but still active in everything toward the inevitable revolution. I am retired and on Social Security and welfare, and I will send \$5 out of my next check. That's all I can spare now.

I saw this economic political situation coming in the distance, in Chicago in 1900, when I campaigned for Debs and got spit in the face and called a "damn anarchist." I participated in the April 24 demonstration, though I think there is a better strategy. It has helped to win masses.

H. B.  
Santa Cruz, Calif.

## Likes our message

Hope you have received my check. Your paper is a crystal clear message that cries for justice. Let me shake your hand over the miles as a friend in war—war against poverty and slums, hunger and want.

E. B.  
Ajo, Arizona

## Thanks from gay paper

Thank you very much for your fair review of the *Come Out! Anthology* (*The Militant*, Jan. 29, 1971). However, we hope that in future references to *Come Out!* you include our address so that gay readers of *The Militant* can go to the original source and experience *Come Out!* in the context of a totally gay paper.

*Come Out!* is a bimonthly, so we should be getting our next issue to the presses as soon as we can financially swing it.

*Come Out Collective*  
Box 233 Times Square Station  
340 W. 42 St.  
New York, N. Y. 10036

## Pakistan Maoists

With reference to your review of my book, *Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power?* (*The Militant*, April 30, 1971), there is one fact which should be corrected. While the Pakistani Maoists (all factions) did certainly opt out of all oppositional activity to the Ayub regime in the period 1966-68, the same cannot be said for their position on the Yahya dictatorship. In fact, only one faction of the Maoist movement in East Bengal seems to have lined up with the disgusting position taken by the Chinese bureaucracy in relation to the invasion of their country.

All the other Maoist groupings have gone underground and are, at the moment, engaged in preparing the armed struggle against the Yahya dictatorship. The position of the Chinese state will undoubtedly force them to rethink many of their earlier positions and many of them will no doubt move closer to the positions of the Fourth International in the coming months.

Tariq Ali  
London, England

## Struggle in N. Ireland

Although *The Militant* has the best and most concise news and analysis of international events, I have been disappointed over the lack of attention *The Militant* has shown towards the situation in Ireland.

The upsurge of the nationalist community in Northern Ireland has precipitated what appears to be a permanent crisis for British imperialism in Ireland and their Fianna Fail and Unionist allies. This new stage in the Irish national struggle was born in the contradictions inherent in the solution to the Irish national question forced on the Irish by British imperialism. The forced partition of Ireland in 1922 was a defeat for the nationalist aspirations of the Irish people and provided the political and economic basis for continued British domination of Ireland, North and South.

The necessity of Westminster to include large numbers of Catholics, who were nationalist in outlook, in the Ulster satellite, coupled with the necessity to maintain Unionist rule, based on Protestant ascendancy, were contradictions that sooner or later were bound to explode.

The barricades in the nationalist ghettos of Ulster are presenting the most serious challenge to partition in fifty years. The potential of the nationalist population of Northern Ireland to engender the active support of the working class of the Republic, who are suffering the social and economic consequences of British neo-colonial domination, and the potential to win over sections of the Protestant working class of the North is raising the specter of a united struggle for the national liberation of Ireland. This struggle would of necessity have to go in the direction of a socialist revolution.

It is now more essential than ever that revolutionaries everywhere come to understand and to support the struggle in Northern Ireland.

W. L.  
Minneapolis, Minn.

## 'Pernicious'

Two comments on *The Militant*:

The new format is generally excellent and the new typography is very attractive, putting *The Militant* way ahead of the *Guardian* and *Workers Power*.

Every once in a while the quaint word "pernicious" slips into the copy, looking very much out of place. I would suggest substituting words like fatal, poisonous, harmful, obnoxious, rotten, vicious, corrosive, crippling, or destructive.

J. S.  
San Diego, Calif.

## A mix-up

In the April 30 issue of *The Militant*, an article on the right-wing threats in Columbus referred to Sue Schultz as cochairwoman of the Columbus Peace Action Coalition. The correct name is Phil Schultz, who is cochairman of the Coalition.

David Salner  
Columbus, Ohio

# The Great Society

## Black Masses Party

The Black Masses Party held a press conference April 27 to inform the Black community and progressive persons and groups of a proposed city ordinance which would declare the Black community a self-sufficient community.

The proposed city ordinance (requiring 25,000 signatures) states that we want our community to be declared a self-sufficient community, by the name of Malcolm X. The ordinance demands that we have the right of self-determination within our community, setting up our own institutions. It demands that the powers and duties of the mayor, Common Council, and all other offices and officers be nullified immediately.

Such a proposed city ordinance would be the highest expression of Black people demanding community control. We also believe the political education Black people will acquire from the political exposure of capitalist hypocrisy, which we will undoubtedly run into struggling for community control, will consolidate and spark the revolutionary potential of the Black masses.

Interested persons and groups may help by sending funds or office materials to: Black Masses Party—Support Community Control, 2410 N. 11th St., Milwaukee, Wis. 53206. We would welcome letters of support.

Organization, then Power!

Walter Chesser  
Black Masses Party

## The Panther split

Interest in the Panther split is high here. I sold the April 9 issue of *The Militant* by yelling, "Read about the split in the Panther Party"—and sold 118 copies in two afternoons. My best results since the Cambodia-Kent-Jackson upsurge last May.

Please, more articles on the history of the Panthers, especially with emphasis on analyzing their politics. How about reprinting the new Young Lords critique of the BPP? (From *Palante*, reprinted in *Rat*, March 30-April 30, 1971).

It's worth noting how the radical press has reacted to the Panther Party split. Boston's *Mole* (formerly *Old Mole*), a key underground paper, reacted with a two-page lead article criticizing themselves for always being uncritical toward the Panthers. Not that criticizing the Panthers is now permissible, you understand. Rather, the *Mole* says, even if the Panthers undeniably have serious faults, let's keep it a secret!

This is an utterly racist attitude, the notion that you can't expect revolutionary Blacks to be able to respond rationally to comradely criticism.

Bob Geb  
Boston, Mass.

The letters 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. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

**Saga of the Salad-Bowl Kid**—LOS ANGELES (UPI)—Rewards for the apprehension and conviction of avocado rustlers have been increased to \$550 because of an increase of thefts of the fruit from Southern California groves. Growers said avocados lately have been the object of massive thefts because they are the most expensive American-grown fruit on the market. . . . 'The farmers are discovering that some of their own pickers are stealing the fruit,' said Sgt. Harry Miller of the San Diego's sheriff's office."

**Antonym dep't**—A faithful reader laid this one on us: "Q. If con is the opposite of pro, what is the opposite of progress?" "A. Congress."

**Late news dep't**—What with our sweet tooth, we're glad to be a month late in learning that on April 8 the Food and Drug Administration disclosed that a month previous it had found salmonella contamination in candy and cake samples at the Cook Chocolate Co. in Chicago. FDA said its Chicago office had neglected to forward the info. Meanwhile, a company spokesman said they hadn't announced the finding because "it was a very limited incident and we didn't want to blow it out of proportion."

**Imperialist running dog**—Various

readers have been brooding over that report about the East German border patrol dog which was given asylum in a West German animal home after defecting. One reader says he has it from reliable sources that the pooch is being sent on a speaking tour to warn against communist dogma.

**Where do you put the tent?**—The *Wall Street Journal* deems it a sign of our troubled times that a recent issue of



Grin and Bear It by Lichty  
"I believe that inflation will be beat. I believe that wages and prices will stabilize, I believe the war will end, and I believe in magic!"

**Popular Science** included plans for installing burglar alarms in tents.

**Maybe if he tried Nixon**—The British Army joined in an experiment with Henry Blythe, who says he can bring world peace by hypnotizing troops into laying down their arms. Six soldiers were put on a range and told to start shooting and stop for nothing. Blythe picked up a bullhorn and told them, "Close your eyes and think of peace. Lay down your arms. . . ." They kept firing. "I think I can perfect my technique," said Blythe.

**The enforcers**—To avoid use of the heavy hand of government, the Commerce Department is proposing establishment of a council of 50 businessmen to settle consumer complaints against business.

**The space age**—If memory serves us, it was in an Art Young cartoon that the youngster looks up at the sky from the fire escape of a New York tenement, exclaiming: "Look at the stars—as thick as bedbugs." They're getting thicker but they're not all stars. The Air Force reports that of the 4,900 objects shot into earth orbit since Sputnik, 2,149 are still in orbit.

—HARRY RING

# ♀ The Insurgent Majority

**The question of whether maternity leave**—or parental leave—is a right of employees is being raised more sharply than ever. For example, the New York City Commission on Human Rights is facing "an unexpected number of complaints on the subject," according to the May 2 *New York Times*.

Guidelines of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance of the Department of Labor specify that "childbearing must be considered by the employer to be a justification for a leave of absence for a female employee for a reasonable period of time" and with no "loss of service credits."

However, a woman who requested maternity leave from a New York bank was told to resign or be dismissed simply because she was unmarried. At the same time, a male employee who admitted fathering an illegitimate child was not dismissed.

The New York City Human Rights Commission intervened and got this ruling reversed.

A federal district court has ruled in a case called *Schattman vs. Texas Employment Commission* that a mandatory cutoff of employment for a pregnant employee is discriminatory unless there is evidence that her efficiency is impaired.

However, a poll taken by the New York Commerce and Industry Association showed that 42.6 percent of companies permit women to work only through the sixth to eighth month of pregnancy and 22.6 percent made women leave after only the third month of pregnancy.

The May 4 *New York Times* carried a story about two fathers who are fighting the New York City Board of Education for the right to take a parental leave of absence. These men feel they are in a better position to take time off from their jobs to care for their young children than their wives are.

The Board of Education has ruled that leaves are only granted to people "who give birth and then stay home to take care of the child; the two things—maternity and child care—can't be divided into separate parts."

To this, one of the women involved replied, "The city is arbitrarily prescribing what our roles as mother and father should be."

The May 2 *New York Times* reported on a survey done by a Black researcher, Dr. William A. Darity, in which it was found that many Black men feel the availability of contraceptives and abortions would lead to genocide of the Black community. The survey showed 88 percent of Black males under 30 were opposed to abortion or to "encouragement of the use of birth control methods,"

on the grounds that it would lead to the elimination of Black people. Either the *Times* or the survey or both did not deem it relevant to inquire about how Black women felt on this question.

**A chauvinist quote of the week** from presidential hopeful Edmund Muskie, speaking about the quickening pace of his campaign: "I keep telling my advance men that if they were women they'd all be pregnant. They just can't say no to anything."

The May 4 *New York Times* listed the crimes in various states for which the death penalty is prescribed, in connection with the Supreme Court's recent decision that it was not unconstitutional for juries to give death sentences. In Georgia, the death penalty is prescribed for advising a woman to have an abortion.

There are a number of groups which claim to be socialist, communist or revolutionary but which actually oppose any real live movements with revolutionary potential, such as the women's liberation movement.

For example, the Progressive Labor Party, a Maoist organization, explained in the April 15 issue of their newspaper *Challenge*: "Where are all the ladies who burn their bras when Black, Latin and oriental garment workers are standing in line at the employment centers? . . . Where are they while women and men in Vietnam are getting murdered, raped and tortured? We know where these 'leaders' are. They're busy sidling up to (New York) Mayor Lindsay's wife; busy making appearances with the rest of the Administration and the ruling class. They're busy fighting for the right to be a homosexual. Why, they're busy trying to ally with the same people the rest of the women of the world are busy fighting against."

A new women's liberation newspaper, *Woman's World* (Box 949 Radio City Sta., N.Y., N.Y. 10019), carries an interesting article on the abortion struggle in its first issue. The article, by Kathie Sarachild, takes on the argument some women have made that the women's movement doesn't have to struggle for abortion because the government is going to provide it anyway. Sarachild notes that the abortion struggle is "the very issue which has inspired so many of us to join together for power," and emphasizes the "urgency and seriousness of an issue (abortion) so fundamental to the oppression of women."

—CAROLINE LUND

By TONY THOMAS

In his April 9 speech "Trotskyism, Racist Voice on the Left," Tony Monteiro, spokesman for the Young Workers Liberation League and the Communist Party, charged that the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance see a conflict between supporting "democratic" demands of the Black community and supporting what he termed the Trotskyist's "socialist or 'transitional'" demands.

He was not clear as to what he meant by "democratic" demands although he seemed to mean such nationalist demands as Black community control of the police, preferential hiring for Blacks and Black studies in the schools. He was singularly confused as to what the SWP and YSA mean by "transitional" demands. He tried to give the impression that they are demands like "Socialism now," "Down with capitalism," and other such ultraleft slogans.

Monteiro stated that "their [the YSA and SWP's] position is that democratic struggles have no bearing on socialist struggles"; and that, therefore, the YSA and SWP believe that democratic struggles should not be supported. This line of slander is a continuation of an attack made by Donna Ristorucci, New York educational secretary of the YWLL, in the March 12, 1970, *Daily World*. She charged that, "in demanding a 'revolutionary struggle' to achieve 'self-determination,' YSA rejects the everyday struggles of Black people for equality, for better housing, community control of schools, for all democratic reforms which could improve their lives today."

These charges, of course, are totally false. But what appears to be a simple confusion and/or slander by Monteiro actually boils down to differences on perspectives for the Black liberation movement. In fact, it is Monteiro, the CP and the YWLL that see a conflict between democratic demands and the struggle for socialism.

The YSA and SWP believe that the struggle for democratic demands, such as self-determination, cannot be fully victorious without a socialist revolution. A strategy for winning Black liberation must necessarily be oriented to building a mass movement independent of, and directed against, the capitalist oppressors—as well as the capitalists' political defenders of both the liberal and reactionary variety.

### A reformist perspective

The CP and YWLL see things differently. They think that major and enduring gains can be won by Black people without struggling against the capitalist system, and even through supporting the liberal wing of the capitalist ruling class.

They think the reformist demands put forward by Black Democrats and white liberals such as Ronald Dellums and Bella Abzug provide the kind of program through which Black liberation can essentially be gained. For example, an article by A. Krchmarek in the January 1970 *Political Affairs*, the theoretical organ of the Communist Party, states that Carl Stokes, Black Democratic mayor of Cleveland, had "a comprehensive program for the needs of the city," of Cleveland.

The inadequacy of such a program to deal with the basic problems of Black people was demonstrated recently when Stokes resigned after an abysmal four years in office, with little to show for it but an increase in the size, salaries and equipment of the Cleveland police force.

The fact that Black people still suffer police brutality, unemployment, budget cutbacks, racist education, poor health care, and rotten housing in Gary, Ind., Cleveland, Newark, N.J., and Washington, D. C., where

Black Democrats with the kind of "comprehensive program" Monteiro evidently supports control the city government, is damning proof of the bankruptcy of such a reformist program.

The YWLL and CP see the struggle for democratic demands as taking place within the limits of the capitalist system, as well as under the leadership of and through a capitalist political party, the Democratic Party. Thus, they think the YSA and SWP's insistence on the need to break with capitalist politics and politicians and chart an independent course toward Black liberation is "rejecting the day-to-day" struggles of Black people.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

What we do insist on—like Brother Malcolm—is that the day-to-day strug-

needed by African-Americans, let alone control over these institutions by the Black community, is too high a price for the rulers of the U.S. to pay. The resources would have to be diverted from other more "profitable" investments at home and abroad, severely undermining the very foundations on which capitalism rests.

The inability of the capitalist system to meet even the elementary needs of Black Americans means that the struggle around these immediate concerns is directly linked to the struggle against capitalism. An effective strategy for Black liberation takes this into account. It must combine the democratic demands of the oppressed Black nationality—including its doubly and triply oppressed sectors—with the demands of Black workers as workers, into a program of demands

# Revolutionary strategy for Black liberation



Black students take lead in shutting down dormitory construction site at Tufts University in November 1969, raising demand that 20 percent of construction crew be Black.

gles must mobilize the masses of the Black community and proceed by any means necessary, regardless of the "sacred rights" of private property, profit, and the state that defends those "rights." Only such a revolutionary orientation and strategy can lead toward a solution of the problems Black people face.

### Revolutionary implications

The last 15 years of explosive struggle by Black people have clearly shown the revolutionary thrust of the most elementary demands of the Black community. The immediate and urgent need for better housing, schools, jobs, medical care, etc., as well as the democratic right to control the political, social and economic institutions of the Black community cannot be realized except by undermining the foundation of the racist, imperialist society of this country.

The resources needed to finance the schools, housing, hospitals, parks, and cultural institutions and to provide the higher pay and better jobs

that meets the objective needs of the Black masses and helps them make the transition from their current consciousness to the realization that the capitalist system must be abolished if their needs are to be met.

### The transitional program

*The Transitional Program for Black Liberation* is not an abstract set of demands for "socialism now" or for the "immediate and total dictatorship of the proletariat now if not sooner" to be foisted onto the Black struggle. Rather it is a strategic approach and a program of demands, many of which are being raised in struggles all over the country. It is designed to help build a mass movement against the capitalist rulers.

*The Transitional Program for Black Liberation*, which Monteiro sniped at in passing but gave no indication that he had read, states: "The key demands being raised in the Black liberation struggle today, such as Black control of the Black community, jobs for all, and self-determination . . . have this

quality of being transitional in nature. They are rooted in the needs and present understanding of the Black community, yet they have a revolutionary logic because the capitalist system does not have the capacity to meet them. . . .

"The present day struggles around these demands for changes in the system can lead to and become part of the overall struggle for power. The mobilization of the masses thus takes place as a process, with each struggle awakening, educating, inspiring, and organizing new layers toward revolutionary consciousness and action."

This, of course, doesn't mean that Black Americans can by themselves bring down capitalist rule. But it does show the way that the maximum political power of the Black community can be mobilized as an important, even leading part of this process.

To Monteiro, with his far-off view of a social revolution and his strategy of support to liberal capitalists, such a program is anathema. It is the polar opposite of the CP's perspective of tailoring the Black struggle to stay within the bounds of what is acceptable to Democratic politicians. Monteiro says he supports the democratic struggles of Black people, but his kind of support means blunting the revolutionary edge of these struggles in order to limit them to reforms that the rulers consider "reasonable," reforms that can be granted without challenging the foundations of capitalism.

Does the transitional program propose that revolutionaries abandon the fight for reforms that can be won under capitalism? Indeed not! We see the struggle for reforms like more Black teachers in schools as an integral part of the fight for demands like Black control of the schools. Reforms won by independent mass struggle can help to inspire confidence in our ability to fight and win, and give us leverage to fight for more gains.

A victory like getting more Black teachers into the schools may be reversed through firings initiated by racist school boards or restricted by school administrators. But in the process of the struggle to win and maintain such victories, we learn that such reverses can only be prevented if we totally control our own schools—and controlling our schools means taking political power into our hands. In the struggle for political power we must use all the means at our disposal.

The revolutionary logic of the democratic struggle for Black self-determination shows why reformists like Monteiro, the YWLL and the CP oppose Black nationalism. So great is Monteiro's dislike for Black nationalism that he attacks Malcolm X—who first raised many of the concrete demands of the *Transitional Program for Black Liberation*—as having "little to offer to the day-to-day struggle of Black people."

This is totally false. Brother Malcolm  
Continued on page 22

### CORRECTION

There was an error in the quote by Trotsky in the article "White Workers and Black Nationalism" in the May 7, 1971, issue of *The Militant*. The quote, which appeared in the second to the last paragraph, should read as follows: "I am absolutely sure that they (Blacks) will in any case fight better than the white workers. That, however, can happen only provided that the Communist Party carries on an uncompromising merciless struggle not against the supposed national prepossessions of the Negroes but against the colossal prejudices of the white workers and gives it no concession whatever."

# How United Women's Contingent was built



Photo by Sue Swope

By **DEBBY WOODROOFE**

NEW YORK—One of the most striking aspects of the April 24 antiwar demonstrations was the large numbers of women wearing United Women's Contingent and feminist buttons and carrying signs relating the war in Southeast Asia to the oppression of women. That is, women participated in the April 24 demonstrations as an independent force.

Even after April 24, the momentum built up by the Women's Contingent has continued in New York, with women calling up the Contingent office every day wanting to know what the next action will be. At a meeting called to discuss the possibility of continuing the Contingent after April 24, it was decided to participate as a Contingent in the May 5 Student Moratorium demonstrations, to work with servicewomen around the May 15 actions in solidarity with antiwar GIs, and to begin organizing strong women's participation in the national conference of the National Peace Action Coalition July 2-4, which will be

deciding on future actions for the antiwar movement.

The sentiment expressed by every woman at that meeting was that women have to continue what was begun on April 24, and make sure that whenever an antiwar action is held, women are a militant and visible part of it.

In addition to adding power to the antiwar movement through building women's participation in April 24, the United Women's Contingent greatly strengthened the women's liberation movement. In fact, it could be said that April 24 was the largest consciousness-raising session the women's liberation movement ever held. Hundreds of thousands of people at that demonstration and viewing it on television were made aware that women are moving into action around their own demands.

The Contingent attempted to involve women who were not yet consciously feminist, but the concept of the United Women's Contingent was a direct outgrowth of the women's liberation movement. It expressed one of the basic principles of feminism: Women

must join together, as women, and organize ourselves against every form of oppression we face. The war is just one of the things which deeply affects women as well as every other oppressed sector of our society.

Before the women's liberation movement existed, women's participation in the antiwar movement sometimes took forms such as propaganda like "Girls say 'yes' to men who say 'no'" (to the draft), and miniskirt brigades to GI bases. The main relationship drawn between women's oppression and the war was the fact that our sons, friends, companions, and husbands are being killed in Vietnam.

Around April 24, however, women pointed out that we have certain demands of our own that we are determined to win, and that, united, we have the power to help force an end to the war now. That is, women went into the building of April 24 on the basis of our strength.

In New York City, we in the United Women's Contingent presented April 24 to women in the form of a challenge. We pointed out that because women are 53 percent of the population, and because Aug. 26 made us realize the tremendous power we have when we unite in action, the Women's Contingent had the potential of being one of the largest contingents in the demonstration.

The first thing the Contingent did in New York was to launch an ambitious endorsement drive. After the endorsement of prominent individual women such as Kate Millett, Betty Friedan, Evelyn Reed, and Gloria Steinem had been obtained, we went to groups—especially campus women's liberation groups. The concern was no so much to spend time accumulating a long list of endorsers, but to ask for endorsement as a way of initiating a discussion in the women's movement on April 24 and on the correct way for feminists to support the antiwar struggle.

Although endorsement was obtained from almost every campus women's liberation group in the city, as well as from the city-wide Women's Strike Coalition, it was not always immediate, and in many cases, there was considerable debate pro and con.

The argument most frequently raised against endorsement was that the war is not a feminist issue, and therefore should not be an arena of activity for the women's movement. The numerous ways in which the war contributes to women's oppression—its use of billions for destruction rather than human need, its reinforcement of traditional sex roles, the murder of Asian sisters, and the treatment of servicewomen as military property—were pointed out. This link-up was especially easy to motivate when Nixon hypocritically came out against abortion because it supposedly conflicted with his belief in "the sanctity of human life."

In addition to pointing out that there is a very direct link-up between women and the war, and that the war stands as a major obstacle in the way of women winning some of our demands, we stressed the fact that as long as feminists abstained from participation in the antiwar movement,

women's issues and demands would not be a part of it and we would lose the opportunity to win women in the antiwar movement to ongoing activity in the women's liberation movement.

A second argument against supporting the Contingent was from women who said the Contingent was an attempt on the part of the "male-dominated" antiwar movement to co-opt feminism and trick women into subordinating their demands to those of a "more important struggle." We pointed out that women who thought the women's liberation movement could be co-opted by a link-up with another movement did not have much confidence in the strength of the feminist movement and its ability to grow and struggle as an independent force.

After significant endorsements had been gained, we attempted to turn these into active support for the Contingent. We urged each group to take women's participation in April 24 on as a project—to hold meetings, set up literature tables, raise money for buses, get interviews and articles in campus and other press, sell tickets for women's buses to Washington, and send a representative to work with the city-wide Contingent staff.

The focus for campus organizing in New York was a city-wide speak-out on women and the war held at New York University April 19, which was attended by over 400 women. The main speakers were three women who are symbols of women's participation in the antiwar movement—antiwar Navy nurse Susan Schnall; Debbie Sweet, who condemned the war to Nixon's face while he was giving her a citizenship award; and Florence Luscomb, a long-time antiwar fighter and suffragist. There were about 20 other speakers, who reflected the whole range of the women's movement and antiwar movement.

The fact that a new group (the Contingent) could attract such a broad range of participants to one of its functions was concrete evidence of the power of the link-up between the feminist movement and the antiwar movement.

Many of the SMC women and other sisters who had not yet become conscious feminists came into the Women's Contingent office in New York the week after the speak-out. They wanted information on how they could join a consciousness-raising group, become involved in the struggle for free abortion, or organize a women's liberation group in their high school. The Contingent office developed the atmosphere of a women's center, with continuous rap sessions being carried on as women worked together making posters or doing other tasks to build the demonstration.

The experience of building the United Women's Contingent in New York demonstrated to those working on it not only the power of mass action and the necessity for women to link up with other oppressed sectors around concrete issues, but also made clear the potential of the United Women's Contingent for building the women's movement by drawing in new women who are ready to struggle.

## 6,000 march in Phoenix April 24

By **JOHN BEADLE**

PHOENIX—"Peace Now!" "Bring Our Brothers Home!" "Raza Si, Guerra No!" These were the shouts that echoed off the walls of the Arizona State Capitol in a mass rally of more than 6,000 here April 24.

The rally, taking as its central focus the demand for immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Southeast Asia, was preceded by a spirited three-mile march through downtown Phoenix. The march began at two points: Monterey Park and Sacred Heart Church in the Chicano barrio. Probably the most significant fea-

ture of the march was the large number of Chicano participants. The newly formed Chicano Moratorium Committee was able to mobilize more than 1,000 people in a separate Raza contingent that joined the main march later. This was the first sizable participation of Chicanos in a Phoenix antiwar demonstration.

In addition to this, over 200 veterans marched, as well as 50 women under the banner of the United Women's Contingent Against the War, and there was a sizable gay and transvestite contingent as well.

Speakers at the rally reflected the

wide variety of forces that helped build the demonstration. Gustavo Gutierrez of the Arizona United Farm Workers Organizing Committee spoke on Bill 207, currently before the Arizona House of Representatives, which seriously curtails the rights of Arizona farm workers. Penny Debrachild of Arizona State University Women's Liberation related her experiences at the April 1-4 conference of Indochinese and North American women in Vancouver. Also featured were representatives of the gay liberation, Chicano, Native American, and Black movements, as well as other speakers.

The high point of the rally came when 50 Vietnam veterans threw their medals away at the end of the demonstration.

The march and rally were sponsored by the Antiwar and Oppression Coalition, which is composed of 27 antiwar and movement groups in the Phoenix area, including Business and Professional Men and Women for Peace, the Student Mobilization Committee, Barrio Youth Project, Gay Liberation Arizona Desert, Young Socialist Alliance, and several MECHA chapters.

# Welfare women fight sterilization bill

The following are major excerpts from an article by a staff correspondent of *The Southern Patriot* which appeared in the April 1971 issue of that publication.

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Welfare mothers from across Tennessee are fighting a proposed law that would force women with one or more "illegitimate" children to submit to sterilization or lose all welfare benefits.

House Bill No. 20 would also make it possible for the state to take away the children and place them in foster homes.

It was introduced by freshman Rep. Larry Bates, a Democrat from Northwestern Tennessee who sits on the General Welfare Committee. When the session started on Feb. 23, Bates was met by an irate group of welfare recipients. The women picketed again in early March and won a public hearing on the bill.

Opposition to HB 20 is widespread. The state welfare commissioner has repeatedly pointed out that it violates federal guidelines and would result in withdrawal of funds for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). The Vanderbilt University Bar Association says it violates rights to equal protection under the laws, due process, and privacy.

At the hearing March 15, a wide range of people spoke out against the bill—doctors, Black legislators, representatives of social agencies and human rights groups. But the most angry and outspoken opposition to the bill was provided by some 200 welfare women—mostly Black, some white.

In fact, the only person who spoke for the bill was Bates himself. He read from letters he has received supporting his position—including one from the mayor of a Tennessee town who reported that "even my maid said this should be done, and she is behind it 100 percent."

Bates said, "Many poor mothers have become brood sows, producing children as their only salable commodity."

Miss Mildred Stone of the National Association of Social Workers disputed that. She pointed out that mothers are given a maximum of \$15 a month for each child they have at home. . . .

"I'm an old maid—so I'm not very experienced in this business," Miss Stone continued. "But I have been led to believe that there is a man involved in practically every conception."

This statement drew loud applause from the audience. Under the bill, it is only women who are held responsible for pregnancy and who must submit to sterilization.

The committee members on the platform were all men. Just one of the 11 was Black.

Jennifer Haskell, a board member of the Southern Conference Educational Fund from Knoxville, pointed out that, "This bill treats welfare mothers as if they were cats or dogs to be taken to the vet to be sterilized—not human beings with a choice." . . .

Sherri Briggs, representing the Alliance for Black Social Welfare, said passage of the bill "would openly express the racist and capitalistic views of those presently in prestigious positions."

Mrs. Bonnie Peacock, head of People's Rights Organization, Nashville affiliate of the National Rights Organization, declared: "This bill is a threat to the peace in Tennessee." And Robert Alexander, president of the local NAACP, said, "It is unconstitutional and the NAACP will fight it until it has buried it."

The women in the audience applauded the speakers and booed Bates. When he asked rhetorically, "What will we do when the welfare river runs dry?"—one woman shouted "End the

war in Vietnam and we'll have plenty of money." . . .

In 1964, a Black woman from Mississippi, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, told a meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) that "six out of every 10 Negro women were taken to Sunflower City Hospital to be sterilized for no reason at all. Often the women were not told that they had been sterilized until they were released from the hospital."

Many Black women believe that these involuntary sterilizations are still going on—in both the North and the South—in numbers which many non-Black people are unwilling to believe.

There are no official statistics, but there is a long history of attempts by various states to pass sterilization laws.

Starting almost 65 years ago, states began passing "eugenic" sterilization laws—aimed at keeping the country free from being flooded by so-called criminal and degenerate elements. The peak came in the thirties, when about 25,000 operations were performed. In 1968, according to a study by Julius Paul, it was down to about 400 a year—with nearly half of the operations being performed in North Carolina.

However, since the mid-fifties there has been a new wave of statutes aim-

ed at welfare recipients. They usually start from the idea that the taxpayers, or "society," is being cheated by people who allegedly have children just to make money.

The racism of these attempts is often quite open. For example, in 1964 Rep. Stone Banefield of Kosciusko, Miss., said: "When the cutting starts, they [Black people] will head for Chicago." This was during debate on a bill that got national attention.

The Mississippi bill made it a felony for anyone to become the parent of a second or subsequent "illegitimate" child. The penalty was one to three years in the state penitentiary for a first conviction and three to five years for later convictions. To avoid going to jail, people convicted could submit to sterilization.

Because of national pressure, the sterilization section was dropped and the crime was made a misdemeanor, with a maximum jail sentence of three months.

Other states that have considered such laws in the last 10 or 15 years include California, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Iowa, Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia.

The Tennessee statute has already been approved by the Welfare Committee, and if it is not sidetracked by the Rules Committee, it will come before the legislature for a vote. . . .



An end to forced sterilization has been a central demand of women's liberation movement. Above, Chicago women's demonstration Nov. 21, 1970.

# International capitalists hold "private" meeting

by HERB GEBELEIN

CASTLETON, Vermont—While the massive April 24 demonstration against the U.S. war in Indochina was building in Washington and San Francisco, a conference of representatives of international capital was taking place in Woodstock, Vermont. It did not escape the attention of the local antiwar forces.

Secrecy and security precautions surrounded the arrivals and the sessions held April 22-25 at the new Woodstock Inn, owned by Laurance Rockefeller. The leader of the conference, H. R. H. Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands, made it quite clear that the meeting was a "private" affair and that the Woodstock Inn, where the "private" individuals met, was closed to the public until April 26. The security precautions to insure privacy were directed by the FBI.

The "private" citizens in attendance

included Henry Kissinger, advisor to President Nixon; Gerhard Schroeder, former foreign affairs minister of West Germany; Canadian Defense Minister Donald McDonald; U.S. undersecretary of state George Ball; Cyrus Vance, former undersecretary of defense; Robert O. Anderson, chairman of the board of Atlantic Richfield Co.; Robert Bourassa, prime minister of Quebec; Baron Edmond de Rothschild; and two relatives of the inn's owner, David Rockefeller and John D. Rockefeller IV. Other "private" individuals in attendance came from 12 European nations—Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Great Britain.

The press was not allowed to cover the Bilderberg Meetings (as the conference was called). The topics to be discussed were: "The possibility of a change in the American role in the

world and its consequence" and "The contribution of business in dealing with current problems of social instability."

The Bilderberg Meetings, according to a spokesman, grew out of a decision in the early 1950s, by "people on both sides of the Atlantic" to bring together "leading citizens in and out of government" for informal discussions of problems facing "the Atlantic community" and to clear up "misunderstandings that might weaken the West." The first meeting was held in the Bilderberg Hotel in Oosterbeek, Holland, in 1954, and the meetings have been called by that name ever since.

This year's meeting was the third to be held in the U.S. Earlier ones, in 1957 and 1964, were held at St. Simon's Island, Georgia, and in Williamsburg, Virginia, on sites also owned by the Rockefeller family.

It would be hard to find a clearer

indication of the way capitalist governments and representatives of international capital interlock than that provided by the list of guests at the Bilderberg Meetings, more than 80 of whom were officials of governments and multi-corporate businesses throughout the "free world."

A group of students at the nearby Woodstock Country School notified Bernhard by letter of their intention to organize a "vigil" across from the inn "to exhibit our belief that peace is the only measure in world affairs that can insure the freedom and survival of humanity on our planet."

On April 24, Woodstock students and teachers were joined by others from the surrounding area. For about two hours, 150 people kept their antiwar position before the assembled conferees of international monopoly capital and distributed antiwar leaflets to passersby.

# Int'l monetary crisis sparked by weakness of dollar

By DICK ROBERTS

MAY 10—The crisis that shook European money markets last week was the fifth major upheaval of the international monetary system in the last three years.

The moves announced this morning of five European countries to float, establish new controls on, or revalue their currencies, amount to a devaluation of the dollar against these currencies.

Massive purchases of continental currencies by holders of inflated U.S. dollars touched off the crisis May 3 and 4. In those two days, West German banks alone took in about \$1-billion worth of dollars and, in the first 40 minutes of banking on May 5, an additional \$1-billion worth of marks were purchased.

Germany and four other countries, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, and the Netherlands, thereupon refused to exchange their currencies for dollars. This was the state of affairs that prevailed until the currency floats, controls and revaluations were announced May 10.

These moves may put a temporary halt to this monetary crisis but in no way can they resolve the fundamental contradictions of world capitalism that underlie it.

It is the unabating competition of the major capitalist powers for control of world markets and the uneven development of this ferocious struggle that is at the root of the money crises. As the monopolists of each power attempt to better their own competitive positions through reducing wage costs, they precipitate deepening class struggles in their own countries.

This crisis, revolving around the inflated American dollar, reflects the position of U.S. imperialism at the present juncture of world capitalist competition.

On one side is the fact that U.S. corporations no longer absolutely dominate world trade as they did when the current international monetary system was constructed in 1944.

In the quarter of a century since then, European and Japanese corporations have steadily eroded the U.S. monopoly of world trade. One has only to look at the places of manufacture of dozens of important commodities sold in this country—cars, TV sets, other electrical equipment, textiles, etc.—to grasp how far foreign competitors have already cut into the U.S. market.

This invasion by the European and Japanese corporations has been particularly aided by a built-in competitive advantage: the large wage differentials between American and foreign workers, which helps explain intensified efforts of the U.S. ruling class to reduce real wages of American workers.

At the same time, U.S. imperialism still occupies the number one position in the world capitalist economy—and it is not about to back down without a struggle.

The sales of the foreign subsidiaries of U.S. corporations, now adding up to well over \$150-billion a year, are alone larger than the sales of any "nation" in the world except the U.S. and the Soviet Union. And Washington's overseas military apparatus constitutes the main police force of world imperialism.

The American ruling class has no intention of conceding the advantages of "dollar imperialism" and a world military network to rivals across the waters either of the Atlantic or the Pacific.

But it is precisely the vast sums of overseas U.S. investment and support of the military network that are at the basis of the U.S. balance-of-payments deficits and the instability of the international monetary system.

For these same dollars that have flowed into foreign central banks to pay for U.S. imperialism's overseas objectives have seen their value constantly eroded by military spending in this country. The situation became acute as the massive escalation of the Vietnam war and the huge budget deficits that accompanied it sparked a new hectic increase in the rate of U.S. price rises.

For a time, the flow of dollars abroad for foreign investments and military spending was largely counterbalanced by surpluses of foreign currencies that the U.S. built up through massive exports of U.S. goods, whose sales abroad far exceeded the corresponding sales of foreign goods in this country.

But this U.S. trade surplus has increasingly dwindled under the impact of intensified international competition and increasing American inflation. The "threat" of foreign goods sold in the U.S. market is thus also a threat to the U.S. balance of payments and to the international monetary system, which is based on the twin assumptions of a stable and dominant dollar.

And the same inflation that erodes the value of the dollar as a stable world currency also tends to make U.S. products less competitive, because of their higher prices, in international trade.

An inflated dollar is objectionable to foreign capitalists because it loses value as they hold it. In the "Eurodollar" (dollars held by banks, corporations and individuals in Europe) crisis last week, dollars were used to purchase vast amounts of German marks in expectation of an upward revaluation of the mark following the mere mention by Germany's economics minister Karl Schiller of a possible "realignment" of currency values.

The gold drain from Ft. Knox caused by European capitalists cashing in their dollars for gold was temporarily plugged in 1967 (see graph on this page) and the deteriorating international monetary system was temporarily stabilized, following the sharp crises of 1967 and 1968.

This was partially due to the "two tier" gold system established following the pound crisis of March 1968. A more important cause was the spectacular climb of interest rates in the U.S. to their 100-year highs in early 1969, as a result of the Federal Reserve Board's "tight money" policies.

When dollars can be invested at such profitable rates, and the corresponding interest levels in Europe are significantly lower, dollar holders have less reason to send them abroad.

Last week's dollar panic resulted from the sharp reversal of these conditions, provoked by the current recession in the United States. As the Nixon administration followed recessionary policies, largely aimed at "righting" the "imbalance" between American and foreign wage levels and at reducing inflation, interest rates began to fall in this country. Recent moves by the administration to pump more money into the American economy, as Nixon nervously eyed the continuing recession in the light of the approaching 1972 elections, pushed interest rates down even further.

But the European governments were attempting at the same time to force interest rates in their countries higher, as part of a recessionary policy aimed at, above all other factors, stemming "inflationary wage raises" among European workers.

The lowering of U.S. interest rates with the recession here in 1970 caused a flood of dollars into Europe. In 1970, the net dollar flow abroad mounted to \$10-billion, 10 times the limit American bankers promised the European ruling class in the resolution of the 1968 monetary crisis. And in the first quarter of 1971, this flow had doubled again, to an annual rate of \$20-billion.

By early 1971, not only were billions of inflated Eurodollars piling up in European banks and were U.S. investors grabbing for more European markets—but this flood of dollars cut directly across the domestic goals of the European governments.

For the European capitalists were attempting to follow tight-money anti-inflationary policies as part of their promotion of "controlled recessions" to beat back the wage increases workers were demanding.

But a massive influx of dollars ended up making more, not less, money available and washing away many of the effects of tight money. The growth of the European economies was slowing as a result of governmental policies, but this was accompanied by inflation, partly "made in the U.S.A." German workers, encountering the largest sustained period of price rises in 20 years, were not put in the "reasonable" mood the capitalists were banking on.

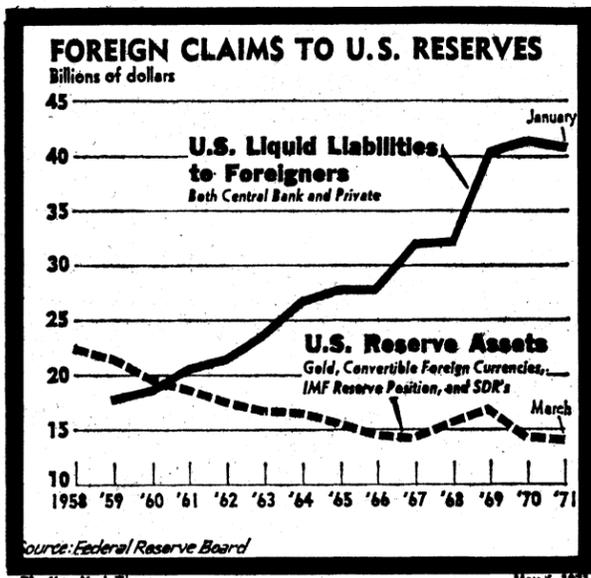
To add insult to injury, Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers went so far as to say, if Europe really wants the U.S. to have a smaller payments deficit, it should make this easier by revaluing their currencies upward more often—thus making their goods less competitive.

This is precisely how American capitalism hopes to counteract any de facto devaluations of the dollar like the ones that occurred this week. And with this threat clearly understood by all, U.S. bankers attempted to ride out the financial squall with no comments, no promises, and poker faces.

But their silence cannot resolve the great problems of the U.S. and world capitalist economies nor hide the major class battles that are latent in the unfolding of these problems.

The Nixon administration—like its counterparts abroad—has been far from silent about the struggles of workers to keep abreast of inflation. It has more and more intervened against workers in wage negotiations. There is more and more open talk in ruling-class circles about "wage and price controls" and "incomes policies" aimed directly at the real wages of workers.

Increasing competition in world trade with its concomitant erosion of international monetary stability and an escalated assault on wages are part and parcel of the fierce struggle of U.S. imperialism to maintain its dominance in the world economy in the face of continually expanding inroads of European and Japanese capitalisms. And they are a portent of big class battles that lie ahead.



The divergence between the value of U.S. dollars held abroad and the U.S. reserves, mainly in gold, to back these foreign holdings is a source of instability in international monetary system. West Germany alone holds more U.S. dollars than there is gold in Ft. Knox.

# APRIL 24, MAYDAY: ARE

By DOUG JENNESS

The massive April 24 antiwar demonstrations in San Francisco and Washington, D. C., along with the Vietnam veterans' actions the preceding week, mobilized hundreds of thousands of people and set off a succession of antiwar protests that still continues.

Most significant was the surprisingly large turnout for the city-wide, campus, and high school actions on May 5. In some cities, these were the largest antiwar actions ever held, and the response from high school students was tremendous.

It is in this context that thousands of young militants came to Washington, D. C., after April 24 to participate in the actions sponsored by the Mayday Tribe and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

What assessment of all these actions should be made and what significance do they have for what the antiwar movement must do next?

One thing clearly emerges from the various spring antiwar activities: Within the leadership of the antiwar movement, there are primarily three differing political perspectives.

First are the forces that believe independent action for the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Southeast Asia which involves hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of Americans as participants is the most effective and powerful form of struggle. This is the viewpoint held by the National Peace Coalition, the Student Mobilization Committee, and many city-wide coalitions. These are the forces that initiated and were principally responsible for building the massive April 24 and May 5 actions.

The second are the forces represented by a large section of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, the Communist Party, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, labor bureaucrats, liberal congressmen and women, and other reformists whose central strategy is to influence members of Congress. They see the power of Congress as

something much greater than the mobilization of masses in independent struggle. Their occasional support to mass actions is subordinate to their central goal of getting liberals elected to Congress, attempting to pressure them, and relying on them to end the war. They promote the demand of "setting the date for withdrawal" because it is more "reasonable" than immediate withdrawal and because it dovetails with legislation sponsored by congressional critics of the war.

Their major activity during the spring antiwar offensive was to organize "people's lobbies" at the offices of various members of Congress and government agencies in the week following the April 24 actions.

The third perspective is that of the Mayday Tribe leaders, who believe that disruptive civil disobedience actions will be most effective in convincing the government leaders to end the war. Like the reformists, their approach is a substitute for involving millions in action. Lacking confidence and even having contempt for the masses (they label participants in actions like April 24 "dumb sheep"), the Mayday leaders have more faith in their own ability to shock the warmakers with their moral outrage and tantrums.

It was their opposition to mass action that brought them together with the reformists in the same coalition this spring, the PCPJ. Insofar as the Mayday Tribe had any political line, it was the same as these reformists—particularly the demand "set the date for withdrawal."

No one of these three perspectives has a monopoly on the allegiance of antiwar activists and many participated in more than one form of protest action. The main concern of nearly all antiwar activists is ending the war by getting the U. S. out now, and they want to find the most effective way of doing it. It was this motive that inspired thousands of young militants, most of them students, who participated in the April 24 actions to also participate in the subsequent PCPJ and

Mayday Tribe actions. They were not looking for a substitute for April 24 but for an additional, more "militant" means of expressing their protest against the war.

Having drawn some of the lessons of the ineffective trashing actions during the past couple of years, the overwhelming majority opposed such actions in Washington. Even before the actions, there was strong pressure on the Mayday leaders to keep the actions nonviolent, and during the actions the demonstrators exerted further pressure.

The nonviolent tone of the majority of the demonstrators was most clearly shown in the rally at the Justice Department on May 4 and on the Capitol steps on May 5, where several thousand peaceful demonstrators were arrested for simply refusing to disperse.

What assessment of the Mayday actions should be made? Were they effective? Did they negate the impact of the April 24 actions?

## Negation?

A May 4 *New York Post* editorial asserted that, "What was advertised as a peace demonstration may actually have helped prolong the war."

An editorial in the *George Washington University Hatchet* on the same day exclaimed, "One good day of street violence, and thousands more Americans from all levels of society eagerly look towards the next presidential election and the candidacy of a two-bit hate mongerer like George Wallace."

And the May 10 *Newsweek* reported, "As concern grew, spokesmen for the major political parties warned protest leaders that violent tactics could tarnish the impression made by the first week's orderly demonstrations."

These liberal commentators, who hint that the sit-down demonstrators in Washington bear even a shred of responsibility for the continuation of

## Thousands stop business as usual in May 5 protests

By LEE SMITH

Tens of thousands of demonstrators took part in marches, rallies, teach-ins, and memorial meetings May 5 as part of the moratorium on business-as-usual, called to commemorate the massacres at Jackson State College and Kent State University following Nixon's invasion of Cambodia last year, and to demand the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Indochina.

The actions, called by the National Peace Action Coalition, the nation's three largest student organizations—the National Student Association (NSA), the Association of Student Governments (ASG), and the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC)—and other antiwar groups, took on the added character of defense rallies for the victims of mass arrests and police brutality in Washington, D. C. They were also seen as part of a continuing program of action building toward the May 15 GI-civilian antiwar actions and the July 2-4 national antiwar conference.

The turnout was impressive in all the cities from which reports have been received so far. More than 35,000 participated in a city-wide demonstration in Boston. The city-wide action in New York drew 10,000.

Some of the larger actions occurred in smaller cities, such as Tempe, Ariz., 4,000; Flint, Mich., 7,000; East Lansing, Mich., 4,000; Grand Rapids, Mich., 1,000; and Minneapolis, between 4,000 and 5,000.

In nearly every case, the actions were endorsed by a broad range of forces, including trade unions, student governments, and other organizations in addition to antiwar groups. In Cleveland, Mayor Carl Stokes officially proclaimed May 5 as Jackson and Kent State Memorial Day.

In most cities, the main action of the day was preceded by a number of smaller actions at individual campuses and high schools.

The Boston rally of 35,000 was built by several feeder marches from colleges and high schools. There were other contingents in the Boston march, as well, including a newly formed "hard-hats" contingent. A representative of the hard-hats' group joined Senator Vance Hartke, Prof. Howard Zinn, and the other speakers addressing the rally on the Boston Common.

In New York City, dozens of campus and high school rallies during the day led up to the evening rally of 10,000 next to Bryant Park, sponsored by the New York Peace Action Coalition, SMC and Vietnam Peace Parade Committee. John Kerry of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Joseph Hardy Jr. from Jackson State, and Senator Hartke spoke to the New York rally. Other speakers were Jerry Gordon and Ruth Gage-Colby of NPAC; William Douthard of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice; David Livingston, District 65, Distributive Workers president; and Victor Gotbaum, president of District Coun-

Continued on page 22

## NPAC organizes nat'l convention

By DAVE FRANKEL

WASHINGTON—The Steering Committee of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) met here on May 8 and decided to call a national antiwar convention in New York City, July 2-4. Trade unionists from the UAW, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, the Distributive Workers, and other unions, many of which had actively participated in the building of the April 24 demonstrations, were present, along with NPAC leaders from around the country.

In calling for a convention of the antiwar movement to be convened and hosted by NPAC, Jim Lafferty, one of the five NPAC coordinators, said that New York City was chosen because it is both a huge population center and a center of the antiwar movement.

Possibilities for the size and breadth of the convention were indicated by additions to the NPAC Steering Committee that were made at the meeting, which reflect the rapid growth of the antiwar movement and the success of the spring antiwar offensive. New Steering Committee members include Senator Vance Hartke; Harold Gibbons, an international vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; George Wald, Nobel prize-winning biologist; Betty Friedan, author of *The Feminine Mystique*; Rep. John Conyers of Michigan; Bronx Borough President Robert Abrams; and others.

There was a spirited discussion on the success of the April 24 and May 5 actions, and the various independent actions that led up to them, such as the April 2-4 actions commemorating the anniversary of the assassina-

tion of Martin Luther King and the Vietnam veterans' actions.

The massive participation of students on April 24 was seen as a clear refutation of those who claimed the student movement was dying. In addition to their size, the clarity with which the demand for the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Southeast Asia came across, and the breadth of support which was gained from all sections of society were seen as the most important achievements of the demonstrations.

In gauging the level of mobilization achieved by the spring offensive, Debbie Bustin of the Student Mobilization Committee pointed out that the May 5 moratorium involved even more people around the country and inspired actions in more areas than the previous local demonstrations on Oct. 31, 1970.

The meeting heard reports on activities planned for GI Solidarity Day on May 15, and then went on to a discussion of future activities. These include a campaign to expose the red-baiting House Internal Security Committee, which has announced plans to investigate NPAC and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice; anti-draft actions around the debate in Congress on the extension of the draft; a program of summer organizing schools in New York, Detroit and San Francisco June 5 and 6 to encourage antiwar activists to volunteer to spend the summer working for NPAC; and tours by NPAC coordinators in preparation for the July convention. The meeting also voted to support the defense campaign for victims of right-wing terror in Houston.

# THEY COMPLEMENTARY?

imperialist war in Southeast Asia or for right-wing demagogues like Wallace, are totally wrong. The Mayday actions did not cancel out or "tarnish" the massive impact of April 24 or the veterans' actions, or convince persons against the war to support the war. The extent of antiwar sentiment is far too deep for that.

Rennie Davis' analysis of the action was that the Mayday Tribe had been "militarily outmaneuvered." "Our biggest problem," he stated, "was not appreciating the extent to which the government would go to put people on the skids."

What conclusion does he draw from these statements? None other than the absurdity that the Mayday Tribe action "demonstrates the effectiveness of nonviolence as a tactic" and that he hopes "nonviolence will be the way that the antiwar movement will continue. . . . This is literally a beginning. We are coming back again. They are going to have to jail every young person in America before we can be stopped."

By these bombastic statements, Davis shows that he learned zero from these actions. Thousands of demonstrators, however, are not so blinded by this firm adherence to a strategy of defeat, and are beginning to draw different conclusions.

An alternate deployment of demonstrators or a more secret plan would not have prevented the gassing, clubbing, and massive arrests administered by the government. The defeat was built into the character of the actions. It was a foregone conclusion that when the stated goal was to "close down the government," the government would use whatever force was necessary to arrest and jail a large enough number of demonstrators to prevent any serious disruption.

Davis knew that the actions couldn't close down the government but consciously pretended that he thought they could. It is the height of irresponsibility for a political leader—or more accurately, misleader—to project an objective which she or he knows is impossible to achieve. It miseducates

people as to what can really be accomplished and serves to frustrate and demoralize the participants.

Davis offers absolutely no basis for saying that the civil disobedience tactics proved effective or that they will be more effective next time. Many people who participated this time, even those who may have thought it was worthwhile this once, have learned by direct experience that these tactics are ineffective, and won't be back for Davis' next project.

## Why ineffective?

Besides learning—if they had any doubts—that the government can deploy enough police and military forces to prevent any serious disruption of Washington's streets and offices by sit-downs of thousands of persons, many learned that these actions isolated them from the majority of Washington's citizens, most of whom are opposed to the war. Although the organizers of the action gave some consideration to trying to avoid disruption of the Black community, there was no way that government office buildings or major highways could be blocked without inconveniencing thousands of workers.

Contrast the April 24 mass action, which involved many of Washington's residents and federal employees, with the Mayday actions, which inconvenienced and antagonized a good number of the same persons.

In his report on the Mayday actions in the May 12 *Guardian*, Rod Such asserts that the demonstrators "turned strategic defeat into what may be ultimately seen as a moral victory." His evidence of this "moral victory" is that the demonstrators "were willing to fill the jails of Washington . . . in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution and reaction to an imperialist war."

This argument, boiled down, says that the demonstrators showed the American people how outrageous and immoral the American government

is for making mass arrests and jailing thousands of peaceful students. There are certainly people who were outraged by the government's actions, and justifiably so. There were also many participants in the actions who learned a number of positive lessons. There are seldom defeats from which lessons are not learned, but that doesn't mean we should advocate a policy that will lead to more defeats of the same kind!

## Power of masses

The key lesson we should draw from the antiwar actions this spring is that rather than *performing* for the masses of antiwar Americans, we can be most effective by *involving* them in action.

The only force the ruling class understands is not moral persuasion but power—the mobilized power of American masses, particularly the Black community and the working class.

In May 1970, when hundreds of thousands of students went out on strike and many of them started using their universities to reach out to other sectors of the population, it forced Nixon to back out of Cambodia. It also raised the specter of the even greater power that might have been brought to bear against the Nixon administration if the student strike had coincided with a massive ghetto revolt or major upsurge in the labor movement.

The April 24 actions have increased the awareness throughout the country of the power of the antiwar movement and have helped to inspire greater confidence that the majority of Americans want "Out Now!"

Through the building of the actions, a very significant coalition was established by NPAC—the strongest antiwar coalition ever to emerge from a major national action. April 24 has laid an excellent basis for immediately preparing to build the July 4 national convention that will call the next major national antiwar action.

## Internat'l actions

While more than 800,000 Americans took part in U. S. antiwar actions April 24, tens of thousands of demonstrators also protested the Indochina war in other countries.

Nearly 8,000 Canadians participated in demonstrations in 15 cities. The largest of these was the action in Montreal, Québec, where 2,500 predominantly Québécois activists turned out, making it the largest antiwar action in Montreal since November 1967.

A number of other cities in Canada had their first antiwar actions April 24.

In Québec City, where there had never previously been a demonstration, 800 people marched. The first antiwar demonstrations were also held in Sydney and Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

In Ottawa, the New Democratic Party convention voted to join the rally kicking off a march to Parliament, and outgoing NDP leader T. C. Douglas, along with former Québec NDP leader Robert Cliche, addressed the rally.

Demonstrations also occurred in the major capitals of Europe. Two thousand young people marched in Paris April 24. Both London and Rome had actions of about 1,500.

According to the Vietnamese news agency in Hanoi, actions on April

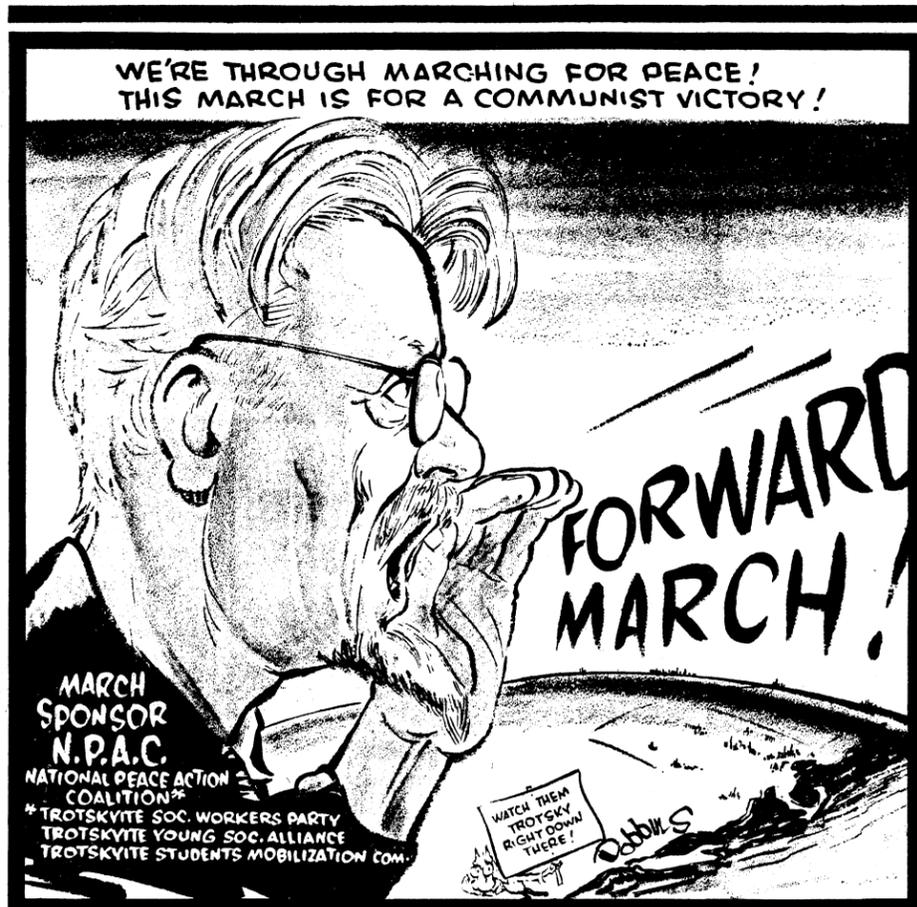
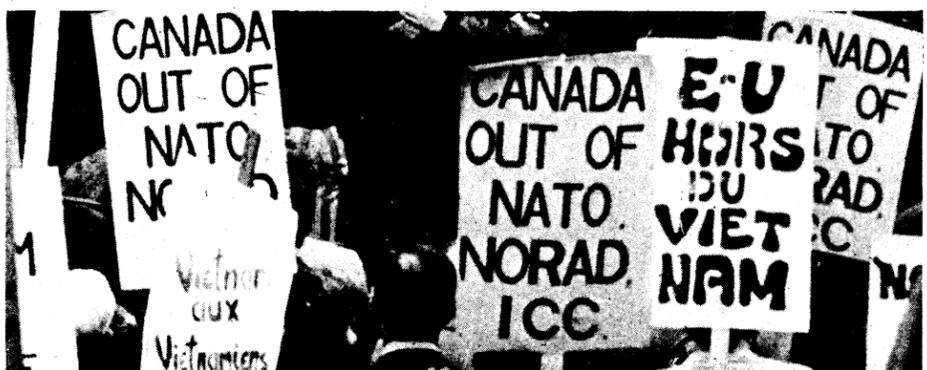
24 were also organized in Lusaka, Zambia; Beirut, Lebanon; and Krnov and Bruntal, Czechoslovakia.

By all reports, the largest action outside the United States on April 24 was in Denmark. The U. S. Embassy in Copenhagen was the site of a demonstration by more than 20,000 people.

Although 700 police had been mobilized for the event, no incidents developed.

The speakers at the Copenhagen rally included a U. S. antiwar activist and Ho Than Van, director of the information bureau of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

The PRG spokesman told the demonstrators, in concluding his speech: "If the Nixon administration continues to refuse to draw the lessons of the grave defeats it has suffered in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos in its attempts to keep up its war of aggression, which has no chance of victory, then the South Vietnamese people, together with their countrymen through the entire nation and united with their brother peoples in Cambodia and Laos, will intensify their resistance until they win total victory. U. S. imperialists out of Vietnam! U. S. imperialists out of Indochina! The Indochinese people will win!"



This red-baiting cartoon appeared in the April 21 issue of the *Boston Herald Traveler*, one of the major Boston papers. A typical example of the kinds of vicious right-wing attacks launched before every mass antiwar action, it may have warmed the editor's heart, but it failed to prevent thousands of Bostonians from participating in the April 24 march in Washington. Few red-baiting efforts in memory have been as singularly unsuccessful as the attempt to discredit April 24.

# Newspaper Guild: war is a union issue

By HARRY RING

A significant feature of the Washington-San Francisco April 24 antiwar demonstration was the extent of union involvement. A greater number of unions than ever before worked actively to turn out their members for the action. And in terms of raising the general consciousness of union members, there were additional benefits as well.

In a number of union bodies the question of whether or not to support April 24 became a dividing point between old-line bureaucrats and those unionists who saw the need for labor to become actively involved in the antiwar movement. In several West Coast labor bodies, for example, the vote to endorse April 24 carried over the objection of the elected heads of those bodies.

One particularly interesting example of how April 24 served to inject the war issue into the union movement was found in the situation that developed in Local 35 of the American Newspaper Guild.

At a March 20 membership meeting, it was voted that the local formally endorse the April 24 demonstration. Local 35 covers the Washington-Baltimore-Alexandria area and has almost 2,000 members.

Shortly after the March 20 meeting, a petition was circulated initiating a referendum on whether the meeting's

decision should be upheld. The Guild constitution provides that a petition signed by 150 members of the local is sufficient to initiate such a referendum.

Initiators of the referendum argued for repudiation of the endorsement on the grounds that the Guild commitment to such actions impaired the professional objectivity of journalists. Signers of the petition included members known to be opposed to the war as well as others who are not.

The issue of "professional objectivity" is as old as the Guild itself. While the union now includes all newspaper employees not within the jurisdiction of the Allied Printing Trades Council, it included only working journalists at the time it was founded in the mid-30s.

At that time, the publishers—properly celebrated for their own standards of "objectivity" in reporting the news—argued that for reporters to join a union would destroy their capacity for straightforward, nonpartisan newsgathering.

In 1933, when the Guild was in its embryonic state, W. B. Bryant of the Paterson, N.J., *Press-Guardian* piously posed the question: "Would it be possible for a writer to be independent, to be anything but a union propagandist, after five years of union affiliation?"

Nearly four decades of newspaper

unionism has made it amply clear that the way the American media is structured and controlled effectively bars such propaganda, even if newspaper people sought it. Yet many within the Guild are still affected by the argument, taking the problem of news objectivity a lot more seriously than their employers.

This was reflected in the outcome of the referendum, held on April 23, the eve of the demonstration.

With some 46 percent of the members of Local 35 voting, the result was 458 in favor of rescinding the endorsement and 427 voting to uphold it.

While there is no way to accurately determine on what basis the narrow majority in favor of rescinding the endorsement was won, it was apparent to Guild activists that the issue of not committing the local on a supposedly "non-union" issue, not prowar sentiment, was decisive.

Yet those who campaigned throughout the referendum in favor of upholding the endorsement of April 24 felt that considerable advantage had been gained despite the narrow defeat.

A Local 35 Committee of Members to Uphold the Antiwar Resolution issued two attractive and effective leaflets, which reached almost the entire membership through shop distribution and by mail.

The leaflets addressed themselves to the question of why active opposition to the war was essential for all unionists and to the question of why the Guild had a responsibility to take a position on the war and other social issues as a union.

The leaflet debunked the argument that taking such a stand would impinge on "professional responsibility" and argued that accepting such assertions simply deprived Guild unionists of essential rights.

Those favoring repudiation of the April 24 endorsement did not issue any written material but enjoyed the advantage of a pre-referendum editorial in the prestigious *Washington Post* conceding the right of the Guild to take such a stand but questioning the "wisdom" of doing so.

(Interestingly, the pro-repudiation stand carried among employees of the liberal *Post* 134 to 102, while workers at the conservative *Washington Star* voted 124-118 to uphold the April 24 endorsement.)

The issues themselves were well summarized in one pro-endorsement leaflet, which declared in part:

"The war hurts all of us (newspaper employees included). It takes our sons. . . . It robs our wallets. . . . It destroys our cities. . . . The war is a legitimate union issue! Whether we're construction workers, teachers, or newspaper employees, the war affects our well-being. As a union concerned with its members' welfare, the Guild has a right to take a stand. The Local 35 membership meeting vote to endorse April 24 was simply an implementation of ANG's prior convention resolution calling for 'immediate withdrawal.' Scores of other unions and labor leaders are endorsing April 24. . . ."

Or, as another leaflet put it: "If the Guild can't take stands as a union on matters of justice, what sort of box are we putting ourselves and the Guild into?"

Back in the 30s, Heywood Broun, the founding president of the Guild, argued with newspaper people that they were workers like others, that they had to fight the bosses like other workers and take their stand as unionists like others. One can be confident he would have been among those campaigning for the union to endorse April 24 and to be in the front lines of the march.



Carrying American Newspaper Guild Local 35 banner down Pennsylvania Avenue April 24 are Harris Monroe (left) and former international executive board member Noel Wical.

# Defense move to dismiss Berrigan indictment

By LEE SMITH

Acting for the team of attorneys defending the Harrisburg frame-up victims, noted civil liberties lawyer Leonard Boudin filed a motion May 4 to dismiss the charges listed in two consecutive indictments handed down by a federal grand jury, first against Father Philip Berrigan and five others, then against Berrigan and seven others.

What has now become the case of the Harrisburg Eight has been marked from the beginning by government violations of normal due process.

Prior to the time the first indictment was even handed down, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover publicly charged before a congressional committee that Philip Berrigan and his brother, Daniel Berrigan, were part of a "conspiracy." That was last November.

When the first indictment was handed down in January, it contained so little evidence to support the charge of a "plot" to kidnap Henry Kissinger and destroy heating tunnels in Wash-

ington, D. C., that the *Washington Post* felt prompted to comment editorially two days later on "the underlying fear of those most critical of the indictment . . . that it is merely an attempt to justify retrospectively the premature and indiscreet charges made . . . by J. Edgar Hoover . . . two months ago."

In what appeared from the beginning as a "fishing expedition" for evidence to bolster the flimsy original indictment, the grand jury continued to consider evidence on the case even after it had brought charges.

This unusual procedure was escalated with the subpoenaing of 26 additional witnesses in April. The National Defense Committee for the Harrisburg Six released a statement April 16, protesting that the subpoenas were being used as a means of harassing potential defense witnesses and interfering with the defense of the six indicted antiwar activists.

Then, at an April 20 hearing on a defense motion to withdraw the subpoenas and suppress illegally ac-

quired evidence leading to the subpoenas, the Justice Department asserted that the new witnesses were being called in order to supersede the original indictment with a new indictment.

On April 30, the grand jury brought new indictments against the six defendants and named two more defendants. The original defendants, besides Philip Berrigan, were Joseph Wenderoth, Neil McLaughlin, Anthony Scoblick, Sister Elizabeth McAlister, and Eqbal Ahmad. In the new indictment, these five and Berrigan have been joined by Mary Cain Scoblick and John Theodore Glick.

The grand jury, which had already charged a half-dozen of the witnesses with contempt for not cooperating with the jury, attached to the new indictment two letters allegedly written by two of the defendants, Berrigan and McAlister, to each other. It is highly questionable that the letters would be admissible as evidence in court.

The attaching of the letters to the April 30 indictment was immediately assailed by defense attorney Thomas

Mencker. "It is highly irregular and potentially very prejudicial," Mencker stated, "that the government is attempting to publicize evidence that may not be admissible at trial."

The attaching of the letters is one of the matters touched on in the motion filed by Boudin May 4. The motion asked the following:

- That both the original and superseding indictments be dropped.
- That the government be enjoined from releasing any further evidence, such as the letters, on the current indictments or any future indictments connected with the case.
- That U. S. Attorney S. John Catone, prosecutor William S. Lynch, and "all other persons acting in concert" be held in contempt of court.
- That defense counsel be allowed to examine the grand jury's minutes to determine how the decision to release the letters was made.
- That any officials in the Justice Department having prior knowledge of the decision be named.

# Deadline nears on Black Caucus demands

By **DERRICK MORRISON**

At a White House meeting with President Richard M. Nixon March 25, the 13 members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) submitted a 32-page statement of proposals and demands. The members of the CBC set May 17 as the date for Nixon's response to the demands. This is the day 17 years ago the U. S. Supreme Court declared school segregation unconstitutional.

In their statement, the CBC declared, "our concerns and obligations as members of Congress do not stop at the boundaries of our districts; our concerns are national and international in scope. We are petitioned daily by citizens living hundreds of miles from our districts who look on us as congressmen-at-large for Black people and poor people in the United States."

So the CBC sees itself not just representing its own constituents, but all Black and poor people. In this respect, it has become formally organized, with Charles C. Diggs Jr. of Michigan as chairman, Augustus F. Hawkins of California as vice-chairman, and Charles B. Rangel of New York as secretary.

President Nixon's contempt for Black Americans was clearly shown by his refusal to see these Black members of Congress for more than a year after they asked for an appointment. But despite all the drama and anxiety that went into this long wait, the CBC had very little to say. The significance of their 32-page statement lies not in what it included but in what it excluded or presented only in pabulum form. Particularly noticeable was the omission of a whole series of demands that arose out of the struggles in the Black community since the 1965 revolt in Watts.

For instance, after calling for a "federal job creation program" and implementation of "Executive Order 11246 . . . requiring affirmative action by government contractors and subcontractors to provide equal employment opportunities," there is no mention of the demands of the Black

community protesting at construction sites for preferential hiring and Black control of apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs. This is the issue on which masses of Blacks took to the streets in Pittsburgh in 1968 and Chicago in 1969. These demands, combined with the demand for a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay, are the only solution to the unemployment crisis in the Black community and the degradation imposed by welfare.

In another area, the CBC statement calls for more financial aid to Black students, the creation of more community colleges, and "legislation . . . to provide quality integration education." Yet, there is no mention of the demands raised by Black students for Black studies or for the right of Black people to establish control over the institutions of public education in their communities. Furthermore, nothing is said about the racist treatment meted out to Black students in "integrated" schools in the South, and the mass firing of Black teachers and administrators under the cloak of "desegregation."

The CBC statement also leaves out the demands of the recent prison protests, most of which were led by Black and Puerto Rican prisoners. It doesn't even call attention to the horror and brutality of the prisons, city jails and detention centers. Nor does it oppose capital punishment, one of the most barbaric forms of repression against oppressed nationalities and the working class.

While the statement urges an examination of the "conditions under which Blacks and other minority servicemen are incarcerated in military prisons here and abroad," and the establishment of a "Civil Rights Division within the Department of Defense," it does not deal with Black GIs' demands for the constitutional right to organize against racist white oppression in the armed forces and against the racist war in Southeast Asia. The statement does not even call for ending the racist draft.

Lastly, the statement comes to the war in Southeast Asia. Although this should have had top priority in their program, they merely tack it on at the end. The CBC compounds their misestimate of the centrality of the war for Black Americans by calling for "setting the date for withdrawal." This is contrary to the widespread support in the Black community and among Black GIs in Vietnam to "Bring the Brothers Home Now!" Any advance in the struggle for Black self-determination is contingent upon mobilizing the Black community into the streets over the demand of "Out Now!" This becomes increasingly evident as budget cutbacks and inflation slice into the already meager Black existence in order to pay for the war.

As a whole, the CBC statement is tailored just to make an impression on the president. No mention is made of the Nixon-engineered frame-up of Angela Davis, nor is there a demand to end the federal government's persecution of the Black Panther Party. Combining lofty rhetoric with demands for implementation of what exists, the statement amounts to begging for the maintenance and continued issuance of crumbs. It seems that in the presence of "massa" Nixon, the 13 representatives sunk into a new shuffling feet routine, while tying extra knots in the handkerchiefs on their heads.

The spineless and gutless nature of their statement flows directly from their participation in and support of the Democratic Party—one of the instruments through which the tiny capitalist minority rules this country and oppresses Blacks. Their statement wasn't meant as a program for building nationwide mobilizations of Black people. Rather, by trying to show concern for the problems of the oppressed, this program is intended to make the image of the Democratic Party more palatable to the Black community. It is, however, only with the exposure of the role of these reformists and in opposition to them that the struggle can go forward.

## ...Bangla Desh

Continued from page 3

ment, raising such slogans as "Recognize Bangla Desh," "For a socialist Bangla Desh," and "Long live the unity of workers and peasants in India and Pakistan." It is around these slogans and not around the betrayals of the Indian and Pakistani capitalists and the Chinese and Russian bureaucracies that freedom for the Bengali people and the other oppressed millions of the Indian subcontinent will be gained.

## Statement of Indian SWP

The massive assertion by East Bengali people of their determination to end exploitation by the West Pakistani military regime headed by Yahya Khan has claimed the lives of lakhs (hundreds of thousands) of workers, peasants, and students, highlighting once again the brutal subjugation and economic exploitation that has been the lot of the people of East Pakistan, under the garb of an Islamic state, ever since the partition of the subcontinent in 1947. The large-scale and indiscriminate massacres, reckless bombings of towns and villages to

crush the growing resistance of an entire nation fighting for national independence has no parallel in modern history. This has clearly demonstrated the total inability of the West Pakistani bourgeoisie to solve any of the basic problems of 75,000,000 people of East Pakistan, representing a majority of the total population of that country.

Unfortunately, the liberation forces led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman cannot as yet match their strength against the organized firepower of the Pakistan Army, equipped with the most sophisticated weapons. The criminal role of the Anglo-American bloc of imperialist powers, which has extended all possible military and financial aid to the militarists of Islamabad, must be condemned by all freedom-loving people. No less condemnable is the behavior of the United Nations, the "thieves kitchen" dominated by imperialists, in the context of the savage butchery perpetrated in Bangla Desh.

It is all the more deplorable that even the "socialist" countries like China and the U. S. S. R. should have pursued an equivocal policy of directly or indirectly placating the Yahya Khan regime, having allowed the arms supplied to West Pakistan to be used against the national liberation movement in Bangla Desh. There are also reports that Chinese ships have been used to ship arms to Chittagong, ignoring popular protests. We demand that the governments of the U. S. S. R. and China immediately stop supplying arms to the West Pakistan regime and rush every possible help to the freedom fighters of East Bengal.

The treacherous role of the government of Ceylon, led by so-called left and Marxist parties like the SLFP

(Sri Lanka Freedom Party), the LSSP (Lanka Sama Samaja Party), and CCP (Ceylon Communist Party), in providing transit and refueling facilities to Pakistani planes, transporting soldiers as well as arms and ammunition from the western wing of Pakistan to the eastern wing, deserves universal condemnation. We demand that such facilities be stopped forthwith. We also deplore the ambivalent stand of sympathetic bystander taken by the Indira Gandhi government in New Delhi in relation to the developments in Bangla Desh, and demand that the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Bangla Desh be recognized forthwith.

It is obvious that Bangla Desh is in for a prolonged period of civil war in which the people can be victorious only if they prepare themselves for protracted guerrilla resistance. We are confident that the revolutionary leaders of workers and peasants in Bangla Desh will march forward to their goal of a socialist Bangla Desh, creating new conditions for a revolutionary overthrow of the present capitalist system. The step taken to arm the masses of people must be welcomed and this must be followed by steps to create new organs of struggle in the form of elected councils of workers and peasants to coordinate their resistance on a national scale.

It is the sacred duty of the working class and the exploited masses not only of India but also of West Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, and other neighbouring countries to frustrate the treacherous policies of their respective governments and rally behind the people of Bangla Desh and render them every possible assistance in their liberation war.



**Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, East Bengali independence leader now believed to be in jail in West Pakistan.**

# Imprisonment of writer a blow to Cuban revolution

## From Intercontinental Press

An Agence France-Presse dispatch from Havana, published in the March 23 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, reported that it had been learned from reliable sources that the poet Heberto Padilla, whose book *Fuera del Juego* (Out of Bounds) won the 1968 national poetry prize in Cuba, had been arrested by the security police.

His companion, poetess Belkis Cuza Malé, had also been arrested, and their apartment had been sealed.

As for the reasons for the two arrests, the Cuban authorities had maintained complete silence.

The April 9 issue of *Le Monde* reported that Padilla had been held in prison since March 20. As yet no information was available on the charges. *Le Monde* said nothing about what had happened to Belkis Cuza Malé.

Fidel Castro had, nonetheless, acknowledged in an interview with some students at the University of Havana that the poet had been arrested.

Castro had told the audience that other intellectuals were implicated. According to *Le Monde*, Castro declared: "There is a series of facts which, when they are made public, will arouse indignation."

"He added," *Le Monde* continued, "that the intellectuals could expect no privileges granting them any immunity whatsoever for engaging in possibly counterrevolutionary activities. He let it be understood that the international reactions provoked by the Padilla affair would enable the Cuban revolution to establish a line of demarcation between its genuine friends and those who insist that conditions be met in return for their friendship."

## Intellectuals protest

In the same article, *Le Monde* published the text of a letter on the Padilla case addressed to Fidel Castro by a number of intellectuals of international renown.

The letter was translated by *The New York Review of Books*, appearing in the May 6 issue of that publication. This translation reads as follows:

"The undersigned, supporters of the principles and objectives of the Cuban Revolution, address you in order to express their disquiet as a result of the imprisonment of the poet and writer Heberto [sic] Padilla and to ask you to re-examine the situation which this arrest has created.

"Since the Cuban government up to the present time has yet to supply any information about this arrest, we fear the re-emergence of a sectarian tendency stronger and more dangerous than that which you denounced in March, 1962, and to which Major Che Guevara alluded on several occasions when he denounced the suppression of the right of criticism within the ranks of the revolution.

"At this moment—when the installation of a socialist government in Chile and the new situation in Peru and Bolivia help make it possible to break the criminal blockade imposed on Cuba by North American imperialism—the use of repressive measures against intellectuals and writers who have exercised the right of criticism within the revolution can only have deeply negative repercussions among the anti-imperialist forces of the entire world, and most especially of Latin America, for which the Cuban Revolution is a symbol and a banner.

"In thanking you for the attention

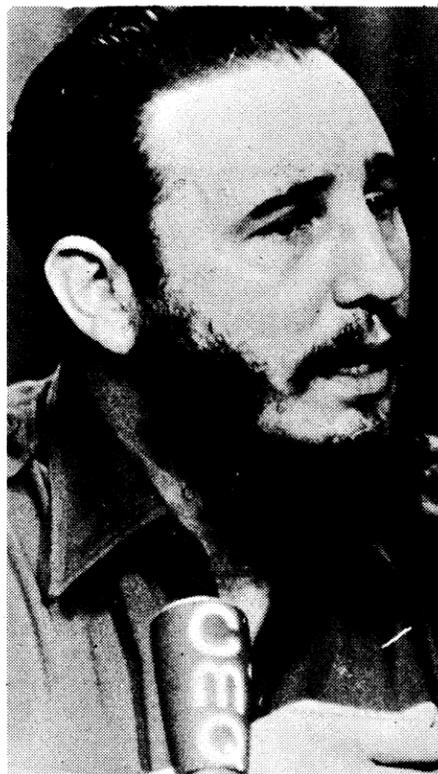
you may give to this request, we reaffirm our solidarity with the principles which guided the struggle in the Sierra Maestre and which the revolutionary government of Cuba has expressed so many times in the words and actions of its Prime Minister, of Major Che Guevara, and of so many other revolutionary leaders."

A partial list of the signers of this open letter included the following:

Simone de Beauvoir, Italo Calvino, José María Castellet, Julio Cortázar, Jean Daniel, Marguerite Duras, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Carlos Franqui, Carlos Fuentes, Gabriel García Márquez, Juan Goytisolo, Luis Goytisolo, Alain Jouffroy, André Pieyre de Mandiargues, Dionys Mascolo, Alberto Moravia, Maurice Nadeau, Octavio Paz, Francisco Rosi, Rossana Rossanda, Claude Roy, Jean-Paul Sartre, Jorge Semprun, Mario Vargas Llosa.

## Self-criticism

According to an Agence France-Presse dispatch from Havana published in the April 28 issue of *Le Monde*, the Cuban authorities announced that Heberto Padilla had written a self-criticism of about 4,000 words, which he had addressed to the government.



Fidel Castro

After accusing the French journalist K. S. Karol and the French agronomist René Dumont of being "agents of the CIA," Padilla accused himself of having "fed his egocentrism" by granting interviews to the British Broadcasting Corporation and a Canadian radio station, and by seeing himself characterized as a "poet and *enfant terrible* of politics" in a book by the American journalist Lee Lockwood on the Cuban revolution.

Then, citing his book *Fuera del Juego*, which had been awarded Cuba's 1968 national prize for poetry, Padilla called his collection of poems "insidious and provocative."

Padilla added: "In France, where they look for a scandal in no matter what book to arouse the interest of buyers, the Seuil publishing house translated the book in less than a month and launched it with the slogan, 'Can you be a poet in Cuba?'"

*Le Monde* added the following editorial note to the dispatch:

"The publication by the Cuban authorities of a self-criticism that the poet Heberto Padilla is said to have written in prison, suddenly gives the Havana regime a disagreeable coloration, which—up to now, at least—it appeared to have carefully sought to avoid. This self-abasement of a writer, who in 1968 had won Cuba's national prize for poetry despite the reservations of the Union of Artists and Writers, will not appease the sharp criticisms expressed in the intellectual circles of Europe and Latin America from the moment of Mr. Heberto Padilla's arrest. The Cuban authorities had already let it be understood that the French agronomist René Dumont had held interviews in Havana 'with an agent of the C. I. A.' The accusation directed this time in Mr. Heberto Padilla's self-criticism against Mr. René Dumont and Mr. K. S. Karol, accusing them of being 'agents of the C. I. A.,' threatens to set off a polemic from which the Cuban regime can gain no advantage."

In the April 29 issue of *Le Monde*, Marcel Niedergang reported that Padilla had been freed April 27 and had gone directly to his home.

Prensa Latina provided Niedergang with the text of the self-criticism written by Padilla.

"There is no doubt," said Niedergang, "concerning the desire of the Havana government to assure the widest possible distribution abroad of a document in which ridiculous accusations against foreign personalities alternate with the tearful repentance of a writer crowned with official laurels. To dispel any ambiguity, Fidel Castro himself has stated that he 'personally had ordered the arrest of Padilla,' and leading Cuban circles have recently been told that 'other intellectuals may be accused of counterrevolutionary activities and arrested.'"

## 1968 prize

In Niedergang's opinion, Heberto Padilla is not Cuba's greatest living writer. But he did win the 1968 prize for his poetry, although some of the leading figures in the army's top staff were of the opinion that certain allusions made by the poet were counterrevolutionary. The Union of Cuban Artists and Writers went along with the decision of the judges in the contest only to express reservations later. The army's weekly magazine, *Verde Olivo*, however, accused Padilla of being in reality an adversary of the revolution.

The poet's real crime, in Niedergang's opinion, was being naïve enough to believe that it was still possible "to juggle with nuances of thought while the entire country is, or ought to be, engaged in a very difficult combat on which the survival of the revolutionary experiment and the prestige of the regime depend. Does this 'weakness' merit a cell and opprobrium?"

Niedergang answered, "Obviously not. Thus one can understand the emotion of a great many European and Latin American intellectuals, who are nonetheless favorably disposed toward the Cuban revolution. Without singling anyone out, Mr. Fidel Castro responded to their reaction with irritation: 'Why are they mixing in? Now we will soon see who our genuine friends are. . . .'"

According to the April 30 *Le Monde*, Prensa Latina reported that on the

evening of April 27, the same day he was released from prison, the poet appeared at the headquarters of the Union of Artists and Writers to read the self-criticism he had written while he was held behind bars.

Accompanied by his wife and a group of friends, the account continued, he confessed his "counterrevolutionary errors" for an hour and a half before a hundred Cuban intellectuals and artists. "He exhorted certain of the writers present, MM. Pablo Armando Fernandez, Cesar Lopez, Manuel Diaz Martinez and Belkis Cuza Malé, his wife, to 'overcome their weaknesses, which could lead them to political and moral degradation.'"

Referring to the declarations of support for him, which had been addressed to Havana during his detention, Padilla declared that the signers "had doubted a revolution that is greater than the man they defended."

According to Prensa Latina, as reported by *Le Monde*, "the writer appeared to be suffocating, because of the heat in the room." Prensa Latina added that each of the writers mentioned by Padilla arose in turn to voice their self-criticisms.

At the conclusion of the session, the poet declared: "We are living in a glorious trench of besieged Latin America, but that's the price of a revolution." He then lifted up his arms and shouted: "Patria o muerte. Venceremos!" (Victory or death. We will win!)

## Castro speech

The latest development in this shift of the Cuban government on the question of freedom of expression by its poets was a speech made by Fidel Castro at the closing session of a national conference on education.

According to the May 4 issue of *Le Monde*, he assailed the "bourgeois liberals" and "shameless leftists" in the countries of the capitalist West who had taken up the defense of Cuban intellectuals hostile to the regime.

Without naming Heberto Padilla, Castro poured scorn on the "pseudo-leftist intellectuals" who "imagined that we were going to take up such an insignificant question" in the course of the conference on education.

"You, bourgeois intellectuals, agents of the C. I. A., we don't want you in Cuba," he was quoted as saying. "There's no room for you in Cuba, any more than there is for the U. P. I. and A. P. [the two American press agencies] . . . Cuba has no need for these shameless leftists, for these shameless Latin Americans who live in Paris, London, Rome, far from the battle."

Castro declared further: "The bourgeois liberals are at war with us. This is good news. They are going to be unmasked; they are going to be stripped naked."

He added: "We have the possibility of making an entire people creative and artistic."

He then stated: "From now on only genuine revolutionists will have the right to receive Cuban or international literary prizes and to sit on juries [that grant these awards]."

The same dispatch reported that the Cuban leader thanked the countries of the East for the aid they were sending to Cuba. He was especially appreciative of equipment sent by the Soviet Union that had enabled Cuba to increase the production of electricity by 50 percent.

# In Mexico City women's jail

From *Intercontinental Press*

In a follow-up to its January 22 exposé of exploitation and brutality in Lecumberri preventive prison for male common-law and political prisoners, on March 6 the Mexico City weekly *Sucesos Para Todos* presented the results of its investigation into conditions at Lecumberri's counterpart for females, the Cárcel de Mujeres (Women's Jail). Confined here are women arrested in the successive political repressions of the government, along with prisoners convicted of criminal charges. The same reporter, Eucario Pérez, wrote both stories.

Inasmuch as *Sucesos* had carried an earlier story critical of the prison, its warden, known as Tía Lulú (Aunt Lulu) to the inmates, "asked us to send a reporter to the prison so that she could defend her institution," Pérez wrote. "I decided to take on this job. Accompanied by the warden, as my account written at the time indicates, I looked around most of the prison. Several prisoners took it on themselves to approach me and tell me that Tía Lulú was like a 'second mother' to them. And no one expressed a single complaint. Despite this, and in spite of the warden's extreme caution, I was left alone a few minutes as I was walking through the nursery. Some prisoners seized this opportunity and slipped me notes which put me on the track of abuses."

Tía Lulú's tenderest affections, it turned out, were not reserved for the prisoners in her care. "Food costs its

weight in gold. Poor prisoners are given soup and crackers to eat. Only those who pay bribes get their full ration.

"There is a great abundance of food in good condition. On the order of the warden, it is given to the pigs she raises inside the prison compound. . . . The warden's crime of starving the prisoners to fatten her pigs is no secret. She herself shouts it out, telling the inmates that she is not giving them more food because her pigs need it. Moreover, there are thousands of witnesses."

The right of conjugal visits for prisoners was one of the most humane reforms achieved by the Mexican revolution. As the gains of the people were eaten away by capitalist corruption, the sexual needs of inmates were incorporated into the market economy, privacy being permitted only on payment of bribes. For women prisoners the right to conjugal visits does not exist even formally, and sexual traffic takes its most degrading forms.

"Officially there are no conjugal visits in the Cárcel de Mujeres. Unofficially, however, they do take place. The husbands of many prisoners pay for the privilege of being allowed to stay with their wives. The one who was able to pay the biggest bribe was the husband of La Viuda Negra [The Black Widow]. He went in and out of the prison at any hour, most frequently in the mornings, and stayed

with his wife in one of the nurseries that the warden had fixed up specially."

"It costs 300 pesos [US\$24] for husbands, or those who are just looking for female flesh, to get in."

Pérez's account of conditions in the Cárcel de Mujeres resembled his earlier description of the situation inside Lecumberri. Every aspect of prison life from "rehabilitative work" to vice has been turned into a profit-making business for the administration, the guards, and their stooges among the prisoners.

"There are many workshops and jobs for 'commissioned' prisoners. The right to work in a shop or get a commission costs money. But the exploitation does not end there. The prisoners don't get the tiniest part of what they earn. The warden gets the lion's share. She takes it under pretext of putting it in trust for the inmates until they leave. . . . And when they have been released and return for their money, they are cheated out of it. The guards hint to them about incriminating affairs that could cost them their freedom, and they don't try to claim their money."

"More drugs, marijuana, and pills are consumed in the Cárcel de Mujeres than at any other prison," Pérez wrote, "and whisky flows like water."

"Since no system is perfect, a few months ago it occurred to several guards to make a thorough search

of the prison to find out where the alcohol was coming from. To tell the truth, they did not do this out of humanitarian motives but with the aim of getting in on the business.

"The search was exhaustive, cell by cell, department by department, workshop by workshop. They found nothing. They kept on looking until they came to the warden's house next to the prison, where they found a stock of whisky in the kitchen drying room.

"This supply was taken by the guards and handed over to the head guard, Angelina Zapata, in the presence of Gloria Zermeño, the warden's assistant. The fate of these bottles is not known, but it seems that the two guards who found them . . . were immediately fired."

The Cárcel de Mujeres is a major market outlet for mind-deadening drugs of all types: "How does such a quantity of drugs reach the women's jail? In the simplest way imaginable. Right from factory to consumer. A truck from the Autry laboratories drives up periodically and leaves its cargo of dexedrine, amphetamines, and other chemical products used as drugs."

Besides being a rich source of income for prison officials, the drug traffic makes it easier for them to intimidate the desperate inmates: "In the solitary confinement cell, prisoners become frantic and suffer unspeakable torments, especially if they are drug addicts or alcoholics."



Mexican students protest in 1968. Women who were arrested in repressions which followed are confined to Mexico City's Carcel de Mujeres.

## Wave of Latin-American student protests

From *Intercontinental Press*

A sudden powerful wave of student protests welled up in three separate Latin American countries in the last week of April, reaching its high-water mark in Venezuela where it confronted the Caracas regime with one of its most serious crises since the early 1960s.

In each case, the students were defending the principle of university autonomy won by hard struggles early in this century. Ever since the beginning of the youth radicalization inspired by the Cuban revolution, the right of student self-government has been under concerted attack from imperialist and native bourgeois forces. In order to suppress active political life on Latin American campuses, these interests have tried to impose the model of the American "business-run university."

In Peru, according to an Agence

France-Press dispatch in the April 23 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, police arrested 100 persons in clashes with student demonstrators who were demanding reinstatement of several of their comrades expelled by the administration, as well as more university autonomy. After the protests broke out, the University of San Marcos in Lima was closed indefinitely.

In the wake of student demonstrations in Colombia, the army occupied three universities in Medellín and Bucaramanga in the department of Santander. In the former city, fifty persons were wounded in clashes between the protesters and the repressive forces, including twenty-three cops. Some 400 persons were arrested.

In Venezuela, where the protests were most extensive, the police fired at high-school students. One was killed and others were wounded on the first day of demonstrations. These violent

clashes developed April 21 when the national federation of secondary-school students called its members out on a general strike to protest the government's failure to reopen the University of Caracas (closed since October 1970), as well as the rise in the cost of living.

In renewed clashes April 22, police killed two more high-school students, wounding others. In response to continuing unrest, President Rafael Caldera threatened to call out the army to "restore order."

On Friday, April 23, fighting resumed for the third straight day. Another student was shot to death by police in Maracay, a town about 200 kilometers to the west of Caracas, while three others were wounded.

"The sudden flare-up of student violence, which has spread through the entire country, is probably the gravest crisis of this type since 1960," correspondent Norman Gall wrote in a

dispatch from Caracas published in the April 28 issue of *Le Monde*.

"In only a few days there have been at least ninety riots involving every city in Venezuela. About 800 persons have been arrested and ten have suffered bullet wounds. . . .

"Official circles express the greatest concern over these clashes. The continuing violence is in fact doing damage to Rafael Caldera's pacification policy and hurting his chances in the 1973 presidential elections. Up till now the ruling Social Christian party had succeeded in reducing political tension by granting amnesty to guerrillas who wanted to return to legality."

Gall placed the April outbreaks in the context of a rapidly widening youth revolt, which has become so broad, he wrote, that "even the Boy Scouts organized a sit-in in their national headquarters, accusing the Scout leaders of 'conservatism' and a 'lack of nationalist feeling.'"

# Florida farm workers score victories

By JOSE PEREZ

Florida farm workers have recently won a series of victories. The first was to have a number of counties in Southern Florida declared a "disaster area," thus making them eligible for federal relief. The second was substantial increases in the piece and hourly rates for South Florida farm workers following a one-day strike.

Both of the struggles behind these victories were spearheaded by Organized Migrants in Community Action (OMICA), an indigenous farm workers' organization set up as a nonprofit corporation and funded by private, church and foundation contributions.

Beginning in February, reports OMICA President Ramon Rodriguez, farm workers could find very little work because of freezes and the drought. Farm workers, who had expected the situation to improve in early March, were hit at the beginning of that month with another hard freeze, which destroyed their hopes.

At the first OMICA meeting after this freeze, on March 10, a telegram was sent to President Nixon requesting federal relief, and a public appeal was issued for food, clothing and money. During the next two days, 600 farm workers and their families occupied the offices of the federal food stamp program in Immokalee.

Plans were laid at another mass meeting March 17 for a march to President Nixon's Florida White House to again ask him to declare a number of areas in South Florida a disaster area. About 2,000 participated in the march that weekend. The public pressure which it sparked prompted Nixon to declare South Florida a disaster area a few days later, on March 24.

In addition, a "Mainstream" program was initiated, the purpose of which was to provide employment to jobless workers.

Almost immediately, the growers started to put pressure to have both programs discontinued. The Mainstream program was terminated on April 9 despite the fact that 300 farm workers had gone in person to the County Commission to ask that it be continued.

On April 14, OMICA held another mass meeting. There was strong sentiment to call a strike against the growers, but it was decided not to do so at that time because the farm workers felt there would be little chance of winning it with the season nearly over.

Beginning on April 16, however, there were a number of disorganized wildcat strikes by farm workers who refused to work for starvation wages (\$10.50 to \$12 a day). Nearly every day, several crews would refuse to move from the Immokalee loading docks until they were offered \$14 a day. All of these wildcat strikes were quashed as a result of scabs being recruited from the local community and surrounding towns.

Then, on April 26, a mass meeting of OMICA attended by 1,000 workers called for a strike against all the growers in three counties surrounding Immokalee. All loading docks in Immokalee were to be picketed and leafleted, and the biggest grower in Florida, A. Dudas and Sons, Inc., was to be picketed and shut down completely.

Immediately, the small growers, who could ill afford the loss of not having their crops picked after a very bad season, raised wages to what the farm workers were asking.

More than 200 picketers surrounded the main

entrance to Dudas' ranch #6, and a busload of farm workers Dudas had brought in to break the strike turned back upon seeing their fellow workers. All the loading docks at Immokalee were shut down, and no buses went out except to those growers who were paying what the farm workers were demanding.

Within one day, Dudas and all the other major growers had given in to the farm workers' demands. Rates for piecework were raised from 25-35 cents a box to 35-50 cents a box.

These are important victories for the farm workers. The battle to force Nixon to grant disaster-area aid was literally one of life and death for many workers and their families. The strike was even more important, although it did not ask for or get a regular union contract.

Most important, in the opinion of the strike leaders, were the lessons the farm workers learned from the strike. "It looks like there might be strikes all over the Eastern fields this year as these workers move north in a few weeks," said one. Another, Ramon Rodriguez, when asked what he considered the greatest aspect of the strike, replied: "The greatest thing? The feeling of community, of solidarity. Blacks from Mississippi and whites from Georgia distributing leaflets and picketing together, side by side."

OMICA, in addition to serving as a spearhead for a mass movement of farmworkers, is engaged in a number of projects to help farm workers survive. Among these are an emergency free food program, a free clothing program, and a cooperative food store, which has just opened. Funds, clothing and food may be sent to OMICA, P. O. Box 760, Immokalee, Fla. 33934.

## The National Picket Line

A Canadian friend mailed us an account of a speech by a General Motors official who went there from Detroit to explain some hopes, needs and problems of the giant international auto trust.

George B. Morris Jr., a labor-relations director for GM, spoke to the Empire Club of Canada in Toronto April 29. According to the report in the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, Morris made the following observations and complaints:

\* "International unions today find that their own self-interest in many areas coincides with the interests of management.

\* "Unions today are part of the establishment and, like management, find themselves under pressure from factions and self-interest groups within their membership.

\* "Among these special interest groups are the young (GM has more than 100,000 employees in North America under 25 years of age), the other employees, women, minorities and the politically motivated, he said.

\* "To deal with these problems, GM and the UAW agreed in the 1970 negotiations to undertake a joint orientation program for new hires. Union participation in the program offers exciting prospects for improving attendance—among the company's most vexing problems today.

\* "Mr. Morris said he was shocked at the findings of an opinion poll released this week that showed that 34 percent of the public rejected the idea that wage gains need be financed out of higher productivity and only 37 percent agreed on the need to produce more to improve their standard of living.

\* "Workers resist technological advances and 'this resistance, especially in assembly operations, takes the form of slowdowns and challenges to new production standards set by management.'"

Morris' speech clearly shows how corporate management would like to make the unions part of the establishment, that is, convert them into company unions. They identify unions with the business-minded bureaucrats who lead them, forgetting that the dues payers are the most important part of the union movement, just as they are the indispensable part of production.

Profits are manipulated and maintained through monopoly control of prices without direct relation to production costs. An example of this is

the May 5 announcement by the United States Steel Corporation of a 6.25 percent boost in the price of steel. This is the third jump in steel prices this year.

If you ask corporate heads of the steel trust why they raise prices now, they will argue that production costs are up. Their real reason is anticipation of a new wage settlement with the United Steelworkers of America.

The steel trust hopes to take advantage of an inventory buildup by the auto industry and others who are buying up large steel supplies now in case of a steel strike later this year.

When a new wage settlement is reached in the steel industry, this will be the excuse for another big jump in steel prices.

Auto prices go up with each advance in the price of steel.

The auto barons and their minions deplore wage raises and denounce undisciplined workers, but they accept price increases as inevitable and take high profits as a natural right.

Both Ford and GM reaped a big profit harvest for the first three months of this year. Ford took \$169.2-million, 36 percent more than the first-quarter profits a year ago. General Motors did better, as always. This corporation raked in a \$610-million profit for the first quarter this year, up 75 percent from last year.

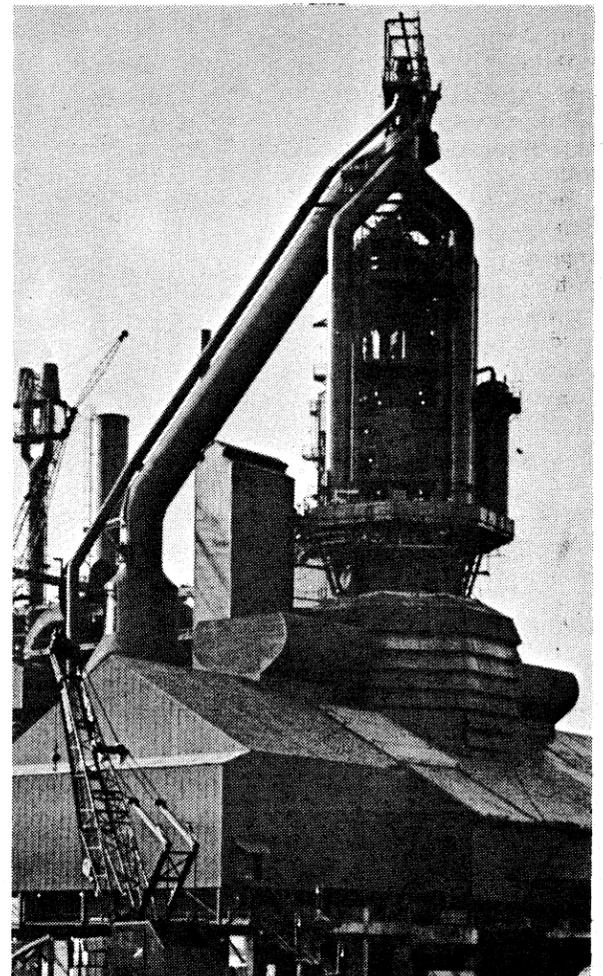
Those who manage the corporate interests looked after themselves too. They have a quarterly lay-away plan—\$37-million this time for executive bonuses.

These facts about corporate management and profits, which most workers are conscious of in a general way, explain why a very high percentage of people reject the idea that wage gains need to come from higher productivity. Wage gains can be taken out of bloated profits.

Union officials, aware of the injustices of this society and subject to the social unrest generated by them, are seeking to shirk the responsibility assigned them by big business management. The May 6 *Wall Street Journal* reports an interview with I. W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America, concerning negotiations this year with the steel trust, and concludes:

"The 62-year-old Mr. Abel, entering his sixth year as USW president, makes clear that he approaches these talks with a new outlook. His changed attitude apparently has been forged out of membership dissatisfaction with the 1968 contract, the obviously high expectations of steelworkers in this year's talks, and signs of a more volatile political atmosphere in the union."

— FRANK LOVELL



Bethlehem blast furnach at Burns Harbor. Steel prices and profits are going up.

# China welcomes Shah's sister

From Intercontinental Press

The leaders of the Chinese government obviously felt that they had scored another brilliant diplomatic coup. In addition to being the first and most enthusiastic at applauding Pakistani dictator Yahya Khan's massacre of unarmed Bengalis, during April the Maoist regime took a big step toward a diplomatic alliance with the shah of Iran.

Ashraf Pahlavi, sister of the feudal monarch, visited four Chinese cities



Her Highness Ashraf Pahlavi

April 14-19, and was wined and dined as a representative of the Iranian people.

Hsinhua, the Chinese government news agency, described the arrival of the "distinguished guest":

"Her Royal Highness Princess Ashraf Pahlavi, sister of His Majesty Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the Shahanshah of Iran, arrived here [Peking] by special plane today [April 14] for a friendly visit, at the invitation of the Chinese government. . . .

"The distinguished Iranian guests were given a warm welcome at the airport by Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier of the State Council; Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Members of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Shih Liang, Lo Shu-chang and Lin Chiao-chih; and responsible members of the government departments concerned, the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries. . . . Children presented bouquets to the princess."

"Her Royal Highness" was received by Premier Chou En-lai on the afternoon of her arrival.

"During the meeting," Hsinhua reported, "Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and N.P.C. Vice-Chairman Kuo Mo-jo warmly shook hands with the Princess and the members of her entourage. . . . Guests and hosts were photographed together and had a cordial and friendly conversation."

Although the royal guest was treated to banquets and bouquets everywhere she went, the high point of her trip must have been the banquet Chou gave in her honor the night of April

14. The speech-making, to judge from Hsinhua's report, was conducted on a *quid pro quo* basis:

"Premier Chou En-lai and Princess Ashraf Pahlavi proposed toasts at the banquet. Premier Chou En-lai toasted the health of His Majesty Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the Shahanshah of Iran, and the Princess toasted the health of the leader of China Chairman Mao Tsetung, the founder and leader of the Chinese People's Republic."

As Mao's top diplomat, Chou is an old hand at discovering "progressive" features in bourgeois dictators like the Pakistani butcher Yahya Khan. Chou undoubtedly made use of this experience in pursuing an alliance with the "progressive" feudalists.

If there had been "fewer contacts" between China and Iran recently, Chou said, this was "a result of imperialist obstructions and sabotage." The Maoist government recognized that the shah was in the vanguard of struggle against imperialism:

". . . the Chinese people have always followed with interest and attention the Iranian people's efforts in their struggle against foreign aggression and for national construction. In order to safeguard state sovereignty and protect their national resources, Iran, together with other members of the organization of petroleum exporting countries, have [sic] recently waged effective struggles against the Western imperialist oil monopoly consortiums and won victory. We express support to your just struggle and sincere congratulations on your victory."

Chou went on to assure his royal guest that Mao Tsetung Thought provides for peaceful coexistence with feudalism as well as capitalism:

"The ten principles formulated at the [1955] Bandung Conference have provided a good basis for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. We are deeply convinced that guided by the Bandung principles, there are prospects for the development of the relations between China and Iran. The present visit of Her Royal Highness the Princess and the other distinguished Iranian guests to our country is a gesture of friendship to our people. . . . We hope that your visit will contribute to the enhancement of the understanding and friendship between our two peoples and to the gradual development of the friendly relations between our two countries."

Chou tactfully refrained from mentioning such features of Iran's different social system as the execution of political prisoners after secret trials. Presumably it would not have contributed to the enhancement of understanding and friendship to allude to the thirteen pro-Chinese Communists shot by a firing squad in Teheran on March 17. Nor did the Chinese premier suggest that the gradual development of friendly relations would be hastened by an end to the executions.

For her part, Ashraf Pahlavi was sure that her brother would be able to coexist peacefully with a government willing to overlook the reactionary and brutal character of his rule:

"Personal contact such as ours here today, inevitably lead [sic] to dialogue. Dialogue may in turn lead to understanding, and understanding can subsequently find a path to friendship."

"I know that, through this unpretentious visit, we already have taken the first step in that direction."

## Naxalites reverse stand on Bangla Desh

From Intercontinental Press

The Naxalites in West Bengal have shown that the rigidity ordinarily demanded of protagonists of Mao Tsetung Thought must on occasion be complemented by the most extraordinary suppleness, particularly of the spine.

Peking's decision to support Yahya Khan in his effort to drown the independence movement of Bangla Desh in blood, brought an instant reversal in the position of the Naxalites. According to an April 23 dispatch from Calcutta printed in the April 24 London *Times*, Naxalite posters were ap-

pearing in the city "denouncing the 'so-called upheaval'" in Bangla Desh as an "imperialist conspiracy against China."

According to the same source, a similar shift is occurring among the Maoists in Bangla Desh itself.

"It is reliably learnt," said the *Times* dispatch, "that Maoist extremists in East Bengal led by Mr. Mohammed Toha have broken away from the united resistance movement against the military administration of West Pakistan."

The argument used by the local Maoists in Bangla Desh is that the

main contradiction "is not between East Bengal and West Pakistan but between feudalism and the oppressed classes in East Bengal itself."

The Toha grouping, which broke from the National Awami party about two years ago, had been weighing the advisability of joining a common front of all forces in Bangla Desh seeking freedom from West Pakistan and willing to struggle against the military repression.

"Some of its young cadres were active in the early days of the resistance," the *Times* reported. "But evidently the

group has changed its mind after China's renewed support for the regime of President Yahya Khan."

The National Awami party, on the other hand, has decided to back the liberation movement even though it has little confidence in the current leadership provided by the Awami League.

Maulana Bhashani, the head of the National Awami party, has sent telegrams to President Nixon and Chairman Mao Tsetung, urging them to recognize Bangla Desh and force the West Pakistan regime to stop the massacre.

## New Haitian president goes to church

From Intercontinental Press

In his first speech to the National Assembly April 29, Haiti's new President for Life, Jean-Claude Duvalier, promised that he would "protect Haitian youth against atheistic Communism."

The president, it must be admitted, at the age of nineteen is in a better situation than many to understand the temptations facing youth. Earlier the same day, Duvalier set a pious example for his compatriots by attending a memorial mass for his late father, who was noted for his ecumenical attitude toward Catholicism, Voodoo, and police terror.

Suitable precautions were taken to

ensure that the church would not be desecrated by any lurking atheists with thoughts of shortening the term of the President for Life. The roofs of slums surrounding the cathedral were covered with soldiers. The church itself was even more carefully guarded, Homer Bigart reported in the April 30 *New York Times*:

"Probably no cathedral had ever held a mass under such intensive security precautions. There were soldiers in the choir loft, soldiers and militia volunteers crowding the aisles. There was even a rifleman in the pulpit."

Additional deterrents to atheism were available in the cathedral square in the form of two artillery pieces

and an anti-aircraft gun.

News reports unfortunately failed to record the theme of the priest's sermon—or even whether he was armed—but it must have concerned the subject of Christian brotherhood, for in his address to the assembly, Duvalier was moved to offer his hand to another statesman who is fond of stressing his religious beliefs while arming to the teeth.

Between his government and Nixon's, Duvalier said, "there is an aura of mutual respect," based, of course, on opposition to atheistic subversion:

"The United States will always find Haiti on its side against Communism."



Jean-Claude Duvalier

# In Review

## Books

**Prelude to Revolution: France in May 1968** by Daniel Singer. Hill and Wang. New York, 1970. 434 pp. \$2.95 paper.

In May 1968, France stood on the brink of revolution. Ten million workers were out on general strike. The question of state power was clearly being posed. The manner in which this situation came about and the reasons why it did not culminate in the overturn of French capitalism are the focus of this study.

"The main message of the May crisis is unmistakable: A revolutionary situation can occur in an advanced capitalist country," Singer states at the outset. "Not just a *putsch*, a change of rulers or of regime, but revolution. Not in backward Asia or explosive Latin America, but in the heart of allegedly affluent Europe. Students have rebelled on all continents from Berkeley to Tokyo. Only in France, so far, has their rebellion spread to industrial workers, precipitating the biggest general strike France has ever known and, by the same token, raising the question of power in the country."

Singer points out that "the huge general strike was the outcome of accumulated discontent, itself the product of the conditions under which people work and live. What may come as a shock is that such conditions are the West European rule, not a French exception."

The French events demonstrated why mass movements need political leadership: "The spontaneous forces carried the movement as far as they could against the opposition of all official establishments. There was, however, no party, no body, no organization to take over and carry the movement to its logical conclusion—that is, the seizure of power."

Singer details the reasons why the massive French Communist Party was unable and unwilling to perform this role. Trained in the Stalinist school of parliamentary reformism and complacent trade-union office-holding, the French CP was and is incapable of playing the role of revolutionary vanguard. Incorrectly, however, Singer argues that "bewilderment rather than betrayal provides the key to Communist action. Amid the classical accusations, turned into clichés through repetition, 'parliamentary cretinism' fits better the conduct of the French Communist leadership than 'revolution betrayed.'"

Singer notwithstanding, "betrayal" is still the best word for the role of the French Communist Party during the May events, as the very facts cited by Singer demonstrate. It was no accident that after the May events, the CP ran as the "party of order" in de Gaulle's hastily called general elections. There was a very conscious reformism.

The elections were intended to bring the workers back into reliance on the "orderly" processes of the bourgeois democratic forms, and this is precisely what the CP wanted.

The groups to the left of the CP were all too small to assume the political leadership of the May 1968 struggle once it left the confines of the student movement and took root in the working class. Nevertheless, much can be learned from how the various "far left" groups performed during the crisis—taking into account their initial limitations of size and influence. An examination of the different ways in which the Trotskyists, Maoists and anarchists tried to propel the movement forward is crucial to any serious evaluation of how to construct the kind of political leadership that will be able to win. Unfortunately, Singer's book does not do this. And while this may be the only important aspect of the May events that he fails to take up, his failure to do so is a serious shortcoming.

Singer's analysis of the meaning of the French crisis falters when he discusses the kind of organization that is needed to assure revolutionary victory. He apparently believes (although this section of his argument is somewhat ambiguously formulated) that some sort of ongoing close coordination of Trotskyist, Maoist and anarchist currents, rather than a democratic centralist vanguard party, is the optimum form of leadership.

How such a disparate amalgam could be held together—even if it were possible or desirable—he does not say.

While most of Singer's book is valuable and worth reading, it should be pointed out that he quickly skims over this crucial question of how to construct the kind of organization that can lead future Mays to a successful completion.

Singer takes up the aftermath of the French events in the last section of his book. Here he puts the politics of France into the context of recent world history, taking up the degeneration of the Soviet Union under Stalin and the negative effect this had on the world Communist movement. He goes on to make a very cogent analysis of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. He loses his bearings, however, when he takes up the question of China. He completely fails to recognize the overwhelming evidence that China under Mao is ruled by a bureaucratic caste: "Maoism can be described as a tremendous effort to guide China on its long march toward socialism so that it will not get bogged down in bureaucratic marshes as Russia has done."

Beginning with this false premise, Singer's comments on Chinese foreign policy and its role within the international Communist movement are decidedly incorrect.

—ARTHUR MAGLIN



Militant student contingent in May 29, 1968, demonstration in Paris

## Film

**Love Story.** Directed by Arthur Hiller. Written by Erich Segal. Starring Ali MacGraw and Ryan O'Neal. Paramount Pictures.

*Love Story* emerges as a good study of the bourgeois personality and family. In fact, the father/son relationship eclipses the Barrett IV/Cavillieri "love story," if that is what one wants to call this make-up cry, make-up laugh soap opera. *Love Story* is the account of a love/hate alliance between a father and his son—not a love affair between two college students of different social backgrounds. The manly heroine, Jennifer Cavillieri, exists as almost a nonperson among all the psychological distortions that blob together to become *Love Story*.

She is as supercilious and haughty about her Italian lower-class background as the Barretts are arrogant and proud of their family traditions. Erich Segal, the author and a Yale professor, presents us with an idealization that is hardly to the advantage of either social class. But, Jennifer's background is an advantage as far as Oliver Barrett is concerned. She represents the exact opposite of his mother and therein lies her value as the ideal mate for the scion of a great family.

The hero, like most young people, is in quest of fulfillment and life, but he never severs his family ties and becomes the person he desperately wants to be. Oliver Barrett is and always will remain in a class apart, a hothouse plant that cannot survive out among the dandelions and crab grass. He senses his weaknesses, but the conflict is so imposing that he must return again and again to the privileges of his class.

Upon learning of the approaching death of his wife, for example, he panics and asks his father for a loan (we can't have the heroine terminating in a Bellevue ward like common folk!). He also has the audacity to ask for a scholarship from the Harvard law faculty, making his family conflict a public issue that his father wins because he is rejected for a scholarship. Upon graduation,

Oliver Barrett IV lands a job at one of the best New York law firms. Thus, he has never abandoned, even for an instant, the community of his father and family.

As Jennifer Cavillieri says, ". . . in a crazy way you also love my negative social status." "I can't pass judgment, Ollie. I just think it's part of it. I know I love not only you yourself. I love your name. And your numeral."

The elder Barrett cannot love his son because of the excessive demands he feels a good parent must make in order to guard his class status. He looks for his son to carry on family tradition just as he in his youth did, and he only vaguely senses the lack or void in his own personality (to be sure, there was a poor girl in his youth that he once loved), and he now looks to his son for the fulfillment he never felt. Their obsession with achievements (within their own structured framework) illustrates how the rich are groomed to command.

In spite of all the bravado, we know that Oliver Barrett IV has, willfully or not, accepted the privileges of his class (specialized education, prep schools, vacations in Europe, the company of educated people, a good diet, doctors, dentists, vitamins, etc.). But, can an Italian girl destroy his father and his elitist, snobbish, antidemocratic family and educational background? It is never a contest! The marriage always remains just a spiteful act against his family and his father.

If you liked Theodore Dreiser's *An American Tragedy*, published in 1925, then you will like *Love Story*, because it, in parts, strongly parallels that great novel. But, at least Dreiser attempted to analyze the repression inherent in a society based upon class relationships. *Love Story* belongs to the escapist school of film-making and writing. It shows nothing more than the sterile lives of "beautiful people" trapped in a society that doesn't really need or want them.

—GARRET ORMISTON

# Boyle's antiunion record is exposed

By MARVEL SCHOLL

All of the sins of W.A. Boyle, president of the United Mine Workers, trustee of the union's Welfare and Pension Fund, and co-director of the UMW-owned National Bank of Washington, D. C., seem to be coming to roost on his head at one time.

On April 28, Federal Judge Gerhard Gesell handed down his decision in the \$75-million conspiracy suit brought by the Disabled Miners and Widows Association. Judge Gesell agreed with almost every contention of the plaintiffs in this case. His one unfavorable ruling related to the number of years the conspiracy had been going on. He placed a limitation of three years.

Under the ruling, Boyle and Miss Josephine Roche, an 80-year-old former cohort of John L. Lewis, must resign as trustees of the pension fund. All monies of the fund now held in the National Bank must be redeposited in banks not connected with the union.

He held that while the union pension fund had been "a principal and continuing participant" in the conspiracy to enrich both the bank and the international union, the penalties to be imposed on June 26 would be paid to the fund, rather than assessed against its treasury.

Boyle's attorneys announced immediately that they would appeal the decision.

During this same period, an election was held in the UMW District 5—Pittsburgh and western Pennsylvania. The reelection of Michael Budzanoski and secretary-treasurer John Seddon was contested by the Miner's for Democracy slate headed by Louis Antal. The first count showed Antal winning by 514 votes. Boyle ordered a recount, including 1,400 absentee ballots still sealed. (This is the first time in the union's history that absentee ballots have ever been counted.) Of course, Budzanoski and his slate won on the recount.

But the FBI immediately stepped in and impounded the absentee ballots, which are now being checked for forgeries.

On May 6, a federal jury found both Budzanoski and Seddon guilty of "a union conspiracy to divert funds" into the 1969 reelection campaign of W.A. Boyle. If this conviction holds up under a planned appeal, it can carry prison sentences of one year or \$10,000 fine against each man. More than that, they will be unable to hold

union office for five years under federal law.

Last March 30, a federal grand jury indicted Boyle, John Owens (international secretary-treasurer), and James Kmetz (director of Labor's Nonpartisan League) on charges of making \$49,250 worth of illegal political contributions from the union's general funds. Some of this money is alleged to have gone to the election campaign of Hubert Humphrey.

Six years ago, charges were filed with the Labor Department citing the fact that 19 out of the 23 UMW districts were held in receiverships, thus depriving the membership of these districts of the right to elect their own officers or conduct their own affairs. This case gathered dust in the Labor Department but has now been resurrected and turned over to the Justice Department for indictments and prosecution.

This seeming plethora of evils, which has now been revealed and is being used against Boyle and Co. by the federal government, contains within it so many actual crimes committed against the rank and file of the union that the complete list may never be compiled.

But to name a few:

- Boyle was handpicked by John L. Lewis to succeed him as international president when Lewis decided to retire in 1960. Boyle was trained by Lewis in all the right methods of keeping a membership under control. He has added a few refinements to John L.'s dictatorial methods.

- There are 1,200 locals in the international union—600 of them ghost locals, illegal under the UMW constitution. A ghost local is composed of less than eight working miners. Pensioners, who keep their monthly income only at the sufferance of the international's leadership, make up most of these 600 locals. Yet they wield as much power in international executive board elections as do all the rest of the union locals. Before his murder in December 1969, and after his defeat in the November elections, Joseph Yablonski charged that the Boyle machine had sent two and three times as many ballots to the ghost locals as they had members and that all of these ballots came back marked for Boyle.

- During the mid-60s, when the coal industry was still in the doldrums (before it was discovered that cheap coal was the best fuel for making electricity) two things happened to the Wel-



Courier-Journal photo by Tom Hardin/the Southern Patriot

**Awaiting identifications in the morgue, following the Hyden, Ky., explosion that killed 39 miners last December.**

fare and Pension Fund. The large coal mine owners stopped paying their 40 cents per ton royalty. A large number of small mines (hill and truck mines) were opened. Strip mining was begun. None of these new mining operations were organized into the UMW. The large operators began buying coal from the nonunion mines, thus avoiding the royalty tonnage payments. The fund began to run dry.

- Instead of forcing the contractual operators to pay the royalty, Boyle announced that six of the Hazard County union-operated hospitals would be shut down. The miners went on strike, both against their welching employers and against the bureaucracy's decision to shut down the hospitals.

Boyle broke the strike and expelled all six locals involved.

- Thousands of miners who thought they were eligible for a pension have either been denied this benefit or have lost it—generally on technicalities—after opposition to Boyle in one form or another.

- During 1969, the Black Lung Association in West Virginia and Kentucky tried to force the state legislatures to include this deadly and disabling disease under workmen's compensation. There were dozens of so-

called wildcat strikes in the whole of Appalachia on this question. Boyle denounced the strikes and threatened the strikers with reprisals—expulsion.

- During the congressional hearings on the 1969 Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, Boyle used most of his testimony to attack his own dissident members who were urging the union to support the Safety Act and to strengthen it.

- Now that the 1969 Safety Act is actually law of the land, it is not being enforced. Mine owners have the act tied up in litigation which will take years to clear the court calendars. Boyle could call a strike for the enforcement of this new law, but refuses.

Instead he limits himself to weak-worded protests in the United Mine Workers Journal—and uses the royal "we" throughout.

These are but a few of the more blatant crimes the dictator Boyle and his fellow bureaucrats have committed against the rank and file of the United Mine Workers.

If ever a union membership had the right to anger against its own "leadership," it is the UMW rank and file. What is left of this once powerful union will be saved only by the aroused miners—in the same way the union was originally organized.

# Cafeteria workers settle at U of Penn

By MARC BEDNER

PHILADELPHIA, May 11—A strike by cafeteria workers at the University of Pennsylvania, protesting Penn's plans to lay off three-fourths of the workers during the summer, was settled today after building and grounds workers came out in support of the strike.

On the previous day, Penn students held a rally at the library in support of the striking union, Local 54 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. The library was closed when Local 590, representing nonprofessional employees there, honored Local 54's picket line.

The cafeteria workers, who earn an average of less than \$3,300 for a 12-month year, also demanded to be

covered by the health insurance that protects other Penn workers. Their third demand was the reinstatement of Janet Dubinsky, who was fired for organizing an AFSCME local at the university's computer center.

The partial victory won by the union obtained the reinstatement of Dubinsky and the agreement that at least 54 of the 96 workers that were to be laid off would be kept on. The others are to be granted three weeks' leave pay with a promise to try to find them summer employment.

Local 54 had been on strike since May 6 when it closed down the cafeterias. Picket lines of workers and students were honored by the Teamsters, who normally make deliveries there.

The university claimed that it could

not afford to keep the cafeterias open during the summer, and that it must lay off 96 of the 155 workers. The employees are not eligible for unemployment compensation.

The newsletter put out by the student strike committee replied: "Employees need not suffer any pay loss, since reviewing of the university's books, if demanded, would doubtless reveal a thousand new priorities which would put people before things, the poor before the wealthy, and education before service to the state." It points out that professors are paid for a full year, even though they do not work during the summer.

The university did not announce the layoffs until the students were in finals, but hundreds of students have parti-

icipated in rallies, pickets and other activities supporting the first strike ever held at Penn.

Unorganized workers on campus have also been building the strike. One of the most active of these workers has been Jean Savage, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Philadelphia. "I feel that it is the responsibility of all mayoral candidates to actively support the strike of Local 54 for a decent standard of living," she stated.

She challenged other mayoral candidates to join her on the picket lines, and to help build support for the strike.

Local 54 is now looking toward the June expiration of its present contract when it enters negotiations with the university.

# Calendar

# ...Black

Continued from page 8

colm developed quite an extensive program for the day-to-day struggles of Blacks, the "Program for the Organization of Afro-American Unity" (in *By Any Means Necessary*, Pathfinder Press). And his strategic concepts and demands are being applied today in struggles of Blacks and other oppressed people throughout this country.

Malcolm's program was elaborated upon, brought more up-to-date, and systematized by the SWP in the *Transitional Program for Black Liberation*.

If Monteiro had read the SWP's program, he would have learned something. It is "to be noted about these demands that they have either already appeared in the Black communities, in some instances with quite broad backing, or they are easily understood and appreciated by wide groups and, with correct leadership, could serve as rallying slogans for very massive struggles. This is a first prerequisite for any program for revolutionary struggle. That is, above all, the program must be based on the objective needs of Black people."

# ...May 5

Continued from page 12

cil 37, AFSCME. The rally also heard speakers from the Asian Coalition, the SMC Gay Task Force, Angela Davis Defense Committee, and other groups.

A rally of more than 1,000 at the Wayne State University campus in Detroit climaxed a day of activity in which more than half a dozen high schools were closed down by antiwar strikes organized by the SMC and high school student governments.

A memorial service for last year's victims drew 7,000 students at Kent State on May 4. A May 4 Cincinnati action attracted 400. Actions took place in two other Ohio cities May 5. In Cleveland, a march and rally of 1,000, endorsed by the student government at Case Western Reserve University and the student president at Cleveland State University, heard a number of speakers, including John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland.

The main speaker at a May 5 rally on the campus of Ohio State University in Columbus was Socialist Workers Party leader Peter Camejo. The 1,000 students at the rally repeatedly cheered Camejo during an hour-long speech in which he urged people to break with the Democratic and Republican parties and stressed the power of independent mass action.

Leon Page of the Cairo Black United Front, SMC National Field Secretary Don Gurewitz, and Los Angeles Chicana activist Olga Rodriguez addressed a rally of 1,200 at the University of Washington in Seattle, sponsored by the SMC.

A rally of 2,000 in Philadelphia was cosponsored by the local Peace Action Coalition, SMC, and the American Civil Liberties Union's Operation Challenge. Among the speakers was the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, executive secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

According to the May 6 *New York Times*, there were also actions in San Francisco; Madison, Wis.; Denver; Albuquerque, N.M.; and Santa Barbara, Calif.

Actions were also planned in Atlanta, Chicago, Miami and other cities, but no reports are available from these areas as of this writing.

In Salt Lake City, more than 1,400 high school students walked out of 11 schools on May 5 and many more just boycotted school that day. Those who walked out did so in the face of intimidation from authorities. For example, at Cottonwood High School cops in 19 patrol cars threatened to arrest the more than 100 students who ignored the threats to protest the war. Rain diminished the attendance at a rally later in the day, but the students, organized in a group called The Common People, are building for a May 15 demonstration in Salt Lake City. All 1,400 have been put on a suspension list.

The wholesale arrests of demonstrators and young people in Washington, D.C., during the actions sponsored by the Mayday Tribe, led to restrictions that forced cancellation of an evening rally at George Washington University. There were actions at a number of high schools and colleges in the Washington-Maryland area earlier in the day, however.

SMC National Coordinator Debby Bustin released a statement early on May 5 condemning the cops' indiscriminate arrests and violence. The statement said, in part: "We call upon

the Nixon administration to drop charges against all those arrested and to release immediately all those still in jail or detention compounds. . . .

"On schools and campuses around the country today, the student antiwar movement is telling the warmakers: 'No more Kents! No more Jacksons! Free the Washington, D. C., 12,000! Bring All the Troops Home Now!'"

# ...Rogers

Continued from page 24

over \$30-million in military aid alone since last year's war against the Palestinians. "This aid has included artillery, a great deal of ammunition, and later-type tanks than the more than 50 . . . tanks lost in that fighting," the *Christian Science Monitor* reported May 4. "Deliveries of a second squadron to supplement Jordan's existing one of 18 F-104 fighter-interceptors are also reported to have begun. At least one U. S. Army mobile weapons team has long been assigned to the Jordanian Army." Several of these U. S. troops were captured by the Palestinians during the 1970 conflict.

The *Monitor* went on to state, "As other Arab capitals see it, the growing U. S. military commitment in Jordan is a sure sign that King Hussein is preparing for peace not war with Israel. . . .

"Cairo, Damascus, and the Palestinians all share a concern that the United States aims to eliminate the remaining Palestinian forces. . . . Cairo and Damascus feel that . . . [in a war with Israel] a U. S.-equipped Jordanian Army might oppose the forces of the proposed new federation of Egypt, Syria, and Libya."

The contradictions of the policy of Sadat—attempting to use U. S. diplomatic pressure to attain his aims while the U. S. is arming both Israel and the most reactionary Arab states—illustrates the bankruptcy of the policies of Egyptian leaders. Instead of depending on imperialist maneuvers, the Egyptian government should depend on the arming and mobilization of the Arab masses.

In light of Israeli demands on the U. S. and Rogers' "guarantees" to Lebanon and Jordan, antiwar fighters in the U. S. should be prepared to oppose any U. S. moves to "Vietnamize" the Middle East.

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# THE MILITANT

## Rogers' Mideast tour changes little

By TONY THOMAS

MAY 12—The recent tour of U. S. Secretary of State William Rogers to Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Lebanon exposed the difficulties faced by U. S. imperialism in attempting to work out a "peaceful solution" to the results of the 1967 war between Israel and the Arab peoples. Rogers' talks with Israeli, Lebanese and Jordanian leaders heightened the possibility of U. S. military intervention in the Middle East.

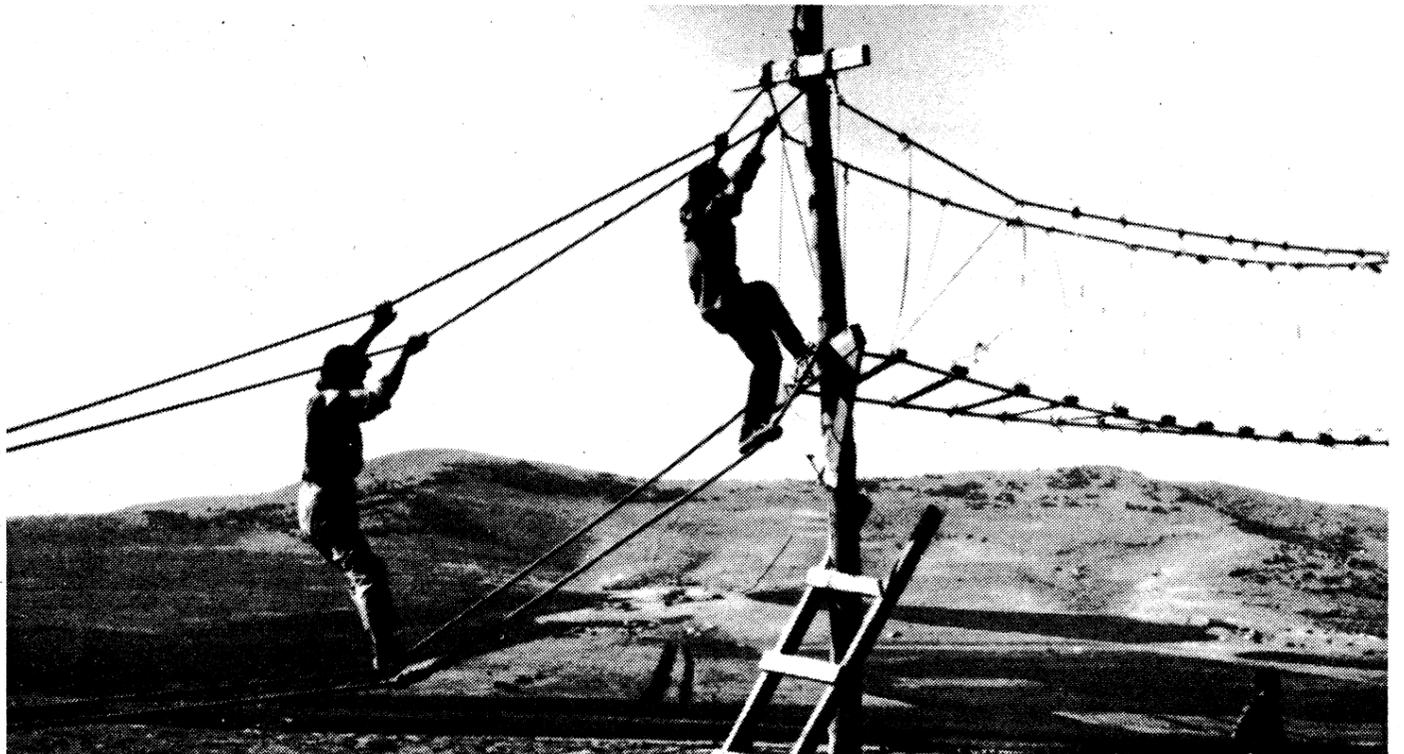
Rogers' chief concern was the opening of the Suez Canal, which has been closed since the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and which is the current dividing line between Egyptian forces and the Israeli occupation army in Egypt. Except for making a lot of noise, however, Rogers accomplished nothing in this matter.

The Egyptian government and other Arab regimes have accepted the U. S.-Soviet proposal for a peace with Israel based on return to the pre-1967 borders with a few "minor" alterations in favor of Israel.

In return, they promise to support the "sovereignty and security" of Israel, which is a direct attack on the struggle of the Palestinian people to destroy the Zionist state. The Egyptians have even proposed that U. S., British and French imperialist troops be brought in to guard Israeli borders.

Egypt's President Sadat's proposal on the canal is that the Israelis withdraw to Al Arish 115 miles away as part of a general Israeli withdrawal from U. A. R. territory within six months (*Christian Science Monitor*, May 12). Sadat has banked on U. S. diplomatic pressure to win these demands.

Israel, on the other hand, has "so far insisted that no Egyptian soldiers must return to the canal's east bank and that Israeli withdrawal must be only a few miles—within artillery range." (*Monitor*, May 6.) Israel is willing to make a more sizable withdrawal if the "U. S. in return . . . re-



Military training for Palestinian guerrillas

Photo by Nick Medvecky/LNS

gard any Egyptian attempt to cross the canal as a legitimate excuse for Israel to go to war immediately, and that, in such a case, the Nixon administration would solidly support Israel." (*Newsweek*, May 10.)

U. S. spokesmen have rejected this demand, not because the U. S. has changed its policy of being prepared to go to war to defend the Zionist state against destruction, but because such a public statement would undermine U. S. prestige among the Arab rulers. Also, given the heightened anti-war consciousness in the U. S., Washington is not anxious to publicly commit itself to future imperialist wars.

No major changes in this situation were brought about by Rogers' trip.

In Beirut Rogers was met by a massive demonstration of the Palestinian and Lebanese people. "Some

10,000 people marched through the streets of the city in an orderly demonstration protesting the visit," the *New York Times* reported May 4. "The demonstrators carried cloth effigies of Mr. Rogers and King Hussein of Jordan, whom they denounced as an oppressor of the Palestinian people. They also waved placards in English and Arabic that read 'Rogers go Home!' and 'No to Rogers, Yes to Fateh,' the largest Palestinian guerrilla organization." The *Times* claimed the demonstration was organized by the "Palestinian Students Organization," by which they probably mean the General Union of Palestinian Students.

In Lebanon, Rogers stated that the U. S. would guarantee the sovereignty of Lebanon. Since the record shows that the U. S. has stood idly by for years as the Israelis have launched raid after raid on Lebanese territory

but was quite able to send U. S. forces to Lebanon when the pro-imperialist regime of Lebanon was threatened in the late 1950s, it is clear what Rogers meant.

The danger of a confrontation between the Lebanese government and the Lebanese masses has increased since the September 1970 civil war in Jordan after which many of the Palestinian commandos shifted their operations to Lebanon.

Rogers also made similar "guarantees" when he visited Jordan, focal point of confrontations between the Palestinian and Arab nationalist masses and the Arab reaction. Rogers' guarantees took on new clarity in light of a heightened U. S. military presence in Jordan.

The U. S. has supplied Jordan with

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## Davis-Magee trial: Another judge steps down

By CAROL LIPMAN

MAY 11—The Angela Davis-Ruchell Magee "murder-conspiracy-kidnap" trial in Marin County, Calif., was recessed again yesterday when Superior Court Judge Alan A. Lindsay yielded to a preemptory challenge by Ruchell Magee and withdrew from the case. Several other judges participating in various phases of the pretrial hearings have also stepped down.

The challenges to Lindsay by both Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee began early last month with motions from Angela Davis' lawyer demanding that Lindsay absent himself from the case because he is a racist. The attorneys for Angela Davis argued that Lindsay was prejudiced and unfit to preside over the hearing. When Lindsay refused to disqualify himself, the matter was brought before the Court of Appeals, and Judge Winslow Christian held that Lindsay could hear the case.

Judge Lindsay was finally forced out of the picture by Magee's preemptory challenge.

Side-by-side with motions on the judges, Ruchell Magee has consistently refused to accept court-appointed lawyers, asserting that he has the right

to represent himself in pretrial hearings and the trial itself.

The court-appointed lawyers for Magee have themselves demanded to be allowed to withdraw from the case. They have filed a notice of substitution to allow Magee to act as his own attorney.

Magee, who has been shackled to his chair throughout the entire pretrial procedure, was allowed for the first time on May 10 to explain why he has refused to accept an attorney:

"It is not that I hate all attorneys, as a lot of people seem to think," Magee said. "I made several requests through the court-appointed counsel in this case [for] the subpoena of records from the Los Angeles trial." (Magee was convicted in 1963 of robbery and kidnapping).

"These records will show that for over seven years I have been forced to stay in slavery on [fraudulent] pleas of guilty, made by court-appointed attorneys over my objection, over my plea of not guilty, and over my testimony of not guilty.

"I have noticed also [references to] 'this moron and subhuman person' that the press has published constantly, holding me up to public ridicule.

This was based upon . . . phony IQ tests and the inadequate competency hearing that was held over in San Quentin.

"Now we are back again with attorneys and you tell me that I need an attorney to represent me. Out of every attorney that this court has appointed, the results have been the same. That is, a lot of verbal talk while evading confrontation with the true issues. . . ."

The charge against him, Magee pointed out, carries a "mandatory death penalty for one who is serving a valid life sentence."

Assistant State Attorney General Albert W. Harris Jr. "ignored the fact that California law, that is, Penal Code Section 681, states that no person can be punished for a charge unless a conviction is a valid conviction. I do not have a valid conviction. Mr. Harris is aware of these facts; also, the attorney general Evelle J. Younger.

"The court tells me that it is appointing attorneys to protect my rights because it feels that I need an attorney. . . ."

"I cannot accept an attorney, an attorney appointed by no state judge

nor federal judge at this particular time, due to the fact that I am fully aware of the conspiracy that exists from President Nixon down to the prison guards in this case, to hide and conceal evidence in this case," he said.

The "evidence will prove and show that the entire state of California, the American judicial system, prison system, is practicing slavery under cover of law, without legal power or authority.

"One would have to be very naive to believe that any court . . . would appoint one attorney to whip themselves or expose themselves. This is the reason that I constantly refuse attorneys, and I've explained this to them."

Lindsay was the seventh judge to state flatly that Magee is "incompetent" to defend himself and must be represented by counsel.

The next stage in the courtroom battle will begin with the State Judicial Council picking another judge to sit in the case and setting a new date to hear long-pending motions, including Angela Davis' request for dismissal of indictments against her, admission to bail, and permission to act as her own counsel.