

THE MILITANT

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

Black revolt in Chattanooga



National Guardsmen patrol Black neighborhood in Chattanooga, Tenn., May 25. (See story, page 3.)

Drive against Klan grows in Houston
— page 4,5

Army to court-martial Alaska GI
— page 3,24

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Black uprising in Chattanooga
Ft. Greely GIs stand up for rights
- 4 How Houston defense against Klan was built
- 5 Campaign for Klan indictments grows
- 8 Malcolm X and civil rights struggle
- 10 Nat'l Chicana conference a success
- 11 Harrisburg 8 witness wins court ruling
- 12 U.S. imperialism's expansionist drive
- 14 30,000 commemorate Paris Commune
- 15 Why Nixon wants to back Lockheed
- 16 Big profits for corporate farmers
- 17 The purge in Egypt
Israeli cops attack Panthers
- 18 Mother Jones: strike organizer
- 19 N.Y., Calif. attacks on welfare
- 21 New attacks against Blacks in Cairo, Ill.
Socialist summer schools
- 24 Vietnam vets hold hearings on Long Island
Antiwar protests on Memorial Day
Army to court-martial Alaska GI

- 2 In Brief
- 6 In Our Opinion
- 7 Great Society
Women: The Insurgent Majority
- 9 By Any Means Necessary
- 18 National Picket Line
- 20 In Review

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 35/NUMBER 22
JUNE 11, 1971

CLOSING NEWS DATE—JUNE 2

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Technical Editor: JON BRITTON
Business Manager: FLAX HERMES

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone (212) 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, \$22, all other countries, \$24. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$26; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, Asia (including U.S.S.R.), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

CHICAGO TEACHERS WANT "OUT NOW": On May 21, the Chicago Teachers Union Local 1 of the American Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO) voted by referendum ballot, 9,760 to 3,543, to demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina. The Teacher Mobilization Committee, which worked for a year to get the referendum conducted, now plans to involve the maximum number of CTU members in the July 2-4 National Antiwar Convention in New York City.

MAYDAY PROSECUTIONS: About 2,500 persons arrested in the police-state dragnet by Washington cops during Mayday protests had charges against them dropped May 27 when D.C. Corporation Counsel C. Francis Murphy gave up in the face of numerous obstacles to prosecution. Hundreds of individuals forfeited bail by failing to show for trial; judges threw out the majority of cases that came before them for lack of evidence, in some cases making speeches from the bench denouncing police tactics; and an appeals court ruling handed down May 26 blocked not only prosecution in cases of improper arrest and insufficient evidence but blocked forfeiture of bail for failure to show in such cases.

LESLIE BACON: Leslie Bacon was jailed May 19 under the same provision of the 1970 Organized Crime Control Act used against Sister Jogues Egan in the Harrisburg conspiracy frame-up. Egan was freed by a court decision late last month (see story on page 11). Bacon was told to testify before a Seattle grand jury in connection with the investigation of an alleged Capitol bombing conspiracy. Bacon refused and was jailed for contempt under the new law, which compels witnesses to testify if they are granted immunity from prosecution. The law's constitutionality is being challenged, and in light of the Egan decision and a similar ruling in another case, Bacon may be able to win release on bail.

NIXON'S RED SQUAD: A special unit in the Justice Department is coordinating the prosecution of the Harrisburg frame-up and the Seattle bombing conspiracy investigation, as well as "all federal investigations and prosecutions of radicals, anywhere in the country," according to the May 31 Newsweek. Newsweek credits the Internal Security Division with the new employment of the immunity statute used against Leslie Bacon and witnesses in the Harrisburg Eight case. In addition, the magazine gives the following information about this new, improved federal red squad: Headed by Assistant Attorney General Robert C. Mardian, it employs a "Special Litigation Section" of 11 lawyers adept at using conspiracy laws, high bail, and other procedures to harass political groups. It also has an "interdivisional information unit" of 16 analysts who pore over the radical press and FBI intelligence reports, looking for information "that will make a case on a Rennie Davis or an Abbie Hoffman or someone like that."

LET THEM EAT CAKE: The caviar and foie gras have been eliminated from Tricia Nixon's and Charles Robb's wedding buffet "for economical reasons," according to the June 2 New York Times. This may not be a problem, however, as the six-tiered, six-foot high, 350-pound cake that will be prepared by three chefs the day before the wedding is enough to serve 600 people—and there will be only 400 guests.

TROTSKY ON STAGE: An English translation of Peter Weiss' play Trotsky in Exile is being prepared for production in London. The No. 1, 1971, issue of Partisan Review has excerpts from the play. **AND TROTSKY ON SCREEN:** Joseph Losey has announced plans for a film about Trotsky's assassination. Dirk Bogarde has been cast as Trotsky and Alain Delon as the assassin.

A TASTE OF HONEY: In 1956, Brazilian beekeepers imported from Africa a particular species of bee because of its exceptional productivity. Unfortunately, a swarm escaped from an apiary a short time later and the bees have spread throughout Latin America. Why unfortunate? Ask the children of Agostinho de Moraes in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. Last month their father managed to get them to safety inside his house before he was overtaken by a swarm of the insects—called "killer bees"—which stung him to death. A number of similar incidents have occurred since 1956, but honey production is way up.

GAY RIGHTS BILL: The New York State Assembly voted May 26, 84 to 61, against a bill to extend fair employment and housing protection to gays. Five of the six Black or Puerto Rican assemblymen voted for the bill. The exception was Manuel Ramos from the Bronx who called gays "scum and filth" in his remarks opposing the legislation. Jim Owles of the Gay Activists Alliance in New York City said that the fact that the bill came to the floor and received 61 votes was a victory for the gay movement.

305 SURVIVORS: An estimated 7,000 waterfowl were trapped when 800,000 gallons of oil spilled into San Francisco Bay Jan. 18. Volunteers pulled thousands of the birds from the water, cleaned their feathers, and sent them to the Richmond Bird Care Center or San Francisco Zoo for recuperation. By the middle of May all except 305 of them had died.

CREDIBILITY GAP: The May 23 issue of the Times reported that a cult in Australian New Guinea was planning a crucifixion and human sacrifice. The natives believe these rituals may unlock the secret that gives the white colonial settlers such great wealth. Australian officials are described as "seriously concerned" by their inability to convince the natives that white men accumulated their wealth without sacrificing any human lives.

JDL HOOLIGANISM: While they chanted their slogan "Never Again!"—in reference to the Nazi genocide of Jews in Europe—members of the Jewish Defense League, employing tactics similar to those used by the Brown-shirts in Germany against workers' organizations prior to 1933, disrupted a New York memorial meeting May 25. Organized by the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship, the meeting was a memorial for artist Rockwell Kent. Midway through the scheduled program, JDL members in the audience stood up and began striking people around them, screaming "Never Again!" More JDL goons tried to force their way into the hall from outside. After the attackers had been repulsed and ejected, cops at the scene refused to make any arrests, instead allowing a JDL picket to be set up across the street.

BLOWING IN THE WIND: Folk-singer Bob Dylan "confesses great admiration" for the JDL, according to the May 31 Time magazine. Time quotes Dylan as saying of JDL demagogue, Meir Kahane, "He's really a sincere guy. . . . He's really put it all together."

NOW IT'S OFFICIAL: According to the National Bureau of Economic Research, a private, nonprofit group of capitalist watchdogs, what the U.S. economy went through from late 1969 to late 1970 was a recession. The NBER's findings, announced in late May, clear up a lot of confusion—one year earlier the development had been referred to as a "readjustment" by Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns; as a "shallow, short-lived economic pause" by Walter Heller; and as a "slowdown" by the Nixon administration.

JENNESS DEBATES TURNCOAT: Socialist Workers Party spokeswoman Linda Jenness' final engagement on her national speaking tour was a debate before several hundred students at Florida State University in Tallahassee with Philip Luce, a former member of the Progressive Labor Party turned red-baiting reactionary. The debate, sponsored by the University Lecture Series, occurred May 25. Earlier on her tour, Jenness had visited the school to address a non-credit class taught by Young Socialist Alliance leader Jack Lieberman. The class is entitled "How to Make a Socialist Revolution." Students at FSU won a victory for free speech this semester when the state legislature tried to ban Lieberman's course and failed. The state senate has now voted to create a new board of regents that would replace the regents who yielded to pressure to allow Lieberman to continue teaching. In addition to the two visits to FSU, the last leg of Jenness' tour took her to Tampa, Atlanta, Denver, Boulder, Austin, and Houston. On her entire tour, she estimates she spoke to more than 4,000 people in 70 meetings, and reached thousands more through the press, radio and TV.

—LEE SMITH

Black uprising in Chattanooga

By DERRICK MORRISON

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn., May 29—Robert Kirk Walker, the mayor of Chattanooga, with a straight face brazenly told the press on Tuesday, May 25, that four days and nights of Black uprising had nothing to do with racial problems! He said this in a city where the Confederate flag, the flag of Black chattel slavery, is openly flaunted officially and unofficially; where Civil War battles fought in defense of slavery are canonized in exhibits such as Confederama; where the University of Chattanooga didn't allow a Black face on the campus until 1969; where Black people work the hardest and dirtiest jobs and live in houses that have to be evacuated during heavy rains; and on the day after a Black man was shot to death in the back by white police and state troopers.

Mayor Walker is a liberal, reputed to be one of the standard-bearers of the "New South." But whether he is of the "Old South" or the "New South," it's all the same to Black folks.

The liberal called in nearly 2,000 National Guardsmen and 100 state troopers to help his 250-odd man police force suppress and repress the Black community.

Most of the capitalist news media claimed that the uprising began after the cancellation of the Wilson Pickett concert Friday night, May 21. Over 3,000 Black youth attended this affair. However, after talking with a number of Black residents, I found that not to be the case.

Korlon Kilpatrick, a Black student at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga (formerly University of Chattanooga, a private school), said that when the Pickett concert was canceled, "The management asked for tickets in exchange for money. But they didn't give out any ticket stubs in the beginning, so brothers broke into the ticket office, took the tickets, and started distributing."

The management thereupon refused to pay out any money to the audience. So the youths flooded out of the downtown auditorium, breaking a few windows in nearby department stores. The police appeared on the scene about 11:30 p.m. They dispersed the crowd, liberally using their clubs.

After the dispersal, which took about an hour, the police decided to close down all of the bars and places of entertainment in the Black community. This was the spark that lit the fuse.

Police Commissioner Gene Roberts, with city police and state troopers in bumper-to-bumper squad cars, went down Ninth Street yelling to Black men, "All you boys, let's get off the streets." Kilpatrick related, "When the

brothers started questioning, they were arrested." Police jammed people into squad cars and patrol wagons, taking them off to jail.

Rev. Lloyd Edwards of Help, Inc., was standing in front of his headquarters on Ninth Street at the time. He had just come from helping disperse the youth at the canceled concert. When he intervened in behalf of two young brothers thrown into a squad car, he was told by police to "Shut up" and then summarily arrested.

Kilpatrick described the climate that night: "It was against the law to be Black."

Most of the people arrested had no knowledge of the Pickett concert. This was especially true of those in entertainment spots far on the other side of town.

Rev. Edwards told this reporter, "They were stacking them in jail like sardines in a can." There were 30 to 40 brothers in a cell. Because the jail was segregated, only two or three whites were to be found in cells of similar size.

Scores of people were arrested, on charges ranging from loitering to disturbance of the peace. Most were released several hours later.

Rev. Edwards and others arrested called an afternoon meeting for May 22. Over 250 people attended. Brothers and sisters testified to the brutality received at the hands of the police. John P. Franklin, elected the previous month to the position of Commissioner of Health, Education and Welfare, making him the first Black person to sit on the 4-person City Commission, also spoke. Kilpatrick says, "He tried to change the subject." Whatever the case, Franklin and the ministers had nothing to offer the anguished audience. Thus, people rolled out of the meeting, in pursuit of retribution individually or in small groups.

In other parts of the Black community, which as a whole constitutes 38 percent of the city population, youth were already taking action against white-owned price-gouging stores and the hated police.

A nightly curfew from 7 p.m. to 5 a.m. was declared by the mayor. It wasn't lifted until Wednesday, May 26.

Brother Kilpatrick related scenes of police and state troopers herding people at curfew time into their homes. About 20 percent of the city police are Black. In the housing projects, police stormed into living rooms to make arrests.

But the police didn't wait till curfew time to make illegal arrests. One brother, Terry McCauley, was stand-

Continued on page 21



Housing in Chattanooga's Black community

Photo by Derrick Morrison

Fort Greely GIs stand up for rights

By ED JURENAS

FT. GREELY, Alaska, May 31—After an overwhelmingly favorable reaction among troops to the first issue of the *Arctic Arsenal* (see June 4 *Militant*), GIs at Ft. Greely are pushing ahead with renewed determination to continue publishing their paper and broaden the movement throughout military posts in Alaska. In response to this expression of GI solidarity and willingness to stand up for constitutional rights, CID (Criminal Investigation Division) and company commanders at Ft. Greely have initiated an intensified campaign of harassment toward individual GIs and openly slandered and red-baited the *Arctic Arsenal*.

On May 26, an application signed by 30 GIs, 14 of whom were assigned to military police, was presented to the deputy post commander of Ft. Greely, Lt. Col. Williamson. It asked for authorization to distribute the *Arsenal* at numerous points on post beginning Friday, May 28. The following day, May 27, every GI who had signed the application received a personal letter from Williamson stating that the matter had been forwarded to the Department of the Army in Washington, D.C., for consideration. According to his letter, distribution of the paper therefore "must be delayed pending receipt of determination from that headquarters."

This stalling technique on the part of Williamson was followed up in at least two companies on post by oral statements from company commanders to persons who had signed the application. One CO, who admitted that he had only read one article from the paper, the one describing the flag-waving superpatriotism of General Hollingsworth, commanding general of the U.S. Army in Alaska, stated that the *Arsenal* was backed and financed by communists and published in the "lower 48." This was a startling revelation to GIs who had financially contributed to the paper and knew it was being printed locally.

GIs who have been involved with the paper or have voiced complaints to the inspector general about their rights have been led to believe that their security clearances would be revoked, their names dropped from promotion rolls, or their records flagged for security reasons. CID has gone around post questioning and intimidating others by saying that for their own good they better cooperate or their job positions might be jeopardized. The net result of these harassing tactics has been an intensified anger at the brass and CID. There is a general determination to see to it that the next issue of the *Arsenal* comes out.

Far from letting the initiative swing to the brass in this case, the offensive has been taken in defense of our constitutional rights. Disposition forms, the official Army manner of communication, were sent to McClendon of Ft. Greely CID and to Lt. Col. Williamson on May 27. The letter sent to McClendon pointed out that he had violated Department of Defense Directive 1325.6, "Guidelines for Handling Dissident and Protest Activities Among Members of the Armed Forces." This



Ed Jurenas

Photo by Larry Seigle

directive specifically states that GIs have the legal right to possess what even might be considered "unauthorized printed material." It was requested that he comply with this directive by returning all copies illegally seized from individual owners. The disposition form sent to Williamson cited his violation of Army Regulation 381-17, "Wiretap, Investigative Monitoring, and Eavesdrop Activities," particularly his failure to obtain proper permission for use of the wiretap in this case. He was requested to send a transcript of the wiretapped conversation to my legal counsel, to make a full report of his role in this matter to his superior officer, and to reprimand CID and its agents for also violating this regulation. Although they were requested to notify us of the action they would take in this matter, neither McClendon nor Williamson have yet responded.

On May 30, a quickly called discussion was held at the post service club. About 15 GIs indicated an interest in devoting their time to producing the next issue of *Arctic Arsenal*. We discussed our rights, the general principles of the paper, and how to go about reaching the greatest possible number of GIs with our pro-GI-rights and antiwar views. It was generally agreed that we should also try to reach GIs at other posts, setting the example and providing help for the establishment of their own papers. About 40 copies of the *Arsenal* have already been distributed at Ft. Wainwright in Fairbanks and another 50 copies have gone out through the mail to different civilian and GI groups in Alaska and in other states.

While CID has been quick to label the *Arsenal* as obscene and libelous, GIs are behind it almost 100 percent. To them, the *Arsenal* tells it like it is, not the way the lifers and brass would like it to be.

HOW HOUSTON DEFENSE AGAINST KLAN TERROR WAS BUILT

By PAUL McKNIGHT

HOUSTON—Houston, with a population of 1.3 million, is the largest city in the South and the sixth largest in the United States. The small, wealthy, white ruling class here has maintained a virtual monopoly on the political life of the city. One good example of the political reality in Houston is that although the population is 30 percent Black and 15 percent Chicano, not one elected city official is either Black or Brown.

One incident that is part of Houston's violent heritage is the 1967 shoot-up by hundreds of cops of the student dormitories of Texas Southern University, a Black school.

Last summer, snipers from the Criminal Intelligence Division (CID) of the Houston Police Department assassinated Carl Hampton, a leader of People's Party II, a militant Black organization, during a police-initiated confrontation.

Frame-ups of activists are common in Houston. The most famous case is that of Lee Otis Johnson, a Black political leader who was sentenced to 30 years in prison for allegedly handing another person one marijuana cigarette, which under Texas law would constitute a "sale."

In another case, two Black student activists were persuaded by a mysterious person to purchase dynamite for him in a nearby town. Several police watched them make the purchase, after the store had been instructed by the Houston Police Department to sell them the dynamite. A police helicopter followed the students back to town where they were arrested and subsequently sentenced to 25 years in prison.

The antiwar movement here is restricted by a City Council ordinance requiring exorbitant fees to hold a march or distribute leaflets.

This type of legal repression, which occurs to some degree in all cities, is combined in Houston with an extralegal variety of repression which, until now, the city administration has encouraged by refusing to act against it. This extralegal repression serves the same purpose as the official variety, i.e., to prevent or discourage any challenge to the status quo. It generally comes in the form of terrorism directed against liberal, antiwar and socialist organizations.

There are several small, secretive right-wing groups that maintain good relations with the police and are generally acknowledged to be responsible for Houston's right-wing terrorism. Over the past five years, tires have been slashed, cars have been

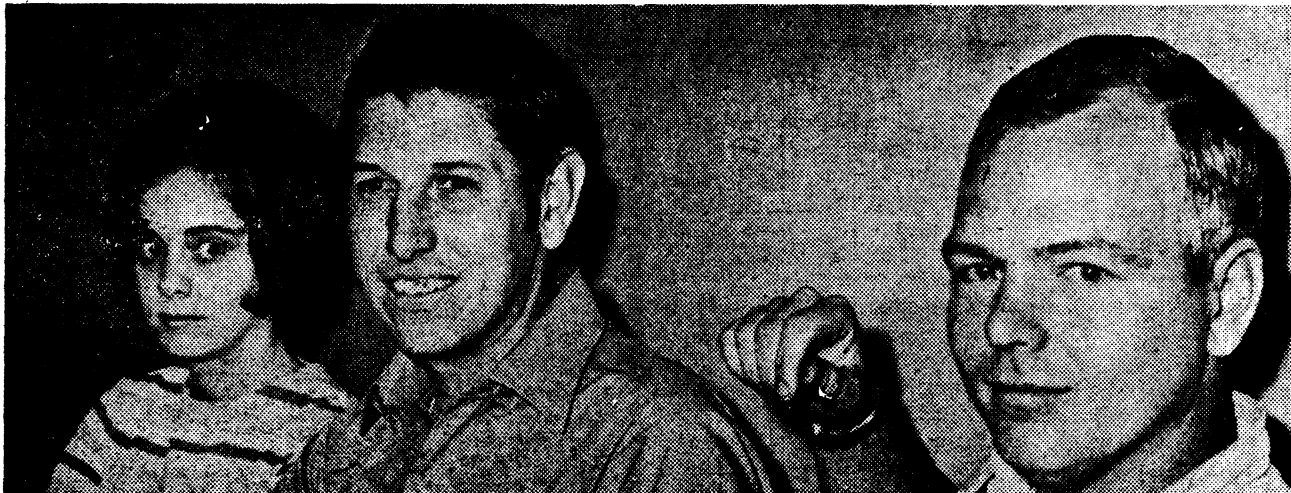
Their car contained literature, semiautomatic rifles and carbines, ammunition, walkie-talkies and some flammable liquid. They were released with no charges shortly after being taken to the police station. Members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Houston Committee to End the War quickly organized a united front news conference at which more than 15 individuals and representatives of organizations protested the release of Hutto and Beam and raised publicly the "adulterous relationship between the Houston police and the KKK."

The next and most important step in the fight against right-wing terrorism began March 12, the day the SWP headquarters was severely damaged by a pipe bomb. Statements of protest were solicited and received from a wide variety of groups, including the local Republican and Democratic parties and antiwar, Black, women's liberation, and student groups. Four newspapers carried editorials denouncing the bombing. A protest meeting held under the slogan "Stop the Bombings" was attended by 75 people, who heard a panel of 12 activists and/or victims of previous terrorist attacks protest the inaction of the city administration.

The Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston (CDDRH) was formed at this meeting. Its stated purpose is to wage a public campaign to pressure the city administration to take action against the terrorists. Since then, the public meetings of the City Council have been barraged by speakers demanding such action. These speakers have included SWP candidates, professors, student leaders, spokespersons for the CDDRH, women's liberationists, and antiwar activists.

The SWP views the bombing of its offices as a threat to its very right to exist. It therefore undertook to help mobilize everyone possible to force the city administration to act. The forces were there all along; they just needed to be organized into an effective antiterrorist campaign.

In the course of this campaign, the SWP has come to be recognized by the mass media, the movement, the public, and right-wingers as a central force in the fight to put the terrorists out of business. Since the bombing, SWP candidates or spokespeople have frequently appeared or been quoted on TV, radio and in the newspapers. SWP mayoral candidate Debby Leonard is constantly being called by reporters for comments on developments in the fight. When police finally arrested klansman Mike Lowe at 4 a.m., May 23, on



Three Houston Klan members subpoenaed: Ruth Ann Williams, Bobby Williams and John Grindle.

Photo by Larry Evans/Houston Chronicle

bombed and shot up, homes and offices have been burned and shot up, and activists have received a steady stream of threatening phone calls. The listener-sponsored Pacifica radio station has had its transmitter blown up twice. Any person or organization that stands up to protest any aspect of the oppressive status quo immediately becomes a prime target for the terrorists.

This terrorism has had the effect of dampening the development of the radicalization in Houston. The antiwar movement here has remained relatively small for so large a city. The largest antiwar demonstration to date has drawn only 3,000 people.

This repressive atmosphere has also had its effect on the city's working class. Only 15 percent of the work force is unionized.

Until this year, the terrorism had continued without being challenged in any organized fashion. The staff of *Space City!*, a radical newspaper published in Houston, courageously endured many months of threats, harassment and terrorist acts. Pacifica radio rebuilt its transmitter twice through massive fund drives. Antiwar leader Fred Brode built a sandbag wall in front of his house to stop the bullets.

The fight to reverse this climate of terrorism began last October when two known Klansmen, James Hutto and Louis Beam, were stopped by police around 4 a.m. while driving with their lights off in the neighborhood of the *Space City!* offices.

charges of possessing the makings of a bomb, Leonard was called at 5 a.m. by a reporter for a statement on the arrest.

One of the highlights of the media coverage of the struggle has been a series of two televised debates between Debby Leonard and Klan Grand Dragon Frank Converse.

The fact that the terrorists see the SWP as the prime force behind the campaign to stop them is clear from their machine-gunning of the SWP headquarters May 14, two months after the bombing. The grand jury investigation of planned violence, which was initiated as a result of the public uproar since the bombing of the SWP offices, is a major step forward in the fight to decisively defeat these marauders.

A decisive victory in Houston will have major repercussions throughout the South, where there are still many areas in which Klan night riders and vigilantes are tolerated or encouraged by like-minded public officials. Internationally, the KKK is perhaps the most widely known symbol of racist reaction within the U.S. A decisive defeat of the Klan in Houston will not go unnoticed abroad.

Perhaps the most important result of a victory against the terrorists will be felt in Houston itself. If the Klan is put out of action, the radicalization, which is being held back here by the terrorism and the accompanying climate of fear, will be given a big boost.

Campaign for Klan indictments grows

HOUSTON, June 1—On May 26, a special session of the Harris County Grand Jury subpoenaed nine Klansmen and three women in a special investigation into the series of right-wing terrorist activities in Houston in the last several years. Police served the Klansmen and women with the subpoenas at 4 a.m. and brought them immediately before the grand jury. The district attorney conducting the probe said that he expects to call an additional 20 persons before the jury in sessions which may take up to two weeks to complete.

"We feel we have sufficient evidence with the operation of the people involved to possibly secure some indictments. We've known for some time the people responsible, and with the arrest of Michael Lowe we felt we had sufficient evidence to submit the entire matter to the grand jury," said Lt. M. L. Singleton, head of the Criminal Investigation Division (CID) of the Houston Police Department. It was his department that arrested Klansman Michael Lowe on May 23 on the charge of possession of a bomb. This was the first arrest of a right-winger ever made by the CID.

Singleton is the same cop that previously vouched for the Klan, saying that he had talked with Klan members and that he felt sure that the Klan would not engage in illegal terrorist activity. Singleton issued an "intelli-

gence report" to the press several weeks ago with slanderous statements amounting to the charge that Debby Leonard, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Houston, was responsible for the bombing of the SWP campaign headquarters. He also attempted to link her with alleged left-wing terrorist activity in Seattle.

Singleton charged that the public campaign waged by the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston and by victims of previous attacks had delayed his investigation and had made it hard for the Police Department to gather evidence.

In a statement before the City Council, the morning before the grand jury probe, Mike Maggi, secretary of the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston, said, "It should be obvious why the victims of attack will not sit by calmly and trust the words of police that they will investigate. Our work has not compromised the investigation even if it has compromised the city administration and the police. All we have done is to publicize the acts of terrorism and the inaction of the city administration. All of this the terrorists already know. In fact, they count on your inaction to remain immune from arrest and punishment. What we have done is to demand action. We believe in results, not talk and promises."

The grand jury hearings are a breakthrough in the committee's at-

tempts for a full investigation into the terrorist actions, but as yet there have been no indictments for any of the acts of terrorism.

Much of the press publicity has been devoted to pointing out that the Klansmen and women subpoenaed may not be regular members of the Klan but "extremists" that are now suspended from Klan membership. Much of this talk tends to absolve the Klan organization from the attacks. Frank Converse, the Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America, has endorsed the efforts of the grand jury to find those responsible and has stated that "the Klan does not believe in violence." Converse has not been subpoenaed.

The district attorney said he would not subpoena victims of any of the terrorist acts. Several victims called a press conference June 1 and volunteered to give the grand jury further information in order that all available evidence be brought to its attention.

At the press conference today, Debby Leonard said, "It is only because of the public outcry, the formation of the Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston, the appearances before the City Council, the extensive media coverage and editorial commentary by the local press, and the [May 3] *Newsweek* article on the situation in Houston that any progress has been made and the grand jury convened."

Also appearing at the press conference was Richard Atwater and Sherwood Bishop, both of *Space City!* a local underground newspaper, who documented several years of terrorist activity by Klansmen James Hutto, Louis Beam and Michael Lowe. All three have engaged in terrorist activity that Atwater and Bishop were witness to and reported to the police. In none of the past cases have the police made any arrests.

Yvonne Hauge, secretary of the Houston Committee to End the War, also appeared at the press conference and said she will go before the grand jury to identify Klansmen she has seen involved in terrorist activity.

After the press conference, the four victims of terrorism presented statements to the district attorney conducting the probe. Full details will be brought to the attention of the grand jury in writing and through future appearances.

The victims of these attacks plan further public activities aimed at insuring that the investigation will end with the conviction of all those who share responsibility for the terrorist activities in Houston.

For more information or to make urgently needed contributions, write Committee to Defend Democratic Rights in Houston, 4334 Leeland, Houston, Texas 77023, or phone (713) 921-3293.

Gordon starts tour in South

A May 27 news conference in Miami kicked off a national speaking tour to build the July 2-4 National Antiwar Convention in New York City, called by the National Peace Action Coalition. Jerry Gordon, an NPAC coordinator and one of the key organizers of the massive April 24 antiwar actions, told reporters that the July conference will answer the government's attempts to red-bait the antiwar movement by bringing together "in greater numbers than ever before, veterans, trade unionists, GIs, Blacks, women, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, students, professionals, middle America, gay people and others to plan mass demonstrations for the fall of 1971."

While in Miami, he met with representatives of the South Florida Peace Action Coalition to discuss ways of maximizing attendance from the region at the July 2-4 convention.

After a May 29 news conference in Atlanta, Gordon met with Atlanta Peace Action Coalition members on May 30. He left for Texas on May 31, and from there he will go to Southern California June 2-4.

Gordon is telling audiences on his tour that the July 2-4 convention, which will be held at Hunter College in Manhattan, is open to everyone who opposes the war. All participants will have voice and vote in determining what the antiwar movement should do for the fall.

When Gordon winds up his tour with a final stop in New York City June 21, where he will remain through the convention, another April 24 organizer and NPAC coordinator, Jim Lafferty, will begin a tour of the Midwest. Lafferty will arrive in Cincinnati June 22, travel to St. Louis on the

23rd and then to Minneapolis for June 24 and 25.

After Southern California, Gordon's tour stops are Salt Lake City, June 5; Portland and Seattle, June 6-8; San Francisco, June 8-11; Boston, June 16-18. He will attend the NPAC Steering Committee meeting in Chicago June 11 and 12.

Both Gordon and Lafferty will be encouraging all who can to register in advance, as well as soliciting contributions to help NPAC finance the convention and the implementation of convention decisions. Advance registration costs \$6, college students \$3, and high school students \$2. To advance register, or for more information on the convention or the tours, write NPAC, 150 Fifth Avenue, No. 911, New York, N.Y. 10003, or call (212) 741-2019.



Jerry Gordon is on national speaking tour to build July 2-4 antiwar convention in New York.

Detroit rally for SMC rights

By MATT HERRESHOFF

DETROIT—On May 27, in front of the Ferndale Board of Education offices, more than 75 persons demonstrated their support for the Ferndale Student Mobilization Committee's fight for recognition as an official school organization.

Demonstrators came from more than 10 high schools and at least three colleges. The success of the protest was evident in the participation of organizations besides the SMC, such as Vietnam Veterans Against the War, the Black Moratorium, the Detroit Coalition to End the War Now, Detroit Mayday Coalition, and supporters of the People's Peace Treaty.

The demonstration stemmed from the formation of an SMC by the students at Ferndale High School. Shortly after its formation, the SMC applied to the administration for recognition as a school organization. The students were given four guidelines and complied with all of them. About three weeks later, the SMC was denied recognition on the grounds that it is a political organization. This ruling was clearly a maneuver, since there is not a word in the student code of conduct that denies the right of recognition to political organizations.

After one month, the Ferndale SMC's case was taken to federal district court. Two hearings later, the students were referred back to the school grievance procedures and told to "exhaust all possible school remedies." Finally, after six months of court cases and grievance procedures, the Board of Education gave its answer—no.

The board's decision has been met with favor by a number of Ferndale

students who belong to a group called Support Our Nation (SON). This group was formed specifically in response to the SMC's fight for recognition. SON members have attempted to keep the SMC out of Ferndale by leafletting, staging counterpickets (of five to 10 people) and by threatening SMCers with phone calls and in other ways.

GI action

In the largest overseas action yet by American GIs protesting the Vietnam war, 300 Navy and Air Force personnel walked from Hyde Park to the U.S. Embassy in London on Memorial Day, May 31, and presented a petition signed by 1,000 service personnel stationed in Great Britain.

According to the June 1 *New York Times*, the marchers, who wore armbands with the symbol of a clenched fist superimposed on a helmet, emphasized that the action was not a "demonstration," outlawed by regulations for GIs overseas, but a legal presentation of a petition of grievances, provided for in the regulations.

The petition stated that the signers were "opposed to the American war in Indochina" and said that "Because Vietnamization is increasing the Air Force and Navy role in the war, it is more important than ever before that we voice our opposition."

In Our Opinion

Police violence

The shooting deaths of two cops in Harlem May 21 was utilized by the capitalist government and news media to launch a massive campaign to whip up public hysteria over an alleged "growing menace" of violent attacks on policemen. The shooting provoked an around-the-clock investigation with the assignment of 100 extra detectives to the case and additional hundreds of volunteer cops who worked overtime without pay. Nearly \$10,000 in rewards was posted by the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (PBA) and the Conservative Party for information leading to arrests in the May 21 killings and in a shooting two days earlier that wounded two policemen. More than 5,000 cops from dozens of East Coast cities attended mass funerals for the two slain men.

After bank robbers killed a cop in Washington, D.C., May 25, more than 1,000 police from seven cities came to his funeral, and the press, radio and TV joined in linking the two unconnected incidents. PBA president Edward J. Kiernan declared that the New York shootings were part of a "war" on police by "revolutionaries." Politicians, the news media and the cops themselves made a frenzied attempt to fit a whole series of isolated incidents into a threatening pattern of violence and conspiracy.

The investigation proceeded on the basis that every Black male in Harlem was a potential suspect. People were hauled in for questioning in a dragnet that reached even beyond Harlem. Two Black Panthers from Oakland, Eugene Austin and Ellis White Jr., were arrested on their way to keep an appointment at the Daily News Building in midtown Manhattan to arrange the purchase of printing equipment for the Panther newspaper. When cops discovered the two had no connection with the May 21 slaying, they booked them anyway for possession of handguns and held them on \$100,000 bail each.

Expressing his "shock" at the killings, President Nixon called a conference of his top law enforcement advisers to discuss the "looming danger" to policemen's safety. U.S. congressmen like Emanuel Celler and John Murphy proposed new unconstitutional gun-control legislation to help make the streets safer for cops.

The entire hue and cry around the violent deaths of policemen is the sheerest hypocrisy. The supposedly staggering figure of 46 cops killed nationwide in the first four months of this year comes nowhere near the untold number of Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Chicanos gunned down by racist cops acting as occupation forces in the ghetto—the way Leon Anderson was killed in Chattanooga, Tenn., on May 24. Cops are defenders of the capitalist ruling class that oppresses the Black and Brown communities. When one of them gets trigger-happy, or in the "line of duty" guns down someone like Rudy Simms, a Black man shot to death by two cops in Bedford-Stuyvesant May 17, no front-page headlines scream outrage, no national radio and TV news broadcasts agitate for an end to racist violence, no law enforcement conferences are convoked by the president, and the killers are not arrested even though they admit to the shooting. Such killings are accepted as an every-day occurrence by the rulers of this country.

On May 12, Los Angeles cops pumped a volley of bullets into Francisco Garcia outside his one-room home in Coachella, Calif. Only after killing him did the cops realize they had mistaken his identity, since they fired from ambush without warning. Where was the publicity campaign around this murder? Where are the arrests and convictions?

Violence in the Black and Brown communities comes from the cops and the racist, capitalist system the cops are there to defend; it is directed against the residents of the Black and Brown communities. Nixon and the rulers try to make the victim appear as the criminal and the criminal as the victim!

It is up to the community residents to organize massive campaigns to put public pressure on the authorities to take action—as the Chicano Moratorium is doing around the Garcia murder. They must get the facts out, expose these crimes, organize protests and investigate the crime themselves—as a broad coalition of organizations in Bedford-Stuyvesant is doing by organizing a "People's Tribunal" in a neighborhood church to investigate Rudy Simms' death. Organized and massive campaigns such as these in response to criminal acts of police violence are part of the crucial struggle for Black and Brown control of the Black and Brown communities.

Letters

Prisoner wants Militant

I have just finished reading your April 23 issue. It has upset me somewhat. Until now I have been led to believe that socialist organizations such as the Young Socialist Alliance were to be shunned. Now I am not quite so sure that this is true.

Presently I am without funds and held prisoner in the Washington State Penitentiary. There are others who more or less think the way I do. We were thinking that if we could get your paper regularly we would become better informed.

We recognize that many here, a great many, are here as a result of capitalism. The system has forced many to crime in one way or another. If we can learn more about socialism, learn to effect revolution, then maybe we can teach others too. But before we can do this we must know whereof we speak. So, if it would be possible for you to send a subscription to your paper and/or any pertinent information regarding socialism, we would be most grateful.

G. B.

Walla Walla, Washington

San Francisco April 24

Your expose of the double-agent role of Tapia at the San Francisco anti-war demonstration should put to rest the argument that he is a real militant committed to the struggle and advancement of La Raza. What a front operation that was, when in reality he is on the payroll of the federal government as a fat-cat poverty program director.

The unity of peoples against this racist war was not co-opted regardless of such ill-planned devices by the police establishment and their flunky accomplices like 45th Assembly District candidates like Tapia. He in no way represents the true feelings of millions of Chicanos who live in anguish over the murderous destruction of innocent people in this current imperialist war.

The Militant must be commended in objective and revealing reporting on what took place on that beautiful day in April.

Viva La Causa, Viva the National Chicano Moratorium.

R. M.

Los Angeles, Calif.

Out, damn buck

Your article on the international monetary crisis was excellent.

The *Wall Street Journal* expressed the European attitude toward the American dollar on May 21. The article, entitled "More to Come?" by Alfred L. Malabre Jr., included a poem at the end by Robert Mundell, a Canadian-born economist:

Out, damned buck
From Glasgow to Rome
Give us gold,
Yankee, go home.
Ken Patten
Milwaukee, Wis.

Women and the war

The majority of women in this country, 78 percent according to Gallup in January, oppose our involvement in the Indochina War. The number is staggering, but what good does just a number do? How can we make ourselves visible? How can we show such mass opposition? Since we are such a diverse group, we need to create a sense of community

of purpose: we need to unite in a common action to show our common concern about the war.

Many of us are still unwilling or unable to participate in public marches and demonstrations, while others of us have participated so often we are looking for new means of expression. For a start, we could act as a national community of women to make one day noticeably different from other days.

On June 21, our longest day, let's say that our longest war must stop!

We can say this with a united action: by not spending any money for goods or services on that day. Empty supermarkets, deserted shopping centers, ghostly Main Streets all over the nation can be a dramatic demonstration of our feelings. Even though we are well aware we won't hurt the economy with such a simple step, we can (and we should) clearly show our solidarity of opinion.

What we do in June will be just a beginning, but we must start talking now, in the press, on the radio and TV. We need each other for opinions, organization, communication, and moral support. Let us hear from you. What are your thoughts? What can you do?

Women uniting to End the War
c/o Terry Harburg

516 Oswego

Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104

Sweetback

I am surprised that Brother Derrick Morrison in his review of Van Peebles' *Sweet Sweetback's Baad-sss Song* failed to take a more critical look at this film. According to Van Peebles, the film stars "The Black Community." If this is so, then all Black women are either whores or washed out old women looking for a better life somewhere beyond the horizons. That is, if we aren't moaning and groaning in church, then we're moaning and groaning in bed, or even in the bushes because his back was too "sweet" to wait for the bed.

Brother Morrison failed to state how Sweetback got his name. The film did not open with cops bringing in a murder suspect. It opened in a brothel. The character is seduced by a Black prostitute, and after the moaning, groaning and muscular spasms, she tells him he has a "sweetback." This so-called art also gave credence to the stereotype of the Black buck. You know, that great big stud image who could knock 'em all out in bed.

Van Peebles had nothing relevant to say and the character Sweetback bordered on the line of appearing retarded. During the flight scene I was reminded of Wright's Bigger Thomas, although the intensity of *Native Son* was not evident in the film. (I am aware that Wright was not a film director.)

In spite of the fact that Sweetback challenges the myth of the invincible Man, I could not bring myself to say "right on" to his escape, for it was an escape into another form of pimpville. In essence, the film was nausea.

Maxine Williams
New York, N. Y.

The Great Society

Vietnam Veterans need help

The enclosed first issue of *The Last Incursion*, the voice of Vietnam Veterans Against the War in Fayetteville and Ft. Bragg, is basically a plea for help—money, both moral and material support, old trading stamps—anything you can spare for the struggle. We describe in the newsletter the urgent need to awaken the military man and woman to the facts of their bondage. Vietnam veterans have seen the naked face of a racist war machine; there are few that don't know that something has gone terribly wrong. Making the connections between war, racism, oppression, and the overwhelming poison of big money is crucial to their future as humans and citizens; making that connection is our mission. We are working in the ghetto of militarism and it's a rough road. Your help can make it smoother, and see to it that working men and women cease to be used against their fellow citizens at home and in the world. A rich man's war is a poor man's fight, anywhere.

Vietnam Veterans Against the War at Ft. Bragg/Fayetteville is a local organization with local concerns—corruption in our VA hospital, employment discrimination against veterans, racist practices and attitudes at Ft. Bragg. But as an injury to one is an injury to all, so all our concerns are common in opposing the war and what it is doing to our people. Please help.

Vietnam Veterans Against the War
P.O. Box 1312
Fayetteville, N. C. 28301

Minnesota Daily

Readers of *The Militant* must wonder what happened to the student protest action here at the University of Minnesota against the administration's decision to move the *Minnesota Daily* to a nonunion print shop, reported in your March 26 issue.

Here is what happened.

The campus protest never got beyond the initial March 11 rally. Although Robert Koloski, president of Local 42 of the Minneapolis Typographical Union, spoke at that rally and asked for campus support of the union, his subsequent approach has been that the *Daily* would see its mistakes through the inability of the student staff to meet deadlines and the lack of professional printers to compose the paper. He thought this would cause the *Daily* to go begging to the union shop to come back. It hasn't worked out that way.

Since March, the *Daily* has published regularly. Reports are that Koloski was unhappy with the campus meeting and related publicity. It's unfortunate for the union printers who were laid off, because there was a very broad grouping of campus people who wanted to continue the fight. It appears as far as the union is concerned that the issue is dead.

Ken Shilman
Minneapolis, Minn.

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.

It figures—A spokesman for the canning industry says he's "very much afraid" that industry efforts to provide low-mercury tuna will mean a boost in prices. He said the process of selecting and testing tuna will prove quite costly. An FDA spokesman agreed.

No-joke dep't—A team of behavioral scientists and industrial experts were slated to hold a parley in Los Angeles to show management personnel how to deal with the emotional crises of employees before they reached the point of wasting labor and machine hours. The gathering was sponsored by the Suicide Prevention Center and the Institute for the Study of Life Threatening Behavior. Maybe they'll prescribe the abolition of capitalism.

The Puritan ethic—Montgomery N. McKinney, a Doyle Dane Bernach executive, responded to those who criticize advertising gimmicks aimed at creating a demand among children for sawdust-like cereals. "Parents," the adman frostily observed, "have some responsibility for being able to control their children."

Good news dep't—For the benefit of those who assert that we insist on seeing only the bleak side of coffin-nail addiction, we're happy to report



"Anybody seen my brown shirt around here?"

Oliphant/The Denver Post

that artificial lungs are now so improved that the possibility is foreseen of their being used in chronic conditions as well as in surgery.

Spiritual crackdown—The Vatican has ordered a worldwide inventory of its art treasures in a move to curb unauthorized sales by members of the hierarchy. Anyone caught making such sales will be excommunicated and not reinstated until financial reparation is made. Apparently linking the

rip-offs to current social trends, a Vatican letter warned bishops to keep a sharp eye on priests who "take modernization and changes in the liturgy as an excuse to sell precious masterpieces."

Little did we know—In our neighborhood, it was argued that in the absence of matches, the best way to start a fire was to rub two Boy Scouts together. Today such talk could land you in with the Berrigans.

—HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

Abortion struggle developments: On May 19, Maine House of Representatives rejected by 89 to 53 a reform of the Maine abortion law. The reform would have allowed abortion if three doctors agreed it would be in the pregnant woman's best interest. The current law, passed in the eighteenth century, permits abortion only if the woman's life is endangered. Pennsylvania's 1860 criminal abortion law prohibits all abortions, but the actual practice of law enforcement officials in Pennsylvania has been to consider therapeutic abortions (abortions performed to save the pregnant woman's life or health) as legal. The law has been declared unconstitutional by two county courts and is presently being appealed to the State Supreme Court.

In Allentown, however, the Board of Trustees of Allentown Hospital issued an edict in March forbidding all abortions in that hospital for any reason. The board took this decision after the Allentown Evening Chronicle published a story March 15 pointing out that at least 10 therapeutic abortions per month were being performed at the hospital. The board justified its action by saying that all abortions were illegal.

Because of the edict, one pregnant Allentown housewife took an overdose of barbiturates. Several abortions that had been scheduled were canceled.

The May 23 New York Times reported that, "The French Communist Party has rejected calls from women's groups for support of legal abortion for any woman who wants one. The party's Political Bureau said that abortion, now illegal in France, should be permitted only when the pregnancy endangers the woman's life, in case of pregnancy resulting from rape or incest, or if an investigation by a commission of experts determines that the birth would cause 'grave social problems.'"

Catholic theologian Dr. Mary Daly supports the right of women to abortion. Contrary to Roman Catholic bishops and male theologians who start with questions like the rights of the fetus, she notes, "Women start with different questions, like How do you justify unwanted, repeated and harmful pregnancies? or What are the rights of other children?"

The May 9 *New York Times* quoted her as saying that while the church calls abortion murder, it tolerates war. "The church has served to legitimize a patriarchal culture," said Dr. Daly speaking at Boston College. "It's time to rework the basic myths and symbols of theology in light of the new awareness of how women have been exploited."

The first women's liberation demonstration in the Philippines took place March 15, reports *Laging Una*, a publication for Filipinos living in the Los Angeles area. Hundreds of women took part in an opening rally against rising prices, sponsored by Katipunan ng mga Kababaihan Para S Kalayaan, described as a "coordinating body of progressive women." The report noted that "The unusual sight of women marching in a Catholic country where the church frowns on such activity provoked some violence from men along the line of march. At one or two points stones and bottles were thrown at the marchers."

"I don't care how many times you go to bed or who you go to bed with, but you don't have the right to make me pay for it," said Republican Illinois state representative Webber Borchers, who has sponsored a bill that would force Illinois welfare parents of three children to be sterilized. Similar bills are under consideration in North Carolina and Tennessee (see *The Militant*, May 21, for story on Tennessee law).

At a conference in May, sponsored by the urban Research Corporation of Chicago, on equal pay and promotion for women, it was noted that from 1964 to 1971, \$30-million was found due to almost 80,000 employees, nearly all of them women, through legal actions taken under the Fair Labor Standards Act. A spokesperson from the Department of Labor said complaints from women workers this year are running double those of last year, and last year they ran double those in 1969.

The May 14 *New York Times*, reporting on the conference, indicated that "among the 234 lawsuits filed for equal pay, there were decisions in one case resulting in payment of more than \$900,000 plus \$100,000 in interest to 2,000 women employees, and in another case of \$126,000 plus \$24,000 interest to 176 women and 26 men."

Under the impact of the women's liberation movement, the gap between women's and men's wages narrowed in 1968 and 1969 after widening for more than 10 years, according to figures from the Department of Labor reported in the May 15 *Washington Post*. In 1969, the median salary of females was 60.5 percent of the median salary of males. In 1968 women earned 58.2 percent of what men earned, and in 1967 women earned only 57.8 percent. The Labor Department found that even when comparing the pay of males and females of equal educational level and performing the same jobs, the salary gap was substantial.

—CAROLINE LUND

Malcolm X and the civil rights struggle



Malcolm X and Martin Luther King in 1964

By TONY THOMAS

In his April 9, attack on Black nationalism ("Trotskyism: Racist Voice on the Left"), Tony Monteiro of the Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League charged that Malcolm X "was uncritically drawn into an unprincipled attack on the mass [civil rights] movement that was then in process. It was this that left an opening for the YSA-SWP [Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party] to worm into, and to opportunistically raise Malcolm X to be a spokesman for their views."

Monteiro's notion of the views that Malcolm shared with revolutionary socialists is that "During the historical civil rights upsurge of the 1960s, the Trotskyites maintained a position of abstention. . . .

"Slandorous attacks were focused upon Martin Luther King Jr. and the SCLC [Southern Christian Leadership Conference]. When Blacks and whites were beaten, fire-hosed, jailed and murdered . . . [they] stood on the sidelines criticizing and insulting these people."

By making such slanders, Monteiro attempts to hide the real positions of the SWP and YSA and the real political differences between King and Malcolm over perspectives for the civil rights movement.

Not on sidelines

Rather than opposing the civil rights movement and sitting on the sidelines as Monteiro charges, Malcolm X felt that it was necessary for himself and his supporters to participate in that movement, even though he disagreed with the purely integrationist perspective of many of its leaders. In fact, the need for Black nationalists to participate in these mass struggles was one of the reasons why Malcolm X split from the Nation of Islam in 1964.

After he split with the Muslims, Malcolm described the feelings he had about the Nation's noninvolvement in the civil rights movement while he was in that organization. "I was convinced that our Nation of Islam could be an even greater force in the American Black man's overall struggle—if we engaged in more *action*. By that, I mean I thought privately that we should have amended, or relaxed, our general nonengagement policy. I felt that wherever Black people committed themselves—in the Little Rocks and Birminghams and other places—militantly disciplined Muslims should also be there. . . ." (*The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, pp. 293-4)

Although Malcolm rejected integration into white capitalist America as an ultimate goal, a goal King and many other civil rights leaders advocated, he felt that the demands for equality being raised in these struggles were part of the fight of African-Americans against white oppression.

Thus he saw participation in the civil rights struggles as a way of deepening and building Black consciousness. "I am prepared," Malcolm said, "to cooperate in local civil rights actions in the South and elsewhere and shall do so, because every campaign for specific objectives can only heighten the political consciousness of the Negroes and intensify their identification against white society." (*The Last Year of Malcolm X*, by George Breitman, p. 19)

Malcolm also felt that the struggle against segregation was part of the struggle for Black control of the Black community.

"A segregated district or community," he stated, "is a community in which people live, but outsiders control the politics and the economy of that community. They never refer to the white section as a segregated com-

munity. . . . The white man controls . . . his own community—but he also controls yours. When you're under someone else's control, you're segregated. . . . You've got to control your own." (*Malcolm X Speaks*, p. 42)

Malcolm's attitude was that Black nationalists should work with every organization in the Black community on specific issues of common agreement, including organizations and individuals they disagreed with on many other questions. He stated that, "We will work with anybody who is sincerely interested in eliminating injustices that Negroes suffer at the hands of Uncle Sam."

Malcolm's support to the civil rights struggles of the 1960s was not limited to verbal statements but was concretized in action. He participated in building support rallies and movements in New York for Black organizations in the South. He also went to Selma, Ala., during the struggle that erupted there in early 1965. His plans for more active support to the Southern-based struggles were cut short by his assassination on Feb. 21, 1965, including a planned speech in Mississippi the following weekend.

Thus, in no way could Malcolm be accused of abstaining from the civil rights movement or counterposing Black nationalism to the struggle for equality. He saw the struggle against segregation as part of a unified process of fighting for Black liberation. This was precisely the same view held by the SWP and YSA.

Democratic Party

Malcolm, however, did have real differences with many of the *leaders* of the civil rights movement. These differences, in the final analysis, centered on the question of whether the Black movement was to be subordinated to "liberal" whites, particularly the Democratic Party.

Does Monteiro think that Malcolm's criticisms of Martin Luther King for supporting the racist Democratic Party were "unprincipled" and "abstentionist"? Obviously so, since elsewhere in his speech and during the discussion period, Monteiro called on supporters of Black liberation to support Democratic Party liberals.

In fact, it was Martin Luther King Jr., not Malcolm X, who called for "abstention from the mass movement" in 1964. On July 29 of that year, Martin Luther King, president of SCLC; Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary; A. Philip Randolph, chairman of the Negro American Labor Council; Whitney Young, executive director of the Urban League; John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Bayard Rustin, vice-chairman of the 1963 civil rights march on Washington; and James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, called for a "broad curtailment, if not total moratorium" of all civil rights actions until the Nov. 3 elections. This action was taken because these "leaders" felt that any civil rights actions might hinder the chances of electing Lyndon Baines Johnson president.

The statement was denounced by many local Black leaders and later repudiated by Farmer and Lewis.

Malcolm's unequivocal response was that King and other supporters of this "moratorium" had "sold themselves out and become campaign managers in the Negro community for Lyndon Johnson." His position was that the Democratic Party and its "liberal" leaders like LBJ were just as responsible for the maintenance of the racist system as more blatant racists like Barry Goldwater or George Wallace.

Whose strategy—Malcolm's or King's, proved itself? Did Johnson—for whom King was willing to stop the Black liberation struggle—solve any of the problems of racism, repression and poverty faced by Black

people? Wasn't it under Johnson that the criminal war in Vietnam was escalated?

Nonviolence

Another issue that divided King and Malcolm was the question of self-defense. Malcolm held that the civil rights movement should exercise its constitutional right to self-defense, including armed self-defense.

Malcolm saw the basic right of self-defense as part of the mass struggle for Black equality: "We here in the Organization of Afro-American Unity are with the struggle in Mississippi one thousand percent. We're with the efforts to register our people in Mississippi to vote one thousand percent. But we do not go along with anybody telling us to help nonviolently. We think that if the government says that Negroes have a right to vote, and then some Negroes come out to vote, and some kind of Ku Klux Klan is going to put them in the river, and the government doesn't do anything about it, it's time for us to organize and band together and equip ourselves and qualify ourselves to protect ourselves. And once you can protect yourself, you don't have to worry about being hurt." (*Malcolm X Speaks*, p. 144)

King, however, held the position that nonviolent reaction to racist beatings, shootings, and other forms of brutality faced in the struggle, was a *principle*.

The basis of his theory was that by somehow awakening the "conscience" of the ruling class, Black demands in the South could be won. Not only this, but King held that Blacks and other supporters of civil rights should love, rather than hate, their racist oppressors and should withhold their natural right of self-defense as an "act of love."

King's idea that an appeal to the conscience of the ruling class, rather than the independent organization of Black people, would gain reforms for our people, flowed from the same kinds of illusions he had about the role of capitalist liberals.

Rather than having its conscience awakened by the brutalities that civil rights activists faced, the federal government refused to enforce its own laws, including the various civil rights bills it cranked out. Time after time, investigations were launched against civil rights workers while racist murderers went scot-free.

It was not any appeal to reason or conscience but the mass actions of Black people that won gains during the civil rights movement.

Another test of the real thrust of Martin Luther King's love-thy-oppressor, nonviolent stance was his attitude toward the use of violence by the government to crush Black rebellions that erupted in Newark and Detroit in 1967. According to the July 27, 1967, *New York Times*, King, Wilkins, Randolph, and other "moderate" Black leaders, "in response to an indirect request from President Johnson," issued a statement supporting "LBJ's calls for 'law and order' and denouncing the riots as 'mob rule.' Earlier King stated, 'I'm very sorry federal troops had to be called in. But there's no question that when a riot erupts it has to be halted.'"

Do Tony Monteiro, the Young Workers Liberation League, and the Communist Party think that Malcolm was "unprincipled" for demanding that the civil rights movement use its constitutional right to armed self-defense, while Martin Luther King, who proclaimed that Black nonviolence was a principle, condoned violence by the white racist government against the Black community? We would like to have Monteiro tell us, who in this instance was responsible for attacking a "mass movement then in process"—Malcolm X or Rev. King?

Malcolm X also challenged the "tokenist" approach of King and other civil rights leaders at that time. He felt that concentrating on the perspective of ending legalized segregation did not go far enough in meeting the problems faced by Black people, particularly in the Northern cities, where "integration" legally existed.

"Tokenism," he said, "benefits only a few. It never benefits the masses, and the masses are the ones who have the problem, not the few. . . ."

"The masses of our people still have bad housing, bad schooling, and inferior jobs, jobs that don't compensate with sufficient salaries for them to carry on their life in this world. So that the problem for the masses has gone absolutely unsolved. The only ones for whom it has been solved are people like Whitney Young, who is supposed to be placed in the cabinet, so the rumor says. . . ." (*Malcolm X Speaks*, pp. 173-174)

Malcolm saw the struggle not simply as a fight for "civil rights"—the right to be allowed to integrate, drop by drop, into white racist society—but for what he called "human rights"—the right to live as a decent human being. He felt that the Black liberation movement should raise demands dealing with all the fundamental social and economic problems faced by the masses of Black people.

Vietnam war

At a time when Martin Luther King and other moderate leaders of the civil rights movement called for separating "domestic problems"—i.e. Black liberation—from "international problems," and attacked those Blacks who did take a stand against the imperialist policies of the U.S. government, Malcolm opposed the Vietnam war. He called for total U.S. withdrawal two years before SNCC opposed the war and three years before King did. Does Monteiro think that this difference in attitude on the racist war in Vietnam is a result of Malcolm's "lack of principle?"

Rather than an "unprincipled attack on the mass movement," Malcolm's position in these disputes represented an attack on an unprincipled policy that led to selling out the mass movement to the oppressor.

The ideas that Malcolm expressed found great opposition from such national "leaders" of the civil rights

movement as Martin Luther King, Whitney Young and Roy Wilkins, but they found great popularity among the rank-and-file civil rights workers. For many of us active in the struggle at that time, Malcolm's ideas confirmed the experiences we derived from the struggle.

Malcolm explained that "the local civil rights leaders are usually involved right in the midst of the situation. . . . usually they are more in tune and in touch with the people." The nationally known leaders, however, are paid professionals, and "whoever pays their salaries has a great say-so in what they do and what they don't do. So naturally, the ones who pay the salaries of these nationally known Negro leaders are the white liberals, and white liberals are shocked and frightened whenever you mention anything about some X's." (*By Any Means Necessary*, p. 8)

This is why Malcolm advocated all-Black, Black-controlled and Black-financed organizations as the chief vehicle of the Black liberation struggle. He understood how organizations like SCLC, the Urban League, and the NAACP, with white members and depending on white foundations and liberal capitalists for donations, were naturally unable to break the fetters of capitalist politics.

The ideas of Malcolm X were proven to be not in contradiction to but rather the expression of the logical outcome of the civil rights struggles. The rank-and-file Black activists of SNCC and CORE began to reject King's ideas of supporting the Democratic Party, loving the oppressor, opposing self-defense, and building "integrated" organizations financed by big foundations—and adopted many of Malcolm's ideas.

The concepts of Black power, Black nationalism, and self-defense; an axis of struggle that shifted from civil rights to Black control of the Black community; and independent Black political action have characterized the deepening Black radicalization since that time. By attempting to slander and attack Malcolm X, the SWP and the YSA, and by promoting Martin Luther King's reformist strategy, it is Monteiro, the YWLL, and the Communist Party who really are attacking the "mass movement now in process."

Five N.Y. Panthers are still not free

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—Although 13 New York Black Panthers were acquitted May 13 on frame-up charges of conspiracy to bomb department stores and police stations, five await trial on other indictments. Two of the 13, Michael Tabor (Cetewayo) and Richard Moore (Analye Dharuba), are in Algiers, having fled there in February.

The six immediately released were Afeni Shakur, Joan Bird, Walter Johnson (Baba Odinga), Alex McKiever (Catarrá), Curtis Powell, and Lee Roper (Shaba-Um).

The five remaining to face trumped-up charges on other cases are Robert Collier, John J. Casson (Ali Bey Hassan), William King (Kinshasa), Lumumba Shakur, and Clark Squire.

Shakur and Squire are charged with robbery of a Bronx subway booth. This charge came down in February 1969 after the district attorney's office dropped a charge, for lack of evidence, of sniping at police the previous month.

In addition, Shakur and Kinshasa are charged with kidnapping during the prison rebellion that rocked the Queens House of Detention last October. Several guards were held as

hostages in order to focus attention on the dehumanizing conditions in the jail. Shakur and Kinshasa are being framed with several other inmates.

Hassan has a gun-possession charge pending. But during the trial, the judge withdrew this charge along with others from the jury's consideration.

Collier must await a hearing before a parole board. He was one of several framed in 1965 for allegedly conspiring to blow up the Statue of Liberty. After serving 21 months of a 5-year sentence, he was paroled.

Only Squire and Kinshasa are out on bail. Shakur and Hassan have bonds of \$7,500.

Despite the crushing defeat dealt D.A. Frank Hogan when he lost the longest trial—eight months—in the history of New York State, the Panther defense is deeply in debt. The case began April 2, 1969, when the 13 Panthers were indicted along with eight others. Now, along with the debts already accumulated, bail money has to be raised and further court costs sustained.

Contributions and checks can be sent to: Lefcourt, Crain, Cohn, and associates, 640 Broadway, Fifth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10013.

By Any Means Necessary

The following are accounts of activities commemorating May 19, the birthday of Brother Malcolm X.

From **Detroit**, Marsha Coleman reports a rally of over 400 Black students at Highland Park Community College. The rally was sponsored by the Black Moratorium Committee, Black Student United Front, HPCC Student Council, and the Young Socialist Alliance. The speakers included Alesia Williams of the BMC, Lawrence Merriweather of the BSUF, Rae Brown of the Free Angela Davis Defense Committee at Wayne State University, and Maceo Dixon of the YSA. A panel discussion followed the rally.

Keith Jones reported from **Washington, D.C.**, a rally of 200 Black high school students outside the D.C. government building. The rally was called by the recently formed United Student Front, not only to honor Malcolm, but to protest government-announced teacher cutbacks. Some students were unable to attend due to school lock-ins by administrators.

The cutback of over 700 teachers and teacher aides has become a major issue in D.C.

Speakers at the rally included: Charles Stephenson of the Third World Task Force; Mamie Gray of D.C. Teachers College; and Jeanne Walton of the D.C. Teachers Union.

In **Chicago** on May 21, a mass assembly of over 1,500 Black students took place at Marshall High School. It was sponsored by the Black Student Union. That night, at the Militant Labor Forum, an audience of 70 heard Jackie Shaffer of the YSA and Marshall High BSU, Andrew Pulley of the Socialist Workers Party, and Bill Hampton, brother of assassinated Black Panther leader Fred Hampton, of the Maywood Community Organization. They paid tribute to Malcolm X and discussed the relevance of his ideas for the struggle today.



Apartheid in a South African plant

The General Motors Corporation recently held its annual stockholders meeting. On May 21, the stockholders took up the Episcopal Church proposal calling for GM withdrawal from South Africa. The Rt. Rev. John F. Hines presented the proposal. According to the May 22 **New York Times**, "Bishop Hines said today that 'to date there has been no indication that American business presence has been a liberating force' in South Africa. He added that investments by American companies in South Africa had grown from \$148-million in 1959 to \$800-million this year.

"He also said this period of time 'has been marked by the intensification and multiplication of repressive laws, and the gap between the average white and African wages has increased.'"

In defense of GM's operations in South Africa, which employ 6,000 workers, over half of whom are Black, and their methods of selecting the Board of Directors, GM chairman James M. Roche almost let the cat out of the bag: He stated at one point, "We are a public corporation owned by free, white," and then, the **Times** reports, Roche suddenly lost his train of thought. In an attempt to sweep the real deal under the rug, he demagogically added, "Black, yellow, and people all over the world."

The church resolution lost, of course.

A different type of protest against GM's policies in South Africa occurred on May 25. Unlike the stockholders meeting, it didn't address itself to the criminals but sought to organize the victims. This was a rally of 125 people at Michigan State University in East Lansing. It was sponsored by the Pan-African Student Organization in the Americas (PASOA), Black Liberation Front International, Black Veterans, East Lansing Peace Council, United Ministries, Student Mobilization Committee, and YSA.

Speakers denounced the CIA connections to MSU's African studies program. Their demands included severing of U.S. relations and aid to Portugal and South Africa, selling of MSU stock in General Motors, and unconditional withdrawal of the U.S. from Southeast Asia.

—DERRICK MORRISON

600 attend national Chicana conference

By MIRTA VIDAL

HOUSTON — Nearly 600 Chicanas and Latinas from every part of the country attended a national conference — "La Conferencia de Mujeres por la Raza" — held here on May 28-30. The impressive turnout for this conference was twice that originally estimated by the conference organizers. This was the first national conference of Raza women ever to be held, and as was stated several times during the weekend, it was an extremely successful, important and historic event.

The conference began Friday evening with greetings from Grace Gil Olivarez, a prominent Chicana activist from Phoenix, Ariz., who explained that the purpose of this gathering was "to discuss our problems and come up with solutions."

That was, in fact, a salient feature of the conference, which was marked by the enthusiasm and spirit of its participants. Raza women had come here to talk about our problems as women and to get something done.

The first evening's major event was a talk on "The Mexican-American Women's Public and Self-Image" by Julie Ruiz, who is currently writing a book on Chicanas. Ruiz pointed out that Chicanas are oppressed not only as Mexican-Americans but also as women.

The Saturday session began with a keynote address by Grace Gil Olivarez entitled "Machismo—What Are We Up Against?" Afterwards, we broke up into workshops. Both the morning and the afternoon workshops drew up resolutions and were followed by plenary sessions at which the resolutions were read.

Among these were "Sex and the Chicana," "Marriage: Chicana Style," "Feminist Movement: Do We Have a Place in It?" "Women in Politics—Is There Anyone There?" "Choices for Chicanas: Education/Occupation," and "Exploitation of Women—The Chicana Perspective."

The workshops, where we spent the largest amount of time during the conference, provided women with an opportunity to discuss freely and openly the many problems that directly affect our lives, and allowed for a real exchange of ideas.

One underlying theme throughout the weekend's discussions was that although Raza males are severely oppressed, women are oppressed both as women and as a part of La Raza. There was also a general rejection of the "traditional" role that the woman has had in Chicano culture.

One of the most important concepts expressed in these workshops was that women must control their own bodies in order to control our own lives. Point VI of the "Sex and the Chicana" workshop resolution, for example, states: "Free, legal abortions and birth control for the Chicano Community; controlled by Chicanas. As Chicanas we have the right to control our own bodies."

Another important topic was discussed in the marriage workshop, which stated as part of its resolution that "Chicana motherhood should not preclude educational, political, social, and economic advancement, and . . . there is a critical need for a 24-hour child-care center in Chicano communities. . . ."

As one solution to the problems faced by Chicanas in the field of education and occupations, the workshop on "Choices for Chicanas" called for a number of things, including "control of our schools" and "that we as Chicana women push for equal pay as compared to men, to white women."

One unfortunate aspect of the weekend was the disruption of the Sunday sessions by a group of women who felt it necessary to walk out of the conference in symbolic protest against the YWCA, which was hosting it.

While it is known that the YWCA has made no significant contributions toward eliminating racism, despite its pretense of championing that cause, the protest action divided the conference, which had more important business to carry out. The majority of Raza women had come here from all over the country to meet and discuss issues that were relevant to us as Raza women. We were not here to reform the YWCA but to organize independently of it, while taking advantage of the facilities it offered.

Although it became clear during the course of the conference that some of the women who proposed and led the walkout were opposed to the concept of Chicanas getting together around their own specific demands, a number of women felt that the grievances against the YWCA were valid and joined the walkout on that basis. In the midst of the confusion over this question, about half the women walked out and proceeded to a nearby park where they broke up into workshops and drew up a series of resolutions. The other half remained at the Y, where a discussion on what had happened took place.

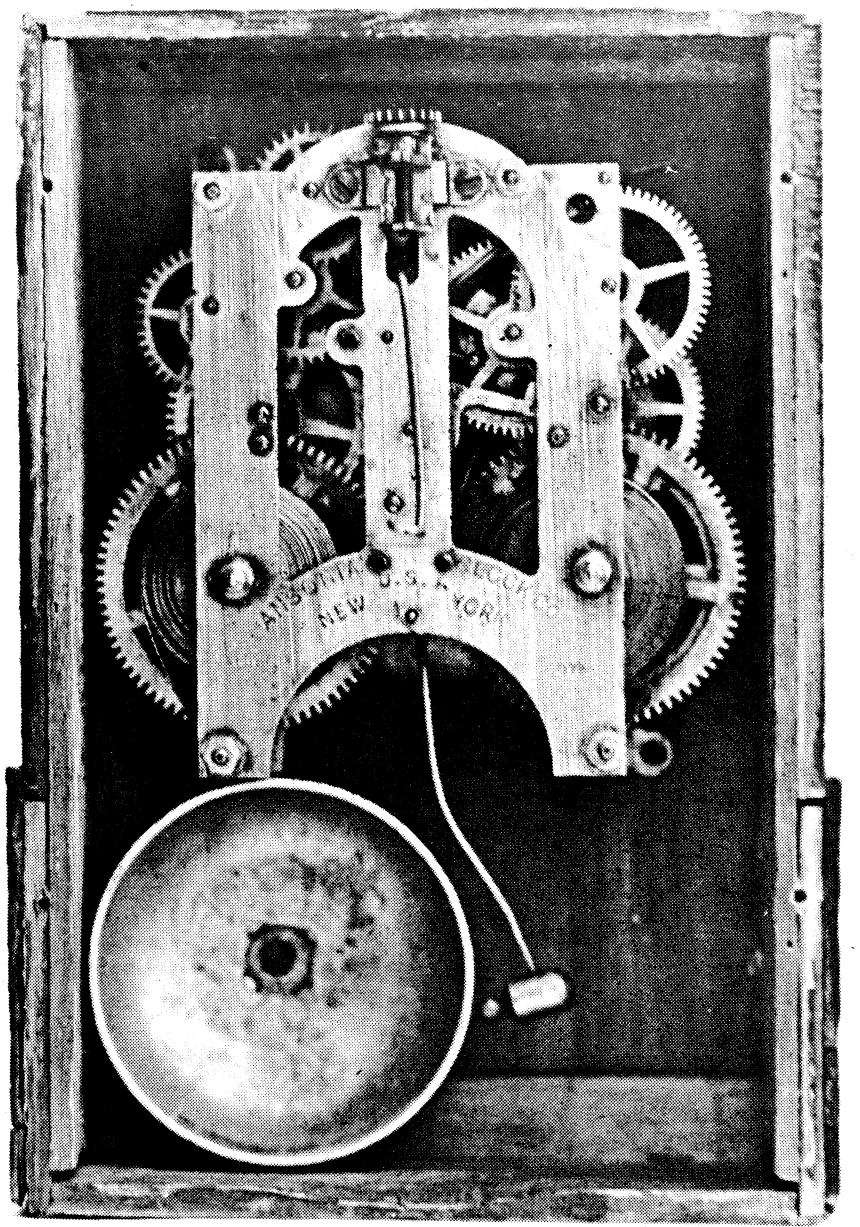
The sentiment of the remaining women was best expressed by one Chicana who remarked, "If they [the YWCA] are willing to pick up the tab, I'm willing to let them do it."

The discussion then turned to the unfinished business. It was agreed that a second national Chicana conference should be called sometime next year, and a national steering board made up of volunteers was set up to begin to coordinate this effort.

It was also proposed that statewide or regional conferences be held in the meantime to discuss the issues that were raised here, including the workshop resolutions, which were recommended by the conference as suggestions.

Also coming out of the conference will be a national newsletter as well as a Chicana newspaper—*Las Hijas de Cuahatemoc*—which is already being published in San Diego, Calif.

When the women who went to the park returned to read their resolutions, the general reaction was that this set of resolutions, which dealt with issues of the broader Chicano movement, did not include demands of particular relevance to Chicanas. We had come here to discuss our problems as women, and how we, as women, can participate in the movement. Nevertheless, the women were welcomed and heard in the spirit of unity. A new term arose among Raza women this weekend — *Hermanidad!* (Sisterhood!)



THANKS. Now we can shift gears

Our readers did a magnificent job of rallying to our appeal for contributions to the Militant Improvement Fund. The \$2,023.75 they sent in during the past week put the total amount received at \$5,664.25. This was more than the projected goal of \$5,000, and provides us with several hundred additional dollars to use in our continuing expansion.

Thanks to the support of our readers, we will be able to purchase the time- and labor-saving machines we need: a Cheshire labeling machine, which will save labor time by automating the current process of stamping each subscriber's name and address onto *The Militant* by hand; and a photo typositor, which will place at our fingertips virtually any style of headline type available. This will make for a more attractive *Militant*.

Special thanks goes to the "two fiftyish members of the working class" in Texas who dug deep last week and came up with \$500 for the fund. Their example inspired another supporter in New York to donate \$400. Many other readers also responded in the past week; one even sent in \$50 from Belgium.

A large part of the total amount contributed -- \$1,817.25 -- came in small donations from no fewer than 191 readers. A further indication of the breadth of the response is that the contributions came from 33 different states, three provinces in Canada, American Samoa, Belgium, and the Virgin Islands.

Your help will enable *The Militant* to respond more effectively to the new opportunities for extending the ideas of revolutionary socialism during the months ahead.

Harrisburg 8 witness wins court ruling



Sister Jogues Egan (far left) cannot be compelled to testify before Harrisburg grand jury, a court of appeals ruled May 28. Defendants in the case, pictured left to right, are Philip Berrigan, Rev. Joseph Wenderoth, Eqbal Ahmad, Anthony Scoblick, Sister Elizabeth McAlister, and Rev. Neil McLaughlin. Not pictured are Mary Cain Scoblick and John Glick.

By LEE SMITH

The U. S. Third District Court of Appeals called the Nixon government "a lawbreaker" May 28 and ruled that Sister Jogues Egan could not be compelled to testify before the Harrisburg federal grand jury that named her as a co-conspirator in the frame-up indictments of the Harrisburg Eight.

The ruling came on an appeal of Egan's citation for contempt by Judge R. Dixon Herman, who jailed the antiwar nun in January when she refused to answer the grand jury's questions.

Egan's attorneys argued the appeal on the basis of the Fourth Amendment protection against unreasonable search and seizure. The government had argued that because she had been promised immunity from prosecution, Egan should be compelled to testify. The defense insisted that she had been subpoenaed on the basis of evidence acquired illegally by wiretaps. Judge Herman had denied the defense's request for a hearing to determine whether wiretaps had been used, but the appeals court decision remanded Egan's case for such a hearing.

The decision affects several other witnesses who have refused to testify in the grand jury's frame-up investigation of Father Philip Berrigan and seven others accused of plotting to kidnap presidential adviser Henry Kissinger, blow up heating tunnels in Washington, and destroy Selective Service records.

The appeals court ruling came three

days after the arraignment of seven of the eight persons indicted so far in this case.

Appearing before Judge Herman for the arraignment were Philip Berrigan, Eqbal Ahmad, John Glick, Sister Elizabeth McAlister, Anthony Scoblick, Mary Cain Scoblick, and the Rev. Joseph Wenderoth. The eighth defendant, the Rev. Neil McLaughlin, was excused to attend his father's funeral. The seven had automatic pleas of not guilty entered for them by Judge Herman when they refused to plead as a protest against the "lawlessness" with which the government has prosecuted the case.

In the same court a day earlier, May 24, former U. S. attorney general Ramsey Clark assailed the government's response to a defense motion for disclosure of all evidence obtained by eavesdropping as "equivocal" and said it "amounts to a refusal to search their records." He criticized the Nixon administration's use of surveillance as "an utterly lawless philosophy," asserting that the president does not stand above the Constitution.

Arguing against the motion for disclosure of evidence and a series of other pretrial motions, U. S. Attorney William S. Lynch launched into a hysterical speech charging that the Harrisburg defendants were worse than the gangsters of organized crime.

According to the May 25 *New York Times*, Lynch said organized crime became involved in violence "only to

further its greed," but worse are "those who reject society's definition of law and criminality, people who would overthrow the society under which we live."

The Joseph McCarthy-style frenzy of Lynch's statements reveals the frustration the government feels in trying to prosecute this frame-up in face of overwhelming public support for the defendants, buoyed up by the revival of mass antiwar activity this spring.

The fact that such major publications as the *New York Times* and *Life* magazine have felt this public pressure is reflected in recent editorials and articles. In a May 19 editorial, the *Times* editors score the "careless and irresponsible" handling of the case by the government. On one point, the *Times* editors contradict their own reporter, Robert M. Smith, who wrote in the paper May 6 that the government "was unable to cite another case in which" it had publicly released such materials as the two letters from Berrigan and McAlister attached to the indictment. While the editors decided the attaching of the letters "is not unprecedented," they still criticized the action, referring to the letters as "rambling and amateurish reflections on possible acts [that] suggest the vaguest kind of common enterprise rather than a well-articulated criminal conspiracy."

An article by Lee Lockwood in the May 21 *Life* explains that the letters actually represent McAlister's unique

impression of a rather idle conversation no one else took seriously and Philip Berrigan's contradictory reaction, tempered by the emotional depression of imprisonment. Lockwood reconstructs the entire episode the government calls a "plot" and reveals the only sinister aspect of a harmless conversation and correspondence to be something introduced by agent provocateur Boyd F. Douglas, who acted as courier for the letters and turned over copies to his FBI employers.

Lockwood reports that Berrigan's answer to McAlister was accompanied by another letter—from Douglas—in which the agent "expressed his enthusiasm for the kidnapping 'plan,' saying that he was 'delighted' to be part of a really big action at last" and in which he "went on to say that he thought it was going to be necessary to use a gun. . . ."

The government's efforts to frame up this group of Catholic antiwar activists are part of the overall attempt by Nixon to stifle organized expression of the majority sentiment for getting out of Indochina now. The fight against these conspiracy charges goes hand-in-hand with the fight against the congressional red-baiting of the antiwar movement. A massive turnout for the July 2-4 National Antiwar Convention in New York City to plan demonstrations in the fall will help insure success in beating back both of these attacks.

Irish women defy ban on contraceptives

By CAROLINE LUND

On May 22 the Irish women's liberation movement openly defied the Irish laws banning the importation or sale of contraceptives in Ireland—and got away with it. Forty-seven women's liberation activists traveled to Belfast in Northern Ireland, where contraceptives are legal, stocked up on many different kinds of contraceptives, and came back into Dublin by train.

The May 23 *Washington Post* describes their reception in Dublin: "After confiscating a few devices, customs officials gave up the battle when the militants began hurling their contraceptives across the customs barrier to hundreds of cheering women inside Connolly Station."

No searches were made of women who said they were wearing internal contraceptive devices. "So many women refused to give up their purchases," said the *Washington Post*, "that customs officials yielded. 'We don't want

them; you can go through,' they said, looking a bit ruffled."

The women also brought back literature on birth control, which is also banned under the censorship act of 1948.

The right to contraception is one of the hottest issues in Ireland at the present time, and the women's liberation movement is growing because of its leadership of the struggle for the right of Irish women to control their own bodies. The May 9 *Observer*, a London weekly, remarked that although the women's liberation movement has also acted against the economic discrimination Irish women suffer, "contraception is the issue which has drawn to them women of all classes in Irish society."

The public controversy began when a 26-year-old woman senator, Mary Robinson, introduced a bill to repeal the anticontraception laws into the

Irish Upper House of Parliament. In March, the Women's Liberation Movement in Dublin announced its support for the bill. They argue that the anti-contraception laws contradict the Irish Constitution, which guarantees to citizens "freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion, subject to order and morality."

The Dublin Women's Liberation Movement is called by *The Observer* "the founding group of Irish women's liberation." In it are several prominent women journalists and some leaders of the Irish Republican Movement.

Soon after the women's movement began to move on this issue, the Catholic church reacted. The Archbishop of Dublin declared in a Lenten pastoral letter that: "If legislation is passed which offends the objective moral law, it will be a curse upon our country." The women's movement organized walk-outs from masses in which this

letter was read, and picketed the home of the Archbishop.

"Shortly afterwards," says *The Observer*, "Senator Robinson was refused time to debate her Bill in the Senate. . . . Since then, the going has been hot and heavy. One Irish Member of Parliament announced that 'sex was foreign to Ireland,' but to judge by the overflowing correspondence columns of the newspapers, discussion of it certainly is not."

The Observer reports that on April 14, Dublin Women's Liberation Movement announced a public meeting. "They expected a couple of hundred curious spectators and got instead more than 1,000. Queues of women, anxious to speak and give their experiences, had to be turned away. There were meetings every night last week of eager women coming together to form groups, discuss strategy, educate themselves and one another."

U.S. imperialism for continual

The following article was published as an educational supplement to issue No. 2, 1971, of the Swedish revolutionary-socialist monthly *Mullvaden* (Mole). The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

By Ernest Mandel

American imperialism began to show its face in Latin America early in the nineteenth century and later in the Pacific area (expansion into the Japanese sphere and the conquest of the Philippines). Since the opening of the first world war, American imperialism has spread out to encircle the entire world. In the competition among the imperialist powers, American imperialism emerged as the victor in the two imperialist world conflicts.

In fact, American imperialism was the only victor that was strengthened militarily and economically by these wars. All its most important competitors were weakened by one or both of these conflicts.

There is no need to go into detail on the causes of American imperialism's superiority over its competitors. The primary reasons are well known—enormous natural resources, a better balance between industry and agriculture, and a larger territorial and demographic base, which made it possible to take advantage of industrial mass production, wipe out all semifeudal vestiges, and permit the development of a purer form of capitalism than in the other imperialist states, and so forth.

It must be stressed, however, that American imperialism's rise to the place of leading power on the planet has been a dialectical process involving sharpening contradictions throughout the rest of the world as well as in American society itself. The American imperialist bourgeoisie has been unable to take part in the race for world domination without assuring its leadership of the capitalist world. In this it has been confronted with ever more powerful anticapitalist forces.

As a result, the decisions of American imperialism are often guided by the political necessity to defend the capitalist system on a worldwide scale. This need may conflict with its own particular interests. It is in this light that the Marshall Plan must be seen. Far from being an attempt to bring the European economy under Washington's control, it was, in historical perspective, the first phase in rebuilding West European imperialism as an independent force, more precisely a force with the capacity to compete with the USA. This decision, however, was not an irrational one.

Washington was faced with a choice between two evils after the second world war. It had either to help bring about the collapse of West European capitalism or permit a powerful competitor to recover. American imperialism chose the lesser evil, from its standpoint.

These introductory remarks are essential to avoid falling into economism or making an oversimplified analysis of the economic roots of American imperialism.

Surplus capital

American imperialism is still rooted primarily in the economic phenomenon which Lenin defined and which continues in force for the entire imperialist epoch—the existence of surplus capital in the imperialist countries spreading out over the globe in search of superprofits.

The only modification that need be made in Lenin's definition is that, since the second world war, this surplus capital is no longer solely, or even primarily, flowing toward the colonial or semicolonial "underdeveloped" countries, but also, to an increasing extent, toward other industrially developed imperialist countries.

This important difference with respect to the imperialism of Lenin's day can be explained by the following factors:

1. The important differentials in technology and labor productivity between American imperialism and the other imperialist powers.

2. The difference in military and political power between the USA and the other imperialist states, a difference more pronounced than that in the economic sphere.

3. The increasing insecurity of investments in the colonial and semicolonial countries, where the revolutionary liberation movements have been on the advance.

4. The reduced geographical area in which invested surplus capital can still produce profits, owing to the overthrow of capitalism in large sections of the world.¹

The end result of these uneven tendencies is that the differences between the rate of profit in the USA and what American capital can get in other countries (by exploiting its technological advantages and thereby assuring important surplus profits) is sufficiently large to make ex-

porting capital to other imperialist countries considerably more enticing than investing in underdeveloped countries, where the greater risks detract from the lure of higher rates of profit.

At the same time that American capital is gradually finding new outlets in the world,² the differences in labor productivity and technical development between the USA and the other imperialist countries are evening out. This process is reducing the profit-rate differentials between these countries and once again making the underdeveloped nations the only area that can absorb large surplus profits. A relaxation in the tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union may open up possibilities (however modest) for investment of American capital in countries with a socialist economic base, in the same way as FIAT and Renault have already done in the automotive industry.

But all the possibilities for investment cannot alter the basic fact that, for the past twenty-five years, the major part of American capital exports has been invested in other imperialist countries rather than in the rest of the world.

It must be remembered that these exports of capital correspond to an economic need inherent in the monopoly capitalist system. They are a response to a two-sided threat of a decline in the average rate of profit in the main fortresses of imperialism and a massive accumulation of capital that cannot be invested in these centers without threatening to bring about a grave new decline in the average rate of profit.

Arms investment

The accumulation of an increasing capital surplus that can no longer be invested profitably in any of the usual economic sectors promotes not only exports but also a rush for new areas of investment in sectors where the average rate of profit is comparable to that in monopolized sectors but where investment does not threaten the profit rate throughout the entire system. Arms production (and its carry-over into the space sector) offers an area for "substitute investment," to use Rosa Luxemburg's expression.

The advantages that flow from investments in the arms industry are obvious. They do not reduce the volume of capital already invested in other sectors of industry. To the contrary, they stimulate heavy industrial production and the supply of certain raw materials. Nor do they compete with existing commodity production but create products whose only buyer is the state and whose only "consumption" value is to strengthen U.S. imperialism internationally. Such investments also offer other marginal advantages which cannot be overlooked. They make it possible to put a damper on cyclical fluctuations by stabilizing an important part of investment volume. In this way, the American economy is protected against a crisis like that of 1929 (although the development of periodic recessions cannot be prevented, which in the last analysis are no less serious than the crises capitalism has experienced throughout its entire history). These investments guarantee automatic profits for the monopolies in an increasing number of sectors, all linked to defense.

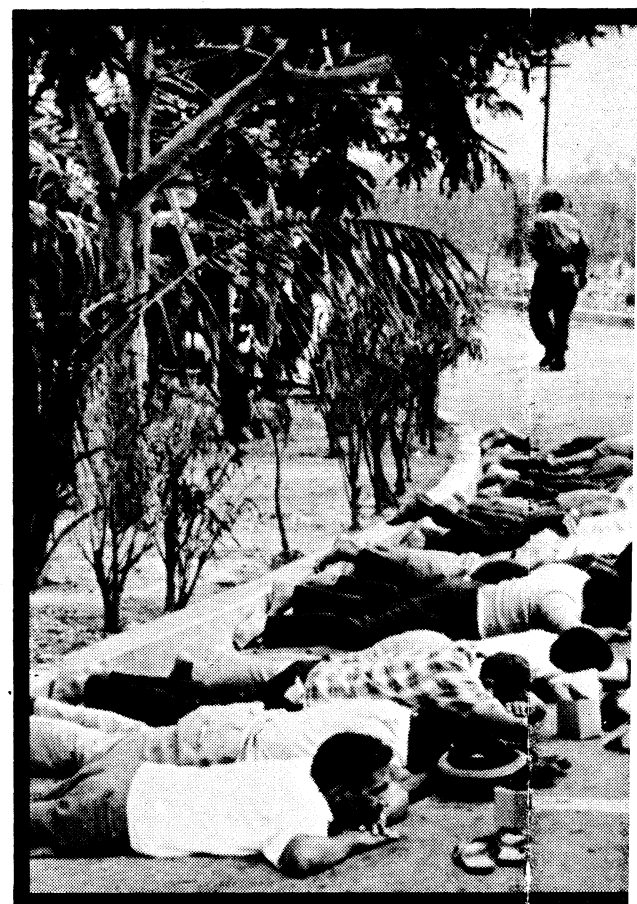
The increasing importance of the war industry in the American economy can be seen first of all in its growing influence in sectors like the electronic, airplane, and chemical industries. This results in a twofold interrelationship that stimulates the expansion of American imperialist capital.

1. The linking up of certain monopolies with war matériel production makes military industry and its extension into other fields a vital matter.

2. The link between certain high posts in the armed forces and the government apparatus creates a vital interest in maintaining the defense budget at an astronomical level and raising it still higher.

This twofold symbiosis is all the more dangerous in that it has a tendency to reproduce itself in foreign countries as a result of the construction of American bases abroad and the sending of military "aid" and advisers to "friendly" governments threatened by "subversion from within" or "Communist aggression from without."

Even former President Eisenhower, conservative as he was, expressed concern at the end of his term over the enormous growth of the industrial, military, and political establishment. This establishment lives and flourishes essentially from increasing defense expenditures, and needs international conflicts to justify this growth to the American taxpayers.

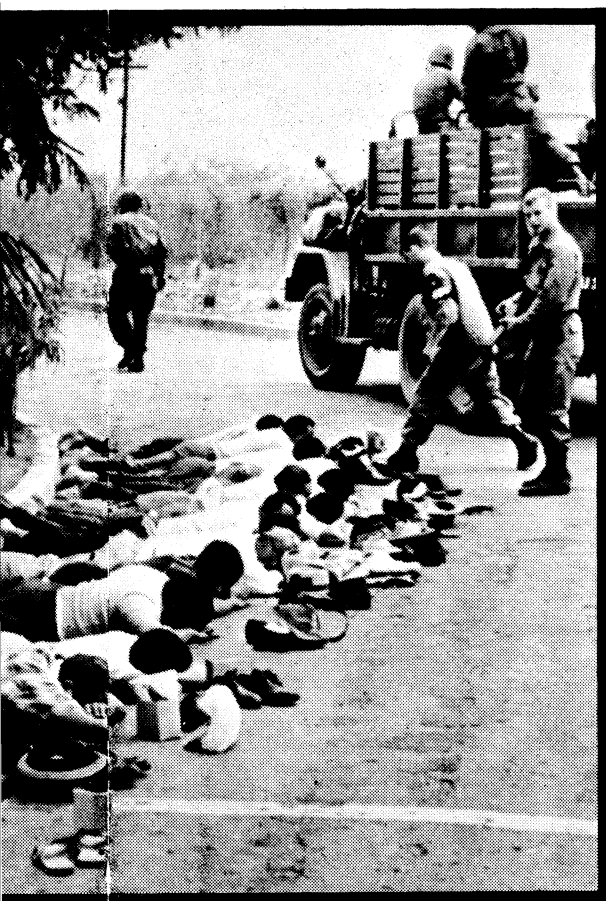


U.S. soldiers guarding Dominican rebels in Santo Domingo.

Capitalism's drive to world expansion



Der Spiegel



Minicab labels during 1965 U.S. invasion of

It would be no less stupid to see the important role that the arms industry plays in the American economy as the sole result of maneuvers by this Mafia within the American bourgeoisie. The entire capitalist class is compelled to carry on a permanent arms policy, since it is confronted by the permanent revolution on a world scale and by the industrial and military development of countries that have already abolished capitalism. The aim of the arms reduction conference is not disarmament but an attempt to rationalize the arms race so that it can be supported by the U.S. and Soviet defense budgets, which, despite everything, are not unlimited.

In a world divided into two hostile camps, real disarmament is completely utopian. Still more utopian is the idea that monopoly capitalism can reallocate the sixteen to seventeen billion dollars it spends annually on arms to the public sectors of education, health, and aid to the underdeveloped countries. Such a reallocation would require that the bourgeoisie change from a class driven by the profit motive to a class working for the good of humanity. Any great spread of capital outside the arms sector would quickly threaten "civilian" capital investments and thus the rate of profit. No such thing will ever happen.

Raw materials

In contrast to most of its competitors, American imperialism was characterized by the fact that it had access within its borders to the basic raw materials that are necessary for modern industry. Even in the years immediately following the first world war, raw material imports were of secondary importance and could easily be replaced with synthetics.

The enormous expansion of American industrial production at the end of the second world war changed this situation, however. Today the USA must import ever increasing quantities of raw materials, including such basic items as oil, iron ore, bauxite, copper, magnesium, and nickel. What is more, the available sources of such materials in the U.S.'s own borders are rapidly decreasing. With regard to oil, reserves will be exhausted at the end of the century. The USA depends entirely on imports for chromium, cobalt, and columbium, which are essential to steel production.

In other words, now, seventy-five years later than its most important competitors, the USA must go out into the world to look for new sources of raw materials—oil in Latin America, the Near East, and West Africa; other minerals in Canada, Australia, Africa, and elsewhere. In this search it is colliding not only with the liberation movements in various colonial and semicolonial countries, but must also compete with other imperialist nations such as England, Japan, France, West Germany, and in fact even Spain.

To seize and control these resources has often involved political conflicts, with resulting coups d'etat and local wars (especially in West Africa over the last five years). This can lead to sending military advisers and to *de facto* development of American bases. The need for new sources of raw materials explains the vigor with which American imperialism clings to countries like Venezuela and Brazil. They have been indispensable suppliers of raw materials for the big American financial interests.³

Despite the fact that American capital exports to the underdeveloped countries have been less extensive than its exports to other imperialist countries, they have not been insignificant. In the cases of important countries like Indonesia and Brazil or other countries with great, almost untouched resources like the Congo, American capital exports have resulted in increasing interference by American imperialism in the affairs of these semicolonial countries. Conflicts have arisen with other imperialist powers, especially the old colonial powers that American imperialism is gradually displacing.

The most typical examples of the way American capital has taken over in the past twenty years from earlier colonial capital are to be seen in Indonesia (where it took the place of Dutch capital), Morocco (French capital), and Iran (English capital).

In the Congo we can clearly see the beginning of a similar change, in this case involving Belgian capital, even if for the moment this is better reflected in the re-orientation of foreign trade than in capital investments.

This whole imperialist changing of the guard has not been achieved simply by behind-the-scenes maneuvers but has led to acute national and international conflicts, most often accompanied by bloodbaths. From the overthrow of Mossadegh up to the murder of Ben Barka and the imposition of Mobutu by a coup d'etat, the roadway has

been lined with murders, conspiracies, and repression costing hundreds of thousands of lives.

'American century'

To climax everything, American imperialism has not achieved world domination. The dream of an "American century" lasted only five years—from 1945 to 1950. It was shattered not only by the increasing strength of the anticapitalist forces on the international scale, but also by the law of uneven development which the capitalist world center has inexorably had to bow to, since that permits no new position to be held forever. In comparison with the period 1945-50, the positions of American imperialism's most important competitors (with the exception of England) have grown stronger, not weaker, vis-à-vis the USA.

The competition among the imperialist countries is more acute than previously. We have not seen any superimperialism develop, but rather a continuing struggle among the imperialist countries, each trying to shift the balance of power in its favor. This competition among the imperialist powers is taking place, however, within the framework of the new worldwide relationship of forces. Capital has lost a third of the world, and the continual expansion of new revolutionary movements threatens to release new countries from its grip.

Under these conditions, interimperialist competition has come to be replaced by interimperialist solidarity in confronting the mortal threat that hangs over the entire system. Stalin's hope for a new interimperialist war has come to nought, if you disregard local conflicts between imperialist puppets in Africa, Cyprus, and elsewhere.

One of the economic bases of American imperialism is defense of the conditions for the reproduction of invested U.S. capital when these seem to deteriorate or be threatened. This precisely was the meaning of the coup d'etat in Guatemala, which defended United Fruit's investments. It was Creole Petroleum's investments that were protected by military men sent to Venezuela; and the CIA was involved in the military coup in Brazil to safeguard the United States Steel Corporation's investments. The same sort of intervention in Greece enabled America's Litton Industries to make big capital investments under extremely favorable conditions.

It is wrong, however, to look at the imperialist interventions in too narrow a focus, that is, only as defending invested capital.

It is also a question of safeguarding future possibilities and averting the danger of a chain reaction, with an "unstable situation" in one country spreading to the surrounding states. Thus, for example, direct American capital investment in South Vietnam is very modest. The investments in Thailand are, however, more significant; and those in Malaysia, Indonesia, and India are considerably greater.

By intervening with a counterrevolutionary aggression in the civil war in Vietnam, American imperialism is protecting the capitalist strongholds in the neighboring countries and trying to safeguard its future possibilities in Southeast Asia. Today the American strategy must inevitably be a global one. The fight in defense of capital is not necessarily waged where this capital is invested. The battle may be fought in other countries where the loss of imperialism's advanced positions could represent a dangerous threat to the areas further back.

An analysis of the economic forces that have determined the development of American imperialism can lead only to a conclusion that, in order to be effective, the anti-capitalist forces must meet the international counterrevolutionary strategy of big capital with a corresponding worldwide strategy.

1. A study by a Chicago consultants' firm in 1960 revealed that the thirty-five biggest American trusts had a net profit of 9.2 percent in the USA and 14.2 percent abroad (corporate profits after taxes). The January 1, 1962, issue of the *U.S. News and World Report* and the March 8, 1965, issue of *Newsweek* came to similar conclusions.

2. Direct American corporate investments rose from \$7.2 billion in 1946 to \$40.6 billion in 1963 and \$54.4 billion in 1966.

3. According to Harry Magdoff, American imports of certain raw materials have been increasing to the following extent, calculated as a percentage of U.S. production.

	% in 1937	% in 1966
Iron Ore	3	43
Copper	-13	18
Lead	0	131
Zinc	7	140
Bauxite	113	638
Oil	-4	—

30,000 commemorate Paris Commune

The following article by Jean Benoit in the May 18 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* describes the demonstrations May 15-16 in commemoration of the Paris Commune of 1871. The actions were sponsored by the *Ligue Communiste* (Communist League) and *Lutte Ouvrière* (Workers Struggle). Alain Krivine, Henri Weber and Daniel Ben Saïd are leaders of the Communist League. Michel Rodinson is a member of Workers Struggle. Maurice Thorez and Marcel Cachin were leaders of the French Communist Party, and Daniel Cohn-Bendit was a prominent figure during the May-June events in 1968. This translation appeared in *Intercontinental Press*, May 31.

The joyous revolution, the slogan that flowered on the barricades in May 1968, undoubtedly inspired the first "revolutionary thinking" of the activists who gathered around the young Fourth International speakers Saturday [May 15] at 8:00 p.m. in the Seventh University district on the Quai Saint-Bernard. In three springs, the atmosphere has seldom been more enthusiastic, or more carnival-like, under the futuristic towers of the Halle-aux-Vins.

The colors were indeed joyous that shone in this dense crowd of youths in their twenties, sitting on the flagstones in the red glare of floodlights. Joyous, too, were the Arab tambourines and Peruvian flutes, the revolutionary hymns storming against the high aluminum and glass walls of the School of Science, even the huge portraits of Lenin and Trotsky that dominated the gathering. And the welcome that was given to the delegations from the provinces was joyous as well. They came from Lyon, Le Havre, Grenoble, Marseille, Aix-en-Provence—in all nearly three thousand demonstrators from more than fifty cities arriving late, loaded down with flags.

There was a striking, even somewhat disconcerting contrast between this carnival atmosphere and the gravity, one would even be tempted to say severity, of the speeches.

International support

In keeping with their promise at the November 20-21, 1970, conference of nineteen Trotskyist organizations in Brussels, the leaders of the *Ligue Communiste* and *Lutte Ouvrière* invited representatives of a certain number of foreign movements to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the Commune in Paris. Twelve countries sent delegates. And two Asians appeared on the platform, one from Ben-

gal and the other from Ceylon, bringing greetings from their revolutionary formations.

There was a kind of anomaly between the gaiety of the meeting—young people shouting, clapping their hands, and jumping around—and the gravity of the subjects discussed by these delegates from afar. They talked about imperialism, the massacre of minorities, the tragedy of the third world and the exploited.

Marcel Rodinson, Henri Weber, and Daniel Ben Saïd were to evoke "the crisis of capitalism in Japan, in the United States, and throughout Europe," at the same time as "the contradictions in the Communist world and even in the Trotskyist movement." However, according to the analysis of these leaders, the next three years will be decisive for the revolutionary movement in the majority of countries. "The Commune is a hundred years old," Ben Saïd shouted, "and in these hundred years virtually nothing has changed in the eternal conspiracy of the exploiters against the exploited. Does that mean that we are celebrating the Commune out of bravado, to cheer ourselves up? No, because since May 1968 we have driven a sizable wedge into the breach made in capitalism and also in the Stalinist bureaucracy. Since May 1968 the Commune has been gaining new life, here and throughout the world."

On the question of the desecration of the graves of Maurice Thorez and Marcel Cachin, which he attributed to "provocateurs," the speaker exclaimed: "We have never bowed down before idols of flesh and we will not make a fetish of tombs and mausoleums. These things don't interest us. What interests us in the Commune is not the personal qualities of its working-class leaders but the meaning of the struggle."

Shouts of "Nixon, Murderer," "Palestine Will Win," "May 68, Poland, Indochina; Stalinism, No, Socialism, Yes" preceded the "Internationale." It was sung with fist raised, or with the four fingers of the right hand spread, at first in a pop rumba rhythm, then—when part of the crowd protested—in a more orthodox version.

After a call by Alain Krivine for "a calm and dignified mass demonstration at the Mur des Fédérés," the evening ended at 11:30 p.m. with songs of the Spanish republic played on stage by the guitarist Vasco Ibañez. The only altercations that occurred, on the outskirts of the university grounds, did not go beyond the stage of argument. A few dozen anarchists opposed paying the admission

fee of 10 francs, which was charged to cover the cost of housing the delegations from the provinces.

30,000 march

Sunday morning [March 16], members of the *Ligue Communiste* went to the markets in the Twentieth Arrondissement and in Ivry-sur-Seine to distribute papers and to call the population to the mass meeting in Belleville. If there were ten thousand persons at the Halle-aux-Vins, there were thirty thousand when the Trotskyist activists met the second time at 3:00 in the Place des Fêtes. Preceded by giant banners with the portraits successively of Karl Marx, Trotsky, and Lenin, the members of the Central Committee of the French section of the Fourth International marched in front of the foreign delegations—British, Italian, German, Austrian, Belgian, Swiss, Swedish, and Danish, in all about 1,000 persons. Then came the members of *Lutte Ouvrière* and the numerous Parisian and provincial sections of the *Ligue Communiste*.

Several hundred young people in helmets served as monitors at the head, rear, and along the sides of the march. The procession proceeded without the slightest incident from the Eglise de Belleville to Père Lachaise, going down the Rue des Pyrénées and through the Place Gambetta.

It was about 5:30 when the first wave of this sea of red flags entered the cemetery by the north gate, channeled by the keeper of Père Lachaise and guards in képis. The last rows of demonstrators were still at the Rue de Belleville. It was to take more than two hours for this human tide to flow through the cemetery paths to the Boulevard de Ménilmontant.

Passing between the Mur des Fédérés and the graves—now undefiled by any trace of paint—of Maurice Thorez and Marcel Cachin, young people removed their helmets, gently whistling the "Chant des Martyrs" [Hymn to the Martyrs], while Alain Krivine laid a wreath at the foot of the plaque commemorating the Communards shot in 1871. A few feet from the monument to the forced laborers of Mauthausen, a group of Germans softly sang the "Internationale."

Krivine, Mandel speak

This ceremony would not be complete without speeches. Stoically, the Trotskyist activists stood in a driving rain, listening for more than an hour to Alain Krivine and Ernest Mandel, one of the leaders of the Fourth International. The latter arrived that same

evening from Brussels, after, it seems, experiencing some difficulties in crossing the frontier.

Stressing the large number of demonstrators, Alain Krivine said that "for the first time the Mur des Fédérés has looked down not on usurpers of the Commune's tradition but on real continuators of the revolutionary struggle of the communards," and that "for the first time also since 1927 the Trotskyist groups stand out as the only international revolutionary force." He added: "The capitalists are right to tremble. They do not face an anarchist or spontanéist agglomeration, but from now on they will have to reckon with an organized force."

The *Ligue Communiste* leader's warning was also directed "at the bureaucrats of the PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist party], who have tried to blame the leftists for desecrating the graves of Thorez and Cachin, to hang a new Reichstag fire on us."

Krivine concluded: "We will fight this fight for as long as it takes, but today our movement is already assured of victory. This is only a beginning, continue the struggle."

Ernest Mandel, for his part, paid homage to the Paris Commune, "which laid the foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat and proved capable of making a reality, along with workers' councils, of genuine internationalism." Mandel considered that "those who aborted the revolutionary opportunities of June 1936 and May 1968 dare not hold their heads up when they talk about the Commune." In contrast, Mandel saluted the audacity of the "communards of 1871," which was all the more admirable, he said, since more than a hundred years later the problems they attacked have not yet been solved.

During the demonstration, which ended at about 6:30, other speakers called for cheers for Cohn-Bendit "who, even if he is not a member of the Fourth International, deserved a place in this assembly." And they expressed their regret that several foreign Trotskyist leaders were denied the opportunity to come into France. Moreover, cries of "Messmer, fascist, murderer" followed the announcement of the "death of an Antillean comrade," which occurred, it seems, at the time of the incidents that marked Messmer's visit to Martinique.

* Pierre Messmer, minister of state for overseas departments and territories, returned to Paris May 17 from an official visit to Martinique and Guadeloupe, where strong protest movements are going on—IP

Herbert Marcuse addressing May 11 meeting of 500 at University of California in San Diego commemorating Paris Commune. Other speakers included Theodore Edwards of the Socialist Workers Party (far left), Prof. Franz Naven (center left), and Sherry Smith (not shown) of the Young Socialist Alliance.



Photo by Pamela Starksy

Why Nixon wants to back Lockheed with \$250-million

By DICK ROBERTS and JON BRITTON

The Nixon administration's request to Congress for a bill to guarantee a \$250-million loan to the Lockheed Aircraft Corp. focuses attention on problems in the U.S. economy that go far beyond the potential bankruptcy of Lockheed itself.

The Lockheed financial crisis takes place within the context of a general credit squeeze that has prevailed in U.S. money markets since the Penn Central bankruptcy last year. The Nixon administration move marks a new stage of intervention by the capitalist government to prop up the faltering financial positions of leading U.S. corporations and banks.

There are two immediate causes of Lockheed's problems. First was the refusal of the government to provide the billions of dollars Lockheed demanded to build the C-5A troop transport planes. This program alone piled up \$5-billion in "cost overruns"—amounts demanded by Lockheed over and above the original terms set with the Pentagon.

Washington's refusal to provide unlimited financing for the C-5A was partially the result of new public sentiment against such traditional giveaways to the war industry. It also reflected the temporary cutbacks on arms spending initiated by the Johnson and Nixon administrations to reduce inflationary pressures on the economy.

The second immediate cause of the Lockheed financial crisis was the declaration of bankruptcy earlier this year by Britain's renowned Rolls-Royce corporation. Rolls-Royce was under contract to build the engines for the L-1011 TriStar airbus, a giant commercial jet Lockheed is manufacturing in order to carve a place for itself in the commercial aircraft market. (Before this, Lockheed's business was almost entirely in military airplanes.)

As can be seen from the diagram on this page, the combined efforts of many firms, in addition to Lockheed and Rolls-Royce, are involved in developing and building the TriStar. And some of these companies could themselves face financial chaos in the event of the collapse of the project.

Treasury Secretary John B. Connally, who is handling the Lockheed situation for the Nixon administration, told *Business Week* magazine, May 15, "If the . . . L-1011 airbus program is allowed to go under . . . 24,000 jobs in 25 states will disappear and a \$1.4-billion investment in the plane will be lost."

The disappearance of 24,000 jobs, of course, is of little concern to the ruling class, whose recessionary policies have already led to unemployment levels of over five million American workers. But the loss of \$1.4-billion and the possible domino effect of a Lockheed failure are different matters.

Not shown in the diagram are the banks intimately linked to the TriStar project through the loans they have

made to participating corporations. Nor are the airlines themselves shown, some of which have already placed tens of millions of dollars in advance orders for the jetliner.

Says *Business Week*, "Trans World Airlines, which has \$101.3-million invested in the L-1011, stands to lose the most, followed by Eastern, and then Delta. . . . In fact, there is speculation on Wall Street that if Lockheed topples, TWA may not be far behind."

Business Week gives the following breakdown of the \$1.4-billion investment that is threatened: ". . . \$400-million has been lent to Lockheed for airbus development by a consortium of 24 banks. Seven of these banks each carry \$30-million of the loan. Their earnings statements would be hurt severely by a Lockheed crash. . . .

"Lockheed itself has \$375-million invested in the L-1011. In addition, suppliers have \$350-million at stake, and the airlines have \$240-million in advance payments on the line."

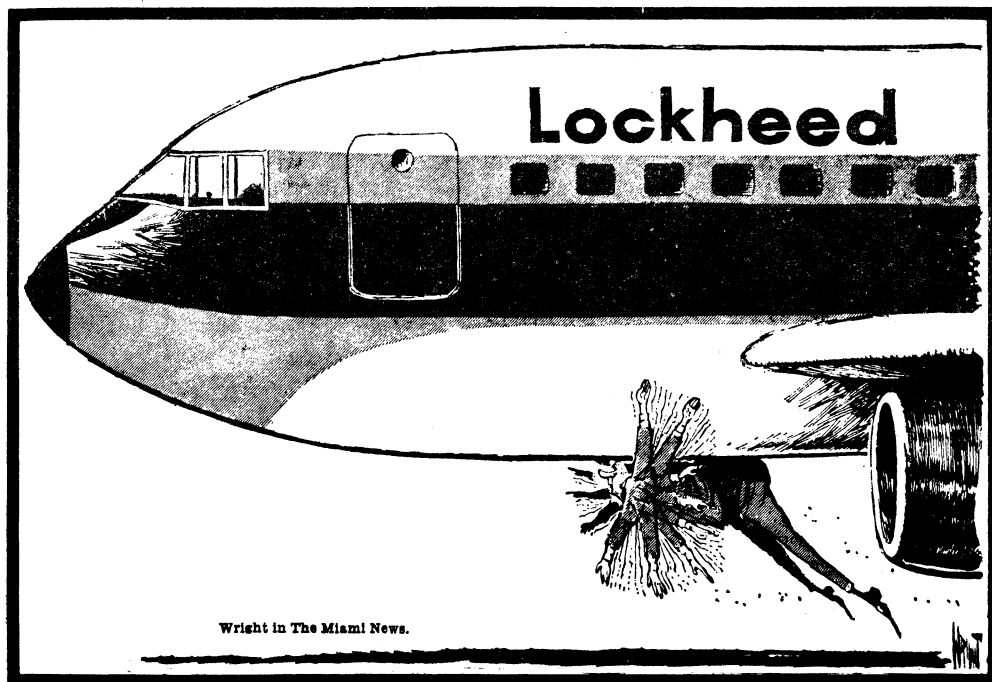
The fear of seeing \$1.4-billion go up in smoke is enough to make any capitalist government uneasy. But what makes Lockheed's financial difficulties a matter of urgent concern to the ruling class and its government is the fact that this potential bankruptcy takes place within the framework of a major credit squeeze and thus could set off a string of corporate failures, with unknown consequences to the economy as a whole.

The credit squeeze is due, on the one hand, to the fact that despite Federal Reserve moves to loosen credit, the major banks are maintaining extremely tough lending policies (an unwillingness to make large loans to corporations without exceptional guarantees). The Penn Central collapse jolted them into recognizing the dangerous burden of debt being carried by many large U.S. corporations.

On the other hand, the current economic downturn has been accompanied by declines in sales and profits, and consequently, many corporations are badly in need of cash to make payments on their debts and to carry on their operations.

The large debts incurred by U.S. corporations in the past two decades were prompted by intense domestic and international competition, which forced these firms to raise huge amounts of capital for expansion and modernization. Corporations raised a large share of this capital by increasing their debt through bond sales and bank loans as opposed to the alternative and more conservative method of selling additional shares of stock.

They opted for this course because many corporate heads, and bankers too, became convinced that the "new economics" and the governmental policies flowing therefrom had all but eliminated the threat of severe economic downturns, thus making outmoded the old standards of what constituted a "prudent" debt load. Involved also were certain tax advantages (for example, interest on bor-



Wright in The Miami News.

rowed money is tax deductible to corporations whereas stock dividends are not).

Figures released by the Department of Commerce show the trend. Total corporate long-term debt rose from \$72-billion in 1950 to \$168-billion in 1960 and \$344-billion in 1968. Total short-term debt (repayable in 90 to 270 days) rose from \$95-billion in 1950 to \$194-billion in 1960 and \$380-billion in 1968. The May 1971 *Fortune* magazine turned attention to the overall situation in an article by Carol J. Loomis entitled: "The Lesson of the Credit Crisis."

Says Loomis, "Between 1960 and 1970 . . . the largest industrial companies made a powerful move toward higher levels of debt, reaching a point last year at which no less than 106 companies out of the top 500 had debt ratios (long-term debt as a proportion of total capital) exceeding 40 percent. Of these, sixteen were in the stratosphere beyond 60 percent, and three—Ling-Temco-Vought, General Host, and Rapid-American—were winging it, so to speak, beyond 80 percent."

When the economy began to slow down with the current recession, and the danger emerged that one or another corporation would not be able to raise the cash to meet its debt payments, a panicky atmosphere set into New York's money markets.

"The turning point in businessmen's thinking about debt," writes *Fortune* magazine's Loomis, "—the event that ripped the confidence of the business world, that convinced even the stubbornest diehards that the long economic boom was really over . . . was the Penn Central bankruptcy."

The declaration of bankruptcy by this mighty railroad corporation—the owner of a third of the nation's rail networks—sent the money markets "into a tailspin," says Loomis.

"Some financial authorities who had an overview of the situation last summer believe that the country escaped a massive credit collapse by the narrowest of margins. What averted the

disaster was the immediate intervention of the Federal Reserve, which began maneuvering on the weekend of the Penn Central bankruptcy to make additional money available to the commercial banks. . . ."

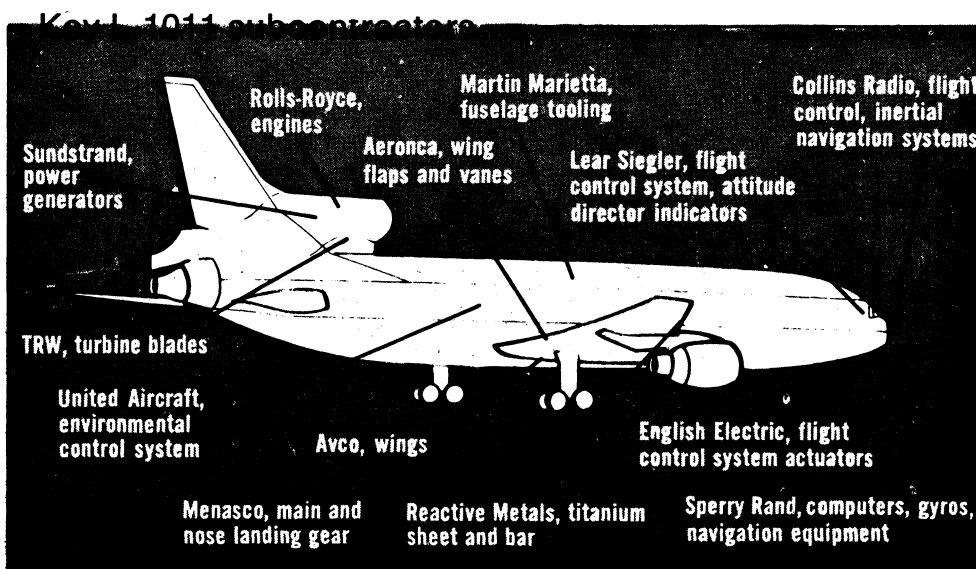
The Nixon administration reversed its monetary policies, abandoning the tight-money policies that had driven interest rates to historic peaks and making cash reserves available to banks. This allowed the banks to make urgently needed short-term loans at lower interest rates.

These monetary policies temporarily cooled the panicky atmosphere in New York. But this was done at the expense of forcing many corporations even deeper into debt, much of it short-term debt, since under the conditions of uncertainty prevailing in the economy then (and now), banks were unwilling to lend as much on the long-term. Fast repayment was, and still is, the order of the day.

The Lockheed crisis shows that the general credit squeeze in the U.S. economy has not been resolved by looser money. The banks themselves are well aware that pumping more and more money into the system when production is not generally rising is only a short-term "solution."

Because of the enormous risks involved in lending additional money to Lockheed, the banks have demanded that—no matter what the interest rate they could get from Lockheed!—the government agree to underwrite any losses they would accrue, up to \$250-million, if Lockheed goes under.

The deepening credit squeeze consequently finds the ruling class more and more turning toward using the government as a financial buttress to its stranglehold on the economy. Thus, while federal, state and municipal social services are being stripped to the minimum, and unemployment is increasing across the nation, the Nixon administration is willing to allocate \$250-million of taxpayers' money to bail out Lockheed's banking creditors.



The Nixon administration is asking for a federal guarantee for \$250-million in bank loans to back Lockheed's production of this giant commercial jetliner, the L-1011 TriStar. The diagram shows many other corporations involved in producing parts for the multimillion-dollar "airbus."

U.S. corporate farming —big profits for a few

By MARVEL SCHOLL

Much is written in the slick magazines about the "farm crisis," maybe to explain away why the price of food is going sky high.

Today when one speaks of a "farm," the general understanding is that the word means a vast acreage under the ownership of one corporation, divided according to crop into sections supervised by a manager, worked by temporary hands and their families. And that picture is a true one.

In 1900, the farm population of this country was more than 70 percent of the total. Today there are less than 3 percent of the more than 200 million Americans who live on and earn their living from the land. The government estimates that the number of farms in 1971 is about 2.9 million, down more than one million since 1960. In the same period, the average size of U.S. farms has climbed by 31 percent and is now 389 acres.

According to the April 12 *U.S. News & World Report*, net farm income has dropped from a high of \$13-billion in 1969 to \$12.3-billion in 1971. The charts provided in the *U.S. News* article show that production costs have risen during the same period from \$35.5-billion to \$41.2-billion.

The figures for net income include the huge government subsidies paid to farm owners for not growing crops. Naturally, the largest of these payments go to the factory farms since they have more land to deposit in the so-called land banks.

According to the same *U.S. News* article, \$3.8-billion was paid out by the Agriculture Department in 1969 to restrict production and bolster prices. *Three-quarters of that money went to the one-third of the nation's farmers who have the largest operations as measured by gross sales.*

The day is long past when a fam-

ily could earn a living on 40 acres, or even on 160. But those who still try find it ever more difficult to obtain financing for buying land and machinery. Land values have risen, taxes have increased, interest is high. And income received from the sale of cash crops (for instance hogs, which used to be the one sure money crop upon which such a family could depend) is low compared to the cost of producing these crops on a small farm.

Who then is making the profit from the high cost of food (up 0.9 percent in April alone)?

The factory farms and ranches which operate vast expanses of land, with high government subsidies and underpaid labor, are certainly getting their share. (These farms and ranches, in turn, are often owned by the huge supermarket chains that distribute and market the food.) The average wage paid the millions of men, women and children who form the bulk of agricultural labor was \$1.58 in 1969—not even the federal minimum wage. No farmer is obligated to pay the minimum wage unless he employs *seven full-time, year-round* workers. And it is only a bookkeeping transaction to fire permanent hands for long enough to keep them from being classified as "year-round" employees.

One needs only to take an automobile trip through the Mississippi Valley, or the Western Plains states to recognize that the old-fashioned farm is a thing of the past. The old farm houses, their windows broken, chimneys fallen, porches and doorsteps sagging, surrounded by collapsing outhouses and barns, with rusty windmills minus their sails—some of these are the tombstones of a dead past. But these markers will not last for long. Once the factory-farmer needs the space they occupy, the bulldozer will make short work of them.

On this car trip, you will see other signs of the times. Huge fields of beans, asparagus, peas, or potatoes, with small children bent over picking, and then, right in the fields, a canning factory or freezing plant. A large herd of cows grazing, and then moving slowly to gigantic milking sheds where each cow in its turn is hitched to a milking machine—connected to pipes which carry the milk to either refrigerated trucks or processing plants.

Drive up the Minnesota Valley from Le Sueur to St. Paul, once the homeland of the small vegetable grower—today the property of the Jolly Green Giant.

Drive along the Arkansas River in Colorado and see the fenced-in lands owned by the Rocky Mountain Cattle Corporation—miles and miles of it.

These are but a few graphic examples of what has happened to the land that once was worked by 70 percent of the population.

Progress in the production of food stuffs is good. It is not economical to divide the land into small tracts operated inefficiently by individual farmers using simple tools and back-breaking methods of work. Under a socialist society, large-scale agriculture will be operated as a nationalized industry, not as the private property of capitalist land hogs and price gougers. Food will be plentiful and available to all, not high priced and rationed to the poor by means of food stamps, as it is now.

The mechanization of farming has made it impossible for the small farmer to exist—for instance, a corn harvester which can cut, husk and shell 500 bushels of corn in one day is a far cry from yesterday when an experienced farmer could *husk* only 60 bushels a day, leaving all of the other operations—stacking stalks to dry for silage, shelling the corn, etc., still to be done by hand. But such a machine costs \$150,000.

Once, when the wheat was ripe and ready for threshing, the old steam thresher moved from farm to farm, and the neighbors gathered at each place to bring in the crop and haul the grain away to the elevator where it was stored and marketed.

Threshing was a busy time of the year, not only for the farm men but for the women as well. Before dawn, they were up, the cook stove glowing red, to prepare three meals of gigantic proportions.

Today the corporation farms own their own highly efficient harvesting machines. The workers are migrants, and if they eat, it is out of a paper sack.

When a nation which potentially can produce enough food to feed the whole world has within its own borders more than 20 million people who go to bed *hungry* every night—and when several millions of those hungry people are the very ones who spend their lives cultivating and harvesting much of the food—then it is time to take another look at this "crisis."

The next time you buy a package of frozen vegetables, or a head of lettuce, don't blame the worker in the field, or the small farmer in Iowa or Kansas or California. Neither the worker nor the small farmer is to blame for the high price you have to pay. Blame rather the capitalist system itself—with its banks, the large insurance companies, the corporation farms, which together with the federal government restrict food production so as to guarantee high prices.

They are the ones who reap the profits.

Conviction of Soviet Jews

MAY 31—On May 20, nine Soviet Jews on trial in Leningrad were convicted of "anti-Soviet" activity and given prison terms ranging from one to 10 years. One week later, four more Jews on trial in Riga were found guilty of "anti-Soviet activity" and sentenced to prison camp terms ranging from one to three years.

Defendants in both trials had at first been linked by the Soviet news agency TASS to a plot to hijack a jet to Israel, for which 12 Soviet citizens were convicted in an earlier trial in Leningrad last January. This accusation, however, subsequently appeared to be modified. The *New York Times* reported May 21, for instance, that the two major defendants in the trial of the Leningrad nine, Gilya I. Butman and Mikhail L. Korenblit, "were apparently not involved in that attempt directly, but were convicted for helping plan an earlier hijacking that was never carried out."

The fact that the defendants were charged first with one hijacking plot, then with another, and finally convicted of charges not relating directly to hijacking but to "anti-Soviet activity" demonstrates that the Soviet bureaucracy is concerned with more than potential hijackers. The treatment they received is an ominous warning to all oppressed nationalities in the Soviet Union and to opponents of the Brezhnev leadership in general.

Because of the official secrecy, it is not possible to tell whether the nine actually participated in a hijacking plot, whether they knew of such a plot but did not report it, or whether the charge is a government fabrication.

The verdicts came as no surprise. The quality of the trial can be inferred from the statements of the defense attorneys. The May 19 *Washington Post* quoted from a TASS release describing the summation of Korenblit's lawyer, Yuri Buzinier, who stated that all the defendants except Korenblit were "pawns in the speculative gamble" of Israeli Zionists.

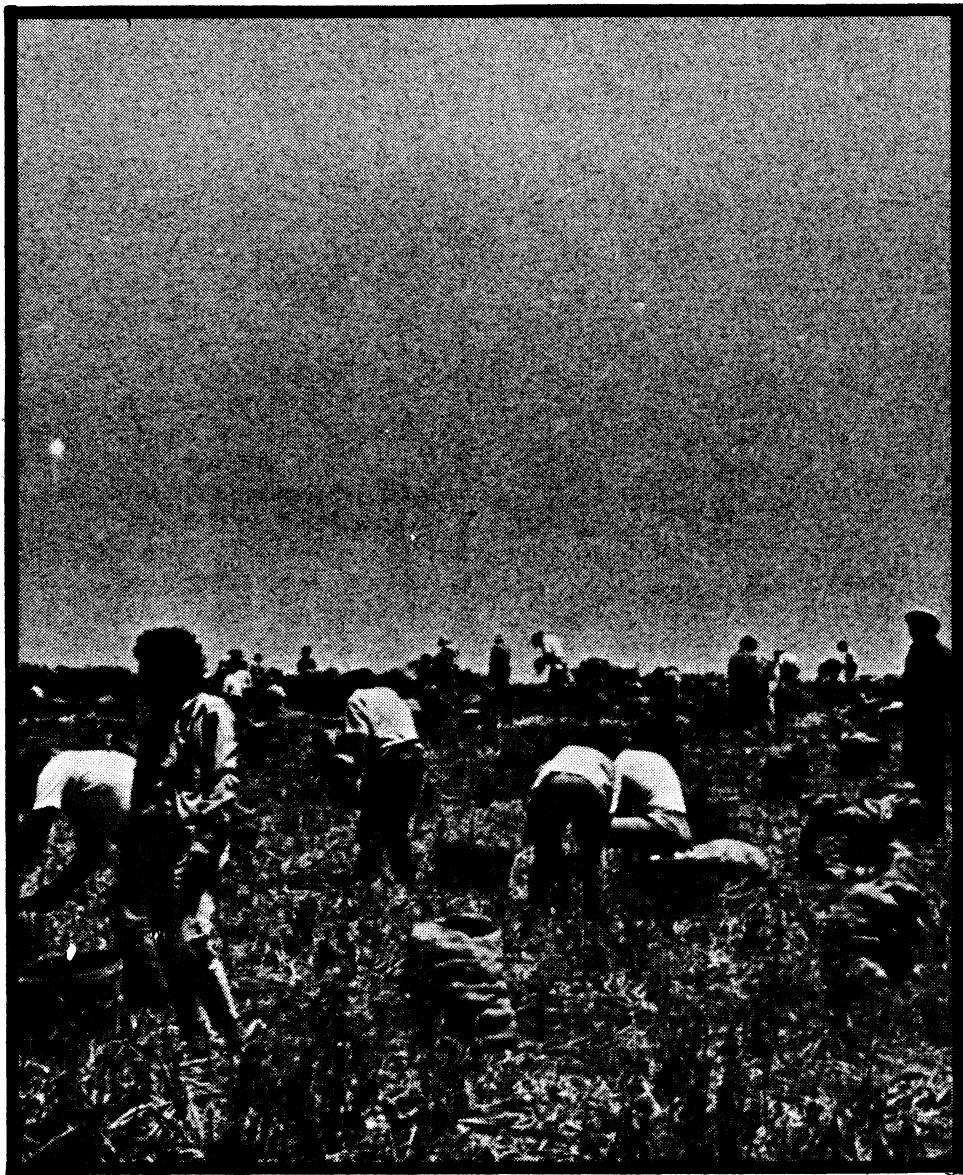
The defense counsel for Butman said that Butman and the others were "well aware that they are being tried for their concrete criminal offenses." The defense lawyers asked for leniency on the grounds that the defendants had acknowledged their guilt.

On May 24, four days after the verdict was handed down in the Leningrad trial, the four Soviet Jews went on trial in Riga. Bernard Gwertzman reported in the May 27 *New York Times* that "even though they were not charged with planning a hijacking, the Riga defendants were linked to the Leningrad cases by the prosecutor."

TASS stated that the prosecutor believed "that available evidence shows convincingly the guilt of every one of the group which fabricated and circulated anti-Soviet, slanderous materials that prepared the ground" for the would-be hijackers "to commit a particularly dangerous crime—treason."

The Riga trial was held before the Latvian Supreme Court and cannot be appealed. Since the Leningrad trials were conducted in city courts they may be appealed to the Russian Republic Supreme Court.

In addition to the cases of the Leningrad and Riga defendants, there are nine Jews in Kishinev, Moldavia, awaiting trial on charges related to these two cases.



Migrant workers picking onions in Zavala County, Texas.

The purge in Egypt: a shift to the right?

From *Intercontinental Press*
By GERRY FOLEY

A major political struggle seems to have been unleashed by the jailing May 13 of nine leaders of the Egyptian state and party apparatus. In an editorial May 20, the well-informed Paris daily *Le Monde* commented: "The fact that the chief of state [President Anwar el-Sadat] ordered the ousted leaders Sabry, Gomaa, Sharaf, and General Fawzi sent to the Abu Zaabal prison—which has been reserved for incorrigible criminals and which was the place Communists were sent to in the past—indicates Sadat's fear of his enemies making a comeback."

Following the first arrests, Sadat moved swiftly against opponents in the mass media, apparently in an attempt to seize full control of all means of communications: "Several leading figures in Egyptian radio and television were arrested for changing the schedule of programs last Thursday [May 13], the first day of the crisis, notably Mohammed Uruk, director of 'Voice of the Arabs,'" *Le Monde* reported May 19.

"According to the Middle East News Agency, which reported these facts, Uruk gave orders for the regular programs to be replaced last Thursday between 10:00 p.m. and sign-off by broadcasts of military marches and patriotic songs.

"The newspaper *Al Gumhuriya* announced Tuesday morning [May 18] that several secretaries and members of the Cairo section of the Arab Socialist Union are being questioned for spreading false rumors. . . . The Cairo ASU secretary, Abdel Meguid Farid, who was one of President Nasser's closest collaborators, was allegedly the originator of these false rumors."

According to UPI dispatches, the purges were directed against a secret organization of 500 to 800 persons which the deposed minister of the Interior, Sharawy Gomaa, was supposed to have built up in the Arab Socialist Union. Members of this network were allegedly placed in the public services, the government-controlled industries, and some papers.

To preside over the purges, Sadat set up a provisional secretariat of the ASU, consisting of eight persons.

About 130 members of the armed forces were arrested, according to a report in the May 20 *Le Monde*, which noted: "The paper *Al Ahram* indicates, moreover, that the purge has also extended to the Arab Socialist Union youth movement and that a certain number of its provincial secretaries have been put under house arrest."

New York Times correspondent Raymond H. Anderson reported May 17 from Cairo: "As many as a third of Egypt's 24 provincial governors, a number of ambassadors and a group of journalists and second-level officials are expected to be removed from their posts soon."

In a dispatch from Beirut in the May 19 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*, Godfrey Jansen wrote: "He [Sadat] is purging the administration more swiftly and thoroughly than Mr. Nasser did even when he took over the corrupt monarchical structure in the early 1950's."

Sadat's purges seem to be going hand in hand with a campaign of mass political intimidation: "On the psychological level, the president is sparing no means to impress people that he is now the only 'boss,'" *Le Monde* reported May 19. "Photographs of the chief of state, hitherto rare in government offices . . . are now obligatory. The papers are full of ads paid for by the big state bodies or unions declaring their support for

the chief of state, and illustrated by his picture. Numerous banners and posters honoring the president of the republic have been put up nearly everywhere in Cairo."

A *New York Times* dispatch from Cairo May 17 noted: "President Anwar el-Sadat has agreed to a request by police and security officers that he be their commander in chief, it was reported today."

Le Monde's editorial writer indicated May 20 that Sadat has based himself on right-wing elements: "For the moment President Sadat has scored points by assuring himself the support of the clergy and the old and new bourgeoisie. The composition of the new government itself, shifted strongly to the right, can only reassure the free-enterprisers at home, and the United States abroad."

Official circles in the great powers seemed to interpret the purges as preparatory to Egypt's accepting U.S. terms for a settlement with Israel and



Anwar el-Sadat

a retreat from the nationalism of the Nasserite regime's earlier years.

"It is true that the State Department has made no official statement, but official and press commentary indicates that Washington is favorable to the team that has firmly grasped the levers of power in Cairo," an editorial in the May 16-17 issue of *Le Monde* noted.

Following the first arrests of May 13, the international press has referred more and more frequently to the ousted group as "the Nasserite left" or a "pro-Communist" or "pro-Soviet" wing of the ASU. The extent of the purges indicates that the antagonism between the Sabry-Gomaa grouping in the state and party bureaucracy and the forces backing Sadat may be deep. But since the leaders now jailed did not wage a public struggle against the Sadat leadership, except, perhaps, belatedly and abortively, it is not clear what positions they stood for.

It does seem clear, however, that if the "Nasserite left" contained militant anti-imperialist or revolutionary elements, these forces made a serious error by implicating themselves with the repressive state apparatus.

Although apparently moving to the right and ultimately toward an even more repressive system, Sadat was able to use democratic appeals against the ousted group, seemingly with telling effect. An article May 17 by Abdel Rahman el-Sharkawy in the Cairo daily *el-Akhbar* evoked the sentiment the dominant group is trying to exploit:

"If anyone ever raised his voice calling for reforms in the revolution, or demanded that a blemish on socialism be removed, or dared to criticize the 'petty Caesars,' he would be thrown to the lions or into the darkest dungeons—accused of conspiring against socialism and the revolution."

Israeli cops attack Panther protest

By TONY THOMAS

MAY 26—A demonstration called in Jerusalem on May 18 by the Israeli Black Panthers, a group protesting discrimination against Oriental Jews in Israel, was attacked by the police. According to the May 21 *Le Monde*, "dozens" of demonstrators were beaten. The May 31 *Newsweek* reports that more than a hundred demonstrators were arrested.

An article in the May 1971 issue of the *Periodic Jew*, published by Jewish students in Newark, N. J., reports that the demonstration turned out over 3,000 people. This mass turnout is reported to have been in response to recent frame-up charges against leaders of the Black Panthers and Matzpen (the Israeli Socialist Organization). These activists were framed up on charges of "illegal conspiracy"—that is, planning the demonstration that had been earlier banned by the government. According to the *Periodic Jew*, for the first time numbers of European Jews, mostly students, joined the demonstration in a show of solidarity.

The *Periodic Jew* also reported that the Zionist government's frame-up attempted to attack the Panthers by linking them to Matzpen. The Panthers do not have an anti-Zionist position, while Matzpen has taken a stand against Zionism. This attempt on the government's part met with failure. The Panthers refused to repudiate Matzpen, and many supporters of Zionism did not reject the Panthers.

According to *Newsweek*, the demonstrators, "disregarding repeated police orders . . . marched off toward the business section of the city, blocking Ben Yehuda Street. . . . 'Medinah mishtarah!' they shouted, 'Police state!'"

As they reached Ben Yehuda Street, police attacked the demonstration sav-

agely. "At one point," reports *Newsweek's* Michael Elkins, "I saw a policeman beating away at a young man while hauling him over the railings that flank the Ben Yehuda pedestrian street crossings. The young man screamed: 'I'm a war cripple! I have an artificial leg—you are breaking it!'"

The Israeli Panthers have emerged as a result of the discrimination perpetrated by Israeli society against Oriental Jews. In Israel, 10 percent of the Jewish population earns 2 percent of the income, according to the *Periodic Jew*. Twenty-five percent of the families are under official poverty levels. This inequality has doubled since the proclamation of Israel in 1948. This lower 25 percent and 10 percent are made up almost entirely of the Oriental Jews, who face linguistic, job and political discrimination. For example, according to the May 24 *New York Times*, Oriental Jews make up 60 percent of the elementary school students, 25 percent of the high school students, and only 10 percent of the college students.

The chief grievance of the Black Panthers is that they are not treated equally with the European settlers in the Zionist state. The *Times* quotes an oriental Jew who states, "Look at the Russian Jews—they come here and get good new apartments. I've been waiting here for 20 years hoping for better living space."

These demands against discrimination are progressive and will help to break up the political stability of the Zionist state. The failure, however, of the Israeli Black Panthers to reject Zionism and support the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people makes it more difficult to rally the support of the oppressed Arab masses to their struggle.

Palestine liberation teach-in draws 300

SEATTLE—On May 17-18, the Palestine Support Coalition of the University of Washington held a teach-in as part of its annual Palestine Week activities. The speakers included Peter Buch of the Socialist Workers Party, who recently returned from a trip to Algeria; Hani Faris, a graduate student at the University of Calgary, born in Nazareth; Kamal Boulata, a Palestinian poet and artist; Abdeen Jabara, editor of *Free Palestine*; and two Arab women students.

The two women, one a Palestinian and the other an Egyptian, spoke on the social and historical role of women in the Arab world before, during and since the rise of Islam, and discussed the role that women are playing in the Palestinian liberation struggle.

Hani Faris spoke on the question of Zionism in modern Jewish thought.

Buch spoke on the role of Israel as a tool of the United States and imperialism in the Mideast, whose main job is to keep down the Arab revolution. He indicated that the U.S. maintains Israel not out of any sympathy for the Jewish people, but for military and monetary interests.

The second day of the teach-in, Buch spoke on the topic "Is Zionism a National Liberation Movement?" This talk, in which he detailed Israel's alliances with various imperialist forces, was originally scheduled as a debate with a Zionist representative. However, the Radical Jewish Student Union refused to debate, saying that "debates are designed to score points; we engage only in activities designed to bring about discussion." When the Palestine Support Coalition offered to call the session a discussion, the RJSU still declined the invitation.

Abdeen Jabara stated that the U.S. keeps Israel as a capitalist stronghold in the Middle East because it fears that any revolution in the Arab countries would result in the nationalization of U.S. oil interests. He advocated a secular, democratic, nonsectarian state in which Christians, Jews and Moslems would enjoy equal participation in the country's government.

Although local Zionists boycotted the teach-in, it was attended by more than 300 Arab, Iranian and American students, faculty members, and community residents.

Mother Jones: strike organizer



By MILTON ALVIN

Mother Jones is a legendary figure in the annals of the American labor movement. Born in 1830 in Cork, Ireland, of poor parents, she was brought to the New World, educated and brought up in Canada and the United States. At school she learned teaching and dressmaking.

She was married in Memphis, Tenn., in 1861 to a staunch member of the Iron Moulders Union. The couple had four children. In 1867, an epidemic of yellow fever swept Memphis, killing many poor and working people. Among the dead were Mother Jones' husband and all her children.

After the plague ended, she moved to Chicago and opened a small dress-making business with a partner. The great Chicago fire of 1867 destroyed their establishment. Thus, the tragedies of her life prepared her for a career of many years in the labor movement.

Joining the Knights of Labor at about the time of the Chicago fire, Mother Jones devoted the rest of her long life to the struggles of workers. She was still in there fighting after she passed her ninetieth birthday.

Mother Jones' area of activity was anywhere the workers needed her help. She traveled constantly, from one strike scene to another, speaking, organizing, educating, and agitating. Most of her work was done in the mining areas of West Virginia and Pennsylvania. Here the miners worked under abominable conditions. They had no union to represent them. The hovels in which they lived were owned by the mining companies, as were the stores from which they bought their necessities. The workday was very long, 12 hours and sometimes longer being common. Pay was low for the men and even lower for women and children.

Whenever the workers were no longer able to live under these conditions and attempted to organize or strike,

Mother Jones would appear and speak up in their behalf. She became so well known in the mining towns and camps, and feared by the mine owners and their retainers, that she was expected every time a dispute between the workers and bosses reached a serious stage.

She was arrested and imprisoned many times. In all cases, she accepted incarceration and patiently waited until she was released. But she never backed down in her support of the workers—not in the face of imprisonment nor from the threat of armed thugs who were everywhere in the mining areas in those days.

Mother Jones took part in struggles in the West during the Colorado strikes of the miners against the Rockefeller-owned mines. It was during these struggles that the Ludlow massacre took place. These brutal killings involved not only the miners who were on strike but also their wives and children.

Prior to these events, she participated in the defense of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, all officials of the Western Federation of Miners. They were accused of assassinating Idaho Governor Steunenberg, who was killed by an explosive device seven years before. At their trial, all three were acquitted.

Particularly moving is Mother Jones' account of her investigation of child labor in southern textile mills. In order to see this at firsthand, she got jobs in one factory after another and paid special attention to the children who worked in them as well as to their general backgrounds, families and educational levels. The almost unbelievable story of small children, often of preschool age, working without letup for 12 hour stretches for a few cents a day, accurately repeats what has been so well publicized in this country of the English textile factories in the early nineteenth century. But Mother Jones' story shows that

this horrible and inhuman exploitation existed in this country too. Her efforts succeeded in getting laws passed that restricted hours of work for children but did not eliminate this evil.

Mother Jones exemplified in many ways the period in which she worked. She had a completely developed union consciousness, which she tried hard to transmit to other workers, and a humanism she attempted to pass on to everyone. But she seems to have been little interested in politics or political parties. She had a kind word for Eugene V. Debs, but her political aims were limited to influencing government officials to do something for the exploited workers. She never affiliated with the Industrial Workers of the World, the early Socialist Party of which Debs was the outstanding spokesman, or any other political organization. Heroic though her efforts were, she never went beyond union building as the main answer to the workers' problems.

She also had no consciousness of the feminist movement of her times. "I am not a suffragist nor do I believe in 'careers' for women," she said, "especially a 'career' in factory and mill where most working women have their 'careers.'" Nevertheless, she often organized groups of women, armed with brooms and pans, to go out on the picket lines and help their husbands who were on strike. She believed that men should be paid enough so that their wives could stay home and take care of the children.

But although she did not identify with the women's movement of her time, she was a strong woman fighter, and as such, an example for feminists then and today. For her times, Mother Jones was an extraordinary figure, never shunning the struggle and giving completely of herself in it. She takes her place in the history of women's and labor's struggles as a predecessor of the present generation of fighters.

The National Picket Line

Unemployment haunts the unions. AFL-CIO President George Meany told the Senate Finance Committee recently that "We want the U.S. government to protect the interests of American workers against the export of American jobs." Thus, the AFL-CIO is making the following demands of Congress:

- Repeal the tariff loophole that encourages shipping U.S. parts to Mexico and other low-wage areas to be assembled and sent back to the United States.
- Tax profits of foreign subsidiaries of U.S. firms in the year they are earned.
- Curb the outflow of American capital and technology.

Such U.S. corporations as General Electric, Standard Oil, Ford and General Motors, International Business Machines, etc., have huge foreign investments. Many have budgets larger than whole nations. Some receive 50 percent of their profits abroad.

They own and control the Democratic and Republican parties. Representatives of these parties in Congress are not likely to move against them. But the unions can stop them by demanding no more layoffs in U.S. industry, and by organizing a labor party to make government responsible to the workers of this country instead of protecting the profit interests of the multinational corporations.

An AFL-CIO conference on unemployment will meet in Washington July 12 and 13 to "explore all aspects of the job-loss problem—from foreign trade to reconversion." More than 130 unions are expected to be represented by top officials, not members out of work or from the shops.

This is why the urgent problem of unemployment will get secondary consideration. Most of the AFL-CIO high-ranking representatives will be looking to save their own highly paid jobs and hatching plans to elect a Democrat to the Presidency in 1972.

Steelworkers union President I.W. Abel says he hopes there will be no strike on August 1 when contracts expire for 350,000 steel mill workers. That decision will be made by heads of the steel corporations.

They are debating whether to grant the modest demands of the Steelworkers before or after a strike, and what the economic and social consequences of a strike may be.

The much talked about demand of a shorter workday in the mills is not included in the demands submitted by Abel to the employers.

One demand the union has submitted is the elimination of the no-strike pledge during the life of the contract. If this were won, management could be prevented from ignoring grievances and violating safety provisions. However,

Abel has indicated that he would be amenable to the no-strike shackles simply being "modified."

The arguments of management in the early rounds of negotiations center upon their "inability to pay."

They hope the union will forget about the two rounds of price raises this year; that no one will remember the \$300,000 salary U.S. Steel Chairman Edwin H. Gott collected last year; that steel production is now running at nearly 10 million tons monthly; that foreign imports are limited to 14 million tons annually; and that the steel industry here invests heavily in foreign mills.

While the steel industry complains about "high wages" at contract time, they do so only because they are confident that their secret bookkeeping systems will not be opened to reveal the high profits they make.

Negotiators for the Steelworkers union could learn a lot about the crooks they are dealing with if they called their bluff and demanded to open the books of the steel industry.

The national auto agreement last Feb. 3 between Chrysler Corp. and the United Auto Workers included an understanding to study the feasibility of the 10-hour day four-day week.

Chrysler is hopeful that this scheme, tried and recommended by employers in some industries where workers are unorganized, will reduce absenteeism in auto plants.

UAW Vice-President Douglas Fraser agreed on May 19 to experiment with the scheme in at least one Chrysler plant. Fraser predicts young workers will favor it.

It is not intended to provide more jobs for those out of work, only to get more work and regular attendance from those on the job.

At a May 26 public hearing, Dr. Harvey B. Scribner, chancellor of New York City's public school system, estimated that projected budget cuts will eliminate 4,356 teachers and 344 other school workers. Class size will rise to 35. Midmorning milk for 130,000 elementary pupils and free lunches for 70,000 children from poor families during summer, Christmas and Easter vacations will be eliminated.

Also to be eliminated is the \$21-million "More Effective Schools" program, which serves 27,000 pupils in poor neighborhoods.

The United Federation of Teachers is threatening strike action in September if these budget cuts are made.

—FRANK LOVELL

N.Y., Calif. launch attacks on welfare

By DIANNE FEELEY

In his April 19 speech to the Republican Governors' Conference, President Nixon praised both California Governor Ronald Reagan and New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller "for moving on your own at the state level" to "bring some order into [welfare] chaos."

These governors—one supposedly a liberal, the other a conservative—are spearheading a vicious attack against welfare recipients, with the backing of the Nixon administration.

On May 22, the New York State Assembly voted to approve one section of Rockefeller's welfare "reform" package that would impose a one-year residency requirement as a condition of receiving welfare benefits. As the April 4 *New York Times* put it, the bill would also make funds available to "ship back South the hordes of migrants who—everybody knows—come here for a free ride on the gravy train." Such residency requirements have in the past been ruled unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court.

Rockefeller has also proposed denying welfare to anyone moving into substandard housing, in another attempt to discourage poor people from moving into the state. This measure would have the same discriminatory effect as the residency requirement, and is also probably unconstitutional. Since New York City is suffering from a severe housing shortage, this proposal is a callous attempt to victimize the very poorest.

The governor attempts to justify his proposal with the theory that substandard housing jeopardizes the health and welfare of the community. Of course it does—but his proposal isn't to end substandard housing, it's merely to penalize those forced to live in it!

Another cutback proposed by Rockefeller is to limit the rent welfare departments could pay to house recipients in hotels on an emergency basis, thus forcing welfare recipients into the worst fleabag hotels. Two-thirds of the recipients who live in hotels on an emergency basis are either forced out of their homes by fire or are evicted. As New York City Human Resources Administrator Jule M. Sugarman charged, "The state has done nothing to provide housing for these families."

At Rockefeller's urging, the New York State Legislature rejected a request for a 7.2 percent cost-of-living increase in welfare payments, and instead slashed the already meager benefits by 10 percent. Welfare will shortly allow a recipient 90 cents a day for food, and 83 cents for other needs, exclusive of housing. A New York

City family of four currently receives \$231 a month, plus heat and rent. This figure will be cut to \$208. When one counts the additional cost of inflationary price increases, the real value of welfare payments will be effectively reduced by 25 percent.

Nixon, Rockefeller and Reagan all spend a great deal of their time trying to figure out how many recipients are really able to work. As Nixon remarked in his speech at the Republican Governors' Conference, the U. S. cannot "tolerate" a welfare system "under which working people can be made to feel like fools by those who will not work."

But the fact is that very few on welfare are employable. The New York City Department of Social Services puts the figure at 2.4 percent. In New York City alone, during April 1971, interviewers at the 30 state employment offices in the city were able to find jobs for only 11,578 people out of 52,607 who wanted employment. More than 40,000 people went without jobs.

Nonetheless, Rockefeller is proposing that every employable welfare recipient report twice a month to the state employment office.

Reagan has proposed a welfare "job corps," in which those considered employable but unable to find work would be assigned to "projects that otherwise might never be accom-

plished because of a lack of manpower or funds." In other words, welfare recipients would not be earning a decent wage, but merely the right to stay on welfare. One such proposal promised to guarantee a worker no less than two-thirds the *minimum* wage.

At the Republican Governors' Conference, Nixon was applauded when he said that anyone able to work and who refused a job (any kind of job) would be thrown off welfare. He piously announced that no job was menial, including scrubbing floors, and presumably the projects he had in mind fit the category of floor scrubbing. But despite all the talk about how people can find work, the May 9 *New York Times* headline sums up the problem: "City Notes Jump in Welfare Rolls as Jobs Decline."

Meanwhile, in California Governor Reagan is applying to the federal government for waivers from having to comply with the 1967 Social Security Act, in order to cut back drastically on welfare payments. His series of proposals would charge the poor for part of the cost of medical and hospital treatment under the Medicaid program, and would cut other welfare benefits.

Reagan reluctantly agreed to comply with the Social Security Act by implementing cost-of-living increases in welfare payments, but at the same

time proposed to cut some 27,500 recipients off the welfare rolls.

The provision of waivers from compliance with the Social Security Act was designed to permit small-scale experiments to help the poor, and not to allow reductions in welfare benefits. One official of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare was quoted in the May 1 *San Francisco Chronicle* as saying: "If Reagan gets away with this, the welfare law is going to be as full of holes as a piece of Swiss cheese. But the indications here are that the president will do anything Reagan wants."

As people begin to organize against welfare cuts, job cuts, medical-care cuts, and college admission cuts, new sectors of the population are beginning to confront the government. A month ago, New York City employees went to the state capitol protesting a budget cut that would result in the loss of 90,000 jobs by July 1. One of the most frequent signs was "Jobs not welfare." Since city employees are not covered by unemployment compensation, the loss of their job literally means going on welfare.

Given the massive antiwar sentiment, demonstrations like this will add fuel to the fires of protest, strengthening the opposition to the Vietnam war and deepening the current radicalization.



Protest by N.Y. welfare mothers in Sept. 1969

Minn. Indians occupy naval station

By PETER OANES

MINNEAPOLIS—A coalition of Indian movements from eight Midwestern cities repossessed the Twin Cities Naval Air Station on May 16. On that night, about 70 Indians entered the station, evicted the commander, and proclaimed the base Indian land.

The Twin Cities Naval Air Station was closed down as a permanent station in 1970, but is still used for weekend Navy reserve duty. According to Dennis Banks, chairman of the Minneapolis American Indian Movement (AIM), the station is Indian land, according to the terms of an 1868 treaty with the Sioux. Article 6 of the treaty provides that surplus property abandoned by the government, not being used as originally intended, should be returned to the original owners.

The Indians plan to convert the station into a school. The empty barracks could "help solve the deplorable housing situation [for Indians] found here in Minneapolis," according to an AIM statement. About 450 people could comfortably live on the property.

According to Banks, the Naval Air Station should be converted to a peaceful use.

At 5 a.m., Friday, May 21, 85 U. S. marshals and federally deputized sheriffs ended the occupation and arrested 16 of the Native American activists. Navy personnel were stationed around the perimeter after the eviction of the rightful owners from the base.

Navy Captain Paul Merchant, executive officer of Glenview Naval Air Station near Chicago, conducted

the operation. He "presumed the decision was made in Washington at the highest Justice Department level" to ignore the treaty and evict the Indians.

Violence occurred when one marshal, in the process of evicting the Indians, struck a woman and child. The child's father intervened to stop this brutality. The marshal struck at the father and the father ducked, causing the marshal's blow to fall on another marshal. The marshal who was struck by his colleague went wild and began beating the Indians around him. Sixteen Indians were arrested after this provocation.

Two of those arrested were held on "suspicion of assault on federal officers." The other 14 were charged with trespassing and released on \$2,500 personal recognizance bonds. AIM

plans to take their case to court, even to the U. S. Supreme Court if that is necessary.

A defense fund has been set up for those arrested. The charges against the two Indians for "assault" carry a possible penalty of up to 10 years in prison and up to \$10,000 fine. These two are being held on \$25,000 bond. One of them, Jerry Roy, was thrown down a stairway and kicked and beaten with clubs in the incident for which he is being charged.

Money for the defense is urgently needed. Contributions and requests for information on other means of helping in the defense should be sent to: Legal Defense Fund, c/o AIM, 1337 E. Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn. 55404.

In Review

Film



Angel Sanchez in "Skezag"

Skezag. Produced and directed by Joel Freedman and Philip Messina. A SOHO Release. 16 mm, color. 73 minutes.

Two white filmmakers, Joel Freedman and Phil Messina, run into Wayne Shirley, African-American and self-professed hustler, on New York City's Lower East Side. His ability to talk (his "hustle") intrigues them. He, Sonny Berrios, his Puerto Rican roommate, and Angel Sanchez, another Puerto Rican acquaintance, become the subjects of *Skezag* (a wordplay on "skag," a ghetto term for heroin).

Skezag is a powerful and moving documentary of the ghetto: its degradation, its politics, its drug addiction—and its human potential. It is simple in its structure, but its content is complex, multi-layered, contradictory, and radical, for it deals with America's oppressed nationalities and what their experience has taught them.

The film opens with Wayne alone. He talks about himself, his hustle, his pride in it: "I know I've got the gift of gab." Before he met the filmmakers, he says, "I smoked hash and rapped to myself in the mirror." And he is good at rapping. He tells how he talked a judge out of sending him to jail and tells the story so convincingly that the filmmakers themselves believed his tale was true.

Wayne doesn't think he's an addict. He believes he can control drugs, including heroin. He takes "ups" and "downs," anything in fact, just to be able to keep doing what he loves most—rapping and hustling. He pokes fun at junkies, those who, unlike him, are hooked. He imitates their slack faces, spaced-out stares and glazed eyes.

At the end of the film, four months later, we see him again, fleeing the city, afraid for his life—and hooked. He looks like a caricature of his own imitation. He seems years older; his face is puffy, blotched; his speech slow. Five times he tries to find one of his collapsed veins for a hit. He succeeds on the sixth.

Wayne's vitality and awareness—and his illusions and self-deception—run through the film. He thought he could beat drugs. He thought he could beat going into the Army and to "Nam." (The film has a fine sequence on his Vietnam experience: how he understood that it was a social revolution; how he and others stood around with "fingers up our ass and nose" as the shells fell; but how, when his buddy was killed, he said, "I'd kill every one I could see.") And he thought he could beat the social realities of America, that

with nothing more than his hustle, he could "make it" all by himself.

Angel clashes with Wayne on this. He understands the contradictory illusion that lies at the heart of Wayne's hustle: the belief that while the "Man" is too strong to defeat through political organization, Wayne, alone, can beat his system. Angel, though an addict (he and Sonny admit to being hooked on eight to 10 bags a day) and no longer directly involved with the Young Lords, which he had helped to found, still identifies with and promotes the ideas of nationalist unity and political struggle against this racist, capitalist society.

Despite their differences in personality, politics and national background, Wayne, Angel and Sonny identify with each other as oppressed persons against the filmmakers. Angel refers to Sonny, Wayne and himself as "brothers." Messina asks if he too is not their brother. They avoid the question at first, but when pressed, answer, "No, you're not a brother." "Why aren't we?" they ask. "Cause you're white."

"I've been looking at you all my life," Messina and Freedman are told. "You miss something . . . never suffer enough . . . until you're down."

Despite the oppression and degradation shown in *Skezag*, it is ultimately an inspiring experience to see it. It shows the high level of political awareness and the explosive potential of Puerto Rican and Black nationalist ferment. The latent talent and potential that produced a Malcolm X are plentiful in America's ghettos and barrios.

Wayne Shirley is currently in the New York House of Detention (the Tombs) on an armed robbery charge.

Sonny Barrios is serving time in a West Virginia youth center.

Angel Sanchez is now off drugs, after going through a methadone program. He works for the distributors of *Skezag* and frequently travels with the film to discuss drug rehabilitation (several local and national organizations fighting drug addiction have highly recommended the film).

For information on distribution arrangements for *Skezag*, write SOHO Cinema Ltd., 508 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10012, or phone (212) 431-4635. There are special rates for nonfunded community groups.

—JAMES TAYLOR and BRIAN SHANNON

Books

The End of White World Supremacy. Four Speeches by Malcolm X. Edited and with an introduction by Benjamin Goodman. Merlin House, distributed by Monthly Review Press, 1971. \$6 cloth, \$1.95 paper. 148 pp.

This collection of speeches by Malcolm X from 1962 and 1963 represents, as the editor puts it, "a fair cross-section of his teaching" during his last year as a leader in the Nation of Islam, just before he left the Black Muslims to form a different kind of movement. In these speeches, Malcolm was presenting the ideas of Elijah Muhammad, although of course in his own inimitable style and wit. Precisely for that reason, they are useful for comparison with the speeches he made after leaving the Nation of Islam (in *Malcolm X Speaks* and *By Any Means Necessary*); the comparison will show both how Malcolm changed his ideas, and how he did not change his ideas, after he broke with Black Muslim dogma.

The book includes a talk at the New York mosque of the Nation of Islam, which is an extended presentation of the Yacub myth; a talk at Adam Clayton Powell's Abyssinian Baptist Church; a talk over a Philadelphia radio show after a university speech; and the talk given after President Kennedy's assassination, which led Elijah Muhammad to suspend Malcolm.

A disappointing feature of the introduction is its handling of this suspension and the subsequent split. Benjamin Goodman was an assistant of Malcolm both in the Black Muslims and in the independent Organization of Afro-American Unity; Malcolm in 1964 regarded Goodman as "the best teacher" among the younger OAAU leaders (in *By Any Means Necessary*). Goodman is one of the few people in a position to report the full story of the OAAU and of Malcolm's objectives and methods as an independent leader.

But judging from what Goodman says in this book, that story will have to be supplied by others. "I have heard it said," he writes, "that the Messenger [Muhammad] used Malcolm's derogatory reference [to Kennedy] as an excuse for suspending him; that there were basic differences between them and this was an easy way of solving them. I have never believed these stories. I believe Mr. Muhammad took the disciplinary action he felt he had to, as a father disciplines a child he loves, knowing that if he comes through the trial he'll be a better man for it, but also knowing there is a chance he'll lose him if he doesn't come through," etc.

Goodman of course has the right to seek reconciliation with the Black Muslims. He has the right to change the opinion he had in 1964, and to decide now that Malcolm was undisciplined and Muhammad blameless, or whatever he now believes. But he has no right to distort the record. The differences between Malcolm and Muhammad were basic and deep. Malcolm thought there were such differences, and said so. Muhammad did the same. (We can leave aside what Goodman did and said in 1964, when he broke from the Nation of Islam—over what?) It does no service to Malcolm's memory or cause to belittle or deny differences which he thought were so basic that he was ready to risk his life in defense of his position in the dispute.

—G. B.

New attacks on Cairo Black community

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—City police and white vigilantes have staged new attacks on the Black community of Cairo, Ill.

In a telephone interview with *The Militant*, Carl Hampton of the Cairo United Front reported a five-hour police-vigilante assault Saturday night, May 29. A one-hour attack followed on Sunday night. The main area of siege was Pyramid Court, a public housing project containing 1,000 Black people.

The first assault took place at nearby St. Colomba Church and rectory, headquarters of the Front. "Over 100 rounds of automatic weapons fire fell on the church and rectory," Hampton said, "in addition to eight tear gas

rockets." Two priests who were in the rectory at the time escaped without injury.

Cairo's Black community resorted to armed self-defense during these police intrusions. "The local press has mentioned that several white men were shot," Hampton reported, "yet they have made no mention of the attack on the Black community."

Police fired into the Black community from the towering police station not far from Pyramid Court. They say one policeman in the jail area of the building was shot and wounded. "They report that four Blacks seen in the area of the police station ran into St. Colomba Church. So that's why they say they shot it up," Hampton related.

Right after the Sunday night assault,

Hampton says the police brought out their two armored trucks in full view of Pyramid Court, hoping to draw fire from the Black community. But there was no response to this provocation. The trucks possess several automatic guns.

Although the police haven't issued any warrants, reports have it that arrests are imminent.

To counteract this move and to provide adequate defense for members already hit with trumped-up charges, the Front is desperately in need of funds.

Rev. Charles Koen, executive director of the Front, is now in New York City speaking in behalf of the embattled Black community. Betty McCrary of the New York United Front office reported 400 to 500 people in

attendance at Renaissance Ballroom May 20 where Rev. Koen spoke and Max Roach, the musician, performed. Rev. Koen also addressed The East, an African-American educational and cultural center in Brooklyn.

The New York office reports that transportation is badly needed for food and clothing gathered by New Yorkers for Cairo. They would like to send it by June 19, the date of a national gathering in Cairo in solidarity with the Black community. The New York office is located at the headquarters of the National Committee of Black Churchmen, 110 E. 125th St., New York City 10035. The telephone number is (212) 427-2216.

All financial contributions can be sent to: United Front of Cairo, P. O. Box 544, Cairo, Ill. 62914.

Socialist schools set for the summer

By DICK ROBERTS

An intensive program of socialist education has been announced by branches of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance to be held in 17 cities this summer.

As can readily be seen from the calendar on page 22, these summer schools cover a wide variety of topics. Three central themes, however, are being emphasized in many of the programs.

These are: the current radicalization and what it means in terms of a revolutionary strategy for America; socialist electoral policy; and the history of the Socialist Workers Party.

There is no cut and dried formula for studying, absorbing and putting into practice all the rich lessons of the history of class struggle needed to build a party capable of leading the American socialist revolution.

Some of the thinking that led to the selection of these three particular themes for this summer can be indicated.

The radicalization that began in the

early sixties, though in many ways unique, is not the first massive radicalization in this country. The years leading up to the first world war and the thirties were both periods of major radical upsurge.

What lessons can be learned from studying the two previous radicalizations? What are the similarities and what are the differences? Most importantly, how can the present radicalization lead to the successful challenge of capitalist state power?

The second theme is electoral policy. From its beginnings, the socialist movement has studied how best to use the channels of capitalist governmental elections to advance the organization of the oppressed classes.

This country is about to be swirled into the 1972 elections—and some of the Democratic doves are already fluttering with presidential ambitions. A study of the history and lessons of revolutionary electoral policy is essential in mounting the socialist answer to these capitalist candidates.

Classes on this subject will go into

such questions as the electoral strategy of Lenin's Bolshevik Party; the revolutionary concept of building a labor party in the United States; capitalist third parties and "Peace and Freedom" type parties; and the building of independent Black and Chicano political parties.

Study of the history of the SWP itself is crucial to understanding the evolution of revolutionary-socialist politics in the U. S. Although it began as only a small group who were expelled from the Stalinized Communist Party in 1928, the SWP's history is interwoven with all the struggles that have developed against U. S. imperialism.

Subjects in this series of classes will include the relation between the Russian revolution and the American labor movement; the great strikes and building of the CIO in the 1930s; the revolutionary attitude toward World War II and fighting the capitalist witch-hunters; the post-Second-World-War labor upsurge; maintaining a revolutionary party in the period of

cold-war McCarthyism; orientation toward the youth; and the radicalization of the sixties.

The summer schools have issued extensive reading lists of books, pamphlets and discussion bulletins for the various classes.

But these are only three of the themes. In addition, many of the summer schools are planning special weekends entirely devoted to a particular subject such as women's liberation or the struggle of oppressed nationalities.

What is required in arming oneself for revolutionary work is a lot of reading and a lot of experience in political activity. The SWP and YSA will be continuing their campaigns in the mass movements throughout the summer—against the war, for women's liberation, for building Black, Chicano, and Latino actions—as well as giving a high priority to education.

Information concerning course schedules and topics will be printed weekly in *The Militant* for those interested in attending the classes.

...Uprising

Continued from page 3

ing on the street when police told him to go home. It was early Monday afternoon, May 24. As he started across the street and threw clenched fists in the air, he was arrested, charged with "disorderly conduct."

That night police shot at the five-year-old son of Marvel Moore, sitting in a second-story window. Seconds before, an older youth in the room had tried to remove the boy. Police broke in and arrested him. Sister Moore says she will probably file a civil suit.

The police version on the killing that night of a Black youth, Leon Anderson, is contrary to what community people testify to seeing. The mayor says Anderson ran and then turned to reach in his pocket, prompting the cops' shotgun and pistol blasts. However, persons in the community who witnessed the shooting say Anderson was drunk, making it impossible for him to run. He was on his way home when police fired. If he had turned to reach in his pocket, bullets would have entered his side. But the autopsy showed that all the bullets entered Anderson's back. Because of this evidence, some of the national media, especially the *New York Times*, found the mayor's statement on the shooting incredible. However, the local press—

The *Chattanooga Times* and the *Chattanooga News-Free Press*—accepted his word as gospel.

At present, with the National Guard and state troopers withdrawn, Blacks are trying to organize a response to the repression unleashed by the city government.

One such group is the Black Unity Group (BUG), whose major demand is that the administration apologize for the police brutality. The Unity Group is composed of Black ministers, some activists, and ward chairmen of the Democratic Party. It came together in January of this year to elect a Black commissioner in the April elections. They united behind Franklin.

They also extended support to George Key, candidate for commissioner of public works and recreation.

One of the members of BUG, Rev. H. H. Wright, ran for mayor. But he did not get the endorsement of the group.

Upon Franklin's election, BUG was about to disband. But Franklin urged the group to stay together in order to aid him while in office.

Ironically, not too many Blacks heard of BUG until the uprising. During the street actions, Rev. Paul McDaniel, chairman of BUG, and other members issued statements and met with the mayor. Their efforts proved fruitless.

Although there were news reports of community police patrols inspired by BUG in some of the housing projects, none of the members I talked to had much information about it.

The other group advancing demands is the NAACP Youth Council. At a press conference May 27, its president, Lebron Morgan, proposed a boycott of white-owned stores by the Black community.

On Saturday, the Youth Council met with a few members of BUG to decide how to proceed.

Before and after the rebellion, there were clashes between Black and white youth at Brainerd High, a predominantly white school. Similar clashes occurred at Central High, just outside the city. According to Rev. Wright, the Confederate flag and the song *Dixie* were officially sanctioned at Brainerd until two years ago.

These school struggles have not been embraced by any of the existing organizations.

Alongside the school problems exist those of poor housing and severe air pollution. In many areas of the Black community, there are no sidewalks. Houses built below the level of the roads are inundated by heavy rains. And on the other extreme, the public housing projects are, in the words of Rev. Wright, little more than "concrete concentration camps."

Industry in the city causes much of the air pollution. Major sources of pollutants are textile, chemical, and paper product plants. This is no problem for the local ruling class because they reside in suburbs on nearby Lookout and Signal Mountains.

One could go on and on about the problems of Chattanooga's Black community, describing the factories in

its midst that hire very few Blacks or none at all, or how recreational fields in its midst were and to a great degree still are used exclusively by whites. But it is clear that the rebellion was the first mass response to this miserable existence. It will not be the last.

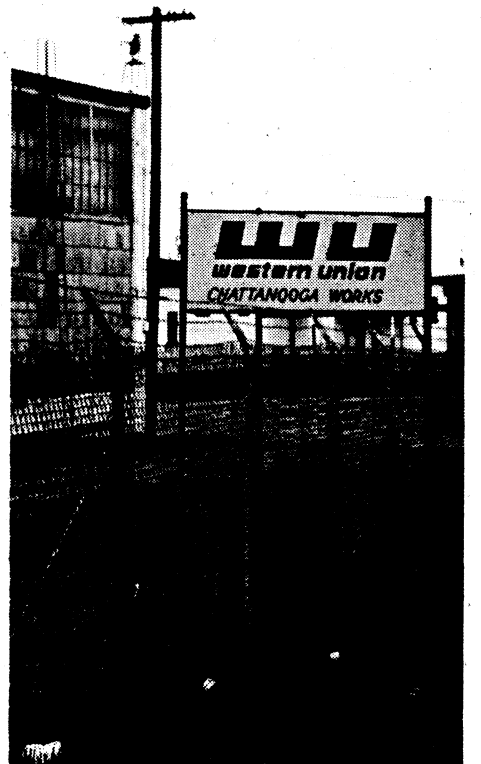


Photo by Derrick Morrison

Black workers are excluded from this Chattanooga plant.

Calendar

AMHERST, MASS.

COMMUNITY RADIO WORKSHOP. A radical analysis of current issues. Every Friday night from 7:30-8:30 p.m. on WFCR-FM, 88.5. WFCR can be heard in nearly all of western New England and eastern New York State. Also on WMUA-FM, 91.1, on Tuesdays from 6:30-7:30 p.m.

ATLANTA

THE WORLD MONETARY CRISIS. Speaker: Peer Vintner. Fri., June 11, 8 p.m. at 1176 1/2 West Peachtree. Admission: \$1. Ausp. Militant Bookstore Forum.

BOSTON

VOICES OF DISSENT. Tuesdays, 6-7 p.m. on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Sundays, 7-8 p.m. on WRBB-FM, 91.7. Tues., June 8 and Sun., June 13: *The Role of Municipal Elections in Making Social Change.* Tues., June 15, and Sun., June 20: *The Independence Movement in Puerto Rico.*

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN BANQUET. Sat., June 12, 7 p.m. at Old Cambridge Baptist Church, 1151 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge. Speakers: Joe Miles, Black activist, founding member of GIs United, SWP candidate for Cambridge City Council; Jeanne Lafferty, feminist, SWP candidate for Cambridge City Council; Peter Camejo, 1970 SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts. Plus: ENTERTAINMENT. Tickets: \$3.50. For further information, call 536-6981.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN '71 meets every Thursday, 7 p.m. at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, Boston. Tel: 536-6981. You are invited!

CAIRO, ILL.

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY DAY. Sat., June 19, in Cairo, Ill., the seat of racism and oppression in its rawest forms. Ausp. Cairo United Front.

CHICAGO

MILITANT LABOR FORUM. A weekly forum on topics of revolutionary interest, including the women's liberation, antiwar, labor and socialist movements. Fridays, 8 p.m. at 180 N. Wacker Drive, Room 310. Donation: \$1, students 75c. Call 641-9408 for further information.

CLEVELAND

THE FAMILY: REVOLUTIONARY OR OPPRESSIVE? Speaker: Evelyn Kirsch, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 11, 8 p.m. at Debs Hall, 4420 Superior. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Inexpensive pre-forum dinner at 6:30 p.m. Ausp. Debs Hall Forum.

CORPUS CHRISTI, TEXAS

FREE TIJERINA RALLY. Speakers: Ramon Tijerina, broth-

er of Reis Lopez; Carlos Guerra, national chairman of MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization); Jose Angel Gutierrez, founder of Raza Unida Party. Sun., June 13. March will start at 12 noon from Ella Barnes J.H.S. and will proceed to Ben Garza Park for rally. Ausp. MAYO and Chicano Liberation Front.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

FEMINISM IN THE CHICANO MOVEMENT: A report on the first national Chicana conference. Speaker: Mirta Vidal, contributor to *The Militant*. Fri., June 11, 8:30 p.m. at 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Socialist summer school

ATLANTA

ROOTS OF THE CURRENT RADICALIZATION. First in a series of talks on the strategy and tactics of the American revolution. Sun., June 13, 4 p.m. and Wed., June 16, 8 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 1176 1/2 West Peachtree. For further information phone 876-2230.

AUSTIN, TEXAS

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. Weekend of lectures by Theodore Edwards, longtime Los Angeles commentator and writer, June 18-20. First talk, Fri., June 18, 8 p.m. at U of Texas Student Union, Rm. 300. Regular classes Tuesdays and Fridays same place and time. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For further information call M. Hernandez, 476-9030; or M. Lunn, 474-4275.

BAY AREA (CALIF.)

Building the revolutionary party: From February to October 1917, three concepts of the Russian Revolution. Fri., June 11, 8 p.m. The art of insurrection, Tues, June 15, 8 p.m. U of California—Berkeley, Tan Oak Room, Assoc. Students Bldg. For further information on the Northern Calif. regional summer school phone (415) 626-9958 (San Francisco) or (415) 654-9728 (Berkeley). Ausp. SWP-YSA.

BOSTON

FRANCE IN REVOLUTION. Series on French history from the 1789 Revolution to the present. Bonapartism and the 18th Brumaire, Sun., June 13 and Tues., June 15 at 7 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307. For information call 536-6981.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

FOUR SERIES OF CLASSES. Socialist electoral politics—Introduction to Marxism—History and organizational principles of the Socialist Workers Party—Strategy and tactics of the American revolution, beginning Sun., June 13, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Ausp. SWP-YSA. For further information call 596-2849.

CHICAGO

THE CURRENT RADICALIZATION AND PROSPECTS FOR THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Classes begin Tues., June 22, 7:30 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. Militant Labor Forum, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310. Call 641-0147 for further details.

CLEVELAND

HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM. Tues., June 8, 8 p.m. The 1934 Minneapolis truck drivers strike, Thurs., June 10, 8 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. Debs Hall, 4420 Superior. Phone 391-5553 for further details.

DENVER

Women's liberation and gay liberation. Sun., June 13, 6 p.m. The national question in the United States, Thurs., June 17, 7:30 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 607 E. 13th Ave. Phone 623-9505 for further information.

HOUSTON

Marxism and the struggle for national liberation. Wed., June 9, 8 p.m. History of the American labor movement, Sun., June 13, 8 p.m. U of Houston University Center. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For more information call 741-2577.

LOS ANGELES

Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. First of a series of classes will discuss Leon Trotsky's *Results and Prospects*, Thurs., June 10, 8 p.m. Lenin's *What is to be Done?* Sun., June 13, 4 p.m. Socialist Workers Party hall. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For added details call 463-1917 or 463-1966.

MINNEAPOLIS

The Revolution Betrayed. First of eight-part Tuesday night series, June 8, 7:30 p.m. Special educational weekend on socialist electoral policy featuring Fred Halstead, 1968 Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, June 18-20. Begins with dinner, Fri., June 18, 6 p.m. Party after class. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) 2nd fl. For further details, call 332-7781.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

Socialist electoral action. Sat., June 12, 11 a.m. History of the Socialist Workers Party and principles of party organization, Sun., June 13, 1 p.m. Towards the American socialist revolution, Tues., June 15, 7:30 p.m. Militant Labor Forum, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor. Ausp. SWP-YSA. Call 982-6051 for further information.

NEW YORK: UPPER MANHATTAN

History of the Socialist Workers Party. Sun., June 13, 2 p.m. Seminar on Fifty Years of World Revolution, Sun., June 13, 8 p.m. Revolutionary socialist strategy in electoral action, Tues., June 15, 7 p.m. The current radicalization and prospects for the American revolution, Thurs., June 17, 7 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 2744 Broadway (106th St.), Second Floor. Phone 663-3000 for further information.

PHILADELPHIA

Emergence of the American Trotskyist movement. Sun., June 13, 7:30 p.m. Party building and the role of the Trotskyists in the 1930s, Wed., June 16, 7:30 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 1004 Filbert St., (one block north of Market). For further details, phone WA 5-4316.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

DYNAMICS OF THE CURRENT RADICALIZATION. Class 1—the background. Thurs., June 10, 7 p.m. Class 2—

the national struggle in America, Mon., June 14, 8 p.m. San Diego State Aztec Center. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For further details, call 286-9885.

SEATTLE

Dialectical materialism and political economy. First of six classes, Wed., June 16, 8 p.m. History of the American Left, Thurs., June 17, 8 p.m. The Transitional Program, Sat. and Sun.; June 19-20, 11 a.m. University of Washington HUB. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For further information, call 523-2555.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

IS THERE A RULING CLASS IN AMERICA? Forum and two classes on Marxist economics by Dick Roberts, staff writer for *The Militant*, Fri., June 11, 8 p.m. and Sat., June 12, 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. 2000 P St. N.W., Rm. 413. For details, call 833-9560.

...Vets

Continued from page 24

ficer ended it by shoving the pencil into the man's ear and killing him. Other witnesses gave similar accounts of barbaric, racist cruelty.

Fischman said the two VVAW groups considered the weekend's activities a big success. As evidence of the impact the veterans' first action had on Long Island, he pointed to the extensive coverage given to their activity by *Newsday*, the largest Long Island daily paper. Fischman also noted that even the commander of the Garden City American Legion attended the hearings and promised the veterans he would introduce an antiwar resolution at the next regular Legion meeting.

Fischman said he believes the march, the hearings and the publicity received by both have helped open new opportunities for antiwar organizing on Long Island. "We have been swamped with speaking requests" since the May 22-23 weekend, he said, "from all kinds of groups and from schools, including high schools."

Anyone who would like a VVAW speaker or who is interested in joining or helping the VVAW on Long Island can write to: Long Island VVAW, 876 Brushhollow Road, Westbury, N. Y., or call (516) 333-1323.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: University: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Aris Scarla, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Arizona 85281. Tel: (602) 959-5932.

Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Woody Diaz, 5724 Warren St., Arlington, Calif. 92503.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Mark Lampson, 2307-A 24th Ave., Sacramento, Calif. 95822.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Diego: SWP, P.O. Box 15111, San Diego, Calif. 92115. YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

San Joaquin Valley: YSA, P.O. Box 873, Modesto, Calif. 95353.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o Joan Fulks, 2233 Pine, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Colorado Springs: YSA, c/o J.C. Brown, Fountain Valley School, Colorado Springs, Colo. 80911.

Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 607 E. 13th Ave., Denver, Colo. 80203. Tel: (303) 623-9505.

FLORIDA: Jacksonville: YSA, P.O. Box 8409, Arlington Branch, Jacksonville, Fla. 32211.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Brett Merkey, 814 California St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 222-8776.

Tampa: YSA, P.O. Box 9133, Tampa, Fla. 33604. Tel: (813) 228-4655.

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

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Rm. 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: (312) 641-0147.

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois U, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 753-4445 (night).

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o John Heilers, West University Apts. #22, Indiana U, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Mary Bee, 402 Yorkshire, Lawrence, Kan. 66044. Tel: (913) 843-8083.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, Box 324, Student Activities Office, Campus Center, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981, 262-9688.

Pittsfield: YSA, c/o R.G. Pucka, 77 Euclid Ave., Pittsfield, Mass. 01201.

Worcester: YSA, Box 1470, Clark U, Worcester, Mass. 01610. Socialist Workers Campaign '71, P.O. Box 97, Webster Sq. Sta., Worcester, Mass. 01603.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE 1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 14, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Ypsilanti: YSA, Box 156, Charles McKenny Union, Ypsilanti, Mich. 48197. Tel: (313) 482-7348.

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

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o John Constant, 5219 Wayne St., Kansas City, Mo. 64110. Tel: (816) 924-3714.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: YSA, P.O. Box 627, Newark, N.J. 07101. Tel: (201) 678-6005.

Wayne: Paterson State YSA, c/o Clyde Magarelli, Paterson State College, 300 Pompton Rd., Wayne, N.J. 07470.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Marilyn Vogt, 369B Hackett Blvd., Albany, N.Y. 12208. Tel: (518) 482-4584.

Binghamton: YSA, P.O. Box 1389, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), New York, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP—(212) 982-6051, YSA—(212) 982-8214, Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (between 105th-106th St.), Second floor, New York, N.Y. 10025.

NORTH CAROLINA: Chapel Hill: YSA, Box 2448, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o Sarabeth Carr, 3653 Shaw, Cincinnati, Ohio 45208. Tel: (513) 871-4725.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: (216) 391-5553.

Columbus: YSA, 2519 Indianola, Apt. A, Columbus, Ohio 43202. Tel: (614) 267-7948.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OKLAHOMA: Norman: YSA, P.O. Box 2057, Norman, Okla. 73069.

OREGON: Portland: YSA, c/o Val Moller, 2014 N.W. Gilman, Room 511, Portland, Ore. 97209. Tel: (503) 223-4830.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA 5-4316.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Tel: (401) 863-3340.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, c/o Charles Kelly, Box 187, Melrose Hall, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916.

Nashville: YSA, Box 67, Sta. B, Vanderbilt U, Nashville, Tenn. 37203.

TEXAS: Austin: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 5586, West Austin Station, Austin, Texas 78703.

Dallas-Ft. Worth: YSA, Box 863, UTA Station, Arlington, Texas 76010.

El Paso: YSA, UTEP, P.O. Box 178, El Paso, Texas 79999.

Houston: SWP, YSA and Pathfinder Books, 3806 Wheeler, Houston, Texas 77004. Tel: (713) 741-2577.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, c/o Dayne Goodwin, 855 North 7th St. East, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 2000 P St. NW, Rm. 413, Wash., D.C. 20036. Tel: (202) 833-9560.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, P.O. Box 2301 C.S., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

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

WISCONSIN: La Crosse: YSA, c/o 431 N. 9th St., La Crosse, Wis. 54601.

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

Milwaukee: YSA, 1682 N. Franklin Pl., Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: (414) 276-4463.

Oshkosh: YSA, 572A Boyd St., Oshkosh, Wis. 54901. Tel: (414) 233-6155.

J.Edgar Hoover
claims the YSA
"is today the
largest and best
organized youth
group in leftwing
radicalism."



For once he's
right.
JOIN THE YSA!

— I WANT TO JOIN THE YSA
— I WOULD LIKE MORE INFORMATION
— ENCLOSED IS \$1 FOR YSA CONVENTION
RESOLUTIONS

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____
ZIP _____ PHONE _____
CLIP AND MAIL TO YSA, BOX 471 COOPER
STATION, NY, NY 10003

Calendar and Classified ad rates: 75c
per line of 56-character-wide typewrit-
ten copy. Display ad rates: \$10.00 per
column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad
is enclosed). Payment must be included
with ads. The Militant is published each
week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy:
Friday, one week preceding publication,
for Classified and display ads; Tuesday
noon, three days preceding publication,
for Calendar ads.

The Militant- SUBSCRIBE NOW

SPECIAL TO NEW READERS/10 ISSUES FOR \$1.00

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____ CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

\$6 For 1 year regular subscription/ For GIs-\$1.50 for 6 months
Make checks payable to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York 10014

WRITINGS BY ERNEST MANDEL

An Introduction to Marxist
Economic Theory \$1
The Marxist Theory of the
State .50
Revolutionary Strategy in
the Imperialist Countries .35
The Revolutionary Student
Movement: Theory and
Practice .65

Pathfinder Press
410 West St.
New York, N.Y. 10014

Leon Trotsky on Literature and Art

edited with an introduction
by Paul N. Siegel
"Trotsky wrote with an original, live-
ly style, as this selection of his
literary criticism shows." -- Long
Beach Independent

"Trotsky was one of the founders
of Marxist literary criticism, and his
range of interests in art and literature
was surprisingly wide. In this an-
thology of his literary criticism, Siegel
has brought together scattered arti-
cles, essays, reviews, statements,
letters, and manifestoes covering the
period 1908-1939. . . . Much of this
material has never before appeared
in book form. . . . Trotsky brings
critical insight and considerable taste
and judgment." -- Library Journal
248 pp., \$6.95, paper \$2.45

Order from:
PATHFINDER PRESS
410 WEST STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10014

what's in a name? plenty!

AP, UPI, Agence France-Presse, Reuters, Hsinhua, Tass, etc., call
it "East Pakistan." We call it "Bangla Desh."

To learn why, read

Intercontinental Press

Intercontinental Press
P.O. Box 116
Village P.O. Station
New York, N.Y. 10014

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

- () Enclosed is \$7.50 for 26 issues.
() Enclosed is \$15.00 for one year.
() Please send a sample copy.

IN THE JUNE ISSUE

International Socialist review



Why Mao defends Bengal bloodbath

PROGRESS: REALITY OR ILLUSION? by George
Novaack . . . **HOW WE BUILT LA RAZA UNIDA IN
CRYSTAL CITY** by Jose Angel Gutierrez . . . **WHAT'S
WRONG WITH THE PEOPLE'S PEACE TREATY** by
Dave Frankel . . . **FEMALE INSANITY AND WOM-
EN'S OPPRESSION** by Stacey Joslin . . . **THE ENIGMA
OF THE USSR** by Leon Trotsky

CLIP AND MAIL TO: INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, 14 CHARLES LANE,
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10014

- ☐ ENCLOSED IS \$1.00 FOR SPECIAL THREE MONTH INTRODUCTORY OFFER
☐ ENCLOSED IS \$5.00 FOR ONE YEAR (11 ISSUES)

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____
STATE _____ ZIP _____

THE MILITANT

Vietnam vets stage hearings on war crimes

GARDEN CITY, N.Y.—"My commander said I better not make a fuss and get involved," Daniel A. Friedman, 22, said after describing how he had watched his sergeant spray Vietnamese children with a flame thrower "as a joke." Friedman was one of about a dozen Vietnam veterans who testified May 23 about war crimes in Vietnam at hearings organized here by the Long Island Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

The Long Island Winter Soldier Investigation, modeled after the inquiry held in Detroit Jan. 31-Feb. 2 this year, took place in the Garden City Hotel's main ballroom, which at one point was nearly filled to its 1,200 seating capacity.

The previous day, the VVAW had staged a march of nearly 17 miles from Flushing to Adelphi University here. In addition to the Nassau County police, who turned out in full riot gear, hundreds of residents lined the march route through Bellerose Terrace, New Hyde Park, and Garden City.

Some people joined and walked part way with the veterans, and at any given time, the marchers numbered 250. One of those who made the full length of the march was Bob Muller, a Marine veteran confined for life to a wheelchair by a severed spinal cord from a bullet wound in Vietnam.

Muller was one of the veterans who

22 march, the veterans from the Queens and Long Island chapters of VVAW put on guerrilla theater skits depicting the atrocities about which some of them testified the following day.

Steven Noetzel, coordinator of the two VVAW chapters and a former Green Beret, told the audience at the hearings, "We are here to show that My Lai was no unusual occurrence." Noetzel's judgment was echoed the following day in Ft. Meade, Md., by the highest ranking officer facing court-martial charges for his role in the My Lai massacre. Col. Oran K. Henderson told reporters during a noon recess in his pretrial hearing at the Maryland base that "Every unit of brigade size in Vietnam has its My Lai hidden some place."

Testimony at the Garden City Hotel supplied grim and shocking evidence to back up the argument that My Lai was an ordinary action. Noetzel himself testified about pushing prisoners from helicopters and about torturing captives with snakes and electric shocks.

Steve Rose from Queens described how he preserved Vietnamese ears as trophies by pickling them in formaldehyde. Fischman told the audience of his commander telling him to take target practice from a helicopter on unidentified Vietnamese civilians on the ground and of seeing a 12-year-

Army to court-martial antiwar GI

JUNE 1—Pvt. Ed Jurenas, an antiwar and socialist GI at Ft. Greely in Alaska, was told by his company commander today that the Army intends to court-martial him on charges stemming from publication and circulation of the *Arctic Arsenal*, a GI newspaper (see background story, page 3).

The charges are based on alleged violation of three articles of the Uniform Code of Military Justice: Article 89, which concerns disrespect to an officer; Article 92, which relates to willfully disobeying a regulation; and Article 134, which concerns promoting "disaffection" and "disloyalty" in the Army.

The GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee has agreed to take his case and urgently requests that messages of protest be sent immediately to Col. Powers, Post Commandant, Ft. Greely, Alaska, APO Seattle 98733; Gen. James Hollingsworth, Commanding General, United States Army Headquarters, Alaska, APO Seattle 98749; and Stanley Resor, Secretary of the Army, Department of the Army, Washington, D.C. Copies should be sent to the GICLDC, Box 355, Old Chelsea Sta., New York, N.Y. 10011.

appeared on the David Susskind show aired April 25. As a result of his appearance on the Susskind program and also on an NBC-TV documentary about veterans hospitals, Muller has become a well-known spokesman for Vietnam veterans who are bitter about their experience and the war itself.

On May 21, Muller and Earl Smith, a Black Air Force veteran who spent a year in Vietnam, spoke to the Militant Labor Forum in New York City. The forum was chaired by Michael Fischman, a former corporal with the 50th Infantry and an organizer of the march and Winter Soldier Investigation on Long Island.

At several places along their May

old Vietnamese shot while trying to surrender.

Paul Piatti of New Hyde Park remembered an elderly peasant carrying rice back to his village: "He smiled and waved—and then someone shot him." And Bob Baldwin of West Sa-ville said he had seen civilian boats and their occupants blown away by U.S. river patrols.

Craig Williams from Westbury described the beating of two small children with a rifle butt by an MP. Williams also related how he had witnessed a U.S. and ARVN officer torture a prisoner with both his legs amputated by prodding his wounds with a pencil until the American of-

Continued on page 22

Antiwar protests held across U.S. on Memorial Day



Photo by Shelby Harris

About 100 antiwar veterans march in Seattle Memorial Day parade, May 31.

A combination of rainy weather and the population's overwhelming antiwar sentiment put a damper on traditional-style Memorial Day celebrations May 31. The June 1 *New York Times* noted the small crowds and the absence of young veterans and politicians at prowar rallies and patriotic parades around the country. In several cities, antiwar forces staged protest actions against the war in Vietnam. Rain held down the size of some of the antiwar demonstrations too.

Protest actions ranging in size from 100 to 500 were held in New York, Boston, Cleveland, Madison, and St. Louis.

About 100 antiwar activists attended a wreath-laying ceremony, sponsored by the Vets for Peace, at the Eternal Light in Madison Square Park, New York City, in a drizzling rain. Antiwar veterans of four U.S. wars laid a wreath in memory of victims of these wars. The ceremony was followed by a rally and news conference.

Retired Army Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester, disabled Marine Vietnam veteran Bob Muller, National Peace Action Coalition Coordinator Ruth Gage-Colby, Ron Wolin of New York Vets for Peace, and an anonymous active-duty antiwar GI spoke to the crowd and reporters. Reporters and photographers were present from 12 newspapers, including the *New York Times*, *New York Post* and *New York Daily News*, and a number of TV and radio stations.

Arcadia Farms, just outside Cleveland, was the site of a "peace picnic" hosted by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Coalition. About 200 persons attended, including members of the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), SANE, Veterans for Peace, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The call for the July 2-4 National Antiwar Convention in New York was distributed, and interested persons signed up to attend.

The largest action was a march of 500 people around the state capitol in Madison, Wis. The Madison Vet-

erans Council, a group including all Madison veterans organizations except the Veterans for Peace, had planned a traditional-style parade similar to those it has sponsored for 37 years, but it canceled its plans the weekend before the 31st.

It canceled its parade because the Veterans for Peace, which had been granted a place in the parade, invited other antiwar groups to participate, and because the City Council on May 18 declared Memorial Day to be "a day of mourning and repentance for the human potential that has been wasted and continues to be wasted in the tragic Vietnam war."

The Veterans Council assailed the resolution, stating: "Actions such as that taken by these aldermen is running this city a close second to the radical, subversive, communistic government of Berkeley, Calif." The City Council answered by pointing to the April 6 referendum in Madison in which 66 percent of the voters demanded immediate and total withdrawal from Vietnam.

The march around the capitol, led by the veterans, included among other contingents Firefighters Local 311. Speakers from the SMC, the Madison Peace Action Coalition and the ASU addressed the crowd.

Tom Tomasko, the SMC speaker, announced he had received orders to report for induction June 16. Tomasko, who is also a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, said he planned to exercise his constitutional rights to speak out and organize against the war while in the armed forces, and said demonstrations were planned in Oshkosh, Wis., and Milwaukee June 16 to send him off.

The June 1 *New York Times* reported two veterans actions, each involving 200 persons, in Boston and St. Louis. The St. Louis veterans staged a mock "search and destroy" mission at a park in the city, and the Boston group retraced the route of Paul Revere to "sound the alarm" about the criminal war in Southeast Asia.