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WORKERS WORLD

Vol. 11, No. 4

March 6, 1969

TEN CENTS

Rockefeller Shakes Fist At Government Workers

**No-Strike Taylor Law Stiffened
As State Union Threatens Strike**

Over 150,000 New York State civil service workers have threatened a possible strike on March 13. And New York State Governor Rockefeller has just recommended as a provision for a new anti-strike law aimed precisely against these workers that strikers should be fined one and a half days' pay for each day they stay off the job.

The law is being stream-lined and readied for passage in order to break this particular strike as well as any possible strikes in the future.

Both the proposed strike and the legislation proposed against it are remarkable on several counts, as is the attitude of the foremost representative of the ruling class, in this case, Mr. Rockefeller.

To begin with, the strike vote was taken two weeks ago by the Civil Service Employees Assn., a half-century-old organization, long regarded in labor circles as a company union in form as well as content. The CSEA has never called a strike in all its years of existence—although it has indeed negotiated contracts and in more recent times adjusted many grievances for individual workers.

Three months ago it was fighting the State, County and Municipal Workers (AFL-CIO) for control of some state mental hospital locals. (The latter union called the first real strike in memory at several such hospitals.) Later on, the CSEA fought the Teamsters in a labor election for New York State Thruway workers—each time using more conservative appeals to the workers than the other organizations did, on some occasions even implying that the other unions were too militant.

But the CSEA, for better or worse, representing the great bulk of the state's workers, appears to be dead serious about its threat to strike—almost as serious as the Legislature in its threat to fine the workers and jail the leaders.

Here's why:

Many state workers are very low paid compared with those in private industry. Just as workers in many New York City-owned hospitals have to get supplemental financial assistance from the City Welfare, so do the lowest-paid state workers—when they are able to.

State workers are well aware that the cost of living has gone up an admitted 4.7 per cent in the last year, while Rockefeller had promised them a 4 per cent raise last fall—and then broke off negotiations.

They are equally well aware that U.S. government workers have been promised an average 9 per cent raise this coming July 1 (although postal workers are already steaming over the reliable rumor that their own pay hike will be only 4 per cent!).

And the congressmen's 40 per cent raise above a \$30,000 salary, like Nixon's 100 per cent "hardship" raise,



Paris demonstrators burn Nixon's picture.

has not escaped their attention either. They are ready for a fight.

The CSEA leaders rightly fear they will lose all their members to the AFL-CIO unions in a few months, if they do not give expression to this mood. Thus the strike threat.

Meanwhile, Rockefeller, himself one of the richest men in the world, refuses to raise state taxes effectively on corporations, real estate or the stock market. He is pleading poverty for the state treasury—among other things — in order to justify not giving the workers any decent raise, perhaps not even the 4 per cent he has already once withdrawn.

The proposed legislation, far more vindictive and ruthless than the Taylor Law, is directed primarily at the workers and only secondarily at the leaders (reversing the effect of the ineffective Taylor Law).

Trying to Stem Wildcat Tide

The reason for this move is not hard to find. City and state government workers are beginning to follow the trend that has been set in private industry for the past several years and is still growing: the trend for the workers to wildcat, to go over the heads of the union leaders, to reject contracts already negotiated and to go on strike with or without authorization or with grudging authorization by the union

Nixon Ends Tour With Threat Of Larger War Against Vietnam

**Also Banks on Soviet Leaders to Quash the
Arab Revolution and Restrain Vietnamese**

MARCH 5 — Hardly off the plane from his trip to Europe and the highly publicized conversations with his imperialist opposite numbers there, Nixon was making new threats of stepped-up war against Vietnam last night and speaking with more confidence than ever about a counterrevolutionary "settlement" in the Mideast.

He stated unequivocally that the U.S. "will not tolerate" the attacks of the National Liberation Front upon the U.S.-held cities in its own country. And he strongly implied that U.S. bombing of the North might be revived.

Furthermore, he said in his unusually frank press conference that there was "substantial progress on the Middle East" partially as a result of "encouraging talks with the Soviet Ambassador...with regard to the Mideast."

"The Soviet Union recognizes," he said, "that if these peripheral areas ('peripheral' — like the whole Mideast! — ed.) get out of control, the result could be a confrontation with the United States."

He all but admitted openly that his intentions in Europe had been to line up the imperialist allies behind a contemplated U.S. deal with the Soviet Union and convince them that such a deal would be only at the expense of the world revolution and not at theirs.

He showed great understanding and "delicacy" about the Soviet leaders' position on Vietnam, saying, "The Soviet Union is in a very delicate and sensitive position as far as Vietnam is concerned."

And after this the following question was asked of him:

"Mr. President, sir, I wonder if you think that the Soviets are anxious to bring the war to an end—at least not prolong it. I wonder if you have asked them if they will cut off their supplies to Hanoi?" (Our emphasis—ed.)

"Well, we have had discussions, as I have indicated, with the Soviet Ambassador," Nixon answered. "I do not think it would be appropriate, however, to disclose our discussions with him"—etc., etc.

While the Soviet Ambassador could not have the power to make such an outrageous concession to imperialism as Nixon hinted may have been the case—at least not at this time—he indubitably showed his government was interested and gave increased hopes to the imperialist murderers of the Vietnamese. (Or why does the Soviet government not immediately publish a condemnation of Nixon's innuendoes?)

This, like similar speculations about Soviet leaders' "cooperation" with their own would-be hangmen in Washington, was played over and over with many different nuances at last night's well-staged press conference.

Nixon summed up the whole thesis of imperialist doves and liberals who wish to maneuver themselves into world domination without taking on the great

(Continued on page 2)

leadership.

The threat to jail the leaders is not enough to frighten the membership—particularly when the threatened leaders are losing all influence over their followers!

Rockefeller, the allegedly liberal Governor and member of the Republican "moderate" establishment, was the man who only a year ago refused to call out the National Guard to break the New York City sanitation workers' strike. Now he is openly taking responsibility—even initiative—for the police state law against state employees.

This proves to the hilt for the benefit of those who had any doubts about the matter that his "softness" on the sanitation workers was sheer maneuver on his part, stemming from fear of the workers' reaction to bayonets on the one side and his pre-Presidential nomination factional politics vis-à-vis New York's Mayor Lindsay on the other.

It certainly had nothing to do with sympathy for the workers.

Now, however, this partner of one of the three or four world's greatest corporations, this skilled negotiator, maneuverer and imperialist politician is doing approximately the same thing to the workers that he cautioned the New York mayor against doing—and he's doing it on a bigger scale.

And as the workers themselves often put it, something's got to give.

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—Nixon Threatens Larger War

(Continued from page 1)
masses in the following words:

"And I think it is... the fact that if the situation in the Mideast and Vietnam is allowed to escalate that it might lead to a confrontation, that is giving the Soviet Union second thoughts and leads me to what I would say is a cautious conclusion at this point, that the Soviet Union will possibly play a peace-making role in the Mideast and even possibly in Vietnam.... Let's face it, without the Soviet Union's cooperation, the Mideast is going to be a terribly dangerous area.... And without the Soviet Union's cooperation, it may be difficult to move as fast as we would like in settling the war in Vietnam."

But still cautious, Nixon nowhere claimed to have the world revolution in the bag for his Wall Street bosses — and emphasized again and again that the "Four Powers" alone could not solve every problem in the world (meaning that the revolution had its own dynamics, even if Soviet material aid were cut off from it). But he generally reported great diplomatic "progress" for the U.S. ruling class on the world arena.

Fortunately for the world revolution

and the socialist future of mankind, however, Nixon does not even have the Soviet leadership in his pocket, much less the massive liberation forces of the world.

This was illustrated right in the middle of his European trip, when the Soviet leaders showed much more intransigence on Berlin than Nixon had expected — although he showed "understanding" on this too.

Irrespective of all the hard work and glittering promises of capitalist statesmen, the objective antagonisms between the Soviet social system and imperialism keep on expressing themselves — erupting now at one point, now at another.

Whatever the deals presently in the works, it is extremely doubtful whether even the most willing and spineless of Soviet revisionists can possibly come through with all that imperialism wants and needs from them.

Only last August they were compelled to upset the imperialist applecart in Czechoslovakia, even though this delayed for at least the hundred and first time the "big deal" that the imperialists and other enemies of the oppressed have been predicting for the past fifteen or twenty years.

3 Arrested Outside Rockefeller's Office

Protesters Demand: 'Free Martin Sostre!'

NEW YORK, Feb. 22 — Three persons were arrested outside of Governor Rockefeller's office here today during a demonstration to demand freedom for Martin Sostre, a black political prisoner now serving a 41-year sentence on trumped up narcotics charges.

Martin Sostre, who is in Green Haven Prison in Stormville, New York, was given one of the heaviest sentences to be handed down in recent years in the racist U.S. courts to a black liberation fighter. For the past eight months, prison officials have kept Sostre in solitary in an attempt to break his militant resistance to the legal lynching.

Today's demonstration was organized by Youth Against War & Fascism and the Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement in an effort to expose the frame-up and bring the

case of Martin Sostre to the public eye.

The three demonstrators were arrested during an argument with police when a phalanx of cops broke up a picket line on the busy corner of Fifth Avenue and 55 Street and tried to herd close to 200 demonstrators into police barricades on the deserted side street. Objecting to this obvious attempt to prevent the demonstration for Sostre from being seen or heard, Fred Goldstein, managing editor of Workers World, Maryann Weissman, National Coordinator of Youth Against War & Fascism, and Sue Davis, an activist in the youth group, were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct, resisting arrest and obstructing government administration. Angry demonstrators chanted, "Free Sostre, Jail the Pigs" as the three were taken to a paddy wagon.



"Newsletter" Tells of Arab Liberation Struggle

An editorial supporting the Iraqi government in its struggle against imperialist aggression, news of the Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation and an article on the rising rebellion on the Arabian Gulf are all included in the third Newsletter published by the Committee to Support Middle East Liberation (CSMEL).

In defense of Iraq, the Newsletter begins: "Outraged cries raised in the western press against Iraq's Jan. 27 execution of 14 persons convicted as spies of imperialism are coldly and thoroughly hypocritical on several counts."

"With respect to the 'abhorrence' expressed over the idea of public executions, it should not be forgotten that those yelling loudest now were quite unperturbed by the 'legal' murder of Vietnamese patriot Nguyen Van Troi, or Congolese revolutionary Patrice Lumumba, or Che Guevara or countless Indonesian communists and possibly a million other Indonesians massacred in the 1965 U.S.-backed counterrevolution."

The article concludes: "Progressives should not allow themselves to be fooled by the hypocritical anti-Iraq cries originated by those who conduct the most savage state measures in defense of exploitation, and always condemn the state measures of the oppressed."

The February issue of the Newsletter is jammed with news of the increased Arab resistance in Israeli-occupied territories. An article on Palestine reports on the defiance of the young people in occupied cities who have carried out many dangerous demonstrations against their Israeli oppressors. The courageous role played by Palestinian women in this struggle, the Newsletter notes, was spotlighted by the participation of a young woman from Gaza, Amina Dahbour, in the Zurich raid on an El Al airliner.

According to the CSMEL publication, leaflets left behind after the Zurich ac-

tion "said the attack was aimed at Israeli military personnel and stressed that (Amina) Dahbour's part was 'meant to express the Palestinian women's role in resisting occupation and her participation in shouldering the brunt of armed struggle.'"

"Imperialism Versus Iraqi People" headlines an article which gives a historical background of revolutionary struggles in Iraq. "In 1958," writes the Committee, "the revolutionary people of Iraq, under the leadership of Abdel Kareem Kassem, overthrew the feudalist Faisal-Nuri as Said regime. The response of imperialism was prompt, with U.S. Marines landing in Lebanon and British troops at the ready in Jordan. At stake were the vast riches of the sixth oil-producing country in the world."

Struggles in the smallest Middle Eastern countries are also covered in the Newsletter. There is little awareness in this country of the existence of a National Front for the Liberation of the Arabian Gulf, one of the richest oil producing areas in the world. It is the aim of this resistance organization to eliminate the Western oil monopolies and free the Gulf region, with all its reactionary kingdoms, sultanates and sheikdoms, from foreign domination.

Other reports in the Newsletter cover three demonstrations organized by North Americans in support of the Arab people's right to self-determination and control over their own homeland, and an article dealing with Israeli expansionism.

The Committee to Support Middle East Liberation was formerly the Ad Hoc Committee on the Mideast which was formed in 1967 at the time of the six day, U.S.-backed Israeli war against the Arab countries.

Copies of the Newsletter can be obtained by writing to the Committee at P.O. Box 948, New York, N.Y. 10027.

Afro-Asian bookstore in the black community which was the only outlet in the city for black nationalist and revolutionary literature. At first, Buffalo authorities accused Sostre of having caused the rebellion, but they soon dropped all the political charges and decided to frame the black militant as a narcotics pusher.

Sostre's supporters picketed today in front of Rockefeller's office on 55 Street for about 20 minutes with chants of "Free Sostre, Jail Rockefeller," "Eight Months in Solitary, Free Martin Sostre" and "Stop the War Against Black America." Then the demonstration went mobile into a march down Fifth Avenue, across town in the busy 42 Street area and ended at Herald Square. A large red banner at the head of the march read: "Free Martin Sostre, Black Political Prisoner." Other banners demanded "Free Eddie Oquendo," "Free Huey Newton, Free Martin Sostre — All Black Political Prisoners" and "Martin Sostre Must Be Set Free."

At a brief rally at the end of the march one demonstration leader declared that this was the opening action to be taken in a campaign to build mass support for the struggle of Martin Sostre and his many brothers now prisoners in U.S. imperialism's jails. "We want to build a mass movement," said Ed Vogel of YAWF, "to help free Martin Sostre, Huey Newton, Eddie Oquendo, and all the other political prisoners, black and white."

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Union for Strikebreakers? Meany Invites Cops to Join

A "union" of finks and strikebreakers? What kind of a union is that?

That's exactly the kind of union George Meany is cooking up under the prodding of the cops and the right wing. He has announced that the AFL-CIO is prepared to grant a charter to a national union of police. This decision followed discussions with John Cassese, president of the New York City Policemen's Benevolent Assn., and its "community relations counsel," Norman Frank.

Meany's comment was that cops "are workers like everybody else." Mr. Meany boasts that he's never walked on a picket line, but any worker who has, and who's seen that line of blue-coats escorting the scabs into the shop, might see things a little differently. If cops are just workers, then what about professional strikebreakers? Were the Pinkertons, and the goons hired by Ford to prevent the formation of the UAW, and the "sheriffs" deputized overnight and handed baseball bats and brass knuckles "workers like everybody else"?

Any worker who's had to fight the bosses for a few cents knows that the cops are with "them," not "us." In this period of relative quiet for organized labor, a lot of new contracts are worked out by mediators in cut and dried settlements, and the power of the bosses' cops isn't always felt directly. But there hasn't been one strike struggle in this country where the cops haven't been there. And it's never to protect the workers' rights — it's always to protect the bosses' property, scabs and stooges. The cops enforce injunctions, prevent mass picketing, and sometimes arrest the union leaders themselves when a strike is declared "illegal."

Meany says he'll go along with a no-strike pledge for a cops' union. What about a no strike-breaking pledge? After all, what's the purpose of union affiliation? Why were the great labor federations and congresses created in the first place? Wasn't it to increase the power of labor through union solidarity on a wider and wider basis? Bringing in as "union brothers" men whose job it is to enforce the bosses' law against labor is an obscene joke.

This is a deal cooked up between the labor bureaucrats and the right wing. Meany and the other porkchoppers don't

care who they give a franchise to, as long as the dues checkoff system is agreed on in advance. On the other hand, the fascists, Birchites and racists of all sorts want to curry favor with police forces across the country, which have increasingly become the breeding grounds for fascism and racism. By organizing the cops to win some monetary demands, the ultra-right hopes to further its political campaign for building a police state. The results of such a deal can only be to further weaken and discredit the AFL-CIO.

The police departments mentioned as most anxious to join the "union brotherhood" are in Chicago, Oakland, Cleveland, Detroit, and New York City. Considering that these are the cities where the cops have been most at war with the people in recent years, it's no wonder that they would want to clean up their image a little.



He'd organize "Brother" Fink.

But this move goes a lot deeper than reflecting what individual cops might want. It is organized by the most anti-labor, racist and pro-war segment of society. And one effect of this unnatural alliance is to further cloud the class consciousness of white workers, make the cop's profession more respectable in their eyes, and, they hope, make the workers forget that the cops work for the class enemy. But the battles between the cops and the black liberation struggle, the cops and the anti-imperialist students, the cops and the unemployed are only a prelude to the battles between the cops and the workers. And when those battles begin, the workers should not forget that it was Meany, Abel and Co. who wanted to let the strikebreakers into the union.

Food Aid for Hungry, Another Nixon Hoax

If you and your family have an income of \$30 a month or less, that is less than \$1 a day to pay for food, clothing, housing, medicine and any emergencies, and if you happen to live in Jasper or Beaufort Counties in South Carolina, you'll be happy to know that the government is going to give you free food stamps.

Absurd? Well, this is just the kind of degrading insult that the Nixon Administration tried to put over on the starving poor of South Carolina. But they didn't buy it, and unceremoniously told the government it could keep its "generous" offer.

This paltry food program was the ruling class answer to weeks of scandalous revelations in the bourgeois press across the country about "hunger in America." A five-part series by Homer Bigart in the New York Times studied starvation and poverty, not only in South Carolina, but also in the Mississippi Delta, Appalachia, among migrant workers and the Mexican and Indian populations. It was suddenly disclosed that people in the United States are suffering from the most devastating diseases of malnutrition — kwashiorkor, pellagra, rickets, goiter, scurvy, etc. — diseases which were not supposed to even exist in this country.

In response to the reports of malnutrition, disease, worm infestation, indecent housing, overcrowding, unemployment, inadequate medical attention, and on and on, the Nixon Administration quickly announced investigations into the "shocking" conditions. The racist former governor of South Carolina, Senator Ernest F. Hollings, came forward, confessed to his neglect of the situation in the past and called upon the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs to provide free food stamps for the hungry. With much fanfare, Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin announced plans for implementing just such a program for "the lowest-income families of Beaufort and Jasper Counties under a pilot project," according to the New York Times of February 21.

Then the starving poor in South Carolina found out just what the Nixon Administration had in mind for them — and flatly rejected the program as a fraud!

"The pilot program," said the



Beaufort County, S.C.: This woman may not be poor enough to get free food.

Times on February 28, "would make available free food stamps only to qualified low income families that generally have less than \$30 a month income." Mrs. Hazel Frazier, president of the Beaufort County Welfare Rights organization, told a meeting of 150 welfare recipients February 26, "We voted to totally reject the program as planned by welfare officials." Another leader of the group was quoted as saying that there are "only a handful of people" in the two counties that have incomes that low.

(An income of \$30 a month, or \$360 a year, in a highly developed capitalist country where money is an absolute necessity represents a lower level of poverty than exists even in many underdeveloped countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa, where peasant families can live outside of the money economy.)

Mrs. Frazier demanded that the pilot program "should be redesigned according to the recommendations and suggestions of the people to be served." But with typical arrogance and disregard for the real needs of the poor, the Agriculture Department announced on February 27 that it would go ahead with the fraudulent "free food stamp" program.

BLACK BUSINESS DECLINING

With all the talk about federal loans for "black capitalism," black businesses are significantly on the decline. In fact, there are fewer black businesses now than there were 40 years ago. In 1929 there were 49 black-owned commercial banks in 38 cities; now there are 20 such banks in 19 cities.

Black people own barely 1 per cent of the nation's five million private businesses, but they constitute 12 per cent of the U.S. population. The amount of corporate wealth owned by Afro-Americans is an infinitesimal fraction of 1 per cent of the total.

One out of every 40 white people is a proprietor, while only one Afro-American in 1,000 is a business owner. In addition, almost all black businesses are tiny, family-run operations in the black communities, providing a meager income for their owners and only a very few jobs for others. About 25 per cent of Afro-American firms are barber shops or beauty parlors. And of the 28,000 auto dealers in the U.S. only six are owned by Afro-Americans.

The largest black-owned company in the country is North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co. with \$94 million in assets. Compare this with the largest white-owned insurance company which has assets of \$25 billion.

While the New York Post of February 28 points out these statistics, the paper's connection with the Schiff family and other Wall Street bankers causes them to keep quiet about the political conclusions of these statistics — i.e., that black people are oppressed regardless of their class and that oppression of the black nation has increased.

Racist AFL-CIO Leaders: Tough on 'Black Capitalism,' Soft on White Ruling Class

By NAOMI GOLDSTEIN

The well paid-off, sell-out leadership of the AFL-CIO has finally gotten around to attacking capitalism — but predictably enough, the move was to the liking of the big business bosses. For the attack was not on the monopoly capitalists who exploit the vast majority of the working class in this country; it was on "black capitalism."

Militant trade unionists have waited decades to hear the labor bureaucrats score capitalism and capitalists for profit gauging, running sweatshops and paying low wages. But suddenly, the executive council of the AFL-CIO chose to denounce black capitalism, Feb. 22, saying, "At its worst, 'black capitalism' is a dangerous, divisive delusion — offered as a panacea by extremists, both black and white, some businessmen who see a chance for profit and a few well-intentioned but misguided liberals."

According to a New York Times article of Feb. 23, the council declared that black capitalism constituted "apartheid, antidemocratic nonsense." The tax loopholes offered for black business, the suddenly class-conscious bureaucrats declare, according to the Times article, "would attract small sweatshops or some marginal plants of big companies — with little additional employment at decent wages but with considerable tax benefit to the companies."

White bosses have been running "small sweatshops," have paid

indecently low wages and have benefited from government tax benefits ever since capitalism overthrew feudalism. Why not raise a hue and cry over the vast oil depletion allowances given to the oil monopolies or the billions paid out to corporate farmers each year? But no, the AFL-CIO leadership has been collaborating with these thieves for so long that they neither dare nor wish to fight the real enemies of the working class! They choose to launch a racist attack on black capitalism first — a program that has barely even materialized.

If any fault were to be found with the slogan of black capitalism as it was put forward by the Nixon Administration, it would be that the program was used as a campaign gimmick by Nixon and as an excuse to cut back on programs for aiding poor and unemployed Afro-Americans.

Did Meany and his henchmen attack black capitalism from a working class point of view, in the spirit of revolutionary solidarity with the black workingman? How is it that the word "capitalism" has suddenly fallen from the lips of mis-leaders who would never invoke the term except to praise the bosses' system of "free" labor (i.e., wage slavery)?

Clearly their attack comes from a reactionary and racist outlook. In fact, what they really object to in black capitalism is not the capitalism part at all, but the "separatist" aspect of it. Capitalism is the best system for the workers, these phony labor

leaders have been saying for years. They even withdrew the AFL-CIO from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions recently because it was not "fighting Communism" hard enough.

The bosses' stooges in the labor movement have lived high under monopoly capitalism for a long time. If they now turn around to attack black capitalism, it is only because they would never dream of supporting any kind of independent struggle by the black people to win jobs, better education and living conditions.

The labor council, meeting in the luxurious surroundings of Bal Harbour, Florida, gave lip service to the problem of high unemployment among the black people. But unemployment among 22 million Afro-Americans is a result of the racism generated by monopoly capitalism and is in no way related to "black capitalism." If these labor bureaucrats are so interested in the plight of the black people, why not start the struggle for them in the unions, against white racism? Why not stop hounding the black militants and black caucuses among the rank and file and fight for their rights and representation? And why not tell the workers who their real enemies are?

That would be impossible, of course, because along with the capitalists — the Fords and Rockefellers and Morgans, etc. — would be the names of such traitors to the working class as George Meany and those of the executive council of the AFL-CIO.

An Affair Between Imperialist Theologians and Czechoslovak "Marxists"

Year Before Last at Marienbad: Counterrevolutionary Preview

By V. COPELAND

Dr. Milan Machovec, a professor of philosophy at Charles University in Prague, is presently on a tour of the United States. This professor, purportedly a Marxist, is a passionate supporter of the Dubcek counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia and describes it as the "first great reformation in Communism."

Accordingly, the Methodist Office of the United Nations, understandably interested in "reformation," is sponsoring his visit to this country. The professor told the New York Times that "recent crackdowns have made dialogue with Christians more difficult, especially where travel is involved." The Methodists of the UN are filling the breach on this score.

Dr. Machovec's specialty is apparently not politics, but the relationship of Marxism to Christianity and vice versa. He is lecturing Americans on the alleged compatibility of the two systems of thought.

Far from being academic, he uses current events to explain his thesis. "During the general strike" (the abortive general strike called by the Czechoslovak counterrevolutionists last August, -ed.) you heard not only factory sirens," he said, "but church bells."

But he also expresses his theoretical position well, too. "Once you solve the basic problems of feeding and clothing people," he told U.S. reporters on February 22, "you must ask new questions. Many of my colleagues thought that Marxism sought only to organize life, not to ask about its meaning.... The idea of afterlife gives meaning because it assumes an object over against us." And he compared the "problem of salvation" to "the problem of alienation," implying that they were essentially the same thing.

It should be readily understandable to anybody faintly familiar with Marxism and with any convictions about the class struggle that Dr. Machovec is as counterrevolutionary in philosophy as he is in politics.

FOOD AND CLOTHING NO LONGER

A PROBLEM (FOR PROFESSORS!)

How, we may well ask, can anyone, no matter how confused philosophically, how can anyone even pretending to be a Communist, have the callousness to imply that the basic problems of feeding and clothing the people (people, that is, not just the professors!) are all solved and now it is time to find out the "meaning" of life — a meaning apart from and different from the life problems of his fellow human beings' survival and progress?

Our purpose here is not so much to answer that rather obvious question as it is to show that Dr. Machovec is not an accidental or incidental figure to the general counterrevolutionary regressiveness in his country.

It would take far more space than is at our disposal here to explain all the subjective ideas and objective causes of a phenomenon like Dr. Machovec. Our main interest, however, is to show how he fits in with the pattern of Czechoslovak counterrevolution.

He has not only been preaching like this for a long time, but he has a relatively large number of collaborators and co-thinkers, including high functionaries in the Italian and French Communist Parties as well as in Czechoslovakia. And he did not start his "dialogue" with people like the "UN Methodists" just yesterday, either.

In April, 1967, at Marianske Lazne (often known by its more Germanic name — Marienbad), there was an ecumenical conference of a very special type. It was not, like Vatican II, a meeting of Catholics and Protestants, but an international conference of "Communists" and Christians, the latter being not ordinary workers who believe in Christianity, but professional Christians — priests, preachers, who work to strengthen the organization of the church vis-a-vis the working class organizations and workers' states. And it was one of a whole series of such conferences.

DEBATE 'MEANING OF LIFE'

WHILE VIETNAMESE FIGHT FOR THEIRS

The leader of the Czechoslovak Marxists who came was none other than our friend, Dr. Machovec. This, it must be emphasized, was in April, 1967, sixteen



Prof. Milan Machovec speaking at Marienbad, Czech.

months before the Warsaw Pact intervention.

Here, too, in Marienbad, the question of "the meaning of human life" occupied the center of the stage.

While Vietnamese were being slaughtered, Africans, Afro-Americans, and Latin Americans worked to an early grave by the Methodists and other assorted Christians of U.S. imperialism, the question of "alienation" was soberly compared to the question of "salvation." And that old chestnut about the "humanism of the young Marx" being superior to the sharper class struggle concepts of "the old Marx" were chewed over with all academic honors and "objectivity."

Dr. Roger Garaudy, a French delegate and a member of the National Committee of the CP of France said shortly after:

"The Marxists have had to abandon their dogma that religion is the opium of the people."

"To many observers," in the words of the CIA-Free Europe Committee's magazine, East Europe of March 1968, Marianske Lazne constituted a turning point in the history of dialogue, in that it marked the end of the introductory stage, "known as 'the dialogue about the dialogue.'"

Usually it takes literally volumes to expose the class

roots of this priestly obscurantism and prove that it is nothing but servile double-talk to help the imperialist ruling class cover up its brutal oppression.

But in this case, there are several facts about the conference that make the volumes unnecessary. The true character of the dialogue may be seen from the character of its participants.

BONN 'MISSIONARIES' SPREAD THE FAITH

In the first place, the conference was organized not by Dr. Machovec, but by the Paulus Gesellschaft, a West German Catholic society concerned with having a "dialogue" somewhat more than is the professor himself, just as imperialist West Germany is even more concerned about a dialogue with Czechoslovakia itself than are the counterrevolutionists of that country. This is because German imperialism needs to export its capital even more than Czechoslovak revisionists need to have fur coats or limousines. The one need is mere personal selfishness; the other is an organic part of a social system.

Of the 201 participants at this Marienbad love feast, there were fourteen Czechoslovak Christians and only thirteen alleged Czechoslovak Marxists. But there were 85 West Germans — all of them Christian. (Of course, since the West German Communist Party was illegal at the time, the Paulist fathers could not very well bring any "Marxists" along. And the Czechs were too polite to mention this fact.)

The total number of Christians in the conference was 169. Thus, the West Germans had an absolute majority of the Christians present. (Among the "Marxists," mainly East European countries were represented. Even the worst revisionists in the Soviet Union would not attend or in any way sanction the affair.)

In philosophical matters, painful facts like these are generally overlooked as irrelevant and he who mentions them is rebuked for his crudeness and lack of respect for abstract truth.

But since West Germany is the country which stands to gain the most immediate trade benefit (and has already gained greatly) from East Europe, the sending of West German missionaries to "atheist" and benighted Czechoslovakia does sound suspiciously like the methods of Britain, Spain, the U.S. and other imperialisms' religious cover for economic exploitation.

And in the case of a breakdown in socialist intransigence in East Europe (which would be greatly aided by a breakdown in philosophical convictions), the penetration of West German trade would be greatly facilitated. Along with the export of ordinary German commodities would come the export of German capital. This would assure the export of the surplus value of Czechoslovakia's workers back to the coffers of German capitalists. Finally, Germany in its character of U.S. satellite would of course share the booty with the American colossus.

This would be the truly Christian outcome that both Christians and revisionist "Marxists" are aiming at. This would make the Year Before Last at Marienbad much more clear — even if the "meaning of life" were further muddled up.

The "Marxists" would make a place for the lord of the heavens in their philosophy, while the imperialists make a place for the landlords and the money lords on Czechoslovakian earth.

Pearson, influenced the President to choose Hickel as Secretary of the Interior. Anderson had "found Wally Hickel as Governor of Alaska a wonderfully generous and cooperative man." Anderson contributed more than \$100,000 to the Nixon campaign.

Polluters 'Control' Board

The Coast Oil Crisis also brought on investigation of the Los Angeles Regional Water Quality Control Board. "The 'control' board is weighted with representatives of actual or potential pollution sources," says the New York Times of 2/9/69. Thomas Gaines, of the Union Oil Company (the very company responsible for the Santa Barbara mess) is industry's representative on the "control" board! The lone representative of "conservation groups" — Mrs. Ellen Harris — says she finds herself in a tiny minority on vote after vote.

Polluters of California's waterways have been fined \$6,000 a month, which has been described by a government deputy as "more like the cost of doing business than a deterrent."

But of course there's nothing new in all this. Stewart L. Udall, who has just finished his term as Interior Secretary, says that when he asked experts throughout the Department for their opinions on the advisability of drilling for oil in the channel, not one of them dissented!

Udall, too, has been accused of bowing to the pressure of the oil men. In the 20's Congress reserved an area

(Continued on page 5)

New Interior Boss Makes Teapot Dome Look Like Tea Party

Oil Slick — But Hickel Is Slicker

By ELIZABETH ROSS

If you wanted to form an association for the preservation of little lambs you wouldn't be likely to ask your butcher to serve as chairman of the committee.

And if you had a straw house in Vietnam you wouldn't go to Dow Chemical for fire insurance.

Likewise, if you were appalled by the ever-increasing pollution of air, water, land, wild-life and human life which now threatens this continent and the world, you sure wouldn't want to put Walter T. Hickel and his buddies in charge of finding a solution.

The case of Hickel, as Secretary of the Interior, has, of course, been so well publicized that most Americans are familiar with the salient facts. His great fortune built on oil and natural gas (before he became Governor of Alaska he was board chairman of the Anchorage National Gas Company, which helped develop one of the greatest oil strikes of this decade in Alaska — worth an estimated \$40 billion) is well known to readers of the mass media.

'More Oil, Less Reindeers'

His crude concept of forest conservation — "One tree looking at another tree", and his motto for Alaska, "More

oil and less reindeers," have become national, and perhaps international bywords.

And above all, his criminal negligence in allowing the gusher from the Union Oil Company's shaft off-shore Santa Barbara to go unplugged for four days made headlines around the world.

Much type and newspaper space have acquainted us with the tragic aftermath of this "accident" — the creation of a dead sea off the California coast, which will not come alive again for many years.

But in case anyone thinks Mr. Hickel is some kind of an "accident" himself — an innocent but unfortunate choice of the Nixon Administration, a lone representative of the oil interests surrounded by wiser and more public-spirited men who will be a counterforce to his biased actions — let's look a little further.

Hickel's Oil Cronies

Let's look not only at the men whom he has chosen as his aides (and who are out of reach of Congressional veto) but at certain members of Congress itself, and their billionaire backers.

There's James G. Watt, who according to the New York Times of 2/10/69, "has been quietly named a high-level advisor to Secretary of the

Interior Walter J. Hickel." He has been a registered lobbyist for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, is described in the Oil and Gas Journal as "Mr. Hickel's eyes and ears on oil," and his appointment brought forth the following letter from Senator Proxmire to Secretary Hickel: "...I think the appointment of a man who is so identified with the private interests can only create a credibility gap between your statement of concern for the public interest and your action as Secretary of the Interior." (New York Times 2/10/69)

Drew Pearson on December 20 and 23, 1968 listed only a few politicians "both Democrats and Republicans" in positions of power to influence oil contracts:

"Rep. Wayne Aspirall (D-Colo.)...the darling of the oil industry," who has blocked passage on the wild and scenic rivers bill for many months to favor timber and mining interests.

"Sen. Gordon Allott (R-Colo.) who has collected oil contributions" and has "control over all legislation involving the Interior Department."

"Robert O. Anderson, Chairman of the giant Atlantic-Richfield Oil Complex," who called on Nixon at the Hotel Pierre the week after he became President, and, again according to

The Man Willy Brandt Came 3,000 Miles to See Before West German Elections

Lucius Clay, Original Architect of U.S. Berlin Aggression

When Nixon had already begun his European trip, and the possibility of another Berlin crisis was seriously being discussed, Willy Brandt, the Foreign Minister of West Germany and former Mayor of West Berlin, suddenly made a quick trip to New York City.

He turned up at the Waldorf giving the main speech at the "Freedom Award Dinner" honoring retired U.S. Army Gen. Lucius D. Clay.

It might seem odd that this man should be thousands of miles from home just at a time when you'd think he'd be needed most. Within a couple of days, the U.S. head of state would be visiting his country. And Brandt had just recovered from pleurisy. Was it irresponsible on his part to be on the other side of the Atlantic speaking at a banquet — a commitment he could easily bow out of?

On the contrary. Willy Brandt's trip to see Lucius Clay at this moment was supremely important to both the U.S. and West German rulers. Clay, a retired general, has held no official government position for many years. Yet his influence since retiring his command as military governor of postwar Germany in 1949 has grown even greater, and there are few men in the inner circles of the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie whose words on this subject would have more weight.

MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN PERSON

Clay personifies the "military-industrial complex." His career is the model story of a military man whose martial function prepared him perfectly for graduation into the world of high finance. His army years were merely a preparation for his present role of banker and businessman, and WW II was his great opportunity.

Described as a man of "autocratic temperament," Clay was a more-than-typical West Pointer. Son of a Southern Bourbon family, his father a U.S. Senator from Georgia, young Lucius was promoted from second lieutenant to captain the day he graduated from the military academy. When the war broke out, he moved up to a position in charge of materiel, supervising the production and purchasing of army supplies. Throughout all of WW II, Clay cemented his relations with the giant monopolies as the man ultimately responsible for the awarding of mammoth war contracts running into the tens of billions of dollars.

By the end of the war, he was on close terms with and trusted by the titans of Wall St. To Clay went the job of overseeing the postwar reconstruction of West Germany as a vassal of U.S. finance capital.

In economic terms, this meant implementing a policy that would tie in West German capital irrevocably with the U.S. The result was the rebirth of German capitalism on a greater scale than ever, but so enmeshed with U.S. corporations that in many cases it is impossible to tell where German business interests end and U.S. interests begin.

MILITARY GOV. BROUGHT BACK OLD NAZIS

Clay's political function as military governor and commander of the U.S. occupation forces was supposedly to eliminate Nazi influence from German life. It is no accident that in this capacity his efficiency and ingenuity seem to have failed him. The revival of Nazism hand in hand with German capital is well known. Suffice it to say that Ilse Koch, the Beast of Belsen who had lampshades made out of the skin of

prisoners in her husband's concentration camp, was pardoned by Clay after two years in jail.

He did, however, show the utmost determination and persistence when it came to maintaining West Berlin as a spear thrust into the heart of socialist East Germany. It was Clay who organized the airlift in 1948 and '49 that tightened the West's grip on Berlin and showed how determined U.S. capital was to maintain its influence even to the point of a major confrontation with the Soviet Union.

Clay "retired" from the Army in 1949, but in reality it was only a graduation to bigger things. He became President and Chairman of the Board of Continental Can Co., tripling its sales within a few years because of his broad corporate connections formed during the Army supply years. But this was only the beginning. Clay soon became a senior partner in the banking house of Lehman Bros., and a director of a dozen major corporations, including giants like General Motors, Metropolitan Life, American Express and the Chase Manhattan Bank.

ARCHITECT OF THE BERLIN CRISIS

Like his close friend John J. McCloy, who worked with Clay as High Commissioner of Germany, Clay has become more and more valuable to the U.S. ruling class as a completely "integrated" man: his military experience is perfectly blended with his class consciousness as the complete corporate director.

This is the background of the man who is now being consulted once again on how U.S. capital and its German partners should handle a possible crisis over Berlin.

Although not a member of the government, it was Clay who was called in and sent to Berlin in 1961 with then Vice-President Johnson after U.S. officials were banned from the city. It was Clay who ordered that U.S. troops and tank convoys accompany these officials along the Autobahn, an act which resulted in the first direct armed confrontation of the Cold War.

Is it any wonder, then, that Willy Brandt should leave a sickbed and an impending crisis to come and consult Clay? Now, when the U.S. faces a rising leftist student mood in West Berlin, and when a bigger drive than ever is underway to break up the unity of the socialist countries in Eastern Europe, the question of Germany is uppermost in the minds of U.S. ruling circles. And no one is more qualified than Lucius Clay to speak for the imperialists and define their strategy.

General in Grey Flannel Suit

Senior Partner in LEHMAN BROTHERS	ASSETS
Pres. and Chmn. of the Bd. of CONTINENTAL CAN	\$1,012,561,000
Director of:	
GENERAL MOTORS	\$13,273,083,000
UNITED STATES LINES	232,808,000
CHASE MANHATTAN BANK	17,770,525,000
MARINE MIDLAND TRUST	1,920,854,000
NEWMONT MINING	272,500,000
METROPOLITAN LIFE INS.	24,600,589,000
AMERICAN EXPRESS	over 1,000,000,000
LEHMAN CORP.	493,800,000
ALLIED CHEMICAL	1,602,528,000
STANDARD BRANDS	418,627,000
CHASE INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT CORP.	
Trustee of AEROSPACE CORP.	
Former Finance Chairman of the Republican Party	

NEW YORK MEETING RAISES FUNDS FOR PANTHER DEFENSE

The first in a series of meetings to build a national legal defense fund for black prisoners was held at the Hotel Diplomat February 27. The meeting was organized by the Black Panther Party, which has been fighting for its life since



HUEY NEWTON

it was recently formed in the New York area. Despite the fact that a number of Panther leaders have been arrested in the few months of the party's existence here, the meeting was well organized. There was no lack of leadership among the many young people who guarded the doors, took admissions and generally kept the affair running smoothly.

The speakers, who combined a relaxed sense of humor with deep earnestness about the struggle, had plenty to say on the meeting's subject: "law and order." None of the speakers were members of the Black Panther Party, but each one made clear that they greatly admire the work of the Panthers.

Mae Mallory, a co-defendant of Rob Williams in the Monroe "kidnapping" case, was the first to speak. She explained law and order as: "The oppressor passes laws in order to oppress black people better." A large part of Mrs. Mallory's talk was devoted to the case of Martin Sostre, a black liberation fighter serving 40 years whose im-

Footnote to ABM Debate Doves 'Not Necessarily Opposed'

The fight among U.S. imperialist politicians over deployment of an ABM system may have given some people the impression that there is really an

prisonment best illustrates what the ruling class "law and order" is all about. She described how Sostre, who was his own attorney, was gagged by the racist judge at one of his last court appearances because he insisted on speaking. She also showed how the judge's vindictiveness made him give Sostre an additional 30-day sentence, on top of the 40 years, for "contempt of court."

Mrs. Mallory also referred to the case of black draft resister Eddie Oquendo. Eddie is so nearsighted that he probably wouldn't have passed an army physical, she said, but he decided to make it clear that he wouldn't submit to the draft and kill his Vietnamese brothers. He was sentenced to the maximum of five years.

The speakers list at the meeting was impressive and covered a wide variety of areas in which black people are struggling. Les Campbell, a teacher from J.H.S. 271 who was fired for his militant stand against the racist teachers' strike, spoke as did Herman Ferguson, a former assistant principal in Queens and victim of a police frame-up directed against militants in that area. James Johnson, one of the Fort Hood Three, was called up from the audience to speak briefly. He told the crowd, "The only time there's going to be law and order is when the people take power."

Attorney Florynce Kennedy warmed the audience with an account of a recent trip she made to Kansas City where a new Panther Party chapter met her at the airport with a full escort.

The meeting was chaired by Chuck Moore. Other speakers included Irving Davis, substituting for Rap Brown, Paul Boutelle and Julio Rosado.

The meeting's tone was relaxed and confident, and gave promise of a united and hard-hitting campaign to defend the victims of racist repression.

"anti-militarist" Congressional opposition to the vastly expensive missile project. So, just to straighten out all the confusion over this intra-imperialist debate, Senator Mike Mansfield, a leader of the "doves," put it on the line.

"Those of us who raise questions about the ABM," he told the Christian Science Monitor of February 28, "are not necessarily opposed to it — and we all are in favor of continued research and development of the ABM."

"But," he went on, "in our opinion the ABM is far from an infallible system." Adds the Christian Science Monitor, "It is the building of the system at this time that he and a number of his colleagues now oppose." The "opposition" turns out to be no opposition at all. They're just worried the system won't work well enough.

Another major consideration on the minds of imperialists who fear building an ABM "at this time" is that the cost may hamper them in other areas of counter-revolutionary struggle. Mansfield, for example, feels that a "thin line" ABM system would cost over \$9 billion and a "thick" ABM "will cost in the neighborhood of \$90 billion. Then add 5 to 10 per cent on top of that each year for maintenance." Meanwhile, Mansfield points out, "the Soviet Union would be matching us and in the end where would we be?"

Finally what it all comes down to is one faction of the imperialists' fear of spending too much on one military project while not paying enough attention to crushing the black liberation struggle at home. "What happens to our cities?" Mansfield asks. "We will weaken ourselves internally if we don't face up to the problems in the urban areas."

— Hickel Is Slicker

(Continued from page 4)

in the Far West containing \$8 trillion worth of shale oil for the Navy. The deposit has been described as "the greatest package of potential energy on the face of the globe."

Pressure from the oil barons for a finger in the pie has been tremendous. Both the Eisenhower and Johnson Administrations made large concessions. Udall proposed last year that leases be granted "only" to those developers who would be willing to invest money in research! Can any oil company be found that would not be willing to make such a promise?

Even a government brief charged that employees of the Department of the Interior, "acted as agents for relinquishing rather than preserving the rights of the United States."

But these secret deals were no novelty in the Eisenhower years, either. Forty-five years ago, the then Secretary of the Interior, Albert B. Fall went to prison for a year and paid a \$100,000 fine for accepting some \$125,000 in bribes from two of his oil-dealing pals, Harry F. Sinclair and Edward L. Doheny, after secretly leasing them large U.S. reserves in California and at Teapot Dome in Wyoming.

Interestingly enough, the Senate committee which investigated Fall's actions considered the secret dealings as merely "unwise" — it was taking the bribes that caused Fall's downfall.

Though the Senate was more independent and somewhat less supine forty-five years ago than it is today, then as now it took for granted that what was good for U.S. business was much more important than what was good for the land and the people of the United States.

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BUFFALO NINE TRIAL ENDS

Jury Hung On 3, Convict Beyer Amid Clenched Fists

The trial of four of the "Buffalo Nine" ended last week in a hung jury for three of the defendants and a conviction on two assault counts for draft resister Bruce Beyer. The jury deliberated for seven hours before announcing they had arrived at the only verdict they would ever reach in the cases.

Even in the ultra-conservative atmosphere of Buffalo, it is hardly to be wondered that the jury found it impossible to do the government's bidding and convict all four defendants. Not only was the defense excellently presented and compelling, but the prosecution case was a tangle of lies, contradictions and ineptness.

And throughout the trial, the support for the four young men from the university community was overwhelming.

The government — which in this case was the FBI, federal marshals and local police — had to prove they were assaulted on entering the church where two draft resisters had been given symbolic sanctuary. In presenting the prosecution case, all but four of the witnesses were police. One of these contradicted himself on the stand, another failed to identify the defendants, and a third testified that the FBI had altered a tape recording he made.

Cops Tamper With Tape

Herman T. Erickson, a reporter for the Buffalo Courier-Express, testified that the cops were unarmed when they entered the church to arrest Bruce Beyer and Bruce Cline. However, he reversed his story on cross-examination after being confronted with photos showing the federal agents armed with clubs and chains.

Another prosecution witness, when asked to identify Bruce Beyer and Gerry Gross, picked out their attorneys, Michael Kennedy and Jerry Lefcourt.

The third witness, Rev. J. Douglas Wright of the Unitarian church, had made a tape recording of the arrests which was confiscated by the FBI. After hearing it played, he told the court that his tape had been "physically altered."

Three members of the faculty of the State University testified on behalf of the defendants. Other witnesses for the defense included a graduate student, a woman research chemist who had been a bystander at the time of the arrests and a 13-year-old boy from the neigh-

borhood who couldn't be shaken on cross-examination. All told of the violent police attack in which the defendants had no time to get out of the way in the crowded church vestibule.

The high point in the trials came when the defendants themselves took the witness stand. Under very able questioning by their attorneys, they were able to make abundantly clear their political reasons for supporting draft resistance and their evaluation of the cops and courts that had brought charges against them.

Defendants Strong on Stand

First to testify was Gerald Gross, Buffalo chairman of Youth Against War & Fascism and the Martin Sostre Defense Committee. Given two minutes to tell the jury his views on violence, he said: "I oppose the illegal violence used by the U.S. government against the Vietnamese people, and by racists who bomb churches down South and murder civil rights workers in the North and South. I do not turn the other cheek to racists... like the FBI does."

Both in cross-examination and on re-direct, Gross was able to talk at length about the Martin Sostre case and the frame-up court that jailed the black freedom fighter for 40 years.

Bruce Beyer, who in addition to the assault charges must face another trial on draft refusal, told the court he had publicly burned his notice to appear in court before the marshal's came to arrest him because "I treat a summons the same way I treat an induction order. It has no right to exist."

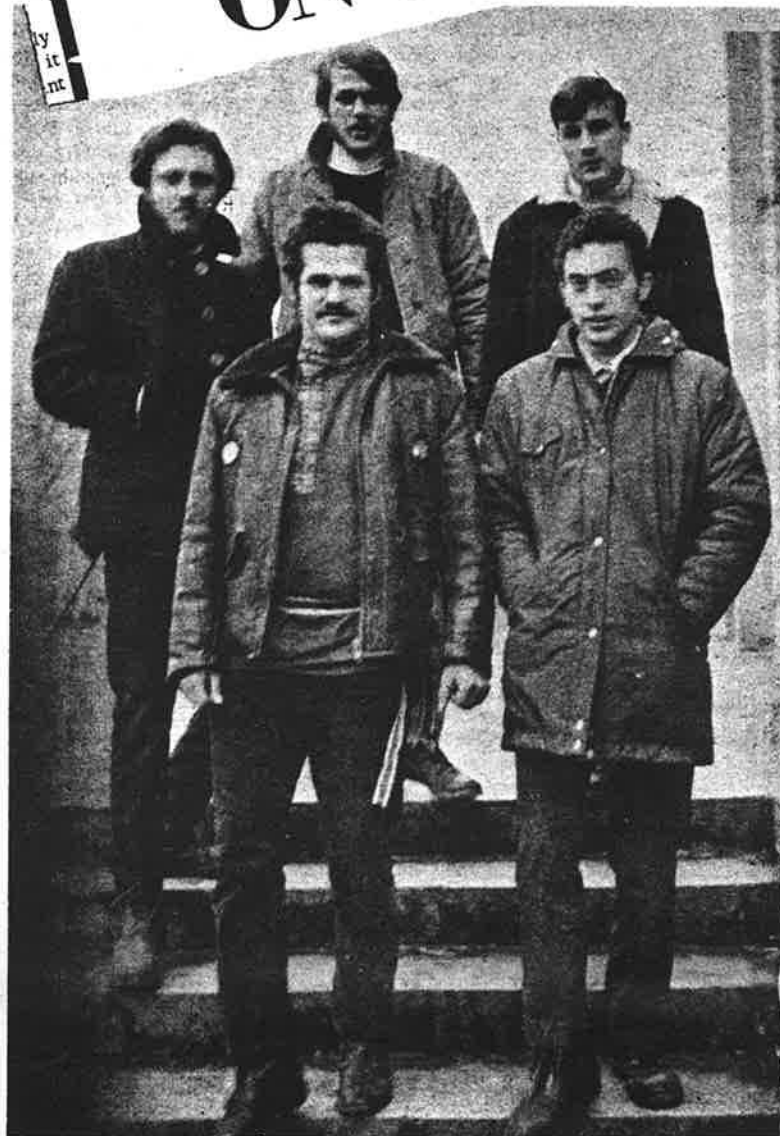
Ray Malak, an Air Force veteran, described his experience in Vietnam which eventually turned him against the imperialist war.

Two hundred people waited until nearly midnight for the court's verdict. When it came, the 50 spectators who were allowed in the courtroom rose and stood for half an hour with clenched fists raised, while the judge tried to order the four not to speak publicly on their case. Defendants, lawyers and spectators were all standing in anger by this time, and the judge finally thought better of his unconstitutional restriction.

The prosecution has not yet announced whether it will retry the hung cases. Bruce Beyer's sentencing will be on March 20.

SUPPORT
THE
BUFFALO
NINE

THE BUFFALO 9 - THE TRIAL IS THE CRIME
**FOUR WAR RESISTERS
ON TRIAL HERE**



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inclu
Asian

Testimony Reveals FBI, Cops In Tight With Buffalo Rightists

The trial of the Buffalo Nine brought out in considerable detail the widespread collusion between local and federal authorities and extreme right-wingers in Buffalo. Quite a bit of the testimony shed light on this working relationship.

Two members of the State University at Buffalo faculty, William J. Yates and Gerald Coles, testified to a shooting incident that took place at the church ten days before the authorities moved in to arrest the draft resisters. Mr. Yates told the court that after a phoned threat, he stood guard outside the church. A car with three men pulled up in front of the church. They yelled, "Run, you Commies," and fired a rifle twice at the church. Mr. Coles confirmed the attack.

Mr. Yates also testified that later in the day he heard a cop from the Sixth Precinct, who was supposedly there to protect the church from further assault, say, "I hope the next time they kill all you vermin."

Did the Buffalo authorities, who later charged the nine youth with "assault" after the FBI and federal marshals charged into the crowd at the church with clubs and chains, know anything about this real assault with a deadly weapon? There is good reason to believe that they knew the identity of the snipers but did nothing about it.

In cross-examination of FBI agent Richard Schaller, he reluctantly admitted that he and other cops had installed movie cameras, still cameras and a hand radio in the third floor of a house overlooking the church. Special agent Schaller at first denied having used the house to spy on the draft resisters, then later testified, "Sorry, I was mistaken." It seems highly likely, therefore, that the FBI had the church under surveillance when it was fired on by the right wing.

Gerry Gross pointed out in his testimony that a man believed to be organizer of the Minutemen in the Buffalo area, Louis Montesano, was with the FBI when they made the arrests at the church. Montesano was then identified standing with FBI men in photographs

produced by the defense. Montesano, during the HUAC hearings held in Buffalo several years ago, was given priority seating because he had a select pass, distributed by the committee to special persons.

Gross also told the jury that he had been fired from three jobs since his arrest after FBI agents had visited his employers.

Another indication of the extreme right-wing character of the Buffalo Establishment is the fact that both daily papers refused to accept an ad, signed by 60 faculty members and students, supporting the Buffalo Nine.

The American Tactical Assault Against Communism (ATAAC) harassed anti-draft supporters at the church during the 12 days before the arrest, Gross said. Defense argued that since the federal agents had no identifying badges and were seen with known right-wingers on the day of the arrest, the defendants had no way of knowing they were not Minutemen or members of some other right-wing group.



Bruce Beyer being dragged from church.

Facts of Buffalo

THE CHARGES

On August 19, 1968, nine young men were arrested on charges of forcibly resisting, impeding or assaulting a U.S. marshal in the course of his duty. Four of the nine were indicted, most on more than one count. Each count of assault, etc., carries a maximum penalty of three years in jail and a \$5,000 fine.

THE DEFENDANTS

The four who were just tried the last two weeks of February 1969 are

BRUCE BEYER, 20, a draft resister and head of the Buffalo Draft Resistance Union.

GERALD GROSS, 24, chairman of Buffalo Youth Against War & Fascism and the Martin Sostre Defense Committee.

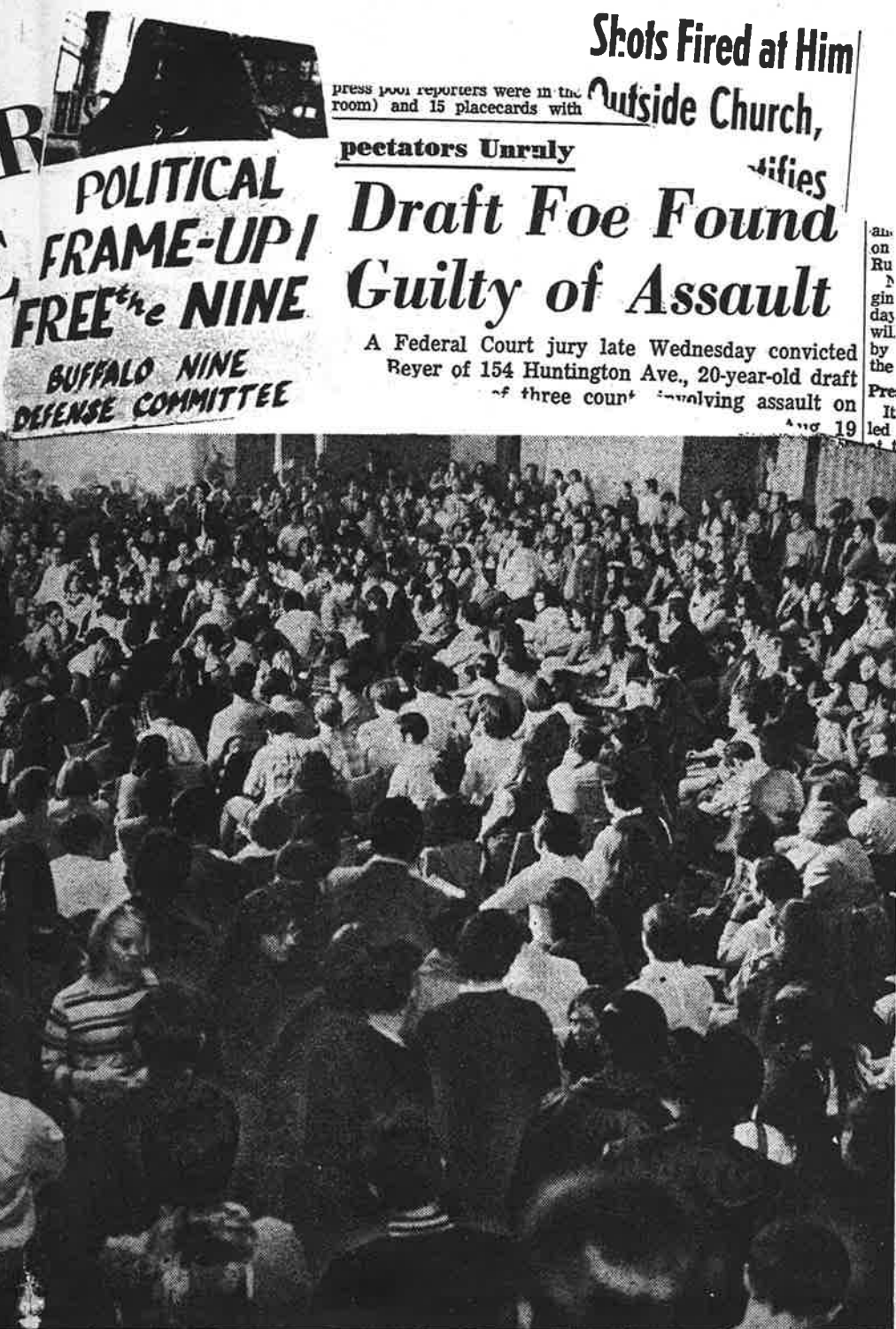
CARL KRONBERG, 22, organizer for Peace and Freedom Party.

RAYMOND MALAK, 25, leader of Buffalo U. Students for a Democratic Society and an Air Force veteran.

THE CASE

Bruce Beyer and Bruce Cline, two draft resisters, were voted symbolic sanctuary by the congregation of the Unitarian Universalist church in Buffalo last summer. They were at the church for a couple of weeks, while support for their stand grew. The church became the scene of daily rallies and also the target of several right-wing attacks. On August 19, while a large rally was in progress inside the church, federal marshals, FBI agents and local police attacked the meeting and arrested the two draft resisters, along with six others (a ninth person was later arrested in the courtroom).

The cops were armed with clubs and chains and were with at least one well-known right-winger.



(Left) The four defendants recently tried with draft resister Bruce Cline. Top row: Bruce Cline, Bruce Beyer and Ray Malak. Bottom row: Carl Kronberg and Gerald Gross. (Above) Mass rally at State University of Buffalo after verdicts. Student demands included amnesty for draft resisters, permanent facilities at the University for the Afro-Asian Bookstore in Exile and abolition of ROTC.

Buffalo Nine Case

STUDENT SUPPORT

The trial of the first four defendants in the case of the Buffalo Nine has aroused the most widespread and passionate support on the campus of the State University. It has sparked the first campus rebellion against the college authorities in the history of the institution.

The movement that began in order to build support for the Buffalo Nine quickly moved on to other issues and is presently demanding a complete transformation of the University.

During the trial, students manned a continuous picket line outside the courtroom. On no day were there less than 200 supporters in and outside the building. Rallies took place every night of the trial, climaxing with a seizure of the student union the night of the verdicts and an all-night rally at which 37 draft cards were burned.

At one of the rallies, a Vietnam veteran told how he had renounced the four credit hours added to work toward his degree because of military service. He wanted to symbolize his rejection of the military and urged that other vets do the same in solidarity with the Buffalo Nine.

THE VERDICT

The eight woman, four man jury deliberated seven hours, finally announced they were hung on three of the cases, and had found Bruce Beyer guilty on two out of three counts of assault. The audience rose at this point with clenched fists raised and remained standing for 30 minutes.

The courthouse was surrounded by 15 police cars, an ambulance, the canine corps and 50 helmeted (two-legged) cops.

The prosecution has not said whether there will be new trials. Bruce Beyer's sentencing is March 20.

Shots Fired at Him Outside Church, Justifies Spectators Unruly

Draft Foe Found Guilty of Assault

A Federal Court jury late Wednesday convicted Beyer of 154 Huntington Ave., 20-year-old draft foe of three counts involving assault on Aug. 19

"CONSERVATIVE" CAMPUS TURNS OUT MAGNIFICENT SUPPORT Students Jam Courtroom, Man Constant Picket Lines

"Support the Buffalo Nine," wrote the campus paper, The Spectrum. "Support the Buffalo Nine," said the poster hanging over the Afro-Asian Bookstore in Norton Union. And they did.

Students of the State University of Buffalo braved sub-freezing weather for eight days to keep up a continuous picket line outside the courthouse, while others packed the halls inside and a lucky few actually got into the courtroom. Moaned the reactionary Buffalo Evening News in a post-verdict editorial: "...While the jurors listened, the chants from six floors below kept dinning insistently into their ears. And when at last they went to the fifth floor jury room, the intermittent chanting played its tom-tom background music while the jurors deliberated."

This unprecedented turnout certainly horrified the Buffalo Establishment. In defiance of cop harassment, pre-trial censorship of the story of the Buffalo Nine and the apolitical tradition of Buffalo students, there were hundreds pouring into court each day, while hundreds more held rallies of support on campus!

When lunch recess was called, people started lining up for the afternoon session. One morning, a few seats inside the courtroom were empty. The U.S. attorney was heard to remark, "Well, I see your support is dwindling." A couple of students jumped up, went to the campus and brought down 200 more.

Rallies were held every day to keep students posted who couldn't make it to the trial. Bus and car pools took students down to court.

'Keep the Fight in the Streets'

One meeting of 500 took place the night the defense opened its case. According to The Spectrum, "Denouncing the federal court system and its alleged justice, Michael J. Kennedy and Gerald B. Lefcourt, attorneys for the Buffalo Nine, transported students to frenzied heights of support for their defendants at a massive rally Monday."

What really went over, it seems, were statements like the following by Lefcourt, who does work with the ECLC: "The courts are a product of the government that is opposed to change... courts are designed to prevent change and punish political prisoners."

Mike Kennedy summed up the case:

Supporters of Nine Remember in Anger, Vow to Free Martin Sostre, Too

Although his body chafes within the high smooth walls of Green Haven Prison, 400 miles away, the spirit of Martin Sostre has been ever present in the tumultuous scenes of struggle in Buffalo these past few days. In the courtroom, on the picket lines, on the lips of the students gathered around the Afro-Asian Bookstore in Exile at the University campus, Martin Sostre's name comes up again and again.

The fantastic injustice meted out to this brilliant black liberation fighter, jailed for 40 years on a police frame-up, suddenly becomes real, believable to many young people as they see for the first time the racist, conservative courts at work, the FBI in person, the police intimidation right in the halls of "justice."

At the end of Sostre's trial, the judge ordered him chained and gagged right in the courtroom — even though he was serving as his own attorney. Now, in the case of the Buffalo Nine, another judge tries to

order the four war foes not to speak publicly. Shut them up! Don't let them accuse the accusers! In Sostre's case, it was done more crudely, more brutally. But the spectators remember, and the courtroom stands in rage.

It is the taste of struggle, the act of confronting the real enemy, that makes these young people who never saw Martin Sostre suddenly understand his story. When they march on the picket line outside the courthouse, a freezing wind biting at their faces and hands, the insolent cops watching from heated cars and doorways, they think of this black man, who worked and struggled so long and so tediously to build up a bookstore in his community — a store with magazines and books that told about the struggles of oppressed men, black, Vietnamese, Chinese, workers in a score of countries. "Free the Buffalo Nine! Free Martin SOSTRE!" they hurl back at the wind.

The Buffalo rebellion broke out in 1967 — a blast of defiance and resistance storming at the smog of submission that had choked this grey steel city for too long. Sostre's bookstore was assaulted by cops and firemen, his precious shelves drenched to put out a non-existent fire. And then, a few days later, after he had reopened the shop with wall posters pasted on the windows telling the story, the cops were back — this time with clubs and a phony charge of narcotics.

Sostre has been in jail for close to two years now — the last nine months in solitary. But his bookstore found a new home at the University campus, where the Sostre Defense Committee found the same hunger for revolutionary literature that existed in the black community.

Gerry Gross, the Sostre Committee chairman, was a defendant himself in this week's trial of the Buffalo Nine, and he told the Sostre story from the witness stand. The day after this trial ended, the students met on campus in a mass meeting to draw up a set of demands. One of them: the University should provide permanent facilities for the Afro-Asian Bookstore in Exile.



Martin Sostre

Operators Deride Deadly Mine Disease

Coal Bosses Say Black Lung "Not Serious"

By ELLEN PIERCE

Coal mine owners' greed for profits have made them among the most ruthless of bosses. In the last hundred years their methods of insuring profits have "progressed" from frame-ups, hangings and shootings of miners seeking better pay and conditions to letting the hazards of the job destroy the workers' lives rather than install vital health and safety devices.

Last November's disaster in Mannington, West Virginia, where 78 men died in a coal mine explosion, was a tragic reminder that federal mine-safety standards put into law 17 years ago are grossly inadequate and full of loopholes. The 1952 law was not an act of conscience by Congress to prevent mine tragedies, but the result of struggle by the miners. However, the present law does not provide penalties of any kind against company officials for violation of health and safety standards. Only hazards that can cause disasters — accidents resulting in five or more deaths — are covered by the act, although twice as many deaths result from "non-disaster" accidents. The law sets no limits on the amount of coal dust permissible in the air. Constant inhalation of coal dust is the cause of black lung or pneumoconiosis, a disabling lung disease which afflicts at least 100,000 coal miners and makes coal mining the most dangerous job in the U.S.

But the West Virginia coal bosses would like the public to believe that black lung is "neither very disabling nor fatal in most cases." Stephen G. Young, vice-president of the West Virginia Coal Association (as the bosses call their anti-labor group) called on miners to stop their "clowning around" and "sideshow antics" — a reference to workers' demonstrations for elimination of coal dust hazards and



This miner, stricken with black lung disease, died shortly after picture was taken. demands for compensation to those disabled by black lung — according to the Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette of Feb. 10.

Young called for an "impartial" medical study of black lung. An example of what he considers an "impartial medical study" was the resolution passed by the Medical Societies of three West Virginia counties asserting that "black lung does not affect a great majority of coal miners." One doctor went so far as to hint that smoking is a cause of black lung!

But the rank and file miners who have organized the West Virginia Black Lung Association, along with a few doctors not owned by the coal bosses,

disagree. Even the U.S. Public Health Service calls black lung "serious and of unrecognized magnitude" and estimates that almost four out of five coal miners suffer from one stage or another of the disease.

Among the demands of the Black Lung group is legislation requiring the coal industry to pay workmen's compensation to those disabled by the disease. This was dramatized on Feb. 10 when miners demonstrated outside the state capitol carrying a coffin symbolizing mine deaths. Hundreds more, many wearing work clothes and hard hats, jammed the galleries of the State House as testimony on black lung was presented. Many carried signs say-

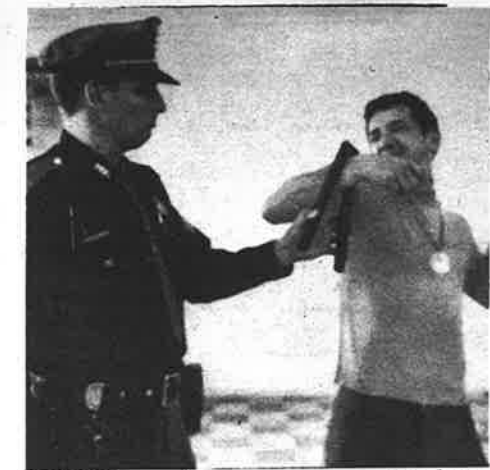
ing "No Law — No Work." Several miners' walkouts in support of the proposed legislation were also reported in the Charleston area that day. Thousands of miners may strike if the laws do not pass, Black Lung Association leaders say.

Dr. Jethro Gough, a Welsh pathologist considered the world authority on black lung, told the legislative committee that in Britain, black lung has been recognized since 1943 as a disabling disease for which the victim must receive workmen's compensation.

The coal bosses' group opposes compensation for black lung victims. The disease is so widespread — despite the Medical Society's phony resolutions — that paying benefits to disabled miners or their survivors would cut into profits. Claiming that not enough is known about the disease, the Coal Association warned against "hasty action" to combat a disease known to man since the time of the Roman Empire.

The West Virginia legislature, which was politely described by the New York Times as "responsive to the coal industry" has taken no further action on the proposed law. West Virginia, the leading coal-producing state, also leads in proportion of coal mine deaths. It has no state mine safety laws.

The demonstration accompanying the legislative hearings was not the first to be organized by the Black Lung Association. On Jan. 26 more than 3,000 miners rallied in Charleston at the first statewide meeting of the group. At that meeting, United Mine Workers president W.A. Boyle was attacked for the union's inaction on mine safety, and accused of "snuggling up close to the coal operators" and neglecting his responsibilities to the miners. Workers also demanded improvement of dust-removing techniques and denounced the company doctors who control much of the workmen's compensation procedures. Dr. I.E. Buff, who works with the miners' organization, has accused company-paid doctors of listing black lung deaths as "heart attacks."

POLICE SCIENCE
MARCHES AHEAD

Detroit cop demonstrates nutcracker.

A new advance in fascist technology is presently being tested by the Detroit police. Its primary use is "mob control." It is the new weapon, the nutcracker, is found to be more effective, that is if more injury can be caused by fewer cops, it will replace the nightstick.

The nutcracker is an adaptation of a weapon used by the Okinawans when they were fighting the Japanese invaders during World War II. The peasants developed this weapon from a harvesting tool. It consists of two foot-long sticks joined at one end by four short nylon cords.

The weapon works on the principles of speed and pressure. It can be used as a club. But the sticks can also be clamped around the wrist or arm and squeezed together to inflict an immobilizing pain. In this way, an arm, wrist, or hand can be crushed, depending on the viciousness of the cop.

The nutcracker is for "mob control" and "dispersal," explains a Detroit police official. "With six men carrying the sticks, we can penetrate 50 men and bust up their formation and come back out."

How? Simple, according to the February 28, Times Magazine. Holding on to only one stick, the cop swings the other wildly. Any attempt to stop the flailing stick results in a broken limb. A blow on the head "can fracture the skull."

40,000 on Strike for Black Lung Compensation

Miners Say, "No Law, No Work"

FEB. 28 — In an unprecedented action, 40,000 West Virginia coal miners have gone on strike to demand passage of state laws compensating victims of black lung, a disabling disease caused by inhalation of coal dust in the mines.

Many miners describe the walkout as "a political strike for health legislation." "No Law, No Work" is their slogan.

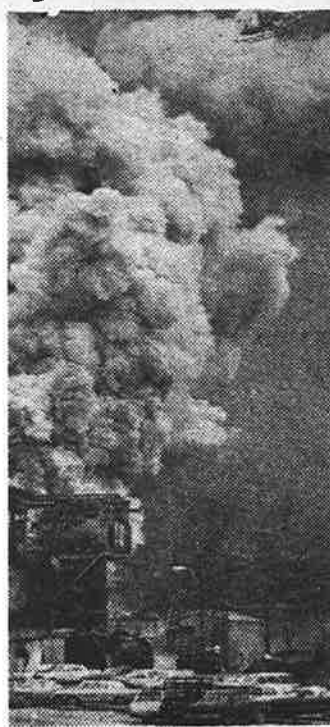
The West Virginia Legislature, although bound to the coal bosses, apparently will be forced to pass a compensation bill because of the strike, which began ten days ago and has since spread to almost the entire coal mine work force in the state. The lower house today passed what it called a strong black lung bill and promptly urged miners to return to work. Whether this law will pass the state senate, and more important, whether it is acceptable to the militant miners, remains to be seen.

Requiring the bosses to pay compensation would make unhealthy conditions costly for the coal companies and force them to install dust-cutting equipment, in addition to providing benefits to men who are unable to work because of black lung. Sprays and other equipment can eliminate much of the coal dust hazard.

The Black Lung Association, a newly formed group of miners which organized this strike, is pressing for both mandatory compensation and preventive measures.

Since early this week, miners have been gathering in the state capital to demand passage of a strong compensation bill. Yesterday, 2,500 of them demonstrated in Charleston. West Virginia Governor Arch Moore addressed the workers, promising, like a good capitalist politician, to call a special session of the legislature in July if no law is passed during the regular session. Miners responded angrily that they would stay on strike until July unless the bill goes through.

The demonstrators reacted favorably, however, to the words of Dr. I. E. Buff, one of the physicians who has been working with the Black Lung



(Left) Mannington Mine explosion killed 78 miners last November. (Above) Rank and file miners at meeting of Black Lung Association hear reports on killer disease.

Association. "West Virginia," he told them, "has been called a feudal or slave state. It is actually run by the coal and oil companies and by two billionaires, who take its wealth away."

Among the companies affected by the strike is Consolidation Coal, whose Mannington mine explosion last November killed 78 men. On the hard hats of many strikers are the numbers 78-4, standing for the 78 men killed in Mannington and 4 others who were drowned when the company sent them to work in an abandoned mine flooded with water last May in Hominy Falls.

The strike is led by rank and file miners who have organized the Black Lung Association. Part of the miners' attack is on the do-nothing leadership of the United Mine Workers which has not lifted a finger against the companies on this issue nor many others for that matter. The Black Lung group has been agitating and demonstrating

since January for health legislation. Several proposed bills have been in committee in the West Virginia Legislature for weeks, but the first one to pass in the upper house was described as an "insult" by an attorney for the Black Lung Association. He said the bill "does justice only to the West Virginia Coal Association" (the bosses' organization) and, "if passed, would leave the miners worse off than before."

Meanwhile, the companies are trying to break the strike. A suit against the strikers has been instituted in Federal court in Charleston by U.S. Steel Corp., which owns a huge mine in McDowell County, and by Youngstown Mines Corp., a subsidiary of Youngstown Sheet and Tube Corp. The coal operators association of two counties are also participating in the suit. They are asking for a court order to end the strike and damages of over a million dollars a day from the union.

Class Struggle in a Courtroom—Aftermath of 10-Week Strike

By STEVE WELLS

Thursday, February 20, 1969, was the last day of a four-day trial of Alvin Rudolph and William Cullens. Rudolph was charged with third degree assault and disorderly conduct. Cullens with disorderly conduct. Rudolph is black, Cullens is white.

The tense four-day courtroom scene had its roots in a bitter strike that ended more than a year ago. The workers' anger and hatred against the bosses was made abundantly clear to the court and the cops throughout the trial. The strike had been like those of the 1920's and '30's. But it also had the characteristic of the 1960's — it was anti-company and anti-union bureaucracy.

On November 30, 1967 the contract between the 2,000 members of A.C.A. Local 10 (Teamsters) and RCA Communications Inc. expired. The company had been taking advantage of the chicken heartedness of the union bureaucrats and made one lousy offer after the other.

Underneath the bureaucrat level of leadership, there was a militant rank-and-file leadership — the Shop Committee (stewards, etc.). They had had enough sell-outs, bum contracts and other forms of collaboration between the company and the union. When the contract expired without a decent offer — the militancy exploded. The shop was taken over and held for almost 24 hours.

The bosses were frightened and powerless.

When the union bureaucrats tried, and failed, to "cool it," the cops were called. Over 200 singing, chanting, fist-swinging workers (black and white, women and men) were arrested, piled into police vans and taken to jail. This was the militant birth of a strike that lasted over 10 weeks.

Out of the hundreds of arrests and charges that resulted from this struggle, all were dropped except two, those against Rudolph and Cullens. The workers explained that these two charges were made by the police, and all the dropped charges originated with the company. They quickly added that they knew the company was behind it, but it was easier to frame them through the police department.

A Special Kind of Scab

Larry, a militant black worker, told what happened that clear, cold day, Sunday, December 17, 1967:

"We were on the bricks about three weeks now. Brother Rudolph and others were standing on the street talking. The picket line and the police barricades were between the entrance to RCA and them. Suddenly there was a roar of 'SCAB' from the picket line. We looked toward the company entrance and a man in a business suit and topcoat was coming out. Brother Rudolph and others



The Strike Control Committee composed of operators and technicians — the militants that led the strike. (Photo from A.C.A. News)

darted up to the barricades and joined in on the shouting at the scab.

"Rudolph had developed a skill of walking between the barricades and the picket line, and that way he could in effect 'escort' the scab the entire length of the barricades without crossing over. He did this dozens of times and it drove the scabs and the cops nuts.

"But this particular scab came right up to the barricades and walked with deliberate slowness, nose to nose with Rudolph. (It was later learned that the scab was hurling the vilest of racial epithets at Rudolph.) When they reached the end of the barricades the scab spit in Rudolph's face. Rudolph hit him. The cops moved in with clubs, Rudolph was clubbed, handcuffed and arrested.

"Brother Cullens jumped over the barricades and protested that they had arrested the wrong man — that they should lock up the guy who spit in Rudolph's face. The cops ignored him. Cullens ran over to where the scab was standing and said, 'You filthy scab, you drunken bum.' The scab turned to a cop and said, 'Arrest him on a disorderly,' which the cop promptly did.

"The 'scab' turned out to be Deputy Inspector Davis of the New York City Police Department!"

Cop Witnesses "Must Have Been Somewhere Else"

Rudolph and Cullens were arraigned and a trial date was set. After numerous postponements and delays the trial finally got underway February 17, 1969 (over a year after the incident). Judge Schallach presided over a courtroom packed to capacity with union members.

The prosecution was heard first. Inspector Davis took the stand, followed by six lying, racist pigs in blue. They lied so badly that one of the workers summed up the prosecution testimony by saying, "Those cops must have been

somewhere else that day."

Then the six defense witnesses took the stand — three black and three white, all straightforward and militant. The six witnesses and the full courtroom of workers (in complete solidarity with the defendants) kept the judge on his best behavior. He was openly hostile and sarcastic to the D.A. He kept trying to endear himself to the workers. A few bit, but the majority of the workers had a wait-and-see attitude.

All witnesses and arguments were heard by Wednesday. The sweet judge said he wanted to study it overnight. He would give his decision the following day (Thursday, February 20) at 2:00 in the afternoon.

"Pro-Labor" Judge Says

The Cops Would Never Lie!

Thursday, before a packed courtroom, Judge Schallach must have spoken for more than half an hour. The syrup was just dripping from his tongue. He kept assuring the workers in the audience that he wasn't anti- — but pro-labor. He stood on his record, etc., etc., ad nauseum.

Then, he showed his contempt and hatred for the workers. He said that finding Rudolph and Cullens NOT guilty would be tantamount to saying that Inspector Davis actually provoked and spit at Rudolph. He refused to believe that a high-ranking police officer would conduct himself in such a manner!

Rudolph was judged guilty of third degree assault — the disorderly charge was dropped. Cullens was judged guilty of disorderly conduct. To say the courtroom was tense would be an understatement. Tears were in the eyes of some, others leaned forward and just stared.

The women and men in this courtroom had endured over ten weeks of bitter cold weather on the picket lines, (Continued on page 11)



RCA WORKERS LOCKED OUT after militant sit-in at Broad St., RCA Building. Favorite slogan: RCA, Cheap, Cheap, Cheap!"

NYC Black Transit Workers' Caucus Hits TA, TWU Racism

—Black workers brought up before the Transit Authority's disciplinary trial board are advised to plead "guilty with an explanation" by the Transit Workers Union;

—A black subway conductor was beaten and arrested by a white transit cop;

—The TWU donated \$25,000 to support the racist teachers' strike when most of the 20,000 blacks in the union were opposed to the UFT's stand.

These are some of the grievances of a rebel group within the TWU called "the Rank & File Committee for a Democratic Union Within the NYCTA." The men are opposed to the "racist and bureaucratic policies" of the TWU and point to examples that show how the union, a majority of whose members are black, is led by a clique of bureaucrats who can't represent the militant rank and file and in fact carry out policies that are discriminatory against black members.

Under heavy attack by the rank and filers is the union's failure to properly defend brothers who are brought before the Transit Authority's trial board and face disciplinary action for alleged violations of TA rules. Attorney for the rank-and-file group David Lubash charged that "the union sees to it white workers aren't brought before this kangaroo court."

Those workers who do appear before

the trial board, mostly for trivial charges, are advised by the TWU to plead "guilty with an explanation." Mr. Lubash points out that this just makes it easier for the TA to mete out unjust punishments — suspensions and firings. If the workers pleaded innocent and prepared a defense, Mr. Lubash says, the entire trial board procedure would collapse in six months, since the TA isn't set up to prove the charges against accused workers.

The rank-and-file militants are also angry at the lack of TWU support, for Ferdinand Wharton, a black conductor on the Sea Beach line. On July 29, Conductor Wharton was beaten and arrested when he objected to a white cop harassing a party of black passengers on his train. After his release from jail, Wharton passed out and was taken to Brooklyn Hospital where he was treated for four days for a concussion. He was out of work for 22 days because of being clubbed on the head.

These situations are brutal testimony to the rampant racism in a "liberal" Northern city like New York and to the unwillingness of the present union leadership to do anything to combat it. In some cases, like the recent teachers' strike against black community control of black schools, the bureaucrats have openly steered their unions into taking a racist stand. But

Congress Owes Workers' Pension Fund \$52 BILLION

If all the employees of the federal government were to suddenly retire, they would find that the pension fund they have been contributing to over the years doesn't have the money to pay them. In fact, their employer, the U.S. government, has defaulted on making payments to the tune of \$52 billion.

At this rate, reported the New York Times from Washington on February 2, the balance in the fund is only \$18 billion and disbursements will outstrip receipts in 5 years. The deficit is also causing a loss of \$1.7 billion a year in potential annual interest.

What does this mean for the civil service worker? It means simply that the government is going to take more out of his hide to catch up with the payments. "Though the integrity of Congress is not questioned," writes the Times, "the state of the fund may tend to delay liberalization of benefits or lead to a rise in the contribution rate." Having stolen \$52 billion, the government now intends to make the working class pay it back.

These facts, revealed in the annual report of the Civil Service Commission, have been kept quiet for several years

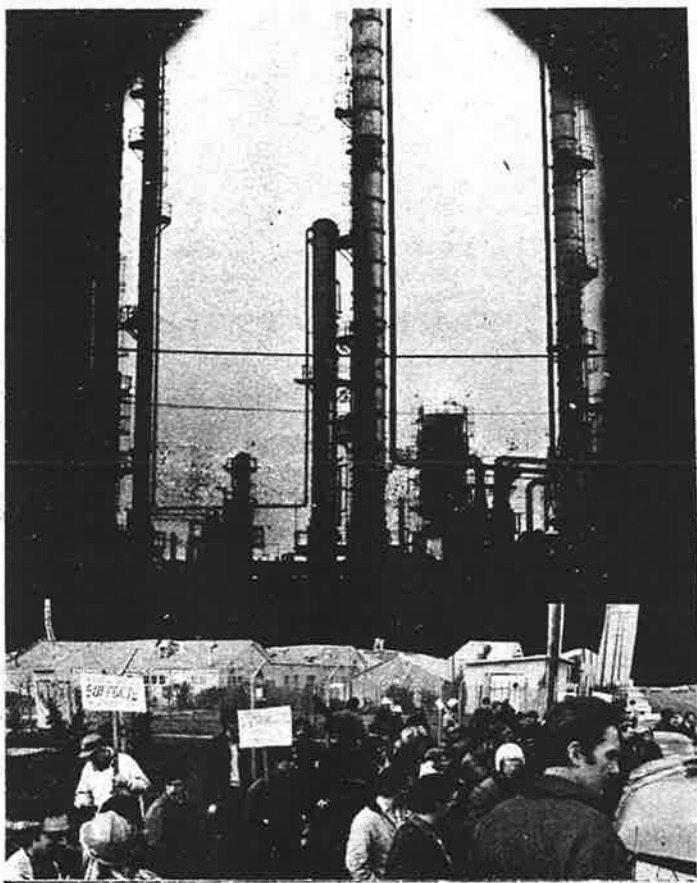
these conditions make it clear why black workers, like black students in the campus rebellions, are taking the leadership in sparking and organizing new militant struggles.

since Congress stopped putting in its share of the retirement fund. The Times may think that the "integrity of Congress is not questioned," but the commission now admits that the situation is bad enough "to jeopardize the financial security of millions of American men and women who have served their Government and contracted with it to share the expense of providing for their old age and their survivors." What do the workers think about the fact that "their government" robbed them of \$52 billion?

When a worker fails to keep up with payments, whether it be for a pension, health insurance or the installments on his furniture, he is liable to lose everything he has paid. But government financing, apparently, is different. The money that the government failed to give to the workers' retirement fund was probably used to contribute toward covering up some of the vast expenditures of the military on the war in Vietnam. Congress is experienced in juggling funds in this way to balance its books.

Fifty-two billion dollars, however, is an enormous sum. In fact, it is over half the entire U.S. defense budget. Taking money from the workers' retirement fund and putting it into the military coffers for imperialist wars can't go on forever. Some day the workers will come to collect, in full.

Student-Worker "Mutual Aid" Pact Against Standard Oil



(Left) Students join oil workers in picketing outside Standard Oil Refinery in Richmond, California, in 2-month-old strike. (Above) Cops jab at pickets to keep them away from gates. One worker commented: "Many of us heard about the Gestapo tactics in Chicago and other places, and we didn't believe it. But now we do.... The cops are here to protect the bosses and their big buildings and work against us." (See article, page 3. Many want these cops in the union.)

By M. NAGRO

The "Mutual Aid Pact" between students, teachers and oil workers in San Francisco is a promising sign of student-worker solidarity which has struck fear into the hearts of the ruling class because of its potential on a nationwide scale.

The Pact developed out of a two-month-old struggle by the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers (OCAW), Local 1-561, against the Standard Oil Refinery in Richmond, California. The militant struggle at San Francisco State College was going on not very far away from the site of the oil workers strike.

The Longest Campus Strike

The longest strike in the country thus far centers around the special oppression of black and other non-whites who have formed a coalition, The Third World Liberation Front. The Front demands an autonomous black culture studies program. The struggle, which has developed around basic issues of racism, has reached the most intense,

pitched battles between students and both cops and national guardsmen.

The American Federation of Teachers' chapter at the San Francisco State campus, which joined and actively participated in the strike, is demanding a variety of bread-and-butter issues such as a shorter work week and higher pay. But in addition to bread-and-butter issues, the AFT also includes the 15 demands of the Third World Liberation Front for black control of black studies. This student-teacher alliance against racism and the bosses was a large step forward, by itself. But now the struggle has broadened into an alliance of students, teachers and oil workers, who have formed a solidarity committee on the basis of mutual aid in three separate struggles.

First Strike in 21 Years

On January 4, the Richmond refinery workers walked out for the first time since 1948, when Standard Oil tried unsuccessfully to break the union. Over 1,300 out of 3,000 workers struck Standard Oil as part of a nationwide walkout

of 60,000 men against the whole industry.

The workers demanded a 72-cent-an-hour wage increase over two years, plus better medical and retirement benefits. Other oil companies, such as Union and Phillips, settled for a package worth about 65 cents an hour. But the Rockefeller interests at Standard won't go even to that level.

The company is draining the workers with as much if not more efficiency than other companies. Automation has cut the work force at Standard down by 30 per cent in the past ten years while production and profits have soared.

The struggle at Richmond became more intense as other corporations settled. Since locals representing the better paid pipefitters, machinists and electricians did not respect the picket line of the OCAW, only a minority of their members stayed off the job. In addition, scabs and working supervision replacing OCAW workers made it possible for the refinery to run, although distribution and transportation of

various petroleum products from the refinery were crippled.

With 30 to 40 pickets at each gate, the workers effectively turned away cars and scabs. Then Standard Oil called in cops to bust the pickets. As the pressure built up, the company got a court order limiting five union men to each gate. Members of painter and longshoremen locals joined with wives and children to man the picket lines.

Cops Catalyst for Struggle

Seeking additional help to close the refinery, younger workers asked the San Francisco striking students for support. Four hundred students answered the call, and they were at the gates the next day. Standard Oil, alarmed at the situation, locked all the gates after having housed the scabs inside the plant overnight.

Previously, Standard had sent foremen and supervisors armed with lead pipes, wrenches and chains to escort the scabs in and out of the plant. The younger workers and students, seeing the gates closed, set out for the white collar entrance to the plant. Beatings, MACE, and arrests were used by the cops to protect the gate at the gigantic Standard refinery.

On the same day, at a nearby Standard Oil plant in Martinez, a striker was run over and dragged by a scab truck. After the striker was hit, the scab was directed by a supervisor to continue on. The striker died from the injuries on February 20.

Student support of the workers at the gates is not always as high as 400. But the pickets are sufficient so that traffic in and out of the refinery has been cut.

The cops have taken measures to help Standard meet the new challenge. Bob Avakian, coordinator of student support for the strike, was surrounded by company goons while making a phone call. Bob was beaten and then arrested. When Jake Jacobs, secretary-treasurer of the local, went to bail Bob out, Jake was beaten by several cops. Strikers defense is strong. Scab trucks and cars have been reported to have been hit with gunfire, overturned and tires slashed.

Parallel Strikes Bring Pact

At San Francisco State, students on strike have had a rich experience in class solidarity which is not surprising since the fight against racism is a direct attack against the core of the system and corporations' profits.

What is surprising is that the alliance between workers and students fighting racism did not take place in a situation where minority group workers, who are also victims of racism, were involved. Rather, it took place in a situation

(Continued on page 12)

Columbia Cancels \$11M Racist Gym, Fails to Stop New Student Struggles

NEW YORK, Feb. 27 — Acting president of Columbia University Andrew Cordier announced this morning that he would recommend to the university trustees that the Morningside Park gym project be dropped because of "clear evidence of substantial community opposition." This capitulation on the part of the ruling class representatives in the university hierarchy came after they had sunk \$11 million into the project and after hundreds of students were brutally assaulted and arrested by cops for opposing the apartheid gym. But it came too late to abate the militant anti-racist and anti-militarist struggle which has grown out of the student strike last year.

As if to underline this point, 1,000 Columbia students demonstrated on the campus today to kick off the spring campaign against the Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps, military recruiting on campus, university war research and Columbia's racist policy of expansion into the surrounding black and Puerto Rican community which has resulted in the eviction of thousands of working class residents from their homes.

To add to the worries of the big business bosses who rule Columbia, the Student Afro-American Society, which had played a leading role in last spring's demonstrations, announced today it was demanding that

Columbia create a Black Studies Institute to be controlled by black students and the faculty they select. They denounced the one course that Columbia now gives in black history as a "racist insult."

A week ago, the Barnard Organization of Soul Sisters (the black women's undergraduate organization at Columbia's sister college) also presented a set of demands to the Barnard administration, including special educational and financial benefits for black students, more Afro-Americans enrolled at Barnard, separate dormitory facilities and soul food in the cafeteria.

Today's demonstration, organized by the SDS, began with a march led by 20 students with red flags to the Alma Mater statue on College Walk. A NLF flag flew from the statue during a rally there. Then the students walked around the campus chanting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, NLF is going to win," "We have only begun, we'll continue to fight" and "Smash the military, Vietnam will win." Many students wore red armbands, the symbol of last year's uprising.

The next phase of this highly organized and well-disciplined demonstration involved simultaneous sit-ins by 600 students at Dodge and Hamilton Halls, the scenes of the strike last spring. Demonstrators left the halls at the predetermined time of 1:45 p.m. since the objective of the demonstration

was not to seize buildings but to mobilize large numbers of students for the opening shot in the program which will build throughout March to an April offensive.

In order to take Hamilton Hall, the demonstrators rolled right over right-wing students stationed outside of the building. A brief scuffle broke out with these provocateurs but the demonstration continued as planned. Meanwhile, the CU administration which had revealed its complete reliance on force and violence last year when it called the cops on campus had summoned a busload of the TPF goon squad to Amsterdam Ave., in case the demonstrators "got out of control."

A second brief rally at Alma Mater ended the action. A copy of a petition bearing the demands of the spring offensive was tacked to the door of the Low Library, the administration building.

When Martin Luther nailed his 95 theses to the Wittenburg church door in Germany in the 16th century, it marked the beginning of the fall of the medieval church and feudalism in Europe. Columbia University, though not a feudal institution but a capitalist one, might well heed the historical analogy in this action. The revolutionary students at Columbia have given the university notice that the old social structure is no longer fit to survive.

Indonesia's U.S. Puppets: The White Terror Goes On

By D. STACEY

Fascist terror continues to rage unabated in Indonesia more than three years after pro-U.S. generals seized power in a coup d'état. Recent reports in the imperialist press acknowledge that since last summer thousands have been rounded up in central and eastern Java, the most heavily populated island of the archipelago, while arrests of suspected left-wingers within the armed forces themselves continue to mount.

The most recent purge of the army is centered in the crack Siliwangi Division, long considered the unit most loyal to the right wing. With the arrest of 23 officers and the announcement that bloody skirmishes have taken place in the hills near Blitar with communist guerrilla bands, the government claims to have decimated the leadership of the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party). This claim has, however, been made many times since the right-wing takeover in October 1965. More than anything else, it seems to be a firm admission that a sizable section of the PKI has reorganized and oriented its forces for a protracted guerrilla struggle against the fascist dictatorship.

The role of the U.S. in supervising the terror continues to be clandestine but substantial. The N.Y. Times of Feb. 13 wrote: "Many more arrests are expected as the armed forces press what one foreign military observer called 'a superbly professional intelligence operation' against suspected agents within their ranks." The "foreign military observer" is not identified, but there can be no doubt that he is from the Pentagon. Many of the fascist generals received their training in the U.S.; U.S. corporations have moved into Indonesia en masse since the coup; the CIA was directly involved in several earlier attempts to overthrow the Sukarno government; and it is the hallmark of a military machine that has promoted "counter-insurgency" operations throughout the world, from nearby Vietnam to the Bolivian Andes, that it arrogantly considers itself an authority on what constitutes a "professional" intelligence operation.

The attitude of the U.S. ruling class to the three years of mass murder,

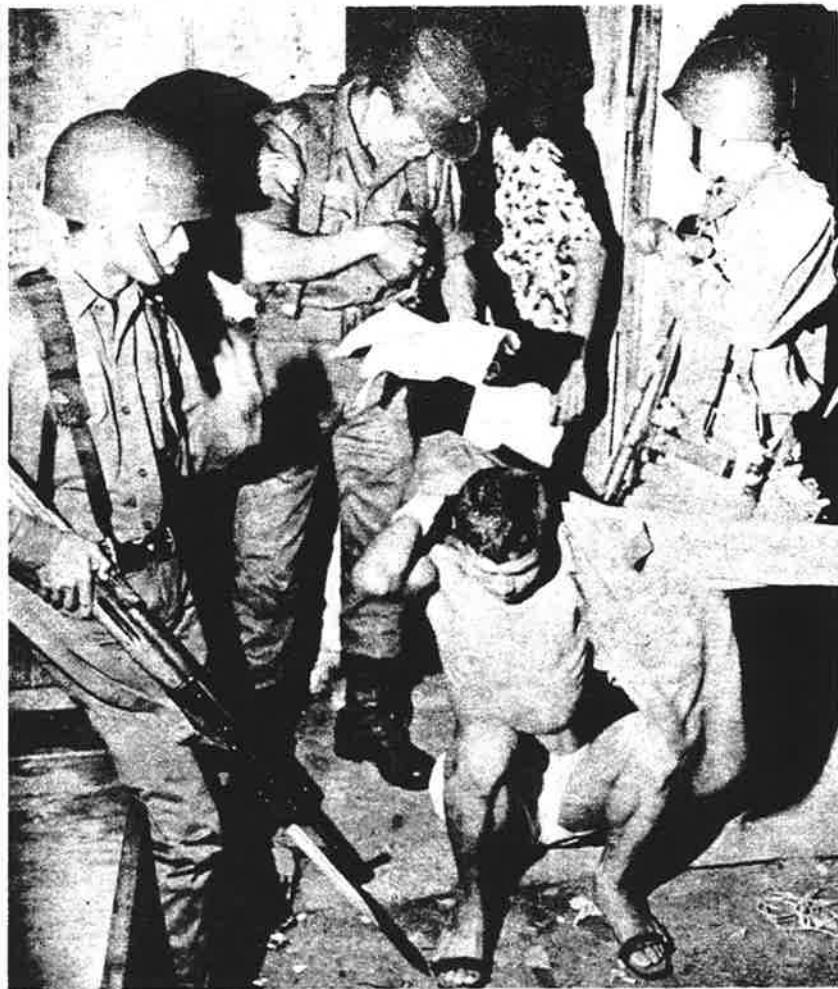
tortures and arrests in Indonesia can best be gauged by the cool press approval of these events. It is admitted in the Times article that there are over 150,000 political prisoners now being held on Java alone. And Java, while the most populated island, is much smaller than Sumatra, Sulawesi, Kalimantan and West Irian. Compare this one-sentence admission to the press outcry when Iraq hung 14 Israeli spies! In the same article, it is reiterated that figures on the number of slaughtered in the past three years range upward from 300,000!

There is no passion in U.S. press accounts of this butchery because U.S. corporations and their military partners are gleeful about the drastic turn to the right in Indonesia. Valuable properties in oil and rubber that had been nationalized have been returned to these foreign overlords, and the door is now wide open for the monopolies to exploit the 115 million Indonesian people and their land of fabled wealth in natural resources.

Thus, while events prove again and again that the generals rule by sheer terror and cannot trust even the most traditionally passive sections of the population, the columnists in Washington talk blithely of Indonesia's return to the "Free World" and the great victory for "democracy" that has taken place.

U.S. corporations, in their mad grab for profits in this recently opened up market, have jumped in with hobnailed boots on. With complete insensitivity to the feelings of the Indonesian people, who waged a bloody war for independence just two decades ago, the Holiday Inn chain has taken over the 300-room Presidential Palace at Bogor. Hollywood crews are now taking advantage of Indonesia's spectacular scenery for "on-location" extravaganzas. The most recent creation is "Krakatoa," based on the tremendous volcanic eruption that in 1898 sent tidal waves around the Pacific and colored European sunsets red a month later.

But while Wall Street pipes its Muzak into Bogor Palace to cover the moans of its victims, the forces are gathering in Indonesia for an inevitable eruption of the pent-up suffering millions that will make Krakatoa look like a molehill.



JAKARTA'S GOVERNOR GETS ROADS FIXED — BROTHELS AND CASINOS ALSO!

When the established New York Times hails the "unorthodox governor" of Jakarta, it is a Madison Avenue sell of a promising new lackey.

Ali Sadikin, as governor of the capital city of Indonesia, has won a wide reputation as an administrator in bourgeois circles. A man, according to the Times, "who gets things done in a country where an absence of money but not red tape paralyzed urban development."

By their accounts Sadikin's most notable accomplishment has been the repaving of roads. Until recently the Jakarta streets were so rutted that they resembled a battle zone. The government had no money for repairs.

The Governor raised the necessary money by opening gambling casinos and organizing a city lottery. Jakarta's streets now measure up to efficiency.

With such success Sadikin now projects raising funds by opening nightclubs and striptease joints to make Jakarta a "tourist" center. No doubt the unmentioned part of his plan is that the women of Jakarta will serve in these night spots as they are forced to in other playgrounds for the wealthy.

All these gimmicks of this innovating governor are a direct slap at 90 per

cent of the people, who as Moslems are forbidden to gamble and whose orthodox ways are opposed to night clubs, striptease, etc.

There was once a man whose disregard for the standards of the Moslems was claimed to be far greater than Sadikin's. (Wasn't it that he smoked cigars and his second wife was Japanese?) He was labeled a playboy by such papers as the Times. You remember "Playboy" Sukarno. He became a playboy—after he refused U.S. orders!

But now the U.S. is back in, and the corporations are looking for capable administrators to run Indonesia. What they need are men who understand the value of good roads, opened ports and the like. Such things are essential for moving raw materials out—for U.S. exploitation.

If you don't think that Sadikin, the "unorthodox" organizer of brothels and casinos, is being taken seriously by his U.S. sponsors, beware of the man who is quoted by the Times, Feb. 24, as saying:

"I am not thinking about the presidency right now. I have another two and a half years to serve as Governor of Jakarta and that is enough work for one man."

—Class Struggle in the Courtroom

(Continued from page 9)

over ten weeks without pay, over ten weeks of seeing cops escorting scabs on and off the jobs that belonged to the workers. Rudolph and Cullens were part of that rank and file leadership that led them through this—to victory. Now it was clear that the bosses, courts and cops were all on the same side.

The judge saw that this was a highly inflammable situation.

THE JUDGE SAVES HIMSELF

The defense lawyer started to stand. The usually slow and easy talking judge was talking very rapidly now. He told the lawyer that if he would waive the two-day privilege, he would sentence immediately. Before the lawyer could reply, the judge added, "I want you to know that I have no intention of jailing or fining the defendants." The workers relaxed.

even further engulfed in the Asian liberation struggle.

In this observer's opinion, if the judge hadn't said that, another page in revolutionary working class history would have been written in that courtroom.

The defense lawyer agreed to waive the two-day privilege and asked to speak before sentencing. He spoke for about ten minutes. The judge had returned to his nice and easy manner of speaking now. He said he was aware of and agreed to all the nice things counsel for the defense had said on behalf of the defendants.

His sentence was: No Time, No Fine, No Suspended Sentence. The defendants are discharged and free to go.

Yes, it was a victory. The workers were free. But those workers in court were still burned. They knew that Rudolph and Cullens were innocent, that the company had attempted to frame and jail two of their leaders. Surely, this anger and hatred toward the bosses will manifest itself back in the RCA shop!

U.S. Threatens N. Korea

"Longest Airborne Assault Operation In History," Declares the Pentagon

Remember the Korean war? Many of the young militants who have demonstrated against the war in Vietnam aren't old enough to recall from memory the imperialist war that preceded U.S. aggression in Vietnam. But, the war in Korea never really ended—as recent events are increasingly proving. An uneasy armistice on July 27, 1953, left Korea divided between the forces of liberation in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the forces of imperialism in U.S.-dominated South Korea.

With 55,000 troops in South Korea to bolster the puppet regime there, the U.S. ruling class has never forgotten that the war in Korea is not over. And they never miss a chance to show the government of Kim Il Sung U.S. imperialism's violent hostility to the revolutionary regime in the North. Recently the Pentagon brought this point home by ordering "the longest airborne assault operation in history" to be held in South Korea. Still stinging from the humiliation of the capture of the spy ship Pueblo, the Defense Department announced Feb. 25 that 2,500 Army paratroopers and Air Force personnel will be flown 8,500 miles from North Carolina to South Korea for maneuvers between March 9 and 20.

According to the New York Post of Feb. 26, this military threat was grounded by the Johnson Administration last fall allegedly to "cut back on defense funds." Now, however, the Nixon Administration has revived the plan for "war games" in South Korea. Staging such a large and vastly expensive military operation is clearly an

attempt to intimidate and threaten the North Koreans who so boldly defied U.S. imperialism by seizing one of its espionage ships in January 1968.

This new aggressive move by the U.S. government comes in a series of build-ups of military forces in South Korea. After the capture of the Pueblo last year, the Pentagon ordered 8,000 additional troops into the South. According to a UPI dispatch of Feb. 23, the brass also sent "seven Air Force squadrons—five tactical fighter squadrons and two fighter-interceptor squadrons" to South Korea.

The added manpower and military machinery were sent to South Korea under the pretext of the Pueblo "crisis." But the ship's crew is home now and the troops remain overseas. In this way a behind-the-scenes escalation of U.S. forces in South Korea goes on.

At the time of the Pueblo's capture the U.S. ruling class felt it could not afford to fight another war in Asia. However, the UPI dispatch reveals, high U.S. military and diplomatic officials "do not rule out the possibility that some accident might trigger a resumption of the Korean war." U.S. imperialism is expert at manufacturing convenient "accidents" in order to launch wars of aggression against oppressed people.

Right now the U.S. bosses' hands seem to be full with the liberation struggle in Vietnam and the black liberation struggle at home. But logic and reason are not the motive forces of imperialist aggression. The drive for profits and domination over all of Asia may still force the U.S. to become

Behind Peruvian Events: U.S. Tried to Grab it All

By P. MEISNER

After 44 years and hundreds of millions of dollars of profits, Standard Oil of New Jersey's plunder of the Peruvian people has been exposed before the entire world. And despite the cries and protests from the mass-oriented U.S. imperialist press of the expropriation of Standard Oil's "properties" in Peru, the inner-circle publications of Wall Street, such as Bus-

iness Week and Fortune, have revealed how ruthless Standard Oil has been in enriching itself at the expense and suffering of the Peruvian masses.

The new Peruvian government calculated that Standard Oil's debt to Peru since 1924, due to the illegal ownership of the La Brea y Parinas oil field, came to \$690 million -- an astounding figure when one considers how these funds could have taken most

of Peru's 12 million people out of extreme poverty.

Standard Oil, of course, refused to consider any such claim, and left no choice to the Peruvian government but to move in troops and expropriate the "Standard Oil" fields. Standard Oil retained its petroleum distribution system throughout Peru, but soon antagonized not only its Peruvian customers, but also other U.S. monopolies doing business with Standard Oil in Peru. Standard Oil was demanding cash payments from all buyers and at the same time refused to accept the crude oil prices set by the Peruvian government. The latter forced Peru's ruling junta to seize all of Standard Oil's holdings in Peru.

Standard Oil Threatens Peru

Standard Oil, through the U.S. State Department, began to threaten Peru with economic retaliation if "adequate" compensation was not granted the giant monopoly. A crisis atmosphere developed and other U.S. monopolies with large investments in Peru came out with sharp criticisms of Standard Oil for its "big stick" policy against the Peruvian regime which put all U.S. holdings in Peru in jeopardy. The Feb. 15 issue of Business Week quoted one "nameless" U.S. industrialist:

"Those IPC (Standard Oil's subsidiary in Peru) people are living in the Dark Ages."

Another U.S. businessman with Peruvian interests, also nameless, said:

"The junta can't back down now. IPC ran its operations like a private fiefdom for years. Now it's getting just what it deserved." (A startling confession by U.S. imperialism itself!)

IPC Burns the Evidence

While the N.Y. Times and such syndicated columnists as Drew Pearson tried to ridicule the \$690 million debt to the Peruvian government, Standard Oil executives knew it was no joke since IPC company books might have revealed the figure to be far too low. Therefore, IPC officials burned their corporate records even before the Peruvian government announced the expropriation.

What made the Standard Oil operation in Peru more criminal than the operations of other U.S. corporations was the special tax and profit arrange-

ment for Standard Oil's La Brea y Parinas oil field, where the U.S.-Peru oil crisis originated. According to the influential Wall Street publication, Fortune (March '69), other oil companies operating in Peru, "...pay to the state a minimum of 50 percent of their net profits in lieu of a straight per-barrel royalty. For the oil coming from La Brea y Parinas this arrangement did not apply."

Other U.S. monopolies have also been threatened with expropriation in Peru for their wholesale robbery of Peru's natural wealth. Already, 610,000 acres of the Cerro de Pasco corporation, the largest mining company in Peru, and like Standard Oil, also a Rockefeller corporation, have been expropriated and redistributed among Peruvian peasants. Subsidiaries of IT&T and Xerox have also come under fire from the Peruvian regime.

"Ruthless Drive for Profits"

The development that may have brought on the current crisis was the announced plans of major U.S. corporations to pour in huge investments so as to completely penetrate and dominate the Peruvian economy. Symptoms of serious developments were evident in recent attempts of the largest U.S. banks to buy out Peru's commercial banks (see Workers World, 12/27/68). The significance of a huge U.S. expansion in Peru was pointed out in the March 3 edition of U.S. News & World Report:

"In the months before the IPC takeover, U.S. companies had planned expansions or new investments in Peru totaling 600 million dollars -- double the present investment."

The ruthless drive for profits by the billionaire monopolies of the U.S. have even driven the privileged Peruvian classes back up against the wall. Through the new military junta, Peruvian bankers and businessmen are fighting for their own survival as a native exploiting class and have been forced to resist the U.S. economic onslaught. But the Peruvian bourgeoisie, not having broken its ties with U.S. imperialism, cannot carry out a decisive economic struggle with the Yankee colossus. In fact, many Peruvian government officials show fear in face of U.S. economic threats, since they have no desire for a complete political and economic break with the U.S. One Peruvian official, quoted by the N.Y. Times on Feb. 24, said:

"America and its banking allies can apply sanctions that eventually would crush our economy as it is now."

Who Rules

"God's Agent"—
Or the CIA's?

the Empire?

As the current wave of repression against the Iranian people continues, the Shah's regime is being frankly compared by observers here to the fascist states of South Africa and Greece. The police terror against peasants, workers, and university and high school students in Iran (this includes the vilest forms of torture, on-the-spot executions, and "disappearances") follows William Scranton's visit there on the first leg of his Mideast tour as then President-elect Nixon's emissary last December.

Scranton met with the Shah, who when he's not calling himself a "white revolutionary," likes to confess, "I consider myself merely as an agent of the will of God." Shah Pahlevi must have given Nixon's representative a warm welcome, considering that it was under the Eisenhower-Nixon administration "that the CIA organized and directed the 1953 coup that overthrew Premier Mohammed Mossadegh and kept Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi on his throne." ("The Invisible Government," Wise and Ross.)

After the coup, communist leaders, trade unionists, and other progressive forces were murdered, and their followers jailed. The political reaction welcomed the oil monopolies back, after being ousted under Mossadegh. In the aftermath, the British lost their monopoly on Iran's oil. In August, 1958, an international consortium of Western oil companies signed a twenty-five-year pact with Iran for its oil. Under it, the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company got 40 per cent, a group of American companies (Gulf Oil, Standard Oil of New Jersey and California, The Texas Company and Socony-Mobil) got 35 per cent, Royal Dutch Shell got 14 per cent, and the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles 6 per cent. Iran (i.e. the Shah) got half of the multimillion-dollar income from the oil fields under the deal, and Anglo-Iranian was assured a compensation payment of \$70,000,000. Iran received half of the returns on the oil on paper only. The Shah was content with a much smaller fraction.

CHANGE FROM NAZIS TO CIA NO CHANGE

In 1967 Iran exported \$1.75 billion in oil. When the Arab nations cut off the supply to the West after the June War, the Shah profited by doubling production. The importance of Iran to the imperialists as an emergency source of oil (as well as a military outpost) may be estimated from the one billion dollars in direct military aid by the U.S. since World War II, and the additional billion dollars that "appeared to stick to the fingers of the hopelessly corrupt officialdom." According to the authors of The Invisible Government, "In 1957 a report of the House Committee on Government Operations said that 'it is now impossible -- with any accuracy -- to tell what became of these funds.'"

Bertrand Russell, who is not inclined to overstatement, asserted that "The brutality and corruption which characterize the Iranian authorities start at the top." In Russell's statement, distributed here by the Iranian Students Association, he noted that the previous Shah had to abdicate for collaboration with the Nazis. Russell further states, "More recently the Shah has spent a large fortune in advertising a supposed land reform program which keeps most of the land in the hands of a rich elite. It can not be said that the people benefited greatly in the change from Nazi to CIA loyalties."

"The essence of our system is human liberties and the freedom of the individual." These fine sounding words are from an interview with the Shah, quoted in U.S. News and World Report of January 27, 1969. An Iranian youth, writing in The Partisan (Vol. 1, #3), magazine of Youth Against War & Fascism, remarked on the Shah's notion of "human liberties." "While the government has closed all channels for the expression of political dissent, it has been all too ready to ruthlessly suppress mass protests and direct political action. The most recent examples of this include the periodic air attacks on the Southern tribes of Iran, the large-scale massacre of several thousand unarmed demonstrators in the Iranian cities, which occurred in June 1963 to protest the government's high-handed measures."

REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES EXPOSE "CYNICAL PROPAGANDA"

More than half of the Shah's budget must go for the military and police apparatus. Able to maintain himself in power only by terror, the Shah yielded to pressure and in a show of "liberalism," discontinued public executions. The extension of limited suffrage to women, when elections are meaningless to begin with, is "a cynical propaganda measure," in the eyes of the Iranian masses.

Scranton's visit to Iran was intended to strengthen the imperialist ties between this non-Arab Muslim nation (which borders the USSR), and the U.S. Some of the interests that Scranton was looking out for are Bethlehem Steel, Westinghouse International, American Motors, FMC of California, Caterpillar, Parke-Davis, ITT, Rootes-Chrysler, and Squibb. These, and other U.S. investments, which are in addition to the oil monopolies, have a stated investment of \$100 million.

Bertrand Russell's statement noted that "The last few months have seen a wave of strikes and demonstrations met by arrests and banishments. In early February, university and high school students in Teheran and Shiraz started a long strike. The universities were surrounded by the army. Shiraz university was closed down after tanks were sent to meet the demonstrators in the streets...." Since the 1967 U.S.-Israeli aggression against the Arab people, the whole Middle East has been surging forward in an angry, revolutionary temper. The rising tide of world revolution has put the capitalist bosses in a panic. The student-worker demonstrations and strikes in Iran are only a preliminary to an all-out offensive against the Shah's CIA-sponsored oppression.

-- KENNETH LAPIDES



Huge ESSO sign towers over buildings in Lima, Peru.

—Mutual Aid Pact

(Continued from page 10)

where only 15 per cent of the workers are black and most of them have been hired in the past five years, where the parallel of the workers and students struggle is less obvious.

Jeffrey Gerth, reporting for Liberation News Service, describes the first union meeting at which the motion to support the 15 demands of the San Francisco State strike caused a sharp division.

There were only two black workers at the meeting. The division on the motion was between the older, more conservative workers who are influenced by the traditional international union leadership and the younger work-

ers who are more militant, along with the local union leadership which they influence. After seven hours discussion at three union meetings, the motion for a mutual aid pact won by a two to one vote.

Most heartening is not only the student response to the bread-and-butter struggle, but the response of the workers who after years of AFL-CIO misleadership have concluded:

"Many of us heard about the Gesta-po tactics in Chicago and other places, and we didn't believe it. But now we do.... The cops are here to protect the bosses and their big buildings and work against us."

Estimates as to how long the strike will last vary, but we can bet that the solidarity shown here will last and will surely affect future struggles.