

WWP Calls for Peaceful Solution of Sino-Soviet Border Dispute

Fixes Blame on Soviet Leaders, But Says CCP Has Duty to World Movement To See That Struggle Against Imperialism Not Be Diverted by Minor Issue

The continuation of the border conflict between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China can serve no useful, genuinely progressive purpose. If it is not terminated soon, it will divert the struggle against imperialism, confuse large masses of progressive people everywhere, diminish the political consciousness of the working people, and inflict untold damage to the cause of world socialism.

Whatever the military outcome, nothing will compensate for the political and moral blow to the socialist cause and the developing world revolution against imperialism.

One of the principal objectives of imperialism has been to split the socialist countries so as to divert attention from the wars that imperialism is constantly carrying on against the oppressed peoples. Nothing would serve the ruling class better than to see the two great socialist countries consume their energies in a widening border conflict.

The imperialist ruling class gives an impression of neutrality between the two socialist countries. But this is a neutrality in favor of the latter's mutual destruction. The reactionary New York

Daily News expressed the true thoughts of imperialism on March 3, when it said in its lead editorial: "Let's you and him fight!" — and added that the Soviet Union and People's China should destroy each other with nuclear bombs, and the sooner the better.

Meanwhile the predatory monopolists intensify their struggle against the people of Vietnam, Korea, the Middle East, Latin America, Africa and against the working class everywhere.

It is of particular interest to note that while the border clash continues, the U.S. launched provocative military maneuvers beginning March 17th. The so-called "War Games" carried out on the border of Korea involved 7,000 U.S. troops in one of the longest air-borne assault exercises in military history.

The border conflict has the objective effect of transforming China's revolutionary ideological-political struggle against Soviet revisionism into a struggle for purely national aims.

If the struggle continues this way and particularly if it widens, it will not matter that the Chinese

C.P. leaders are revolutionary and the Soviet leaders revisionist. If both sides manage to galvanize the mass of the people behind them in the respective countries, the ultimate effect will be to substitute national for class aims.

If the border struggle continues, it is bound to divide the Chinese and Soviet people along national lines rather than to solidify them along lines of international class solidarity. It will reinforce Soviet revisionism rather than weaken it.

The fact that the Chinese Communist Party has been the standard bearer for the revolutionary cause and the Soviet leadership the torch bearer of revisionism will in no way lessen the deleterious effects on the world struggle against imperialism. By its very nature the border dispute is the type of struggle that cannot but divert attention and consume energies which should go elsewhere.

In fact, it is more likely that it will weaken precisely those revolutionary elements in the Soviet Union which the Chinese C.P. has been trying to influence in a progressive anti-revisionist direction.

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Black and White, Unite and Fight for a

WORKERS WORLD

Vol. 11, No. 5

March 20, 1969

TEN CENTS

Bulletin! Bulletin! Bulletin! Militant Student Leader Gets 3 Yrs. — U.B. Rebels

Univ. Pres.' Office Seized; War Research
Project Smashed; Hundreds March Downtown



BRUCE BEYER. Got three years.



GERALD GROSS of YAWF rearrested.

BUFFALO, March 19 — As we go to press, 500 students are occupying the Administration building at the University of Buffalo. Two hundred cops have been ordered on campus, and U.B. president Martin Meyerson has given the students a deadline of 9:00 p.m. to vacate the building.

The students are demanding: ROTC off campus; end University participation in Defense Department contracts like "Project Themis"; an integrated work force in construction of the new Amherst campus; solidarity with the Buffalo Nine and the persons arrested in today's demonstrations; and amnesty for all those occupying President Meyerson's office.

* * * * *

BUFFALO, March 19 — Six hundred demonstrators angrily marched through downtown Buffalo today after draft resister Bruce Beyer was sentenced to three years on an assault charge. In Lafayette Square, they draped protest signs on a war memorial and burned an effigy (made of a pig mask on an old mop) of Judge Curtin.

Nine persons were arrested, including Gerald Gross, chairman of Buffalo Youth Against War & Fascism and of the Martin Sostre Defense Committee. Gross, one of the Buffalo Nine, was pulled out of a car he was driving in front of the courthouse.

Later in the day, students returned to the University campus, occupied the office of the President, and leveled a storm fence and construction shack at

a building site earmarked for a joint University-Defense Department venture code-named "Project Themis."

Bruce Beyer and Gerry Gross are two of the defendants in the "Buffalo Nine" case, which gained widespread campus support last summer after Federal marshals attacked a rally in a local church where two draft resisters (Beyer was also one of the two) were being given symbolic sanctuary. Nine persons were arrested on various counts of assault and interfering with a federal officer.

The trial of the first four persons indicted was held in February. It resulted in two convictions for Beyer and a hung jury for the other three defendants. This week, it was announced that Grand Jury indictments have been handed down in four more of the cases. They will be tried late in May.

Today's demonstrations were further proof of the deep student support for militants opposed to the Vietnam war. The university has been in turmoil since the trials three weeks ago. An entire week of classes was suspended and "teach-ins" scheduled in their place after students threatened to strike following the Beyer conviction.

This fancy footwork, mainly by U.B. president Martin Meyerson, held off further student revolt for a few weeks. But today's stiff sentence for Beyer was the breaking point.

At issue in the students' struggle, in addition to amnesty for the Buffalo Nine and draft resisters, is the role of the University in war research and

\$7 Billion ABM Just a Beginning Workers Will Pay Much More For Nixon's Nuclear Blackmail

When Nixon announced on March 15 that he had decided to employ the much opposed and much feared Anti-Ballistic Missiles (ABM), he introduced a "modification" and said the ABM's would be withdrawn considerably from the neighborhood of population centers. And in a typical public-relations style, he suggested changing the name of the project from Sentinel to Safeguard.

What this proves about the intentions of the new Administration, the Pentagon, and the ruling class, generally, is even more important than the lies, fraud and slick salesmanship with which it is being put over.

fostering racial discrimination. After formulating demands on these questions, the students were told by the administration that U.B. has no defense contracts, and that the University would make sure an integrated work force was hired in the construction of the new Amherst campus.

However, a secret file was discovered by students last week giving details on a jointly financed program of the University and the Defense Department to do research on underwater warfare, known under the code name "Project Themis." A construction site had already been laid out for the building to house this project. Today, students enraged at the court's harsh sentence of Beyer returned to the University and, with sledge hammers and axes, demolished a storm fence and construction shacks set up on the site.

Several hundred then proceeded to occupy President Meyerson's office and Hayes Hall. The students also say they will obstruct the construction work on the new Amherst campus, due to start Friday, unless the University hires more black workers. So far, the integration of the work force is only token.

Today's demonstration was preceded by a great deal of organizing activity on campus, including rallies, speak-outs and a wall poster campaign where huge 15-foot posters describing the Buffalo Nine case and the nature of "Project Themis" were hung all around the student union. At a rally of about 500 last night, where speakers included a Black Panther spokesman from Rochester, Gerry Gross, YAWF National Chairman Key Martin, and Bruce Beyer, Beyer told the audience: "I've gotten my inspiration from (black liberation fighter) Martin Sostre and I hope I've got the courage to face what he has faced."

It proves, first and foremost, that they are hell-bent on war — that their so-called "peace" moves in Vietnam are nothing but an operation to cut losses in preparation for a different kind of war.

Nixon's "Safeguard" is supposed to defend the U.S. missile sites. These sites have existed for many years without being so defended. And the Soviet Union has had the power to attack them for many years — just as the U.S. has had the power to attack the Soviet sites. What has changed?

Wise columnists and smart liberals suggest or hint that with a possible slowing down of the war in Vietnam, the military-industrial complex needs more war orders than it is likely to get — so the ABM.

But there is a deeper and more ominous reason. It is known as nuclear blackmail.

The addition of a new weapons system is really a tremendous escalation of the war threat against the socialist countries and is intended as just that. It will add billions to the coffers of those who profit off GI blood. But it will also and primarily be directed at improving the drive for world domination by U.S. big business as a whole.

It has utterly nothing to do with the defense of the American people.

Some of the people may still believe that the expenditures of \$80 billion a year and the deaths of tens of thousands of soldier youth are intended in some way to defend the people at home. But they wouldn't if they listened to Nixon on March 14, when he said the following words about the ABM:

"I have made the decision with regard to (moving the ABM from the cities to the more distant countryside) because I found that there is no way, even if we were to expand the limited Sentinel

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WWP on Sino-Soviet Dispute

(Continued from page 1)

Revisionism as a political ideology and social force will be vanquished in the Soviet Union only by the struggle of the masses inside the Soviet Union and the experience of the Soviet masses in political struggle against the neo-bourgeois restorationist leadership which dominates the Soviet Union. Victorious proletarian revolutions elsewhere, which in and of themselves are a refutation of the ideology of revisionism, will aid this struggle.

The continuation of the border conflict gives the Soviet leaders the opportunity to play upon the national fears of the Soviet people. It helps the Soviet leaders galvanize them against an alleged foreign foe and distracts the masses from the maneuvers the Soviet leaders are carrying on with imperialism.

No territorial advantage that can be won, arising from this struggle, will solve the problem of the struggle against revisionism.

There are those who assert that China needs a border struggle with the USSR to unify the mass of the Chinese people in order to deal a final, crushing blow to revisionism at home. We doubt very much that this is so, but even if it were, any gain made along those lines would be far outweighed by the impairment of China as the standard bearer of revolutionary internationalism.

The fundamental cause of the struggle on the border between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union has its origin in the many years that the Soviet leadership has pursued revisionist policies to the detriment of the USSR, China and the world revolution. It is these damaging policies of class collaboration with imperialism which caused the tension between the USSR and China and finally resulted in the recent border clash. Even as the fighting goes on, the Soviet diplomats are scurrying to all the imperialist capitals in an effort to enlist their help.

The border dispute, we must remember, takes place amid an ever more dangerous world condition. The imperialists continue to arm themselves to the teeth. In their desperate effort to regain and widen their world dominion, they have concocted the so-called Four-Power talks aimed at the Arab people. With this scheme, they hope to get the Soviet leaders in an agreement with them to stifle the Arab liberation movement and to utilize the Israeli puppet state as its principal instrument of aggression in that area. World attention should be focused on this struggle as well as others where oppressed people are struggling against imperialism.

Nor has U.S. imperialism in any way let up the struggle in Vietnam. On the contrary, the signs point in the direction of an intensification of the struggle against the Vietnamese people. The new Nixon Administration, while desperately seeking an accommodation with the Soviet revisionists, is none the less expanding its aggressive designs, not only in Vietnam, but also in Korea.

The fundamental responsibility for the border clash rests therefore on the Soviet leaders. It is also absolutely incontestable that the People's Republic of China has a valid historic claim to vast amounts of territory now held by the Soviet Union, which should be rectified.

Nevertheless, the Chinese C.P. has the duty to the world movement to see to it that the border conflict does not divert the main revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

Measured in terms of the world struggle, the border dispute, however important it may appear to be to China or to the USSR, is nevertheless a minor factor if viewed in the light of the overall objective—the world struggle against imperialism.

It follows therefore that the border struggle must be subordinated to the principal struggle—the struggle against the main enemy, the struggle against international imperialism, of which the U.S. monopolists are the principal leaders. The struggle should be turned against them.

Monopoly capitalism breeds wars of aggression both at home and abroad. It is congenitally incapable of peaceful solution to critical questions of the day and has employed force and violence as its instrument in the struggle for world domination.

Imperialist war is endemic to monopoly capitalism. Periods of peace are merely interludes between imperialist wars. The only peace the imperialists are interested in is the peace of a slave master imposed on the slaves. The only way to insure a real, enduring peace is the overthrow of the imperialist system.

Peace between the socialist countries, however, has an objective and durable basis. The drive for profit, based on the private ownership of the means of production, characteristic of capitalist society as the driving force for development, does not exist in the Soviet Union or China. There is no objective driving force, arising from the economic system, which should impel them to foreign aggression or extra-territorial needs. There is, however, a very solid objective basis for peaceful socialist construction.

Unquestionably there are difficult and intricate problems regarding borders that have been inherited from pre-revolutionary days. It is in the interest of socialist countries to settle them by peaceful means.

March 12, 1969 — New York, N.Y.

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ASU Sailor Out of Brig After 5 Months in Solitary

NEW YORK, March 10— American Servicemen's Union organizer, Fred Patrick, who disassociated himself from the U.S. Navy because of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, was today released from the brig at the Brooklyn Naval Yard.

Patrick, who was convicted of being AWOL (absent without leave), and sentenced to the maximum six months at hard labor and a BCD (bad conduct discharge), has been held in solitary confinement since his trial because the brig commander classified him an "agitator."

On June 6 last year, Fred Patrick turned in his leave papers, his ID and his uniform, stating to the duty officer his complete disassociation from the imperialist war machine.

At that time Fred charged: "The U.S. is guilty of an immense number of war crimes against the people of the world. I refuse to be even the tiniest link in the chain that binds the U.S. military together...I intend to fight this disease. I will fight for my brother, not my oppressor."

At Patrick's second court-martial in October (the first court-martial against Fred Patrick was declared a mistrial), the court ruled testimony to war crimes as irrelevant. Fred Cohn, civilian counsel provided by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, raised the unique defense of a contractual fraud—that is when Fred Patrick enlisted in the Navy he did so

after having been led to believe that he was going to defend his country. Later he learned that he was part of an aggressive war machine.

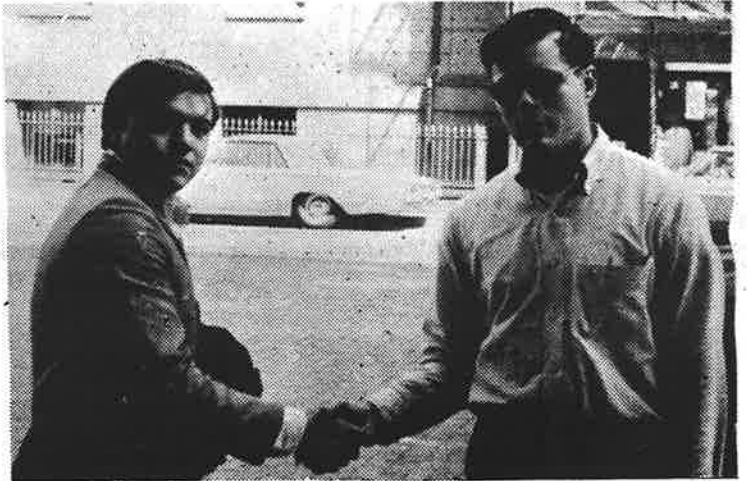
Naturally the court-martial board, composed entirely of officers, could not see the logic of this. The career officers had little respect for this defiant sailor who while in the brig for five months before his trial had signed into the ASU 25 of the 43 enlisted men he had contact with.

Upon sentencing, Fred was handcuffed and escorted by armed guards directly to solitary. When Fred inquired as to when he would be allowed to join the general prison population, since he did not break any jailhouse rule, Lt. Col. Tlef, brig commander said: "What makes you think you'll ever join them. You are a troublemaker. Do you think I want a riot on my hands."

Two weeks previous to his court-martial there had been a rebellion in the restricted barracks of the Brooklyn Naval Station. Sailors barricaded themselves in all night to protest harsh regulations.

Fred's immediate response to five months in a 9' x 9' cell was that these five months were many long hours of education and preparation for rejoining the ASU staff in organizing within the armed services.

Fred Patrick is currently on leave awaiting a ruling on his appeal against a Bad Conduct Discharge.



Sailor Fred Patrick (left) shakes hands with BOND editor and GI Union organizer Andy Stapp just before turning himself in with a defiant refusal to be part of the war machine.

—Workers Will Pay More

(Continued from page 1)

system which was planned for some of our cities to a so-called heavy or thick system, there is no way that we can adequately defend our cities without an unacceptable loss of life."

Nixon only "found" this out after people in the cities concerned protested so loudly that it looked as though demonstrations and riots would erupt from old as well as young if he tried to "defend" the cities this way, and a whole new dimension would be added to the rebellions of the day.

But what an admission this was! What an admission that "defense" is not the issue at all — but war against the Soviet Union and China for the benefit of the U.S. corporations is the issue!

Among the secondary suspicious circumstances of the Nixon plan — one pointed out or hinted at by his loyal opposition is this: he "won over" the usually intransigent Joint Chiefs of Staff to unanimous support of his thin ABM plan which would "only" cost \$7 billion instead of the eventual \$70 billion that the Joint Chiefs' "thick" system would cost.

There is naturally a great deal of suspicion in Washington circles, where the ways of Tricky Dick and the Joint Chiefs are well known, that the thin system is merely the first stage of the thick one.

In the course of discussion on this apparently purely financial question, still another evidence of U.S. aggressiveness was revealed.

Former Defense Secretary McNamara had said the heavy (\$70 billion) ABM system would only force the Soviet Union to produce more intercontinental missiles in order to override it.

"The (Joint) Chiefs and others who shared their view," observed the New York Times of March 18, "countered (to McNamara) that there was no assurance that the Russians either had the resources to make an offsetting buildup or would necessarily want to do so." (Our emphasis.)

Meanwhile, the cities which Nixon can't "defend" anyway, are going hungry. While he admits to planning a \$7 billion — or is it \$70 billion? — ABM, he is cutting funds for the so-called War on Poverty. In spite of the allegedly great increase in mass employment, the rise in the cost of living is increasing the misery of the black community and tightening down on the white poor, also.

Nixon says he wants to "cool down" the economy. And he raises interest loans, keeps up the high taxes, bows down to the bankers at every opportunity. But spending more billions for more weapons of destruction is guaranteed to heat up inflation, to raise the cost of living even higher, to make life still harder for the working class, even while it makes the champagne flow more freely at the inner offices of RCA, Avco, Raytheon, McDonnell-Douglas and the other billionaire contractors for the ABM.

GOV'T LIES ABOUT NLF 'FAILURE': MAJOR U.S. BASES WERE OVERRUN

By M. NAGRO

The hawks pressed their man Nixon at his latest press conference on what the "appropriate response" to the NLF offensive would be. But Nixon, who would not hesitate to escalate the war if his advisors saw any advantage, was unusually indecisive.

At the same time reliable bourgeois sources, making the record for their class and not reporting for popular consumption began to reveal the reason behind Nixon's "patience" on Vietnam.

According to the New York Times in an article datelined Saigon, March 10, it is finally being admitted that the intensity of the NLF offensive and the resulting U.S. losses were "understated" in official military communiques and by both U.S. and allied spokesmen.

The article further points out "an effort had been made to deny the enemy a 'psychological victory' (the truth is that it is also a military victory—ed.) by omitting important details about the attacks from official accounts—or even by denying them."

Specific examples of this as reported in the Times' article of March 10 are: On two occasions official sources denied that Songbe had been overrun. However, on the scene reports are that Songbe, 70 miles north of Saigon, was indeed overrun. Songbe is the site of a U.S. military compound. The chief military advisor there and his major assistant were killed. The NLF held Songbe until strong units of the First Cavalry Division were sent to retake it.

Another example was the seizure of the city of Dantieng, just northwest of Saigon. This is where the Third Brigade of the U.S. 25th Infantry Division has its headquarters.

A communique said the NLF forces had "briefly penetrated the perimeter." The truth is that it took only 100 to 150 NLF sappers to overrun five bunkers. They dug to within a short distance of the Tactical Operations Center, causing much damage. The NLF infiltrated much of the city. None of the liberation forces were killed or driven out until the next day when heavy U.S. reinforcements were sent in.

Similar distortions were made in reporting the takeovers of Mytho, a provincial capital 40 miles south of Saigon, and Quangnai, in the northern part of South Vietnam.

When these "cities" were retaken,

it was at what military sources describe as disproportionately high U.S. casualties. Also, seven helicopters equipped for rocketing and bombings were destroyed. The machinery cost the sum of \$2.5 million.

Recent reports of the nature of the NLF targets also contradict the propaganda statement of U.S. negotiators in Paris. In Paris the U.S. charges the NLF with seeking "to terrorize the civilian population into submission." Facts show the opposite. Of the 145 targets of the NLF, 107 were clearly military and the others were provincial capitals, which are usually military centers as described above. Civilian casualties result when the U.S. deliberately places military centers in civilian areas.

Also civilian casualties for last week were 72—a low figure when compared to the former saturation bombings by the U.S. Military casualties were at the high of 336 last week, and 453 was the highest casualty figure for a single week since last May and close to that of the 1968 TET offensive. The high casualty rate occurred during the first week of the NLF offensive.

By concentrating this offensive on U.S. military targets, the NLF has succeeded in pinpointing the responsibility for the Vietnam war.

Despite these facts the New York Times, in the same article of March 10, begins to swing back to the original U.S. position during the present offensive by stating: "The contention of officials in Saigon that the attacks had essentially failed seemed justified even after fuller details became known."

These subtle lies, or acts of omission as the New York Times prefers to call them, are intended to reinforce the bigger lie that nothing can be gained by the National Liberation Front militarily and that the NLF is losing.

Nothing could be further from reality. North Vietnam and territory held in the South by the NLF withstood continuous saturation bombing of civilian populations for over a year. The Vietnamese forced the U.S. into negotiations by virtue of their heroic military battles. At the time of the 1968 bombing halt of North Vietnam, the U.S. escalated its land war in the South. Yet the NLF has grown sufficiently in strength to carry on greater struggles for liberation.

YAWF Activist Loses Appeal

Faces 4 Yrs. in Draft Case

The appeal of YAWF organizer Joel Meyers, who has been sentenced to four years on charges of refusing the draft, was denied by a 2 to 1 vote of the U.S. Court of Appeal, Second Circuit. Joel's ACLU attorneys are currently filing for a rehearing on this appeal.

Meyers was ordered to report for induction on May 4, 1967. He did report to Fort Hamilton Induction Center, Brooklyn. Joel brought an overnight bag and reams of an open letter addressed to fellow inductees denouncing the war. While distributing the letter, he began talking with the inductees explaining U.S. aggression in Vietnam. After about 30 minutes, Joel was set upon by several MPs and bodily removed from the base.

Months later in Buffalo, N.Y., at 3 a.m., Federal Marshals busted down his door and took him into custody on charges of refusing induction and interfering with induction proceedings. Joel, who is from Brooklyn, was living in Buffalo, working with YAWF at the University there.

On May 17, 1968, Federal Judge Bruckhausen sentenced him for refusing to appear for induction after having earlier intimidated an apparently "hung" jury into a guilty verdict. The jury had acquitted him on the charge of interfering with induction procedures.

Joel has been one of the most active members of YAWF since 1962-63. He played a leading role in anti-draft work and was a principal organizer of Stop the Draft Week. (In December 1967, the most militant sections of the anti-war movement called for shutting down the Whitehall Induction Center.)

During the trial of Edward Oquendo, who is currently serving five years in Danbury for refusing induction, Meyers was arrested for actions in a courtroom demonstration. Joel had displayed solidarity with black spectators who were being harassed by the trial judge.

The basis for Meyers' appeal is apparent. He did report and was ordered off the base. According to military regulations, the intention of the inductee cannot be assumed. In fact, it is required that the inductee be given a "warning" about the "consequences" of a refusal and a "last clear chance to change his mind."

The second major point of the appeal was the Allen charge. This is the legal term for intimidation of the jury by the judge. The dissenting vote on the appeal upheld these contentions.

While the questions of due process are raised in the legal case, Joel's political stand on the war has always been clear by his actions and was told to the court by Joel in his presentencing remarks.

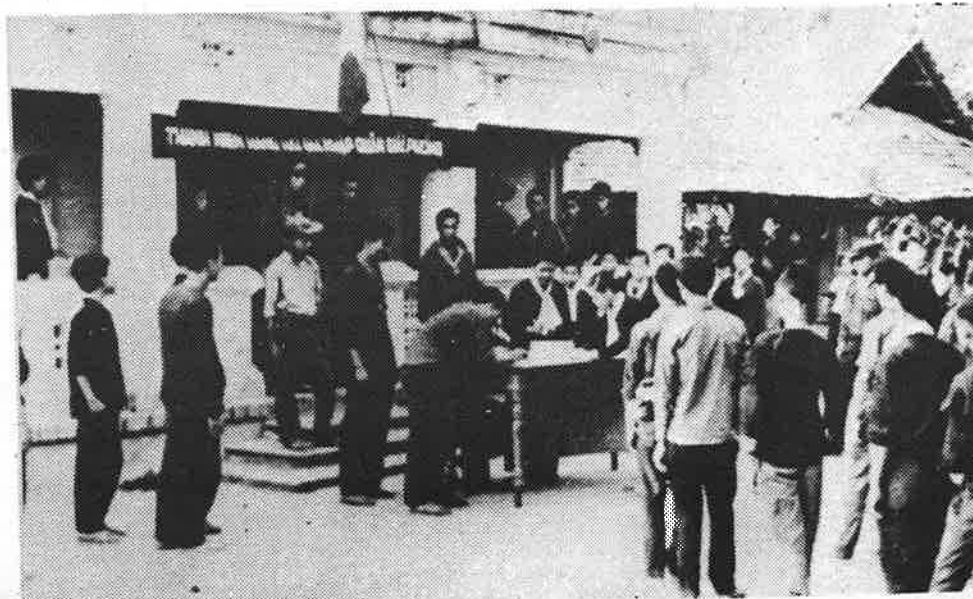
Joel concluded: "Finally, I would like to take this occasion... to declare my solidarity with all the anti-imperialist fighters at home and abroad—and especially the heroes of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the miraculous vanguard of this struggle, who are a glorious episode in the history of resistance to both national and individual slavery, and who are winning their land and the fruit of their labor through their inspiring struggle."

Joel Meyers is currently out on bail pending further action by the court.

Why U.S. Can Never Win in Vietnam



Vietnamese people in liberated area in the South vote. (NLF Photo)



Youths volunteer for the ranks of the NLF People's Liberation Armed Forces. (NLF Photo)



Under NLF rule: Children wait for medical care. (NLF Photo)



These dressmakers in liberated area are members of the NLF Women's Militia. (NLF Photo)

Racist Textile Bosses Get Pentagon Prize of Millions

Nixon's Secretary of Defense, Melvin Laird, and his Under Secretary, the powerful David Packard, of Hewlett-Packard, General Dynamics, etc. have worked out a deal with the textile barons whereby millions of dollars in Defense Department contracts will be awarded companies that under the Civil Rights Act should be ineligible because of proven charges of racial discrimination.

Packard broke the law in order to aid corporate racist law breakers on the ground that he had received "personal assurances" that the J. P. Stevens Co., Burlington Industries and Dan River Mills would take steps to provide equal job opportunities for black workers. "Law and order" anyone?

Packard made this phony excuse despite the racist record of these companies which have been called "the worst segregated firms in the nation" by imperialist liberals in the Senate. These charges were made on the basis of evidence confirmed by the National Labor Relations Board. But the embarrassment caused Nixon by the whole deal is unlikely to affect his decision, since Nixon's own connections with these racist, labor-busting companies are intimate, going way back to his days in the Eisenhower Administration.

Friend of Robert Stevens

The contract under question at the moment is a Defense Department award of \$9.4 million to J. P. Stevens, Burlington and Dan River. Another contract for \$16 million to Dan River Mills is presently pending. But the extent of government subsidy of the textile industry can be seen by the fact that in 1966, the J. P. Stevens Co. alone received government contracts totaling \$76 million.

Under the Johnson Administration, as the Stevens' contracts show, the textile industry, could have no complaints. But there is every evidence that their fortunes will wax even fatter under Nixon. First of all, Nixon is a personal friend of Robert Stevens, President of J. P. Stevens Co., who as Secretary of the Army under Eisenhower was the civilian in charge of the whole machine. The very naming of Stevens to this extremely influential post was evidence of the power of the textile barons in the Republican Party.

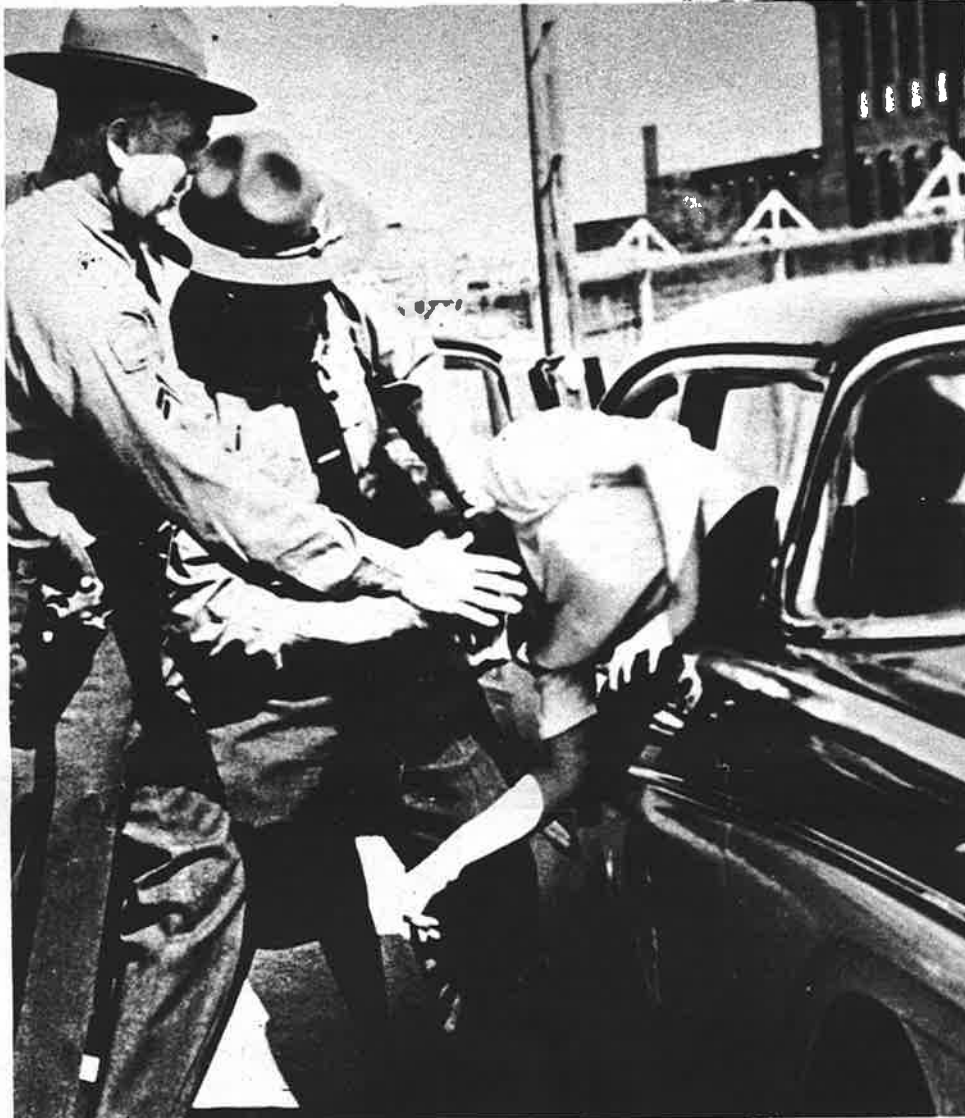
Secondly, Nixon receives additional lobbying on behalf of the textile group from Sen. Strom Thurmond of S. Carolina, who was an ardent backer at the Republican National Convention. In

helping Nixon get the nomination, Thurmond was making sure the next President would be a man sympathetic to the bosses of the major industry in the Carolinas.

Thurmond is interested not only in contracts, but according to Washington insider, Drew Pearson, has urged Nixon to initiate some form of protectionism against European and Japanese textile firms. He is reported to have asked Nixon to try and get "voluntary" import quotas from European countries selling textiles in the U.S. on the President's recent European tour.

Nixon was careful, at his second press conference since becoming

(Continued on following page)



Union-busting cops at work for Southern mill bosses. (TWUA photo)

Union-Busting Southern Mills Run by Nixon's Wall St. Buddies

The union busting activities of the textile industry are notorious. In the last few decades, mill after mill has moved South, running away from union conditions, leaving a good section of New England with abandoned, bricked-up factories and jobless workers. In the South, and particularly the Carolinas, the textile barons have used every form of intimidation to prevent union organizing. The firms with the worst, and most deserved, reputations for anti-labor acts are the J.P. Stevens Co. and Deering-Milliken.

Testimony by sworn witnesses, totaling tens of thousands of pages, has been brought before the NLRB about these two companies: their intimidation

of employees joining the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA); the blacklisting of workers; their practice of racial discrimination in hiring and promotion. The result of much of these complaints has been absolutely nothing. Even when the NLRB has taken some action after being presented with an iron-clad case of violation of basic labor laws by the companies, these big firms with their batteries of high-paid lawyers are able to tie up the cases in endless rounds of court appeals and counter-suits. And if, at last, the workers do finally win a victory, it is often only a Pyrrhic one.

The most poignant and infuriating case of this kind is that of the Darlington, S.C. mill of Deering-Milliken. (Roger Milliken is a wheel in the Republican party; he was chief Southern fund-raiser for Goldwater's campaign.) In 1956, the majority of the workers at the mill voted for the TWUA. The company had tried intimidation, threats and firings to keep out the union. Nothing had worked. So there was nothing they could do but accept the union.

Except one thing. On personal orders from company president, Roger Milliken, the Darlington mill was closed down. Lock, stock and barrel. Within two months after the election, the entire plant had been liquidated and over 500 workers were without jobs. The town had been killed.

D-M workers looking for jobs elsewhere found the same story wherever they went. "They had me blackballed," related Rayford Carnes, a loomfixer and one of the union leaders in the plant, "in North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia."

Thelma Swan, now 60 years old and a widow, recalls those tough times. "I gave 29 years of the best days of my life down there in that mill and then I was laid off."

The TWUA brought suit against Deering-Milliken before the NLRB. After lengthy testimony and an indisputable array of the facts in this incredible mass firing, the NLRB finally ruled that the company had acted in order to "chill" unionism in its 45 other plants, and that D-M must reinstate the workers with back pay.

Justice—13 Years Too Late

Then the lengthy court appeals and delaying tactics by Milliken began. This February, thirteen years after the Darlington workers first lost their jobs, the Supreme Court turned down the last appeal by the company and the order to reinstate the workers is finally going into effect.

About 50 of the original 516 workers now eligible for back pay can't even be found anymore. The others will have any wages earned in the meantime deducted from the sum Milliken must pay. And D-M can deduct the back wages from its taxes. Even though the company will wind up having to pay the workers several million dollars, they will be ahead in terms of cost accounting because of the 13 years in which they paid the workers in their 45 other non-union plants sub-standard wages.

The record of the J.P. Stevens Co. is no less ruthless. With 44,800 employees -- 30,000 of them spread out through 72 mill towns in the Carolinas alone -- Stevens is one of the largest unorganized companies in this country. In 1967, it paid an average of \$73 a week, or \$31 below the national average wage for factory workers. This kind of gap in wages for the South's 600,000 textile workers means a loss in wages of \$1 billion yearly.

In 1967, the company generously granted exactly two paid holidays!

J.P. Stevens has fired hundreds of workers for union activity. Seventy-one workers fired in 1963 were still trying to collect back wages four years later, even though the NLRB had found their dismissals illegal. But as in the Darlington case, the company found it to its advantage to drag out the court cases as long as possible. They know how much the prospect of going without work for years must frighten the average worker -- especially a Southern textile worker who will be blackballed in his trade, doesn't have a large industrial metropolis in which to be

(Continued on following page)

Black Workers in the Vanguard in Fight To Organize Southern Runaway Plants

By D. STACEY

Textile mills in the South have traditionally been almost all white. Black workers have been rigidly excluded from any machine jobs, and where they have been hired at all, it has been mainly in yardwork, sweeping up, and other menial jobs.

All of this is changing. New economic conditions in the South are revolutionizing the total economy and have forced the bosses to open up jobs for black workers in textiles in the last few years. And these black workers are "leading the way in a new surge of union activity," according to a bulletin of the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA).

Two things have been happening over the past decade that have led to this dramatic turnaround. The massive introduction of new technology into agriculture has wiped out the livelihoods of perhaps millions of black rural workers. A tremendous labor surplus among the black unemployed has thus been created. Many hundreds of thousands are fleeing the South, but not fast enough to deplete this still growing labor pool.

At the same time, Northern industries have been running South in search of cheap labor and open shop conditions. And many new plants have been locating in the South, unlike a few decades ago when almost all new industry originated in the Northern urban areas. This move has led to a severe short-

age of skilled and semi-skilled white workers. With rising industrialization, it is no longer possible for the bosses to maintain a strict racial policy in hiring. Of course, it is the lowest paid industries that are the first to lower the color bars and hire black workers. And textiles, which have resisted union organization for years and kept wages miserably low for factory work, make up just about the biggest industry in this category.

These are the reasons why, in 1967, this traditionally racist industry hired 10,000 black workers, or one-third, out of a total of 32,000 new employees.

This does not mean that discrimination in hiring has been wiped out. On the contrary. Reactionary companies like J.P. Stevens have had many complaints of discriminatory hiring and job placement practices brought up before the NLRB in recent years. And the textile industry is still overwhelmingly white. But taking the industry as a whole, economic pressures are forcing the hiring of black workers on a large scale for the first time, something that no amount of unenforced civil rights legislation was ever able to accomplish. (This legislation has been so farcical that the federal government itself is a major violator. The Defense Department just awarded \$9.4 million in contracts to three textile giants repeatedly proven to discriminate against black workers.)

Black workers are injecting a strong dose of militancy into the plants, and have spurred union organization. Their solidarity and sense of comradeship based on common super-exploitation has impressed many white workers with its results.

In Selma, Alabama, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) signed up 400 of 416 employees, nearly all black, of a women's sportswear shop. When they struck in order to get higher pay and benefits, the company hired an entirely new work force. But when these new workers all joined the union too, the company threw in the towel.

A reporter for the Washington Post who interviewed black and white unionists in the South found a trend toward both black militancy and greater realization among whites that both black and white have common goals. "White workers are even able to capitalize on the Negroes' brotherhood of blackness," he wrote.

One Georgia union man told him that "they see that through blackness they are able to add an extra dimension of solidarity. Whites have found that this pays off."

Far from producing a "white backlash," the aggressiveness of black workers to get their rights is both raising their own self-confidence, and winning understanding and emulation from white workers.

Company Won't Budge After 1 Yr.'s Talks: 37 Arrested Drug Workers Sit-Down for Seniority; Squibb Calls in the TPF, Locks Out 650

At 2:30 in the morning of March 11, more than 200 Tactical Police Force cops invaded the Squibb pharmaceutical plant in Brooklyn Heights where 320 workers were sitting in and evicted both men and women, making 37 arrests for criminal trespass. As the President of Local 8-138 of the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Union, Christopher Clark, told a reporter from WORKERS WORLD, "They've been working here for 25, 27 years. All of a sudden they are criminal trespassers."

Since those early Tuesday morning arrests, the company has locked out the 650 workers at the plant and fired 14 members of the union, including the entire executive board and bargaining committee. The cops have set up a headquarters inside the plant, keeping about 70 men inside during the day shift, while workers outside on the picket lines have been harassed and pushed into the gutter.

Local 8-138 has been negotiating with Squibb for nearly a year, ever since the company announced it will close down its Brooklyn plant this July 1st and move operations to its main manufacturing plant in New Brunswick, N.J. Workers were appalled to learn that the company would not promise to respect their seniority, even if they moved to the New Brunswick area. Fifty per cent of the Brooklyn workers have been at the plant for over ten years; many have worked there for 25 to 30 years.

For those workers who cannot afford to move to New Brunswick where buying a home would be almost a necessity—many of the workers are women whose husbands work in New York, and 25 per cent are black or Puerto Rican—the company has offered a measly severance pay of \$20 for each year employed, and in some cases even less. And while executives with

salaries in the tens of thousands may find it advantageous to commute, the Squibb workers take a dim view of traveling 30-40 miles for a job that averages around \$3.00 an hour.

And so, after a year of fruitless talks with the company, the 320 workers on the day shift sat down on the job at 10:00 a.m. this Monday. Their demands were simple: that Squibb recognize full seniority for those workers making the move to New Brunswick. The company's answer: call in the TPF, lock out the workers, and fire the entire union leadership.

This plant is part of the huge Squibb Beech-Nut pharmaceutical complex, which ranks No. 151 in the list of the 500 biggest industrial corporations in the U.S. Squibb has assets of \$438 million, and made a profit of \$40 million in 1967. While this particular plant is small, it can't plead poverty as an excuse for its scandalous treatment of the workers. On the contrary, it can cast off 25-year employees so callously because it is part of a huge corporation which hasn't the smallest amount of human compassion.

Sit-In — Bosses Call Cops

Instead of meeting with their representatives, the company began to harass the sitting-in workers immediately. They locked the bathrooms. Company guards refused to let workers who had gone for sandwiches back into the building. And that night, when the temperature fell to 20 degrees, they threw bags filled with water out of the fifth-story windows onto workers on the street below.

But no boss has the forces to

long oppose the united strength of the workers. And he doesn't have to. That's what the cops are for. While cops haven't been needed to break up strikes in this area for quite a while, they've been keeping in practice clubbing demonstrators and pushing black and Puerto Rican people around. So when the company called the cops (and they had no court injunction, which made it illegal), they moved in like an enemy army.

The Squibb workers have been enraged and astounded at the rigidity of the company and the ease with which it can get the cops to do its dirty work. One worker, after seeing how the cops had a nice little office set up in the plant and were getting all the facilities they needed in return for harsh treatment of the workers on the picket line, told this reporter: "The company must be giving them a good bundle." John Murphy, a machinist, told of being "humiliated" and pushed around on the picket line. At one point, the cops advanced as a wall, nightsticks extended, in order to push the workers off the sidewalk and into the gutter on the opposite side of the street. When the workers vigorously protested, pointing out that the sidewalks are city property, the cops claimed that Squibb's property line extended to the gutter.

The company, in the few months left until it closes this plant, is trying to destroy the union. Perhaps it wants to set an example for the workers in New Brunswick and elsewhere. But the members of Local 8-138, who are still being locked out, say they won't go back to work until their leaders are reinstated. They have shown fight and determination in a difficult situation, and their struggle has exposed the arrogance and ruthlessness of the monopolists lurking behind Squibb Beech-Nut's pretty ads for aspirin and baby food.

Labor and Anti-Labor

GE WORKERS WALK OUT ON BIG BROTHER

MARCH 14—Seven hundred workers at GE's AC motor and generator department are continuing a strike begun four days ago to protest the company's installation of videotape and closed circuit TV equipment to spy on them.

"Big Brother is watching you" is the workers' angry slogan.

The struck department is only a small part of the giant GE plant here, and spokesmen for Local 301 of the International Union of Electrical Workers say that a plant-wide strike is "more a probability than a possibility," according to the Schenectady Gazette.

The general manager of the AC motor and generator department threatened strikers that "if the strike lasts long enough, we will not only have no need for additional people on our payroll (100 new workers were supposed to be hired), we'll also have to start assessing the effect on the number of jobs we provide now."

GE denies any intention to spy on its employees and claims that the video equipment will be used solely to train new employees and develop improved production methods, to make GE motors "more competitive." (In the workers' dictionary such "development" means a backbreaking speedup.) Furthermore, the company claims to be "interested in photographing only the operation, not the employee," according to department manager Fred Gloeckner. He did not explain how they can photograph an operation without including the worker performing that operation.

The Union contends that such films are of no use in training new workers. The company itself says one of the useful features of video tape is that it can be erased and reused; this indicates spying purposes rather than the development of a permanent training film.

The Schenectady Gazette, the morning paper in this GE-dominated city, devotes considerable space to management's denial of the spying charges. "The equipment is moved into place on the day the taping is scheduled," reports the Gazette, "and it is taken away as soon as the taping is completed. Thus, it is not in operation except when the actual taping is under way and the television screens are set in such a fashion as to allow the employee to see what is being taped."

This description does not fool the workers. They don't want to be the stars of any spy movie spectacular. The film equipment, says Local 301, "can be situated or installed a great distance away from the actual filming scene and the actions can be observed by anyone in management just by the flick of a button."

And one thing you can bet on—GE executives are not watching movies just to train themselves how to build AC motors and generators!

PROFITS BEFORE SAFETY AT NAT'L AIRLINES: 1,100 FIRED

Aircraft safety is a topic frequently discussed in the news media, particularly after plane crashes. But the strike of National Airlines workers, in which safety is an important issue, and which has resulted in the firing of 1,100 strikers, has not received wide publicity except for the praise bestowed on the company for its tough policy against the "illegal" strike.

These are the facts:

Last October, National Airlines instituted a cutback in its taxi crews at Kennedy Airport in New York. This meant that two men instead of the previous three-man crews would be used to taxi aircraft on the ground to and from hangers and runways. This was in violation of National's own safety manual which calls for three men on the taxi crew—one licensed to operate the steering controls, one to sit in the co-pilot seat to watch for wing-tip clearance, and the third to operate the engineer's controls.

It was this third crewman that National wanted to eliminate due to a shortage of men at the giant New York airport. Two-man crews would be able to handle more planes and eliminate much of the overtime work done by the three-man crews. The cutback meant fewer men doing more work at lower rates and added up to more profits for National and less safety for the crew.

But on January 17, two men assigned to taxi a plane refused to do it without a third man on the crew. They were suspended and the Transport Worker's Union went on strike to back them up, forcing a 25 per cent reduction in the airline's schedule.

(At that time, the contract between the union and the company had already expired as of Dec. 31, 1968, but under the Railway Labor Act, the provisions of the old contract continue until a new contract is negotiated.)

National promptly got an injunction against the strike, but the workers defied it and did not go back. The company then fired 1,100 strikers, mainly at the Miami and New York bases, and began a nation-wide drive to recruit strike-breakers.

This news was relegated to tiny articles in the back pages of the bourgeois press. The bosses don't like airplane crashes because they lose millions of dollars of equipment. But they don't care one bit for the safety of the workers. As the struggle stands now, the bosses are quite content—scabs, under the direction of supervisors, presently taxi the planes instead of the workers.

—Pentagon Prizes for Racist Bosses

(Continued from preceding page)

President, to exempt textiles when he said that "freer trade rather than protection" would be the general policy of the new Administration.

Nixon's alliance with the leading racists in the Republican Party can also be seen in the fact that former members of Thurmond's staff have been appointed to key positions in the Departments of Agriculture, Defense and Justice, and on the staff of the White House itself.

However, it isn't Thurmond's weight alone that makes the textile group so politically powerful. In their own right, these companies command a favored position because they are among the biggest U.S. corporations. Their mills may be concentrated in the Southern states, but their pocketbooks are solidly on Wall Street, and the executives who run them belong to the interlocking directorate of giant banks and industrial corporations that runs the U.S. and a large part of the world.

Burlington Industries ranks No. 55 in the 500 largest U.S. corporations, with assets of over a billion dollars. With headquarters in Greensboro, N.C., it employs some 74,000 workers. The J. P. Stevens Co., another giant, has assets of \$568 million and ranks No. 109 with 45,000 workers. Robert

Stevens, who has been President of the firm since 1929, has found time in addition to his chores when Secretary of the Army to be a director of the following: the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, General Electric, Owens-Corning Fiberglass, and Morgan Guaranty Trust; and a trustee of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York. In his life of devoted service to profits, both for himself and his class, Stevens also has done a stint as Director of the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute and member of the advisory council to the U.S. Department of Commerce.

These are the credentials and connections of a few of the textile giants that are so cavalierly raking in government funds, protected from the law by their fellow thieves who wear the mantle of "public servants."

— Union Busters

(Continued from preceding page)

somewhat anonymous, and is more likely to be in debt than to have been able to put aside any savings.

Despite these conditions, textile workers are continuing to organize. And in this period, when union membership in the South is growing at twice the national rate, the textile workers are bound to make great strides.



March 11, 2 a.m., 300 workers routed out of Squibb plant by TPF. 37 arrested and charged with criminal trespassing after 25-27 years of employment.

— France

Before the monumental May-June strikes in France last year, the French capitalist system was regarded as stable and secure. The French working class was used as an example of how Marx's theory of proletarian revolution had become obsolete. France was enjoying "prosperity" as never before. But as later events so sharply revealed, the boom was bought with speedups, layoffs, long working hours and meager \$50-a-week pay.

Today, the ruling classes in the entire capitalist world fearfully and most scrupulously watch France—the place where the working class had brought capitalism to its knees. And when the French workers announced that they were planning a 24-hour general strike for March 10 to press their demands for further pay raises and benefits, the capitalist world was in a panic. The U.S. bourgeois press was conjuring up images of a repetition of the May days and the international monetary system was shaken by the mere prospect of such a development.

In May an uprising involving over 10 million workers had completely paralyzed the French capitalist system. While the brutal repression of a student rebellion had been the immediate cause around which workers rallied to stage a 24-hour general strike on May 13, the workers were at the same time facing mounting unemployment and large layoffs. In May, workers in the aircraft industry were earning \$40 to \$50 per week. Industrial workers often put in 48-hour weeks. A general mood of discontent with low wages, high prices, layoffs, etc., turned the 24-hour general strike into a worker's movement.

Workers Power

In the next few days workers all over France spontaneously began to occupy factories or go out on strike. Within a week over 10 million (out of a total of 16 million in France) were on strike. The mood of the workers was best characterized by the red flags that were hung from factories. At a Renault plant in Boulogne-Billancourt a sign was put up over the entrance proclaiming "Worker Power."

The strikes only ended after over a month of intense struggles when no revolutionary leadership came forward to organize a full scale insurrection. The workers slowly drifted back to work disappointed and exhausted.

In spite of the fact that French industry had been immobilized in May, the New York Times reported on August 26 that "France will have one of the highest economic growth rates in the Common Market in the second half of this year." While the workers had won wage increases averaging 15.5 per cent, prices immediately became inflated, cutting the workers'

gains and giving the bosses back their high profits. Even with the strikes, the ruling class was still ahead.

Austerity: Assault on Working Class

On November 26, 1968 the National Assembly was presented an "unprecedented package of austerity measures" according to the Times the following day. The austerity was essentially an assault on the workers' pay, imposing wage freezes and increased taxes. (Prices were supposed to be frozen, too, but inflation is up well over 5.4 per cent, according to the Wall Street Journal of March 6.)

In the first strike since the May-June days, and in defiance of de Gaulle's blustering threat against any "disruptions of industrial production," over 100,000 workers at five Renault plants staged a 4-hour strike on December 5 to protest decreased Christmas bonuses and the failure of management to act on reforms in working conditions they had promised in May.

Discontent among the workers was boiling over again. On February 12 of this year, "Token strikes—short and symbolic walkouts—occurred at industrial plants across France" wrote the New York Times the next day.

A power blackout on March 10 marked the beginning of a 24-hour strike throughout France. The workers were demanding a wage-price escalator clause, a 40-hour week, lower taxes and retirement at age 60. Hundreds of thousands marched for 4 hours in Paris while marches of 10,000 took place in the provincial cities.

The day after the general strike the government announced that it was determined to keep pay raises down to only 4 per cent. Ever since the May days, the government and bosses have been blaming all their economic woes on the workers—inflation, losses, tax hikes, and even the international monetary crisis and the weakening of the franc.

"If wage raises are excessive," the Wall Street Journal article quoted one French capitalist as saying, "the franc will fall; it's as simple as that." In truth, however, it isn't so simple at all. Wage raises don't bring inflation and devaluation—profit gouging does. It's only that the bosses think they have a right to keep the billions of dollars of profit which they daily steal from the workers which causes the wage-price spiral. And in the final analysis, that's what the French strikes were all about—the workers were challenging the bosses' "right" to live off the profits they create while giving the wage-slaves only crumbs. The question in France has not yet been answered—who will wield power, the capitalist class or the working class?

— On the Homefront

After fifteen years of so-called "labor peace," while the expanding empire of the U.S. abroad made it possible for the bosses to muffle the class struggle at home, rising social and economic pressures have contributed to a new wave of militancy in American plants. Both 1967 and 1968 saw the number of strikes and mass of workers affected hit peaks not reached since 1953.

In 1967, there were 4,495 work stoppages; in 1968, 4,950. Last year 47 million man-days were lost in strikes—the most since 1959. Part of this figure was due to the large number of contracts which expired in 1968. But in addition, strikes took place for the first time in many industries where workers faced penalties just for walking off the job.

Public employees, a category that includes federal, state and municipal workers, have been walking out in increasing numbers despite the threat of no-strike pledges, laws and court injunctions. In 1967, there were 201 such work stoppages compared with only 34 in 1960. The government has employed an increasing percentage of the work force over the years, and stiff anti-strike legislation imposed on these workers has meant a deteriorating position for public employees in relation to workers in private industry. In the last two years, workers in hospital, transit, welfare, sanitation and teaching in New York City alone, struck in defiance of state laws. (It should be noted, however, that the '68 teachers' strike, unlike earlier strikes for better wages and working conditions, was directed not against the bosses but the black community, and in effect enjoyed the support of the ruling class.)

The sanitation workers' strike in New York City was one such struggle in which the ruling class threatened to use state laws in vain. In fact, when Governor Rockefeller tried to intimidate the workers with talk of bringing in the National Guard, the conservative Central Trades & Labor Council retaliated by threatening (for the first time since the thirties) to call a general strike.

Undoubtedly, one factor contributing to the growing number of strikes is the organization of workers in industries that have been notoriously underpaid, like hospital workers. Hospitals have given into union organization only after the bitterest fight, which has meant many hard and long days on the picket lines for the workers, many of whom formerly had to seek welfare in order to supplement their starvation wages. Strikes in the South have gone up at a rapid rate, from 314 in 1961 to 490 in 1965, as union membership there has grown at twice the rate in the rest of the country (except in Alabama, the police state run by Wallace.)

The erosion of wages caused by the Vietnam war has forced workers onto the picket lines in many of these strikes of the last two years. Since 1965, the year of the major escalation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, workers' living standards have actually dropped despite wage increases. Inflation, higher taxes and larger Social Security deductions mean the average worker's paycheck buys less today than it did three years ago, according to government figures. In this period, consumer debt has risen 18 per cent to \$103.8 billion, reflecting the vast burden of unpaid furniture, cars and houses that workers are struggling to get off their backs.

Broader questions than immediate bread and butter issues are also plaguing many workers, however, and a rising social consciousness can be discerned in the causes of many strikes. Taking the lead in this are the black workers, who form a more conscious vanguard in many large unions, and are also struggling for organization of the unorganized. Black caucuses are now functioning in most sections of basic industry, and have to fight against both bosses and bureaucrats for their existence.

A stirring example of a strike over broader social issues is that of West Virginia coal miners, 40,000 of whom recently struck for passage of mine safety laws and the extension of workmen's compensation to cover black



Workers at Orly Airport occupied the buildings.

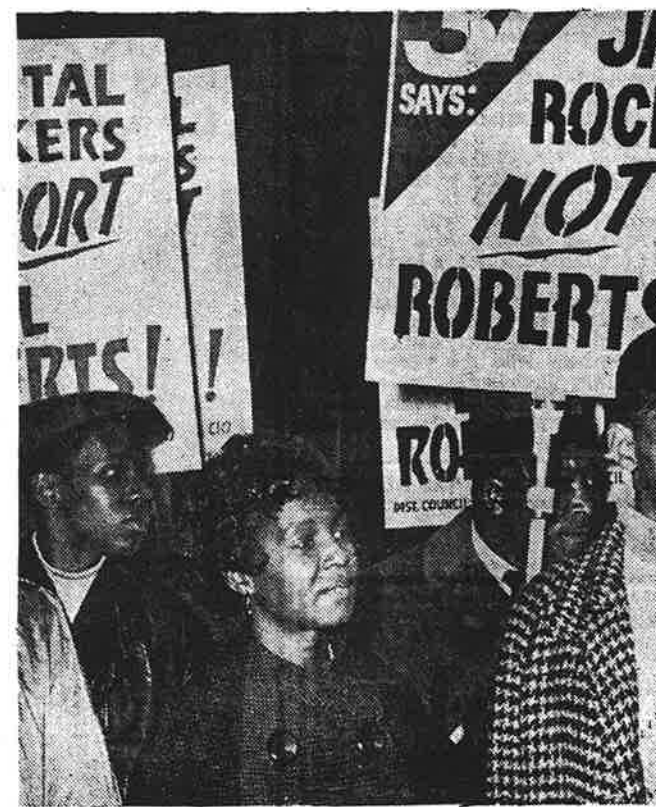
Strike Wave Hits West Smashing Myth of

New Period of Working Class Revolution Pile Burdens of Imperialist R

The great general strike that paralyzed France last May and threatened the bourgeois order itself marked the beginning of a new period of class struggle in the imperialist "democracies." It is now evident that the revival of antagonisms between workers and bosses is widespread throughout Western Europe and is slowly but steadily mounting in the U.S. In half a dozen countries, economic and political crises have replaced the relative stability of the post-World War II period, and labor "peace" has given way to a mounting strike wave.

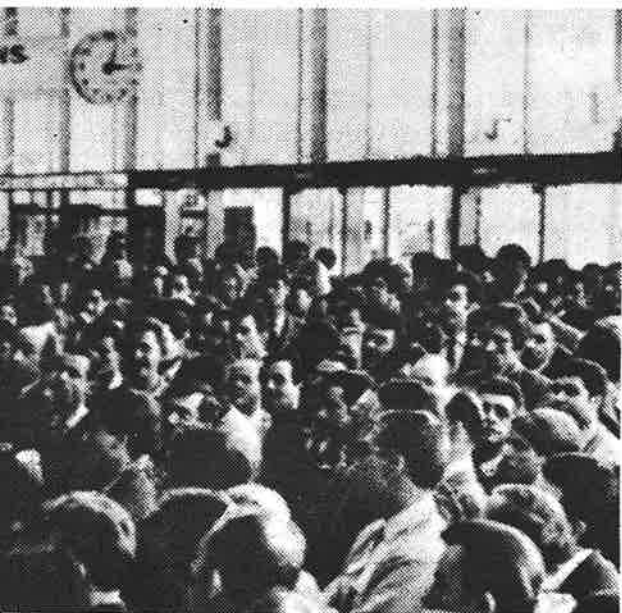
This concrete development challenges a number of "New Left" theories. The French situation actually posed the question of state power; which class will rule? And in other countries, while the development has not been as titanic, this reawakening of class struggle has refuted the idea that the working class in the imperialist homelands has become hopelessly corrupted by sharing in the booty of foreign conquest.

Many things are changing in the world to disprove once again numerous anti-Marxist theories which grew up during the Cold War. For one thing, the heroic liberation struggles have raised the price of exploitation abroad. The returns on American investments in Vietnam, for instance, will never make up for the cost of the war. That is a calculated loss



lung, a crippling disease affecting 100,000 coal miners in the U.S.

The picture for 1969 is a continued high level of struggle between worker and boss. Already the 65,000-man dock strike has had a major effect on Atlantic and Gulf Coast shipping, while a strike of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union against oil companies in the West and Southwest led to a major political breakthrough: workers at the Richmond, California refinery of Standard Oil made an alliance with striking students from Berkeley



ys, held a mass meeting in main terminal.

Western Europe, U.S. Capitalist Stability

Rebellion Beginning as Bosses Rivalries, Militarism on Masses

the imperialists were willing to make — when they thought they could win. Now that they know they are losing, they want the workers at home to cover their debts.

But there is the added factor that the inter-imperialist rivalries "solved" by W.W. II are boiling to the surface again. Two and a half decades of rebuilding Western Europe and Japan with U.S. capital has reached the point where competition for markets and new areas to exploit is intensifying to the breaking point again.

These contradictions are showing themselves at the moment largely in the form of fiscal crises, inflation and "austerity" programs for the masses.

We have left West Germany and Spain out of this review, not because they are free from class strife, but because they embody special conditions. West Germany has been the major recipient and partner of U.S. capital in Europe, but in spite of this favored treatment it has had to institute a set of Nazi-like "emergency laws" — a move that deeply antagonized the trade unions. Spain has been under fascist rule since the Civil War, and real unions and strikes are outlawed. Nevertheless, wildcat strikes continue to break out even under these police state conditions, and the miners especially have initiated some valiant struggles.



(Above) Copper miners struck for ten months in one of the biggest and longest strikes in recent U.S. labor history.



(Left) Mrs. Lillian Roberts, an organizer for District 50 of State, County and Municipal Employees, got 30 days in jail for leading strike against rotten conditions at Creedmoor State Hospital.

and San Francisco State that swelled picket lines and quickly led to a victorious settlement.

While fewer workers (2.7 million) will be affected by expiring contracts in '69, the bosses are already worrying that the mood of these workers will be extremely militant because of the economic squeeze of inflation, and they anticipate struggles by electrical workers at GE and Westinghouse, railroad workers, airline mechanics, merchant seamen, state and local government employees and construction workers.

— Italy

"Italy is prosperous," wrote the New York Times December 6, 1968, "Italian workers and students are not." This admission of the growth of the Italian capitalist economy with no comparable improvement in the lot of the working class and student population came only after a series of general strikes during November and December involving over 12 million workers had already made the point quite clear.

Wages in Italy are the lowest in the European Common Market. A skilled worker may earn \$50 a week, while semi-skilled factory workers in Milan made between \$180 and \$200 per month. Most Italian workers are forced to spend 40 per cent of their income on rent, leaving almost nothing for anything but the absolute necessities of life. Each year 700,000 Italian workers are forced to go abroad to find work.

It is against this background that 12 million workers across Italy staged a 24-hour general strike on November 14, 1968, to press their demand for increased benefits for workers under social security. (Social security in Italy at the time paid workers a minimum of \$19.20 per month!) In both Rome and Milan, workers and students joined forces to stage mass demonstrations.

Four days later, railroad and postal workers stopped services throughout the country in another 24-hour strike action for higher pay and social benefits. The next day, November 19, one million public employees walked off their jobs in a strike that a New York Times editorial called "the worst (i.e. the most effective, ed.) of its kind in ten years."

Cops Murder Farm Workers

The strike movement kept its momentum into December. Three 24-hour general strikes were organized in one week between December 5 and 11. Strikes and mass demonstrations were touched off throughout Italy at the beginning of December after police shot down four farm workers, killing two, during a strike in Avola, near Syracuse, Sicily on November 25. The murdered men and their comrades had been manning a roadblock during a strike over the inhumanly long hours they work and the low wages paid them.

Workers and students staged nationwide strikes, demonstrations and sit-ins to protest the murders and also to press their demands for higher pay, social benefits, and, in the case of the students, university reforms.

On December 5, thousands of transport workers anticipated a 24-hour general strike by walking off their jobs three hours early. The strike, organized in the Lazio region

surrounding Rome, involved one million workers, protesting low wages, unemployment and limitation of union rights. (In the first 9 months of 1968 unemployment in Italy increased by 12.6 per cent according to the New York Times of December 6. And only 35 per cent of the industrial workers are unionized.) In the province of Milan, all trains came to a halt for twenty minutes to protest the shootings of the farm workers.

In the third general strike in one week, thousands of industrial workers in Sicily marched off their jobs demanding higher pay. Sicilian workers are among the most oppressed and exploited in Italy. They have held numerous strike actions protesting lower wage scales in Sicily than in the more industrialized north. Wages in the north are sometimes as much as 22 per cent higher than in the south.

February of this year also began with a 24-hour general strike over the demand for higher pensions. Major industries were shut down, ports were idle, newspapers didn't come out and demonstrations were staged in every big city in the country February 5.

What the strikes of past months in Italy have proven more than anything else is that Italy's so-called prosperity has been bought for the ruling class by the increased misery of the workers. The country's favorable balance of payments was achieved by paying such low wages that Italian goods abroad are cheap and competitive. The days of austerity for the workers and prosperity for the capitalists are over.



Sicilian farm workers demand price supports.

— Britain

Britain's "austerity" program, which in practice has meant government pressure to keep wage hikes within 3.5 per cent while prices, and profits, continue to rise with no ceilings, has caused a dramatic increase in strike actions over the past year. In 1968, 4.7 million working days were lost because of strikes and walkouts. This was nearly two million more than in the previous year, while twice as many workers hit the bricks. This revival of class struggle is the workers' answer to the growing crisis of British capitalism, which is exploiting the workers at home more to make up for its lost empire in India, Africa and the Middle East.

In addition to purely economic strikes, the number of political strikes is on the upswing in Britain. The most recent protest was in response to legislation being proposed by the so-called Labour government to curb strikes. Barbara Castle, Minister of Employment and Productivity and considered a "left-wing" Labourite, has presented a government White Paper that borrows some of its provisions from the U.S. Taft-Hartley Law. The proposed law would include a mandatory 60-90 day "cooling-off" period in major strikes, and would give the government the right to decide jurisdictional disputes.

Scottish Miners Sparked Protest of 150,000

In reply, some 150,000 workers hit the bricks on February 27 in a one-day protest strike. Led by the Scottish coal miners, the walkout involved workers across Britain in such diverse industries as auto, aircraft, engineering, chemicals, construction, electric, transportation and the docks.

British Ford, no less a strike-breaker than its American counterpart, has been the target of a major walkout provoked by proposed new contract terms that Ford hoped to slip over on the workers. They didn't buy them. These terms included equal pay for women workers

if they would work nights and overtime, a violation of Britain's Factory Act regulations, and a vacation bonus except for those workers who had engaged in walkouts during the year.

The union leaderships at first accepted these proposals, but the two biggest unions at Ford were forced to call a walkout when angry rank-and-filers and shop stewards refused to go along with the carrot-and-stick offer. As a result, 17,000 workers struck. Ford has escalated the conflict by getting a court injunction against picketing and prohibiting the unions from seeking sympathy strikes from sister unions. This is an old anti-labor tactic in the U.S., used frequently by Ford and other giant monopolies, but in Britain it is an unprecedented move and has aroused the workers both against the company and its courts.

Thousands Hit Bricks In Solidarity

Another important recent strike was a successful walkout by the overseas cable operators, which was supported in a 24-hour solidarity strike by 90,000 postal, telegraph and phone workers. The strike was 100 per cent effective in Britain's 19 largest cities, and forced the government to agree to a 5 per cent wage increase (which barely brings the workers back to the standard of living of one year ago before prices went up).

While the reaction to the new "get tough" policy of British capital and its tool, the Labourite government, has been hesitant and inadequate on the part of the trade union bureaucracy which is tied in so closely with the bureaucrats in the government, there has nonetheless been a groundswell of class struggle in Britain over the past year. It is a mere symptom of the colossal battles that are ahead in this former capital of a world empire, where the exploitation and antagonisms that were once shipped abroad have come home to roost.

As U.S. Puppets in Tel Aviv Start "Bombing the North" in the Mideast...

PLO Warns Against Accepting Imperialist Pact

Last week the Palestinian Liberation Organization, representing several Palestine guerrilla groups, reaffirmed its determination to win back Palestine for the Arab people in spite of any deals that may be made in a so-called four-power settlement of the Mideast struggle.

In a strongly worded note addressed to an Arab League Council meeting on March 10, the PLO charged that acceptance of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, by the Arab states constituted "infringement of the right of the Palestinian people to their country, Palestine," according to the New York Times, March 14. The note protested that by accepting the UN resolution, the Arab states had in fact recognized the establishment of Israel on "Palestinian soil" and asserted, according to the Times account, "that the Palestinians alone had the right to determine the destiny of their country."

The Liberation Organization message notified the Arab representatives at the meeting that the Palestinians' attitude toward Arab governments would be determined on the "basis of the attitude of these governments on the Palestine question," wrote the Times.

Commandos vs. Imperialism

The PLO declaration came at a time when officials in the U.S. and Israel and their imperialist allies in Europe were increasingly voicing concern over the growing power of the Arab guerrilla groups. The Washington Post, March 11, reported that Sen. William B. Spong (D-Va.), who had just returned from a tour of the Mideast, concluded that the guerrilla organizations "are gaining so much power they are able to limit routes to peace open to official Arab governments."

In plain language, this means that the State Department is now forced to take seriously previous warnings from Al Fatah and the PLO that they would in no way recognize any imperialist-imposed settlement in the Mideast. And the great prestige of the commandos among the Arab people is

giving some second thoughts to the more moderate Arab governments about going along with any sellouts.

According to the Times article, an Al Fatah spokesman last week rejected "all plans for the establishment of a Palestinian state in the Israeli-occupied west bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip. Speaking in an interview broadcast in Cairo by Al Fatah's radio, the spokesman said that such plans were worked out by the United States Central Intelligence Agency and that their aim was to give Palestinians the false impression that they would have an independent state."

Al Fatah has all along called for the establishment of a multireligious state in Palestine where Jews, Moslems and Christians would have equal rights.

New Israeli Escalation

With the denunciation by Al Fatah of

any deals with imperialism came a new escalation in Israeli aggression against the Arab people's liberation struggle. On March 17, for the second time in two days, Israeli planes penetrated deep into Jordan in an attack on several towns and guerrilla bases using rockets, napalm and machinegun fire on civilian targets. The day before, Israeli jets attacked targets within 6 miles of Amman in the closest attack to the capital since the June war in 1967.

The attack on three Al Fatah bases, one of which is also used by guerrillas of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), resulted in seven persons killed (including Maj. Faiz Jarad, a leader of the PFLP) and 11 wounded, according to a March 17 dispatch from Amman. Al Fatah announced that it had shot down six aircraft in the battle.

The early-morning attack marked a

new offensive tactic by Israel. Government officials made no attempt to cover up the aggression by calling it a retaliatory raid. The raids were "preventive" in the same sense that U.S. bombing of North Vietnam was "preventive." The aim is to crush the guerrilla struggle, wherever it may be.

The week before the Jordan attacks, fighting had reached a new high pitch on the Suez front with Israel and Egypt fighting four artillery battles in a week's time. The biggest battle in almost 5 months broke out March 8 when Israeli and Egyptian artillery fired across the Suez Canal along a 60-mile front from Qantara to Suez. The next day, another barrage of Israeli shells killed Gen. Abdel Moneim Riad, the chief of staff of Egypt's armed forces, as he was inspecting battle damage in Ismailia.

"Give Us Guns"

Hundreds of thousands of Arabs lined the streets of Cairo March 10 to watch the funeral of Gen. Riad. The procession turned into a mass demonstration as youths called for revenge and chanted "Give us guns." Arab commandos marched in the procession behind the Palestinian flag and a banner proclaiming, "We swear that Palestine will be free!" Gen. Riad had been responsible for the rebuilding of the Egyptian armed forces since the defeat in June, 1967.

During the artillery battles, officials in Egypt charged that Israel was building up its forces in the occupied territories in an attempt to make the conquered land permanent borders. On March 13, it was reported in Cairo that Israel was moving missiles into the canal area. Claiming the right of self-defense, one Egyptian official said, "We are not going to be bound by who shoots first." In addition to the Israeli threat of using missiles against the UAR, there has been much talk in the U.S. press about Israel's potential for developing nuclear weapons. This form of nuclear blackmail from Israel's Washington sponsors, is an added threat to all the Arab nations and people.



ISMAILIA, UAR: Israeli artillery shelled this town March 9, killing Gen. Riad.

Mideast Committee Leader Completes Successful Tour

Growing Student Interest in Arab Liberation

CHICAGO, March 2—A speaking tour of two Midwest cities was successfully concluded here last night by the Committee to Support Middle East Liberation. Committee Chairman Rita Freed addressed a meeting of the Chicago Chapter of the Iranian Students Assn., speaking on the historic and present role of Israel as an imperialist device against Arab self-determination. The speaker linked the 1953 CIA overthrow of Iranian nationalist Mossadegh to the general Middle East struggle with the oil monopolies and called for solidarity with the Arab people.

The CSMEI spokesman had addressed an audience of several hundred Northeastern University students Thursday on the same theme. At this gathering, sponsored by a University SDS group, the story of U.S.-backed Zionist aggression against the Palestinians was brought out, often in the words of the Zionist leaders themselves, in a stormy question-and-answer period which pro-Israel students attempted to monopolize.

The militant Chicago organization called the Revolutionary Contingent held a Middle East meeting featuring the Committee speaker on Friday evening. The local Organization of Arab students provided a film on Palestine and the audience was also addressed briefly by a Palestinian and Lebanese student, and an Iranian. The Revolutionary Contingent spokesman, Bob Stewart, concluded the meeting with an announcement of a demonstration supporting the Arabs against U.S. imperialism to be held March 15 at the office of the Continental Oil Co.

The Continental Oil Company owns the Consolidation Coal Co., which in turn owns the Mannington, West Vir-

ginia mine where 78 miners were killed several months ago through corporation greed and negligence. The dual purpose of the demonstration would be to connect U.S. imperialism's exploitation at home and against the Arab workers.

The recently formed Milwaukee chapter of the CSMEI organized several press and public appearances on Saturday, including a taped interview on WISN-TV and an interview with the Milwaukee Journal. WISN is a major Wisconsin station, reaching over a million viewers in Milwaukee and nearby areas. The Milwaukee Journal, the main local daily, is considered to have influence nationally.

Two days before, Mrs. Freed had been heard via phone from Chicago on the Milwaukee interview radio program "WOKY-Talkie." Speaking in answer to various callers, she explained that the state of Israel had been created by imperialism as a watchdog over the interest of the oil companies, leaving one million refugees.

The Committee spokesman also drew Milwaukee listeners' attention to an action in support of Arab rights held by the local committee. The demonstration had taken place February 9 at the Jewish Community Center where members of the CSMEI and of Milwaukee Youth Against War & Fascism, led by Myrtle Kastner, were refused representation on a pro-Israel panel "discussion" of the Mideast. The demonstrators marched around the auditorium with banners and chants supporting Al Fatah and the Arab people.

Students from Marquette University cooperated with the CSMEI in holding a Middle East meeting at the Rhubarb, a store-front bookshop. Asked by a listener there why Americans should be

5,000 "Reformers" In Prague Hail Tito

There were a lot of burning issues for any anti-imperialist students to demonstrate about last week. There could have been a demonstration in support of the NLF offensive in Vietnam; there could have been a protest against Nixon's threatening decision to deploy an ABM system in the U.S.; or there could have been a march to demand imperialism keep its hands off the Mideast. But 5,000 students in Prague showed how little they care for the struggles of the oppressed of the world when they chose to stage a march in support of President Tito, March 14.

The occasion was the meeting of the Yugoslav Communist party congress which is being boycotted by the Soviet Union and all the Eastern European countries with the exception of Rumania. The demonstrators massed at Charles University and then marched through Prague to the Yugoslav Embassy. Their chants were, "Long live Tito!" and "Tito yes, Brezhnev no!"

To give a thin socialist cover to such a counterrevolutionary cause, the students adopted a resolution declaring, according to the New York Times of March 15, "that Socialist principles had been violated by the withholding of the delegations from other countries from the Belgrade meeting."

Apparently the young Tito enthusiasts were not at all disturbed by the Yugoslav president's generous invitation to none other than Richard Nixon to visit Yugoslavia and bestow U.S. imperialism's best wishes on the neo-restorationist clique there.

active in defense of Palestinian and Arab rights, Mrs. Freed explained that the Arab revolution was part of the world struggle against U.S. exploitation and should be supported like that of the Vietnamese.

Corporate Hawks To Latin America

Two recent appointments by the Nixon Administration indicate that the hawks of Wall Street will predominate in the policy-making on Latin America. In its crisis with the Peruvian government over the expropriation of Standard Oil's entire holdings in Peru, John Irwin II, a Wall Street lawyer, was selected as Nixon's special envoy to negotiate "compensation" with the new Peruvian regime.

Irwin's infamous qualifications and experience include a 4-year stint in the Pentagon as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs from 1958 to 1961. But his helpfulness to U.S. big business was proven when he was the Johnson Administration's special ambassador to Panama for the negotiations of a new canal through Panamanian territory. (The result of those negotiations was the continuation of U.S. control over the old canal as well as new concessions for U.S. military bases on Panamanian soil outside the Canal Zone.)

Perhaps even more significant was the appointment of Charles Meyer, a vice-president of Sears Roebuck, as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and U.S. coordinator for the Alliance for Progress. In light of the Peruvian events, the position is very delicate, and in fact it was not filled until seven weeks after the inauguration of the new Nixon Administration.

In Meyer, however, the U.S. ruling class has chosen a reactionary and hard-core imperialist. Besides having exploited the people of Colombia for Sears Roebuck, Meyer is also on the board of directors of Dow Jones, Gillette, the Philadelphia National Bank and the United Fruit Company, the last notorious for its long history of semi-feudal exploitation of the peoples in many Latin American countries known in the U.S. as "banana republics."

NYC Mayor Calls for Cops in High Schools, Witchhunt of Black Students

Lindsay Drops Liberal Mask, Spouts 'Law and Order' Line

By NAOMI GOLDSTEIN

Mayor Lindsay is off and running for re-election. And in an effort to catch up with the racist pronouncements of his many rivals for the job, Lindsay has launched a get-tough policy against student protests in New York City's schools. The election campaign began unofficially with orders to put security officials in every senior and junior high school in the city and orders to principals to call in the cops at the first sign of student unrest.

According to an Evans and Novak column in the New York Post, March 12, Lindsay can only win re-election if he convinces the white voters that "he is no special pleader for the Negro." The authors, citing a poll taken by the Oliver Quayle polling organization, conclude that unless the mayor convinces "fear-haunted voters that he is not coddling black criminals, he is almost surely a beaten candidate."

Taking heed of such worldly advice, Lindsay deftly dropped his liberal mask last week when he announced that outside agitators had been active in recent school protests and that "disruptive students" would be "isolated and dealt with very, very severely." In short, the mayor's remarks at a press conference March 11 were worthy of his most racist rivals -- Sen. Marchi of Staten Island, who has the backing of the Conservative Party and its Birchite fellow travelers; Mario Procaccino running on a fascist platform of "law and order"; and no less than Norman Frank, a neo-Nazi type who as public relations director for the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association managed the vicious and race-baiting campaign against the

New York Civilian Complaint Review Board, which was really a campaign against Afro-American people.

Pro-Black Position Not "Popular"

Lindsay's switch was watched not only in New York, but in Washington, too. For he is not simply the mayor of a big city. He is in charge of the financial capital of U.S. imperialism and his political sights are set squarely on the White House. This move was indicative of a larger shift of the bankers and bosses behind the mayor to abandon the liberal-crusader image. As the Washington columnists Evans and Novak pointed out, "The days when liberal politicians could take a strongly pro-Negro position and carry along a substantial white civil rights following...is ended."

As Lindsay's program for putting "task forces" into the schools unfolds, it becomes clear that the program will swiftly turn New York City schools, particularly those in the black and Puerto Rican communities, into armed detention centers. By March 17, recruitment was already under way for hiring 100 guards to patrol 20 particularly "troubled" schools.

Commenting on plans for crushing "school disorders," Executive Deputy Schools Supt. Nathan Brown said, according to the Post, March 11, "The issue is whether to have formal police or quasi-police in civilian clothes" stationed in the public schools. In addition to plans for police contingents in schools, Mayor Lindsay set up a 13-member coordinating committee to organize "task forces" for schools which are hit by student rebellions. The

"task forces" would be professional fink squads to "root out disruptive youngsters." Lindsay compared them to his Urban Action Task Force "which acts as an intelligence network in riot-prone areas," according to the New

York Times, March 13.

At the same time, Lindsay threatened that "disruptive students" would face arrest and prompt prosecution. "If a student wants to get arrested," he's going to get arrested," the New York Times quoted Lindsay as saying when he urged school officials to call in the cops as quickly as possible if school protests break out.

Among all the threats of repression, of course, there was not one mention of the rights of black and other oppressed groups of youths to demonstrate against appalling conditions and racist treatment in their schools. Similarly, the racist UFT strike of last fall was never mentioned as a factor contributing to the justified resentment among black students against white teachers. The city administration was too busy bowing to the demands of the lynch mob.

The pro-fascist New York Daily News on March 17 summed up the significance of Lindsay's new stance in a column on City Hall. "One of the most intriguing developments of the gathering mayoral campaign is the way Mayor Lindsay has been shifting ground on the law and order issue. Particularly on the issue of chaos in the schools." The News may not like Lindsay, but they know a "law and order" man when they see one.



U.S. occupation forces at Eastern District High School in Brooklyn.

How John D. IV Blew His Cover in Coal Strike

By ELLEN PIERCE

"Maybe it isn't very flashy, but I'm trying to involve myself in substantive things, problems like vote reform."

This was the lame response of John D. Rockefeller IV, West Virginia's Secretary of State, to queries on his position regarding the strike by the state's coal miners. The unprecedented wildcat strike which was called by rank-and-file miners to demand compensation for men stricken with "black lung" from inhaling coal dust has lasted three weeks, shutting down every major coal mine in the state. Unlike Rockefeller, 40,000 coal miners consider their lives and health an important "substantive" matter.

"Jay" Rockefeller, a Democrat, has been considered an up-and-coming young politician in West Virginia, a man who has established rapport with the people -- despite his billions. But the black lung strike has exposed him. It was the poor, ironically enough, who voted for Rockefeller, because he came on the political scene with a full-scale public relations campaign as a noble rich man whose purpose in life was to serve the poor. Now the miners want to know where this champion of the word has been when deeds of support were needed to force the bosses to make a few humane concessions.

"I'll tell you where Jay Rockefeller is," Dr. I.E. Buff, a physician-activist in the miners' struggle, told strikers. "Jay Rockefeller is home counting his money. And a lot of that money comes from the filthy, deadly mines where you and your fathers and your brothers and your sons sicken and die because the coal operators care more about their profits than your blood."

Dr. Buff, reported the Washington Post on March 10, explained that the Rockefeller financial empire owns a major share of Continental Oil Co., the giant fuel conglomerate that controls Consolidation Coal Co., West Virginia's leading coal producer and owner of the mine where 78 men died in last November's disaster.

"Rockefeller's silence about the charge," continues the Post, "was taken as an admission that it was true. His silence about the problem of black lung was taken as evidence that he

was aligned with the coal operators. His silence about the movement was interpreted as contempt for it." And the miners are right to interpret it this way.

Buff's accusation, the paper says, "has not been widely carried by the news media for fear of libel or because of other considerations." But asserting the truth about the Rockefeller investments in coal is certainly no basis for libel action.

Those "other considerations" -- ruling class unity against the oppressed and the practice of censoring news unfavorable to billionaire rulers -- account for the lack of publicity given Dr. Buff's charges. A further example of this is the relatively small coverage in leading West Virginia newspapers of the most important development in the state in years: the complete shutdown of the state's biggest industry!

"The black lung crusade is viewed by even the state's stodgiest old-line pols as a major turning point in West Virginia politics, an event from which future developments will be dated," reports the Post.

"From now on," said a State Senator, "The question will be 'Where were you when the miners went out?' and anyone who doesn't have a good answer will be in trouble."

Rockefeller denies having financial

interests in West Virginia coal mines. Furthermore, he admits, even insists, that "I know very little about black lung." His ignorance of the subject could be easily remedied by a 15-minute conversation with any coal miner.

On his lack of involvement in the black lung issue -- a matter of life or death to the miners -- Rockefeller commented callously, "I sure blew this

one.... There are great advantages to having a name like mine, but there is another side of it. I have come to be regarded as an all-purpose champion of good causes. But there is just so much that I can do."

— Particularly when supporting the demands of the miners for health and safety standards directly contradicts his interests as a charter member of the exploiting class.

What Rockefeller regrets he "blew" was his ability to maintain a demagogic position as champion of the "little people" in the face of the miners' militancy and growing awareness of who the enemy is.

Faces Draft Charges

Phila. YAWF Head Arraigned

PHILADELPHIA, March 11 — The local co-ordinator of Youth Against War & Fascism, Larry Nicodemus, was today arraigned in the Federal District Court of Eastern Pennsylvania on charges of refusing to submit to induction on April 1, 1968.

In Philadelphia, as is true in several major cities, there are increasing numbers of draft refusers. In December the District Attorney's office here claimed to have sufficient evidence for 200 indictments against resisters. At that time Nicodemus was indicted with 50 other refusers.

At the time of the indictments rumors from the DA's office were that draft resisters were going to be tries in mass. The DA's office has obviously thought better of this and spread the draft cases out over several days, weeks and months hoping to fend off any mass demonstrations in support of the resisters.

However, several organizations in Philadelphia, including Resistance, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, formed a draft panel to aid resisters. Larry's attorney, Michael Brody of Philadelphia, was provided by the panel.

Nicodemus has been harassed by local and federal authorities for his strong stand of solidarity with the oppressed, against war and racism. In November, he was one of the principal organizers of a demonstration sponsored by YAWF charging Consolidation Coal with the murder of 78 miners in West Virginia. Pennsylvania is a big coal mining state, and many miners stopped by the line.

Larry also helped build support for the counter inauguration in Washington D.C. and was on the front lines of the parade route on January 21. On that day, he brought a car caravan from Washington D.C. to Wilmington, Delaware, to join with People Against Racism in demanding that the governor withdraw the National Guard which occupied the black community since the death of Martin Luther King.

Nicodemus organized the first support rally of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) defendants in September 1967. Several black militants were framed on outrageous charges of conspiracy to blow up City Hall, poison the entire police department, etc.

On April 1, 1968, Larry refused induction stating, "I will not be part of this imperialist war machine which is every day murdering the people of Vietnam and Black America, and is threatening the whole world with imperialist war."

When the army refused to accept medical evidence which by their standards should have deferred Larry, he explained, "This is just one more proof that the Army is only interested in making cannon-fodder of America's youths in order to preserve a system of exploitation and profits of the U.S. ruling class."

Although Nicodemus' legal defense has not yet been formulated and presented to the courts, it is clear by his actions in the struggle that he is joining with hundreds of others fighting war, racism and oppression when he says, "Hell, NO, I won't go."

FAMILY PRIDE

John D. Rockefeller IV on being a Rockefeller:

"I have tremendous respect for the name and what it has stood for: concern, responsibility, considered judgment. I am proud of the family. My uncle, Laurence, contributed to the field of conservation. My uncle, David, is a progressive, creative banker. My uncle, Nelson, is Governor of New York, and my uncle, Winthrop, is Governor of Arkansas. My father made significant contributions in the area of population control, long before others. I am proud of a family that takes seriously the question of the quality of American Life."

—N.Y. Post, March 8, 1969

13-Yr.-Old Hangs Himself After 41 Days in Solitary

U.S. Prisons - Dungeons for the Oppressed

A prison scandal of major proportions has been brewing below the surface for about a year now, since the disclosure of wholesale murder and torture of prisoners in Arkansas state prisons last March. The scant bits of information which leaked out in the bourgeois press and the many prison rebellions that flared up throughout the country threatened to expose the degrading brutality of the entire prison system.

So the ruling class launched its favorite tactic for keeping the lid on such a blowup by conducting another periodic "investigation" into conditions in U.S. prisons. But last week the investigators in the Senate Judiciary subcommittee may have gotten more than they had bargained for.

Perhaps the most shocking testimony heard among the many reports of murder, torture, sexual assaults, solitary confinement, etc., came from Allen C. Hubanks, executive director of the Minnesota Correctional Service. He told the Senate Delinquency subcommittee that two youths, one just 13 years old and the other 17, had hanged themselves in their cells in Minnesota jails last November. Dane M. White, 13, was an Indian child who had been held in solitary confinement for 41 days in the county jail at Breckenridge, Minn. The boy had not even been tried, but was being held for a hearing on a delinquency petition. The two "suicide" victims--

Harlem Six Got 'Watermelon Justice' From Racist Judge

In the wake of the 1964 Harlem rebellion, six young black men were convicted on charges of murdering a white clothing store owner. The six were sentenced to life imprisonment in an atmosphere of racist hysteria after a trial which rubber-stamped the police frame-up.

The judge who presided over their trial four years ago said last month during an appeal hearing that, "These boys wouldn't know a good attorney from a good watermelon."

This blatantly racist remark, recorded in the court transcript, could not be denied, but "Justice" Calkin later said "I meant nothing by it... but I'm not apologizing for it."

The defendants, known as the Harlem Six, have been granted a re-trial, since the original conviction was overturned in November due to illegally obtained "confessions" admitted as evidence during the trial. But this is only a technicality and not an indication that after nearly five years of imprisonment the six will be freed.

The lawyers who seek to represent the youths, William Kunstler, Conrad Lynn, Gene Ann Condon, Mary Kaufman and Gussie Kleinman, are on the state panel of attorneys qualified for criminal matters, yet Judge Charles Marks made derogatory comments about the ability of Mr. Kunstler who was arguing before him to allow indigent murder defendants to choose their own counsel. These lawyers also plan to argue that under the 1966 Civil Rights Act a person may demand the transfer of a case to a Federal Court when a fair trial cannot be obtained in state courts.

Tip of Iceberg

(Continued from page 12)

corporations have been rapidly increasing their investments in "joint ventures" with the Mexican government:

"The implication is that the key factor is the chance to make money. In exchange for that opportunity, American firms apparently are willing to favor Mexican partners with manufacturing licenses, technical assistance and capital—all for minority share of the new enterprise."

Rather than the "effective message," the masses of Latin America are getting the real message—that U.S. corporations are the biggest robbers and exploiters of their continent.

murdered really by the intolerable conditions they were forced to undergo--were among "more than 100,000 children kept in jails or jail-like facilities each year throughout the nation," Hubanks told the subcommittee, according to a March 6 New York Times article.

Rubber Hoses, Blackjacks, Brass Knuckles

Thomas O. Murton, a prison reformer from Arkansas, testified before the Senate Judiciary subcommittee March 4 that Arkansas prisons were actually characterized by "inmate abuse and official corruption including death, threats, shooting of prisoners, gratuitous beating with rubber hoses, blackjacks, brass knuckles, ax handles, torture, stompings, lashings, kickings, sexual perversion and other forms of punishment." He even came equipped with a large display of the torture weapons used against prisoners.

Murton had been the superintendent of the Arkansas State Penitentiary until he began to uncover bodies of murdered inmates at Cummins Prison Farm. Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller of Arkansas had him summarily removed when the scandal broke last March. As Murton told the committee, Rockefeller told him "I shouldn't talk so much" and ordered him to "stop digging up bodies," according to the Times report of March 5.

In further testimony, Murton reported, "the Negro prisoners were segregated in even worse facilities than the whites. They ate only the scraps from the table after the whites finished eating."

Also testifying to the terrible brutality of the prison system was Philip J. Hirschkop, an American Civil Liberties Union attorney who has studied prisons in Virginia. "The majority of the superintendents of these state prisons are men warped from years of exposure to sadism and sadistic beyond

imagination," Hirschkop told the subcommittee. "At least half of the prisoners put down for dying of (natural causes or suicide) are truly murdered," he revealed.

According to the New York Post of March 5, Hirschkop said that "daily sexual attacks upon prisoners, which are very often either encouraged by guards or sometimes in which guards participate, basically go unreported." He also charged that in Virginia inmates are held incommunicado in solitary confinement for months on end for daring to petition the courts with grievances. (This practice is certainly not restricted to Virginia. In New York State at this moment, Martin Sostre, a black political prisoner, is also being held incommunicado and in solitary for 9 months for attempting to defend himself in the courts.)

Held 3 Years Without Trial

Before the Senate was forced to hold hearings, a two-month investigation into prison conditions was conducted in Philadelphia. The Wall Street Journal in a long article on the subject, revealed that "the average stay of the unsentenced local prisoner has increased greatly. In the Philadelphia County Detention Center here, it's averaging almost four months, compared with just over a month a decade ago. At the District of Columbia jail, prisoners have been held as long as three years before being tried."

Not only are these prisoners denied the right to a speedy trial, but they are being kept for long periods of time when they are supposed to be presumed innocent. The victims of such treatment, of course, are always the poorest people who can't make bail. Often, too, they are the victims of racist or political frame-ups.

Nothing to Do but Rot

The Journal reveals that at a Deten-

tion Center in Philadelphia, "over 85 per cent of the prisoners have absolutely nothing to do all day. At a District of Columbia jail, over 70 per cent are idle, and the situation in other major cities is comparable." With this, all pretensions of prisons being rehabilitation centers are disproved. Imprisoned persons are left to rot, with nothing to do or occupy their minds. Over one million prisoners go through such ordeals in city and county jails alone, each year.

One of the "findings" of the Philadelphia investigation was a fact that has really been known for a long time, but has either been covered up or ignored--and that is the very high rate of homosexuality and sexual assaults which inhuman prison conditions have created among inmates. "Sexual assaults," admitted the investigation "are epidemic in the Philadelphia prison system."

As if to answer these charges, one judge in Washington, D.C. showed just how the courts like to handle prison problems. Two teenage boys were sentenced to 10 years each and another to two years for sexually assaulting another teenager in the Prince George's County jail last November. These sentences, which can only exacerbate the problem and not help it, were handed down by Circuit Judge William B. Bowie as "an example" to terrorize other youths locked up in the ruling class' prisons.

In the face of all the evidence of severe overcrowding (the Journal revealed that New York City jails are at 160 percent of intended capacity!), sadistic guards who beat prisoners, no constructive work or education available for the inmates, and racist terror against Afro-American prisoners in particular, the ruling class has made it quite clear that the priority is for repression these days, not humane treatment. The imperialist jails are there to hold the oppressed classes. The fascist slogans of law and order, preventive detention and more funds for cops and courts promise to jam the jails even further, with oppressed people--black, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, Indian and political prisoners.

Black High School Youth in Paterson Sit-in, Boycott for Liberation Demands

PATERSON, N.J., March 14—Nine hundred fifty black students today boycotted Eastside High School. Several marched out with raised fists in the black power salute, after their demands which clearly express the development of the Black Liberation Movement were ignored by the administration.

This boycott followed by three days the brutal arrest of 56 militant black students who were in the fourth day of sit-ins. A new demand of the boycott is amnesty for those arrested.

The ruling class press tries to play only on student violence and ignore the political origin of high school protests. But the political motivation of the students in their demands was undeniable. They included the holding of black heritage assemblies and the display of black heroes such as Malcolm X to counter years of mis-education by the ruling class. They also are asking for the display of an Afro-American flag with the American flag in the assembly hall. This black, red and green flag is increasingly used by black militants across the country in opposition to the stars and stripes of their oppressor.

The students further seek the appointment of a black administrator, the dismissal of a particularly racist guidance counselor, and the removal of security guards who occupy the school. These demands are overwhelmingly justified, even on the basis of simple democratic majority rule. The population of Eastside High School is 65 per cent black and 25 per cent Puerto Rican.

The demands also crystalize the nature of other student rebellions in high schools in northern New Jersey and New York City. The reaction of Mayor Kramer of Paterson signifies the attempt of government administrations to slur over the legitimate demands of the students and attempt to play up the violence of the students.

Police occupation of schools blatantly confirms the simple fact that high schools are oppressive institutions for black students. The racist structure



Like Mayor Daley's thugs, Paterson cops hate being photographed while they're shoving "law and order" down someone's throat.

of discipline is the same in all black high schools. Usually a white principal rules unchallenged. The content of courses glorifies the exploiters of colored people from the time of slavery through the present day imperialism. National pride of black students is repressed in order to develop future subjects of exploitation. But this does not work any more and any violence on the part of oppressed students is only a justified reaction to being "educated" in the armed camps of ghetto schools.

Kramer, who has the support of the "law and order" vigilante group of the United Taxpayers' Association, gained his anti-black reputation by retaining on the Paterson Police Force eight cops who were indicted by a County Jury on charges of brutality and

misconduct—that is, vandalism and physical intimidation during black rebellions here last July.

The mayor stated that schools are for "education, not demonstrations" before calling in over 100 police and plainclothesmen to bust up the sit-in.

It is worth noting that these are not new demands of the students but have been raised before in negotiations and at previous sit-ins which ended peacefully but which resulted in shallow offers by school officials.

Kramer's actions indicate how other mayors, including "liberal" Lindsay, plan to crush the rebellions of oppressed students. But it is not the responsibility of the black students to formulate their demands in the racist legal bourgeois constitutional framework.

Buffalo Drops Threat to Take Away Children of Sostre Co-Defendant

Geraldine Robinson with her daughter, Christa, one of the children Buffalo Welfare tried to take away from her.



Mrs. Geraldine Robinson, co-defendant of black liberation fighter Martin Sostre, has won one round against the cruel and repressive authorities of Buffalo. She has been informed that papers filed by the welfare department to take her five children away from her have been rescinded.

Last fall, the young mother, under indictment on the same narcotics frame-up used to put Sostre in jail for 41 years, was told by the welfare that she was "responsible for the neglect" of her children and that the department was moving to have the court take over their custody. The charges against her were outrageous: that she didn't have proper food in the house (her welfare check was supposed to have arrived the day before but hadn't), that she hadn't painted her apartment (money was never added to her meager allotment for this purpose), and that she kept her children home on the first day of school (the money she needed for the children's clothes was to have been included in the

same welfare check that didn't arrive in time).

The flimsy nature of these "charges" just underlines the real purpose of the move: an attempt by Buffalo authorities to further intimidate and crush those they consider leaders of the black militant awakening. The withdrawal of the charges is an important political victory as well as a personal relief for this young mother.

The pending court action was dangled over her head for six months. A date for a trial was actually set at one time and then postponed. The welfare's withdrawal of charges against her came after a visit to her home by Frank J. Pellegrine, a senior caseworker from the Child Welfare Services, Protection Division. Mrs. Robinson is still awaiting trial on the charges arising from being framed-up with Mr. Sostre, and this was one of the things used against her by the welfare department.

Mrs. Robinson was an assistant at

HIGH SCHOOL REBELLION SPREADS IN JERSEY



In Franklin Township 70 black students fought police in the high school parking lot while they were being evicted from the school cafeteria and principal's office. They had been holding a sit-in to back nine demands including a course in Swahili. The students fought back when the cops, after having evicted them from the school, then proceeded to march them toward the City Hall area where the jail is. To make the point that they were not "peacefully" going to jail, the students tried to free themselves. The cops later made the excuse that they had only intended to give the students "a lecture." (Photo above)

Paterson—950 students boycotted Eastside H.S. after 56 militant black students were arrested during a sit-in. (See Paterson story, page 10.)

Plainfield—The two-week-old student boycott grows as black students, supported by their parents, refuse to return to a police-occupied school.

Trenton—Students marched on City Hall protesting poor school conditions and the suspension of two young men who refused to stand for a flag-saluting ceremony.

the Afro-Asian Bookshop when it was raided and destroyed by the police during the June 1967 Buffalo rebellion. She and Martin Sostre, the proprietor of the shop, were held at first for "inciting the riot," but these charges were later changed to possession of narcotics in an attempt to alienate the defendants from the support of the black community. Buffalo police had long been

wanting to destroy the store, which was the only place of its kind in Western New York where books and pamphlets about black nationalism and the world anti-imperialist struggle could be bought. During the rebellion and before, the shop was a mecca for many young people who browsed through its contents and discussed them with the dedicated owner, Martin Sostre.

Three Conspiracies, Three Trials, Three Whitewashes

By V. COPELAND

One of the most remarkable coincidences in all history took place last month—at least it did, if we are to believe the U.S. ruling class and have confidence in its court system.

The "coincidence" was not a double, but a triple one. There were three important assassination trials going on almost simultaneously: one in Memphis, one in New Orleans and one in Los Angeles. And each of these trials was finding or found that there had been no conspiracy involved in the respective assassinations they dealt with and that the assumption of conspiracy in the most important U.S. political assassinations of the century was utterly false and absurd.

Three of the most famous men of the United States were assassinated. The first was a President; the second was the best-known Afro-American in the country, a religious leader, but primarily a political figure who was regarded by white racism as a threat to the American Way of Life; and the third was a highly promising candidate for President and the brother of the first. All three were in the same political party and closely associated on several planes.

Every Black Man KNOWS

In the case of Martin Luther King, almost every single one of the 25 million black people in the country is convinced that there was a conspiracy. And this is not just because of sympathy and identification with the victim. It arises from the experience of whole generations of persecution and familiarity with sudden death.

The least-known, least-prominent, least-militant black man who is lynched has always been the victim of a conspiracy of one kind or another—even if it was hatched in the local poolroom or garage or barn. But we are asked to believe that one so prominent as King was casually slain by a man with a prison record who knew he was vulnerable and would be hunted—and that he was not aided morally and financially by others.

James Earl Ray, the confessed assassin, himself interrupted the State Prosecutor's cover-up after the deal for a 99-year sentence had been made, to say he "could not accept" the theory that there was no conspiracy behind the assassination!

Who would know better than Ray, the man who pulled the trigger from the window across from the motel balcony where Rev. King stood? How could there have been a clearer signal for a new investigation

to uncover the other conspirators and the real forces behind the murder?

Nobody Heard It!

And yet no eager district attorney moved for a new trial; no judge thundered out against collusion between the State and the defense; no big newspaper demanded to know why the judicial cover-up. It was as though nobody heard what Ray had said, although a hundred million newspaper readers and TV watchers read and heard about it.

The cover-ups in the cases of John F. Kennedy and Robert Kennedy are equally suspicious, although not perhaps as obvious as in the King case. The late President was apparently killed by a man who was in turn killed by a man who asked to see the chief investigator (Chief Justice Earl Warren) alone and was denied the request—and shortly afterward died himself. These highly suspicious occurrences—separated in time and thus easier to dismiss as evidence—were characteristic of the case and only a very small part of it.

Prosecutor Jim Garrison in New Orleans came across an almost cold trail in this assassination case much later and insisted that Clay Shaw and David Ferrie were two of those who plotted with Oswald. Furthermore, he implicated the CIA and said that Kennedy had been about to try to "end the cold war" and that powerful forces were opposed to this. David Ferrie killed himself—or was killed—shortly after Garrison's initial revelations. And Mark Lane, a leading authority on the Kennedy assassination, strongly supported Garrison's view.

Shaw was found not guilty on a conspiracy charge last month, but he still faces a perjury charge filed by Garrison immediately after he, Shaw, swore he had never known Oswald or Ferrie.

Now Garrison's the Criminal

A leading New Orleans newspaper now demands Garrison's resignation and the Louisiana Bar Association seems to be moving toward disbaring him—that is, depriving him of the right to practice law. (How eloquent that the Tennessee Bar Association never even noticed the lapse of Tennessee State Prosecutor Phil Canale in not pursuing the question of conspiracy when the most authoritative figure possible—the assassin himself—had raised it!)

In Los Angeles, Sirhan Sirhan who allegedly shot Robert Kennedy because Kennedy favored Israel over the Arabs (as what major presidential candidate did not?) is being tried in an equal atmosphere of intrigue mixed with apparent unreality.

Sirhan is getting a painfully long, drawn-out and

laboriously detailed trial. He is getting every chance possible to show he might have been insane at the time of the shooting. And when he, like Ray, tried to plead guilty, he was told that he could not do so, but must go through all the motions through which he is going now.

Sirhan, like Ray, shows signs of having been instructed, but for a different kind of deal. But again, little or no attempt is made to establish conspiracy and, as in Ray's case, those associated with the trial go out of their way to pooh-pooh even the possibility of there having been anyone else involved.

Conspiracies Everywhere—and Nowhere

The big question in all three cases at this particular point is not so much who killed King and the Kennedys as it is why the courts show such a lack of interest in finding out.

How quick they are to shout conspiracy when they are framing the oppressed in cases where they fear a movement for real justice may overtake them! How many Black Panthers are accused of conspiracy!

Herman Ferguson, Arthur Harris and fourteen others who were associated in a movement for black freedom were accused of conspiracy and given long prison terms. Three youths were accused of conspiracy to attack the Statue of Liberty (this is not a joke but a cruel frame-up and the youths served time in jail for it).

The courts see a thousand conspiracies where there are none; but they cover up the biggest of conspiracies with bland reassurance and platitudes when the interest of the ruling class is at stake.

Courts Are Tools of Ruling Class

Why so? Because they, the so-called "independent judiciary" are the least-independent, the most monstrously servile tools of the imperialist ruling class. They do exactly what the ruling class—or the strongest faction of the ruling class—tells them to do.

They can be seen doing this day in and day out in the smallest case involving the demonstrators on college campuses, the heroes of black rebellions or the militant resisters to the draft. They just do it on a bigger scale in the King-Kennedy cases.

The "coincidence" of three whitewashes, then, is not a coincidence at all, but a powerful proof that the venal courts which are bought and sold daily by different corporate interests in ordinary civil suits are completely at the service of the ruling class itself. They are more than willing to hush up any rifts or faction fights in that class—the better to keep the masses uninformed and unprepared to take any class advantage.

Peru Only Tip of Latin American Iceberg

By P. MEISNER

For the first time since the Cuban Revolution, the U.S. economic stranglehold over Latin America is being challenged, although not in the revolutionary manner of Fidel Castro. The current crisis in Peru over the expropriation of Standard Oil holdings only represents the tip of the iceberg as far as antagonisms between the Latin American national bourgeoisie and the Yankee Colossus are concerned.

In Cuba the revolution of 1959 had its historical roots in an economy of the early 1900's, destined to develop

a native capitalism but which instead was denied its growth and independence as a result of the devastating invasion of U.S. monopolies. While similar developments took place in many other Latin American countries such as Mexico, Bolivia, Argentina, the Dominican Republic and Peru, political developments were not as rapid or acute as in Cuba.

But the steady expansion of U.S. monopolies throughout Latin America since World War II has brought about mass opposition, in just about every Latin American nation, to ever larger

U.S. investments. And, while the ruling cliques of most Latin American countries were once completely in the hands of Wall Street, many of those ruling classes under pressure from the masses are now divided on their loyalties to U.S. imperialism's control of their economies.

U.S. Investments Soar

Just how deeply U.S. monopolies have penetrated Latin America is shown by the fact that after World War II direct U.S. investments were at about \$3 billion. By 1968, they had risen to almost \$14 billion! The latter figure, of course, does not include indirect investments such as bank loans. Of the \$14 billion invested, \$3 billion is in oil (\$1.8 billion in Venezuela) and almost \$1.5 billion is in mining and smelting.

The attacks on U.S. investments have been so strong recently that leading U.S. corporate executives have had to concentrate much time on propa-

DIRECT U.S. INVESTMENTS, 1968,
IN LATIN AMERICA (ADMITTED)
(In Billion Dollars)

Venezuela	\$2.6
Puerto Rico	1.7
Mexico	1.3
Brazil	1.3
Argentina	1.1
Chile	.9
Panama	.8
Peru	.6
Colombia	.6
All other countries	2.7
TOTAL	\$13.6

methods U.S. corporations have used to attract capital for their investments in Latin America.

"By offering a profit return so high that investors were willing to take the risk of going into an unstable situation, or by creating what businessmen like to call a 'favorable investment climate'—often a euphemism for a business-oriented, right-wing dicta-

Who Rules

"Hefty" Profits for

U.S. in "South

African Reich"

the Empire?



South Africa is famous for its gold and diamonds and infamous for its nazi-like system of apartheid. But in recent years, the so-called South African Republic has acquired a new significance. A former colony of British imperialism, South Africa—like much of the late British Empire—has fallen under the domination of American imperialism.

Business Week magazine (Feb. 15, '69) disclosed that U.S. companies "have poured in (to South Africa) about \$700-million in direct investments—and millions more in portfolio investments." It is not possible for us to know the full extent of U.S. ownership of the South African economy, but the rate at which new investments are "pouring in" is remarkable. As Business Week confides, the "attraction for these companies is the prospect of a hefty return on investment in South Africa." The New York Times (Jan. 17, 1967) disclosed that profits average 25 to 27 per cent of capital invested. Considering the total of American capital in South Africa, the profits to imperialism yearly are astronomical.

Business Week points out another aspect of South Africa's "attraction." The U.S. giant corporations "have no worries about nationalization of their properties—something that can be a problem elsewhere in Africa." This "problem" and its "solution" is what apartheid is all about.

The ruling South African Nationalist Party is a conscious adherent of nazi ideology and policy. During World War II, the present government of South Africa was jailed by the British imperialists for supporting Hitler and demanding South African entry into the war on the side of the fascists.

"LAW AND ORDER"—SOUTH AFRICAN STYLE

The U.S. imperialists, now that they beat Hitler in the race for empire, can afford to be more "understanding" of Prime Minister Vorster's methods. Although the U.S. bourgeoisie can always produce some "liberal" to shed big crocodile tears over apartheid, they find it rather comforting that the "government has an arsenal," as Business Week put it, "of laws designed to enforce apartheid...."

The essential law which makes other laws really superfluous is the General Law Amendment Act of May, 1963. This nazi statute empowers the state to arrest and imprison anyone at any time for as long as it cares to without charge and without trial. The executives of U.S. Steel, General Motors and the more than 250 other U.S. corporations can grind out their profits secure in the knowledge that "Law and Order" will protect them from that "problem" of nationalization.

General Motors, Ford and Chrysler produce more than 60 per cent of the 200,000 automobiles manufactured in South Africa. Other U.S. firms producing in South African plants are International Harvester, Caterpillar Tractor, Firestone and Hyster Co. Although the U.S. government feigns indignation over apartheid and doesn't allow its servicemen to go ashore at Capetown, nothing has stopped U.S. Steel and General Electric from buying into the heavy, basic industry of South Africa. "I can hardly look out the window anymore without seeing a competitor from home," lamented a U.S. businessman in Johannesburg.

Esso, Mobil, Shell and Gulf have been granted off-shore oil exploration rights. Thus, after processing in the oil monopolies' refineries, South Africa will be able to buy back its own oil—or rather, the oil which is the natural wealth of the African people. This is an old story for South Africa.

HORSE-FANCIERS AND SLAVE MASTERS

Those who saw the film "Come Back Africa" will remember that the African workers are virtual slaves in the U.S.-owned mines. That grim picture of contemporary slavery is the basic source of profit for the imperialists. Again, Business Week: "One of the biggest U.S. investors is Charles W. Engelhard, the precious metals magnate, who has extensive interests in South Africa's gold and uranium mining, as well as in a stainless steel mill. Engelhard is a well-known figure in Johannesburg, where he maintains a home. Both in business and personal life, he is an associate of fellow horse-fancier Harry F. Oppenheimer, chairman of Anglo American Corp., the giant gold and diamonds empire." (BW refers to imperialist Oppenheimer as "Johannesburg's most prominent businessman.")

Every month, imperialism takes \$90 million worth of gold out of South African mines. Oppenheimer's Anglo American Corp. is using some of these dollars to finance a \$70 million business center which, when it's completed in 1971, will be the "biggest of its kind in Africa." Otis Elevator Co. has a \$4.5 million contract for the center's elevators and escalators—"the biggest such order Otis has gotten outside North America."

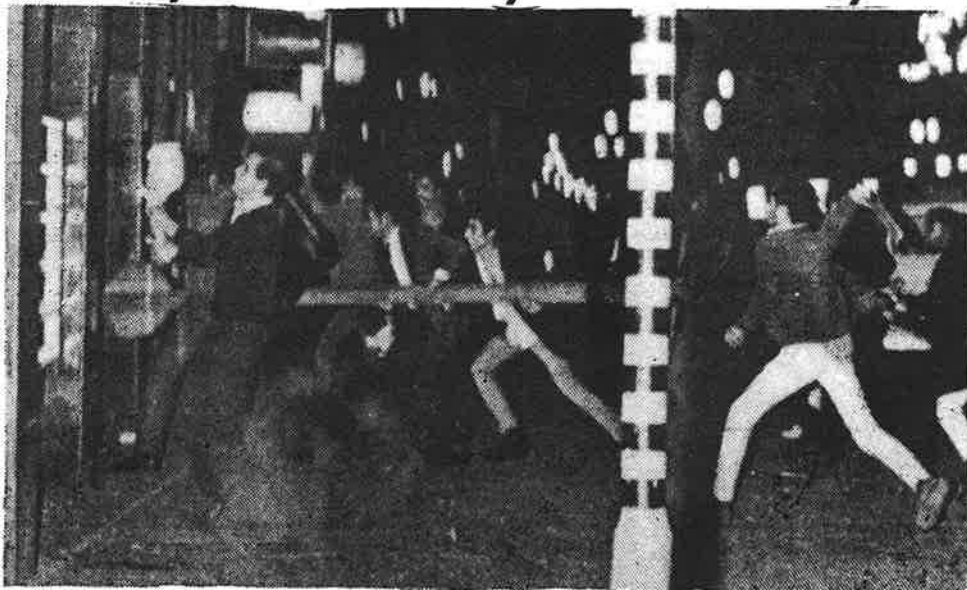
The Singer Co. produces 40,000 sewing machines a year in South Africa, while the Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. recently completed an \$8 million plant and office expansion. Chrysler has just built a new \$30 million auto plant, and even Cyanamid International has its regional office in Johannesburg.

Not only is the U.S. a major investor and creditor in South Africa, it is (after Britain) the largest supplier of imports and the third leading market for South African exports. Seventy per cent of the capitalist world's gold is mined in South Africa, and the U.S. gets half its chromium requirements there.

U.S. imperialism is as committed to the slave-labor and police-terror of the South African state as it is committed to the hundreds of millions of dollars in profits yearly extracted from the South African masses and their natural resources.

--KENNETH LAPIDES

They Have an Enemy at National City



Brazilian students, protesting U.S. economic and political domination over fascist junta, batter down door of U.S.-owned First National City Bank office in Sao Paulo.

gandizing how benevolent U.S. imperialism is in Latin America. David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank and also chairman of the Council for Latin America (a united front of some 220 U.S. corporations with investments in Latin America), aptly summarized the anti-U.S. feeling in Latin America this way:

"North American capitalists, they say, are out to exploit resources and markets to the detriment of the host nations; the capitalists want to keep the people in poverty so they can take over their minerals and metals; they are obsessed with excessive profits and have no concern for the land or its inhabitants."

How accurately he described himself!

The latter quote appeared last week in a five-part series in the Washington Post on Latin America and the U.S. written by John Goshko. Despite the author's allegiance to David Rockefeller and other powerful imperialist circles, Goshko admits this much: "History offers evidence of at least some truth in the Latin American indictment."

Robbers Deny It

"In the old days of 'dollar diplomacy', the United States frequently sent troops to protect American investments. More recently, business pressures have prompted the White House and the State Department to prop up reactionary governments because of fear that social reform would prejudice investments."

One U.S. corporation operating in Latin America issued what it calls "an effective message" denying the oppressive nature of U.S. monopolies:

"American corporations are neither robbers nor exploiters but simply expanding organizations seeking new outlets for their products and services. They ask reasonable profits...."

It is certainly true that U.S. corporations are expanding organizations. What the article goes on to show, however, is quite the opposite of the intent of this "effective message." The Washington Post reporter describes two

torship.

"The first answer represents one of the chief reasons why so many Latins regard foreign firms as exploiters."

The other side of the "effective message," of course, supposes that U.S. investments help bring about economic and social progress to all Latin Americans. Again, Mr. Goshko's series prove the opposite. In the second article, he explains how Latin American economies could escape their subversive roles to Yankee monopoly capital:

"This would presuppose an attempt to shift the industrial base toward (Latin American) manufacturers employing the raw materials produced in Latin America...."

"So far though, U.S. business—the only force really capable of leading Latin industry to this next stage—has been unwilling to invest the necessary money and technology."

"Joint Ventures" A Mask

There is a typical imperialist arrogance in this remark, since it is not that Latin American nations aren't capable of developing their own industries, but that the U.S. monopolies will not permit any development that will deprive them of their super-profits. But just the same, Mr. Goshko pointed the finger, inadvertently, at the greatest obstacle to Latin America's economic liberation.

The rising tide against U.S. holdings in Latin America has also made Wall Street try a new gimmick to hide its super-exploitation—that is, "joint ventures," where U.S. monopolies get local governments to put up as much as 50 per cent of the capital in any venture so as to make it appear as a "cooperative" U.S.-Latin American business enterprise. But the "joint venture" is merely an attempt to insure U.S. profits against the possibility of expropriation. However, in Chile, the Frei government has already run into mass opposition to its "joint ventures" with Yankee companies. In the last part of his series, Goshko explains why U.S.

(Continued on page 10)