

Black and White, Unite and Fight for a

WORKERS WORLD

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TEN CENTS

Ahmed Evans' Death Sentence Arouses Public Fury: Fight to Free Him Begins

July 23 Committee Starts Organizing For New Trial

CLEVELAND, May 13—With Ahmed Evans found guilty of murder in the first degree today, and whisked to the state prison at Columbus, progressives in both black and white communities are demanding that he be returned and a new and fair trial be granted to him forthwith. He was framed in the shooting of three racist cops last July 23.

Wilbur Grattan, chairman of the July 23 Defense Committee, and Mae Mallory, well known as a militant fighter in this city, are leading the fight for justice for Evans. In the course of doing so they were unexpected stars at a liberal meeting on Case Western Reserve campus here tonight.

The meeting, called to hear Prof. Louis Masotti give his views on the black struggle, was interrupted at the very beginning when Mr. Grattan walked up to the platform, tapped the chairman on the shoulder and said "We have some business here before you start." And he called on Mae Mallory to come up to speak.

Stunned by the boldness of the action, the chairman absented himself and Mae forthrightly addressed the 300 people (half black and half white) on the Evans case.

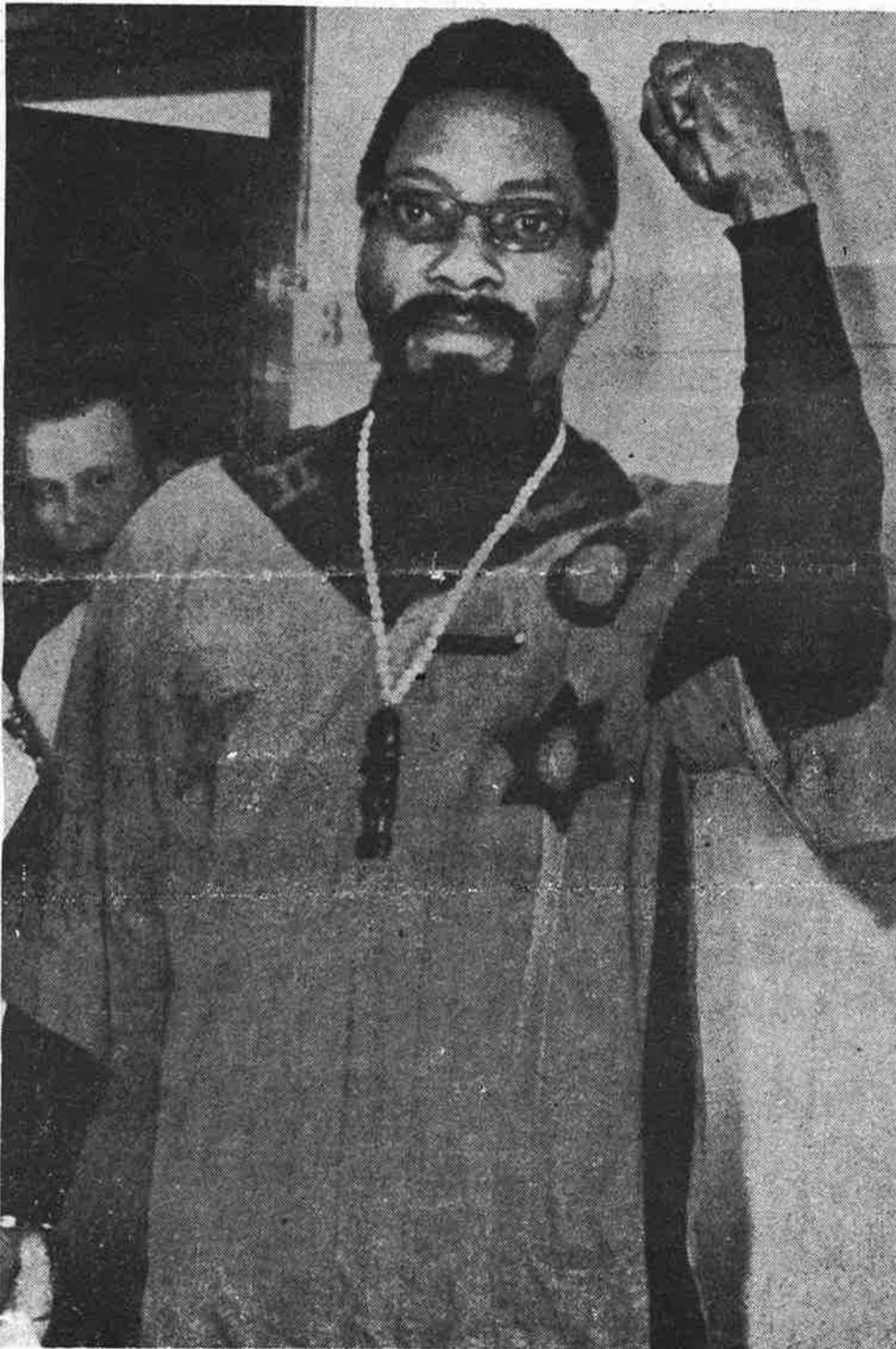
"What we've got to do, and got to do now," she said "is get Ahmed Evans back in Cleveland for a fair trial. This body has got to demand that he be brought back here."

She outlined some of the rank injustice and rank racism of the trial and told of how the defense witnesses had proved to the hilt that it was a frame-up. And she spoke eloquently about the plight of the black people in general, vowing that the struggle will surely escalate.

Mr. Grattan's group had prepared a petition for a new trial and as Mrs. Mallory read it off and started circulating it to the audience, she asked Prof. Masotti if he would sign it.

Masotti is a well known liberal here,

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"I don't think there is any doubt that the people of my race have every right in the world and have every reason in the world to resist"

"The electric chair or fear of anything won't stop the black man of today."

Ahmed Evans' Statement After Sentencing

After one of the most racist trials in this country's history, Ahmed Evans was found guilty of first degree murder in Cleveland by an all-white jury this week. He had been charged with conspiracy to murder in a case arising from the gun-battle shooting of three white cops who invaded the black neighborhood last July 23.

After several weeks of courtroom hysteria and enough racist remarks by the prosecution to provoke most black people to justifiable rage, Mr. Evans accepted the verdict calmly—even though his chief defense attorney, Charles W. Fleming, who had expected acquittal or leniency, was visibly shaken and nearly broke down. Mr. Evans then proceeded quietly and with great dignity to utter the following words just before the judge sentenced him to die in the electric chair.

"I don't think there is any doubt that the people of my race have every right in the world and have every reason in the world to resist and to reach out and become what they were created, men—not symbols, I mean—not half anything, but whole as I am whole.

"I fully understand the ways of life as they are now, and the truth of the matter is I have no regret. That is to say, I have no malice towards anyone, white people or anyone else. Just the reality of the matter that counts....

"The electric chair or fear of anything won't stop the black man of today. Like, I fully understood what I might encounter when I became a Black Nationalist; but I didn't become a Black Nationalist to sell out my people... I became a Black Nationalist because I wanted to help. I felt that I had something to give them, to aid them, and I did.

"I feel justified in that I did the best I could. And of course, concerning these charges, I am not a murderer. I don't think that any record I may have made proves me to be a murderer.

"However, I want it to be fully understood that all the men that I have known and all the people whom I have associated with, that they are on the right path because when you are on the right path to righteousness in a world such as we now live in, you are bound to run into opposition, the likes of this.

"This is to be expected. I mean, you just can't say that you are going to turn away from a world of iniquity and walk along a red carpet. It is not that way. I mean, when you turn around from evil and wrongdoing, you are bound to run into these types of oppositions; and I fully accepted them and I do now. Thank you."

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The CP and PLP: Two False Programs on Black Liberation

The Leninist doctrine on the right of nations to self-determination is one of the greatest achievements of Marxist theory in the 20th century and as such has proven to be a powerful factor in the struggle against imperialism and for socialism. Lenin's thesis established with clarity the correct relationship between revolutionary working class organizations and the subject nations of imperialism. It laid the highest possible obligation on Communists to give their utmost support, in word and deed, to all struggles by the oppressed for liberation regardless of the particular program or the particular class grouping in the leadership of the struggle--so long as it was a struggle against the oppressor.

In this country, which contains an enslaved nation of 22 million Afro-Americans, no principle is more crucial for revolutionaries to grasp, than that of the right to self-determination. With each stride by the internal colony to free itself, and with each counter-attack by the master class, the support of the radical movement for black liberation, and the respect of the movement for the rights of the oppressed black nation are tested--by the day and by the hour.

In this connection it is important to note that two organizations--the CP and PLP, which claim to be Marxist-Leninist but which diverge sharply in politics--both converge on one cardinal point, i.e., they have both abandoned the Leninist position on the rights of oppressed nations as far as the black people are concerned.

The CP has just completed its 19th Convention at which a new party program was drawn up. The section on the black liberation struggle was debated and the plank which was finally adopted by a two-thirds majority, stated flatly that:

"The black people do not now constitute a nation" but that "we do not place any limitations on the further development of the national struggle of black people to satisfy their aspirations up to and including their right to develop self-government and to exercise the right of self-determination." (Daily World, May 6.)

This paragraph is in fact contradictory because it states that the black people are not a nation but have the right to self-determination. But behind the literary contradiction there lies a very one-sided opposition to self-determination which the CP is trying to cover up. Gus Hall, the party chairman, elaborated as follows:

"There is 'no question about the right of black America to determine its own destiny' Hall said, but the slogan of 'self-determination' which refers to 'nations' is not applicable in the case of black America."

"In respect to 'armed self defense' Hall pointed out that if the 'government does not defend the people they have a right to defend themselves' but that 'now is not the time to organize armed struggle.'" (Daily World, May 7.)

The CP places "no limitations" on the black liberation struggle except that the black people can only fight back when their oppressor does not protect them. (When did the U.S. imperialists protect black people? It is precisely the capitalist government whom they are fighting against.) And except that they have no right to organize an armed struggle because the CP says it is "not time." There is "no question" on the

right of self-determination except on the means of attaining it!

While the CP abandons Leninism by declaring the black nation nonexistent, PLP accomplishes the same end by denouncing black nationalism as reactionary.

In the February issue of PL magazine a lengthy "program for black liberation" is put forward which states unashamedly that "we have singled out nationalism as the chief internal weakness in the Black Liberation Movement." This incredible statement, which is tantamount to saying that the chief internal weakness of a locomotive is its engine, is rationalized by the following false statement: "The political and economic basis of nationalism is capitalism" and therefore nationalism is reactionary.

If PL had said that capitalism was the political and economic basis of the rise of nationalism as against feudalism during the pre-imperialist epoch that would have been correct. Or if they had said that capitalism is the economic and political basis of the reactionary nationalism of the imperialist bourgeoisie, that would also have been correct. But to say that the drive towards capitalism is the main basis of nationalism among Afro-Americans is utterly false. The nationalism of the black people, just like the nationalism of the Palestinian people, the Vietnamese people or the Dominican people is forged by the super-oppression of imperialism.

But even if the drive toward capitalism was the predominant drive of the black struggle, why does an oppressed nation fighting to rid itself of an oppressor nation have to convince us that it is not capitalist in order to gain our support?

To equate the nationalism of the oppressed with the nationalism of the oppressor is to sow confusion at best.

PLP "criticizes" itself for once having supported black nationalism because "we failed to understand that nationalism is reactionary and that is its main aspect..." And the sequel to PL's sudden "discovery" of the reactionary character of black nationalism is the demand that the black liberation movement must support a socialist program as a condition of PL's support.

"Though we still support the concept of self-determination we believe that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only solution for Black workers and Black people generally... If the imperialists acted to physically destroy (reactionary nationalism, ed.) we would support it against imperialism. We would support it by fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only solution."

So PLP, like the CP, believes in "the concept" of self-determination--but not in the practice. Communists do not wait until the ruling class is about "to physically destroy" the nationalist movement before we give support. Furthermore, Communists do not support black liberation by "fighting for the dictatorship as the only way" to liberation. On the contrary, the Leninist position is to give support to the liberation movement in whatever form the Afro-American people choose to fight it, just as we would support the liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, Guatemala or Thailand without presuming to dictate our pro-

Joel Meyers' Draft Appeal Denied, He Faces 4 Yrs.

MAY 5, 1969 — The petition for a rehearing of the appeal of YAWF activist, Joel Meyers, who has been sentenced to four years in prison for draft refusal, was denied today by the Second Circuit of the U.S. Court of Appeals. One of the three circuit judges, J. Joseph Smith, dissented and stated he would have granted a new appeal hearing. In March 1969, the original appeal was also denied by the same circuit court by a 2 to 1 vote.

Mr. Meyers, who has organized YAWF demonstrations both in Buffalo and New York City since he joined in 1962, reported as ordered to the Fort Hamilton Induction Center, Brooklyn on May 4, 1967. At the induction proceedings he distributed an open letter to fellow inductees denouncing U.S. aggression in Vietnam. After about 30 minutes of talking with the men about the war (the majority of the other inductees showed interest -- the most negative response being indifference), Joel was set upon by six MPs and bodily removed from the induction center to the Provost Marshall's office where the officer in charge ordered him off the base and not to return. The MPs further escorted Joel off base re-stating the order not to return.

In Buffalo, months later, at 3 a.m. federal marshals broke into Joel's apartment and took him into custody on charges of refusing induction and interfering with induction proceedings pending \$2500 bail.

On May 17, 1968 in the Federal Eastern District of New York, Judge Bruckhausen sentenced him for refusing to appear for induction after having earlier intimidated an ap-

parently "hung" jury into a guilty verdict. This same jury had acquitted Joel of interfering with induction procedures.

ACLU attorneys, who plan to petition the Supreme Court for a rehearing on the appeal, maintain that serious questions of due process are involved. One is the question of the Allen charge being used to intimidate the jury and the violation of a military regulation which states that the intention of the inductee cannot be assumed.

Joel has displayed solidarity with those struggling against U.S. imperialism here and in Vietnam. During the trial of black liberation fighter, Edward Oquendo, who is currently serving five years in Danbury for refusing induction, Joel along with James Coatsworth, another YAWF activist, were arrested for assaulting a federal marshal. Both men had displayed solidarity with black spectators who were being harassed by the trial judge. These charges have just recently been dismissed.

At the time of Joel's sentencing, he concluded his remarks: "I would like to take the 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."

Ky. Lawyer Defends Blacks; Racist Bar Wants Him Out

Under bourgeois practice of "the law" a lawyer is expected to be a respectful officer of the court cooperating in the frame-up trials of the oppressed as if the court was some great objective body, removed from class interests. And just to remind those lawyers who would try to defend the many political prisoners of the ruling class of what their role "ought" to be, the Kentucky State Bar Association has begun hearings into nine disbarment complaints against a well known Kentucky civil rights lawyer.

Attorney Daniel T. Taylor, who has defended many black militants against political frame-ups in the state, has been accused of being "so contemptuous of Judge J. Miles Pound of the Jefferson County Criminal Court that he should be 'forever disbarred' from the practice of law in Kentucky," according to the New York Times of March 18.

While the Times article plays on the theme of a personal antagonism between the "bizarre" Judge Pound and the "flamboyant" Mr. Taylor, the political implications of the case are quite clear: the Bar Association doesn't want any overzealous lawyers defending black people involved in a struggle for liberation against racist persecution.

gram to them. In the last analysis PL's argument reduces down to this: "You don't support me so I won't support you!"

Working class parties must never make their support for any section of the black masses or any black organization conditional upon the renunciation of nationalist objectives or upon the adoption of a socialist perspective. The black workers are, of course, oppressed as a class. But the black people in general are oppressed as a nation and have national demands and national rights, whether they be their own unions, their own political representatives, their own social clubs, their own army or their own state.

Such behavior constitutes conduct unbecoming an "officer of the court."

Conveniently for the authorities, the disbarment proceedings against Mr. Taylor were begun last July, when he was busy defending Afro-Americans who had been arrested in open housing demonstrations in Louisville during the spring. Taylor had already won notoriety with the racist court officials in Louisville when he got a hung jury for a client accused of killing a cop last year. (The defendant was later convicted at a second trial.) Furious over their failure to frame the defendant (at the first trial) for the death of a cop, state officials are using this case as evidence against Mr. Taylor in the disbarment hearings.

According to the Times article, "the Bar Association's top officers have acknowledged that the most serious of the nine counts against Mr. Taylor may not be supported 'by a shred of evidence.' Nevertheless, with the typical contempt of the courts for the rights of the defendant, and with particular contempt for the rights of the Afro-American people to have representation in the courts, 'the association has rejected Mr. Taylor's motion for acquittal on all accusations.'"

The struggle for socialism is the Communist objective, but it must be recognized that the program for Afro-American liberation will be and must be hammered out by the black people themselves, based upon their own experience in the struggle against imperialism. The fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat can best be carried out in relation to the Afro-American people by having respect for their right to self-determination and by giving support to the black liberation struggle in all its manifestations, whether it be for national objectives or class objectives. At any rate, both struggles are part of the overall struggle against the master class on Wall Street and should be supported on that basis alone.

The Upsurge In Buffalo— Not Since 1919

By DAN BENTIVOGLI

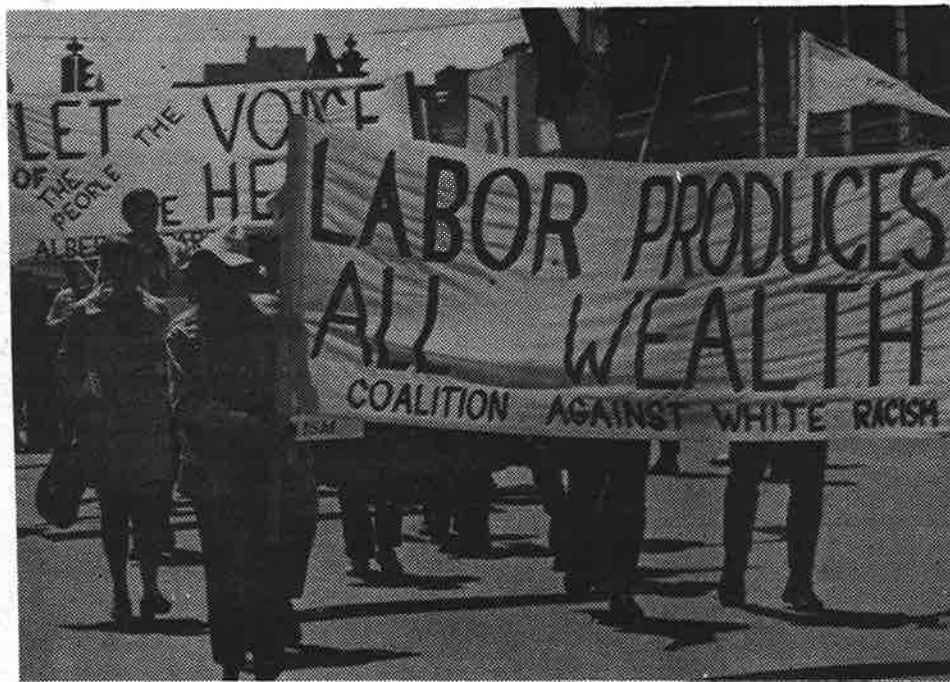
BUFFALO, May 1—Buffalo celebrated its first May Day since 1919 with a parade through the streets of downtown Buffalo today. The parade was called by the Coalition Against White Racism—a composite of all of the radical groups in the city.

The CAWR was formed to mount an offensive against white racism in all forms, specifically against the racist construction unions in the Buffalo area. The construction unions are currently working on a number of projects throughout the city, including the multi-million dollar Amherst campus of SUNYAB, and completely disregarding the just demands of the black community for jobs.

The Coalition hopes to mobilize students against racism but, more importantly, is attempting to mobilize the white working class. The May Day Parade had the twofold purpose of trying to recapture the spirit of struggle that led May Day to be celebrated as an international holiday and to attempt to demonstrate to the Buffalo working class that racism is anti-labor.

Under the colorful banners of the Coalition, Youth Against War & Fascism and Work for All, five hundred demonstrators marched through the streets of downtown Buffalo chanting "Union Yes, Racism No" and "Black and White, Unite and Fight." Red flags abounded throughout the parade and the number of people grew as the line wound its way through the business district of downtown Buffalo, chanting "Tax the Rich, Not the Poor."

The banners, which stretched for two city blocks, were clearly visible from every building and street in downtown Buffalo. The striking, class-conscious slogans on the banners and flags helped to educate the people about May Day, labor and the machinations of the U.S. Government. The banners, which produced very little hostile reaction in Buffalo, read: "Labor Produces All Wealth," "Support the South Buffalo Rail Workers" (a reference to the rail workers recently on strike who



Buffalo, May Day 1969.

called for student support), "Tax the Bosses, Not the Workers," "May Day is a Workers' Holiday" and "Black and White, Unite and Fight for a Workers' World."

The Oakland Panthers had called for Free Huey demonstrations throughout the country on May 1 to demand the release of the Panther leader who has been a political prisoner in America's dungeons for the last year and a half. Red flags with "Free Huey Newton" on them expressed Buffalo's solidarity with the Panther leader, and a large white banner, carried by members of the black community, read "Free Huey, Free Sostre" with a clenched fist in the middle.

The marchers also took advantage of the opportunity to express their support for Martin Sostre, a black liberation leader who is currently serving the second year of a 41-year sentence in Green Haven Prison, New York, imposed by Buffalo's racist courts. Sostre has been in solitary confinement for ten months now, and the banners and militant chanting helped to break the curtain of silence around Sostre's case in Buffalo. The marchers demanded Sostre's release from solitary and from prison altogether.

The parade, led by a car decorated with clenched fists, red flags, "Free Martin Sostre" signs and blaring the "Internationale," marched into the home ground of the ruling class of Buffalo and woke up the people. Thousands of leaflets, printed by Youth Against War & Fascism, were distributed by the marchers. The leaflet told how racism was used by the bosses to keep the workers divided and weak so they could be co-opted and exploited more easily. It also showed the nature of the construction unions and how they are more like feudal guilds than unions—the only basis for admission being a white skin and family relationships. A YAWF position paper called for an end to the super-exploitation of black workers and pointed out that only when the workers stand to-

gether against the bosses will exploitation cease.

The CAWR hoped to explode the idea that May 1 was "Law Day," as declared by General Eisenhower. The parade demonstrated to the working class of Buffalo the irony of honoring the laws which helped to murder their brothers during America's labor struggles (especially the Haymarket Massacre of 1886 which made May Day an international holiday) and which still oppress the black people in this country today. The absurdity of paying tribute to the oppressor was forcefully driven home by the marchers in Buffalo's financial district.

After the parade, a short rally was held in Niagara Square. Beneath a banner reading "Stop the War Against Black America," Gerald Gross, chairman of the Buffalo Chapter of YAWF and a member of CAWR, pointed out the significance of May Day and provided some historical background about the Haymarket Massacre of 1886. Jerry pointed out that it was the labor struggle that forged the backbone of this country and that it was only through struggle that the peoples' basic human rights could be guaranteed in this country.

Dan Bentivogli, the chairman of the SUNYAB YAWF chapter and a member of CAWR, was the next speaker. Dan spoke about Huey Newton, Martin Sostre, Ed Oquendo and all of the other black political prisoners in this country. He declared May 1 "Free All Black Political Prisoners Day" in Buffalo. Surrounded by the Federal Court Building, City Hall, the County and City Court Buildings and Erie County Jail, Dan asked that all present support Rob Williams (in China) and Eldridge Cleaver (in exile) and remember Richard Giff, a black youth who was murdered after an anti-Wallace demonstration in Buffalo last year.

Another demonstration then started up led by Work for All and officials from BUILD, a local black civil rights group, and headed toward the construction site of the new County Building to confront the heads of the racist construction union. The demonstrators successfully halted construction for half an hour while William Gaiter, the president of BUILD, negotiated with the head of Siegfried Construction who promised satisfaction to the black community.

The demonstrators then moved to the Statler Hilton Hotel to confront a convention of Erie County lawmakers and lawyers. When word of the demonstration reached the hotel, the lawyers and lawmakers adjourned to a locked basement room with police protection.

The demonstration continued for a short time in front of the hotel and then broke up with promises of further action.

The CAWR called for a rally at SUNYAB campus at the Project Themis site (a military project which has been rebuilt after student rebels tore it down) on Wednesday, May 7.

Buffalo had its first taste of red flags today, and judging by the growing militancy of both the students and the Buffalo working class and the future plans of the CAWR, it will not be the last!



SOSTRE IS MOVED TO BUFFALO JAIL: YOUTH DEMONSTRATE

Martin Sostre was moved to Buffalo's Erie County Jail last week for the trial of his co-defendant, Geraldine Robinson. Almost daily since his return, demonstrations outside the prison organized by Youth Against War & Fascism have demanded freedom for the black liberation fighter.

Sostre has spent the last ten months in solitary confinement since he was sentenced to 41 years on a narcotics frame-up.

The Sostre case became widely known at the University of Buffalo after students set up an Afro-Asian Bookshop in Exile there. Mrs. Robinson, whose trial starts this week, is a mother of five children who was working in the bookshop when police broke in. She faces similar frame-up charges for which Sostre was convicted.



'Law and Order' Hits Campus: Struggle Grows

The ruling class is stepping up its efforts to break student militancy. With a strong go-ahead from the Nixon-Mitchell team, local police and political authorities are turning frame-up tactics, perfected in use against black liberation fighters, against student radicals.

Just in the last week, police in the New York City area have picked off scores of students at several city colleges on charges of "conspiracy," "arson," and other felonies carrying severe penalties.

Twenty Brooklyn College students were dragged out of their homes in the middle of the night. An off-campus meeting of Queensborough students and faculty was raided and everyone arrested. Two known militants at CCNY (renamed Harlem University) were arrested for criminal trespass while standing on the cafeteria lunch line. In addition, plainclothes Suffolk County cops made a midnight raid on the men's dorm at Stony Brook State College in a so-called "drug bust" that had right-wing overtones.

These events show a coordinated drive by the ruling class Establishment to replace or bypass more cautious college administrators and crack down on student protest with the direct might of the state. Particularly alarming to America's capitalist rulers is the role played by the black student masses in demanding more control over the schools. Having briefly and unsuccessfully tried to reassert ideological control over the campuses, the ruling class is now turning to the courts to whip the rebellious youth physically into line.

Tried and True Agent Ousted

The first real indication of a sharp shift in policy came with the forced resignation of CCNY President Buell Gallagher. Political pressure in the city from the right-wing mounted to a crescendo, culminating in an injunction obtained by Mario Procaccino, the mayoral candidate of extreme reaction. The right-wing kicked up a storm because Gallagher kept the college closed while negotiating with barricaded black and Puerto Rican students.

The irony is that Gallagher is a tried and true agent of U.S. imperialism who has been exposed for his connections with the CIA. But the right-wing, super-racists took advantage of the CCNY closure to whip up a reactionary hysteria against black and white radicals. Getting rid of Gallagher and replacing him with a "law and order" man became the issue.

Professor Joseph Copeland, now acting President of the college, seems to fit the bill as far as the right-wing is concerned. He may be unknown to most of the students, but he caught the attention of the ruling class a few weeks before Gallagher's resignation when he said that the white radicals who have been supporting the black students' demands "should be treated as the mad dogs and criminals they are."

Since assuming office, Copeland has confirmed his fascist mentality in word and deed. He's given the



cops a free rein on campus. Helmeted troopers of the Tactical Patrol Force—the "elite guard" of New York City police which is used to terrorize the oppressed communities and bust up demonstrations—ringed one building on campus to keep students out of a faculty meeting. When questioned about the occupation force, the new President told the press: "The police are here at my invitation and request." He added that his first priority would be to restore "law and order"—the catch phrase recognized by the oppressed and their allies as meaning greater police repression to preserve the racist status quo.

A CCNY spokesman told newsmen that "under no condition will President Copeland close the college as a precondition to negotiations" with the black and Puerto Rican students. He is even more adamant toward white radicals, with whom he will "neither negotiate nor compromise."

Three white militants were pulled off the cafeteria lunch line this week and arrested on the spot. Two were charged with "criminal trespass," the third with coming to their aid. They were spotted by the cops as students who had been suspended a few weeks ago.

Copeland has been deliberately evasive on the demands of the black and Puerto Rican students: 1) a separate orientation program for black and Puerto Rican students; 2) required studies in black and Puerto Rican history and in Spanish for all education majors; 3) a separate school of black and Puerto Rican studies; 4) the incoming freshman class should reflect the ethnic composition of New York City public schools; and 5) SEEK students must have more control over their program.

Gestapo Raid at Brooklyn

While the change of administration at CCNY was a political reflection of the new hard line taken by the ruling class, the 20 indictments at Brooklyn College this week show just what this new line

means for the students. The 17 black and three Puerto Rican youth were picked up in their homes in Gestapo-like 3 A.M. raids. Bails were set at \$15,000 by a judge who attacked a black defense attorney as "racist" because he pointed out that no white students had been arrested.

The BC youth are charged with 23 counts, 18 of them felonies. If convicted on all counts, each student could serve a maximum of 228 years in jail! The charges range from "conspiracy" to "arson," and stem from several weeks of demonstrations for 18 demands that include an open admissions program, more black studies courses and the firing of several racist teachers. Since May 9, cops have been on campus. Several students have been clubbed on the head, requiring medical attention.

Brooklyn DA Gold claimed that some of the students were Black Panthers and "Maoists." Gold's dramatic TV announcement of the arrests, and the very serious nature of the charges, are the same tactic the ruling class is using to try and break up groups like the Black Panther Party.

Another fascist crackdown occurred at Queensborough College, where a struggle has been taking place to reinstate three professors active in anti-war protests. After several "hit and run" sit-ins, where the students left buildings they had occupied just before police arrived, 20 people were picked up while meeting in a private home off campus. Nine others were arrested at various places around the college. Among those seized at the meeting were the three faculty members.

This by no means exhausts the list of campuses where new repressive measures are being used. It's a nation-wide phenomenon, but the student response shows no panic before this hardened onslaught. On the contrary, it seems inevitable that the ruling class is only creating a more serious and dedicated revolutionary youth movement.

SDS Leader: "They Can't Take Us One by One"

As one more prong in the nationwide attack on the black liberation struggle and the campus rebellions, the government carried out a provocative raid on the National Office of SDS in Chicago last weekend. Five SDS leaders were arrested in the planned police attack on their headquarters.

At a press conference in New York on May 13, Dave Slavin, one of the five SDS leaders arrested two days previously, detailed the "initial" raid against SDS. Slavin set the tone of the meeting: "We feel that the white student movement has been attacked mainly because it has provided a link between the black liberation struggle, especially the Black Panther Party, and the white working class—the poor white people in the U.S."

According to information available to SDS, police and firemen were waiting in the area of the Chicago National Office for several hours before they attempted the raid on the ridiculous pretext that the police had received a complaint that there had been a shooting in the building. Firemen followed the police just seconds later on the excuse that a fire in the building had been reported.

Mike Klonsky, National Secretary of SDS, Tim McCarthy, Ed Jennings and Walter Coleman of the National Office were arrested along with Dave Slavin who is from the New York regional office. The five

were charged with various crimes, the most serious of which is battery, and held until \$12,500 bail was posted.

Klonsky, speaking on the national television program, Face the Nation, had predicted just 12 hours before the raid that Attorney General Mitchell was planning the raid against SDS leaders and other leftists.

At the news conference, Mark Rudd, who is currently working with New York Regional SDS, along with Dave Slavin, fielded the hostile questions and continued to drive at the main issue.

"The press has been referring to the Mitchell raids. This is somewhat of a distortion," said Rudd. "This will probably not be like the Palmer Raids, where one night all leftists are rounded up. It is going to be much, much cooler. It is going to look like there is no mass repression that would create mass resistance."

"I think that it is safe to say that there will be some federal charges, especially against the Black Panther Party and certain other organizers who have been traveling across the country. But the main brunt of the attack, from our information from within the government, will be on local and state charges. For example, it is no coincidence that Klonsky, Slavin and three others were busted in Chicago and our National Office raided. It is no coincidence that to-

day black students at Brooklyn College were busted. It is no coincidence that there has been a nationwide attack on the Panthers. It looks very fragmented but it amounts to a coordinated repression sweep. Perhaps a first step in creating a new red scare."

Other forms of harassment presently being used are intimidation and injunctions. "Injunctions" have the effect of making "university violations criminal acts."

SDS is having difficulty in securing space for its Annual National Convention. Several universities had tentatively agreed, but later backed out. Information indicates in some cases "the FBI went in and convinced the administration not to allow SDS to hold the convention."

Slavin concluded the conference in a militant spirit:

"I think it is clear," he said, "that they can't take us one by one. We won't go one by one. We work on the principle that an injury to one is an injury to all. We work on the principle that this kind of repression will cause wider and wider opposition—that is the spiral."

"...SDS has proven the fact that its stand is that the Black Panthers will be defended by us and any other black revolutionary movement will be defended by our organization."

Now It's the Injunction — An Old Fascist Weapon!

By D. STACEY

An old ruling class weapon against labor is turning up suddenly in widespread use against the rising student anti-imperialist movement. Just in the past few weeks, a rash of court injunctions have been obtained by city and college administrations to break up student sit-ins, prevent demonstrations and reopen closed schools.

In New York City alone, students at half a dozen colleges have been hit with injunctions in less than a month. The closing of CCNY (renamed Harlem U.) by black and Puerto Rican students brought down at least five different injunctions against the students, the Board of Higher Education and President Gallagher.

A favorite form of the injunction with the Establishment is the "temporary restraining order." The company, or a school or city official goes to a judge and has him issue an order enjoining known or unknown parties from committing certain acts. A date is set for a hearing, at which time the enjoined party must show cause why he should not obey the injunction.

"Contempt of Court"

But the big catch is what happens before the hearing. The hearing date may be a week off; in the meantime, any violation of the temporary restraining order is considered contempt of court. When cited for contempt, the accused has no trial, no jury, and no rights. The judge is the jury and decides the punishment. It is usually an immediate jail sentence of 15 or 30 days, and there is no appeal.

In the middle of a strike or militant student action, an injunction of this kind leaves no alternatives. Either you comply with the court order or go to jail. All it takes is a request by one or two officials, without any legal argument whatsoever having been heard on the merits of the injunction.

This is the threat that students at

Columbia, Queens, New York University, Brooklyn College, CCNY, Howard U. and Dartmouth have had to face recently. The first use of the injunction against students was at the State University at Buffalo in March. About 100 persons were served with court orders after they occupied the administration building to dramatize demands against the Vietnam war and racism. The students responded so militantly, however, burning several injunctions at a mass rally several days later, that the University had second thoughts and withdrew its request to the State Supreme Court for the restraining orders.

The Buffalo move was followed in the middle of April by an injunction against Columbia students who were occupying Philosophy Hall at the time. The students left the building, but the injunction banning "obstructive or disruptive demonstrations" remained in effect. When two weeks later students occupied Fayerweather and Mathematics Halls, the University immediately got a show-cause order from State Supreme Court Justice Charles Marks ordering the building occupants to appear in court the next morning. The sit-in ended before the students could be arrested, but Justice Marks ordered his Sheriff to bring in any person who could be identified as having participated in the occupation of the buildings.

Five SDS leaders were subsequently arrested on contempt charges for "willful disobedience of the mandate of the court." (Justice Marks is the same judge who signed an injunction against CCNY students and also set bail for 21 Black Panthers at \$100,000 each, repeatedly refusing to reduce this outrageous figure.)

No Jury, No Trial

The injunction is, of course, a legal cover for the use of massive police force. But it is more than



YAWF activist, Dan Bentivogli, burns illegal injunction served against UB students

that. Under ordinary mass busts, the defendants have a chance to plead their case, to raise the political issues before a jury and the public, and have time to organize support before the trial takes place.

While it can be expected that most jury trials will go against the defendants, there have been notable exceptions like the Oakland Seven and those of the Buffalo Nine whose trials resulted in a hung jury. It is at least conceivable that under the circumstances of a trial by jury popular support for the defendants, the issues involved, and the brutality of the state will figure in the verdict.

There is no such chance when arrests are made for violating a court order. The procedure is completely unconstitutional and recognizes no rights of the defendant. The usual guarantees of law are suspended and the defendant is rushed to jail without trial and without appeal.

The unbridled power of judges was clearly illustrated by the imprisonment of 45 Dartmouth students last week. The students were arrested for failing to observe an injunction ordering them to leave the administration building. About 150 state troopers from the New Hampshire force and neighboring Vermont invaded the campus and took the students before Judge Martin Loughlin. The prosecutor asked for 15-day jail sentences. But the judge, even more anxious to punish the students for their "contempt" of his order, ordered the 40 men and 5 women jailed immediately for 30 days, and fined each \$100 in addition.

How Law Was Turned Against Labor

Injunctions, like many other features of the law, were not originally intended for the reactionary purpose to which they are now put. A court of equity, as distinct from a court of law, was empowered with the right to issue injunctions in cases where a danger existed that irreparable damage might be done to tangible property for which there could be no remedy at law. The injunctive power was broadened by U.S. courts, however, in the 1880's. "Tangible property" was widened to include the general profit interests of the bosses. Strikes were broken by court injunctions on the pretext that the workers might hurt the bosses' interests by withholding their labor.

This new interpretation of the power of the court became used so widely against unions that the injunction acted in effect as a preventive detention law. The courts could throw workers into jail without trial merely because the companies declared their interests to be threatened.

After years of struggle against the courts, the union movement in the

thirties became powerful enough to force passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act, a move that in effect legalized the organizing of the CIO. (In England, injunctions have never been used against unions thanks to the power of the labor movement.) Subsequent anti-labor laws like Taft-Hartley, however, have largely restored the court's power to break strikes.

The injunction, as used against student and labor militants, in effect gives judges legislative powers, if only temporarily. The judge is the law. He can order punishment, including detention, with no adversary proceeding. Both these powers are in violation of Anglo-Saxon common law, from which the U.S. legal system is derived. Thus, while putting the stamp of "legality" on the massive use of force against strikes and demonstrations, the injunction is actually unconstitutional and illegal — the forerunner of fascist detention laws.

Used to Gag Anti-War Prof.

The sweeping use of injunctions extends far beyond questions of "tangible property," as the case of Professor Jack Roach illustrates. Roach was one of the leaders of demonstrations at the University of Connecticut last winter protesting campus recruiting by Dow Chemical and Olin Mathieson. A local county Superior Court judge issued an order forbidding Roach from making "public comments or stating opinions" or carrying signs that are "untrue, malicious or obscene." The judge, of course, decides what is true, malicious, etc. The injunction still stands and is being contested by the ACLU. While the ACLU petition confines itself merely to certain features of the order, the Roach case makes it clear that all injunctive powers of courts against political activity must be combatted for the fascist instruments they are.

The movement must expose this new weapon of the Establishment to the masses, explaining its anti-labor derivation and its illegal use against progressive causes. While a number of struggles have been crippled by injunctions, and many militants are still trying to work out a strategy to fight them, the response of students in several cases has forced the authorities to pull back. And at CCNY, the Caucus of Concerned Faculty & Instructional Staff, largely black and Puerto Rican, reflected the fighting mood of the students when it condemned "the use of injunctive action or police power" against the strike.

The struggle against injunctions raised the level of workers' militancy in the thirties. Students should answer this new challenge by the ruling class in the same spirit.

A Typical Strikebreaking Injunction

Printed below are the terms of a typical strike-breaking injunction. The sweeping language in this particular case is from a court order obtained by Bethlehem Steel against the workers of its subsidiary, the South Buffalo Railway, on strike for better safety procedures and to get a contract. After students from the University of Buffalo came to the workers' aid and manned picket lines at the plant gates, the injunction was widened to include all supporters of the workers.

There was nothing unlawful about the strike. Men cannot be forced to work nor can they lawfully be prevented from persuading others to honor their grievances by abstaining from work. Nevertheless the United Transportation Union and/or any of its members were enjoined by Federal Judge John Henderson at the command of the company against:

- Continuing, procuring, promoting, encouraging, aiding abetting or inciting the continuance of the strike or work stoppage currently in effect on plaintiff's railroad;
- Impeding, obstructing, hampering or interfering with the business of the plaintiff;
- Preventing or attempting to prevent by any species of intimidation, threats, force or coercion, any of plaintiff's officers, agents, employees, representatives, and others having business with the plaintiff, from entering, leaving, and transacting business on its premises;
- Interfering with ingress or egress from its premises including delivery, unloading and dispatch of its rolling stock and other equipment, in, on, about, and between the plants and premises of its customers, or from loitering or congregating at or near any approaches thereto or upon any public street or highway leading into or from any place the employees of the plaintiff desire to enter or leave en route from or to said premises;
- Ordering, inducing, attempting to induce, condoning, participating in, assisting or permitting any strike, slowdown, stoppage of work or interruption of the operation of plaintiff's railroad.

Nixon's 100 Days of Reaction

By NAOMI GOLDSTEIN

The Nixon Administration has passed the 100-day mark and bourgeois analysts are taking the occasion to tell the people just what it is that Nixon has done in this period. "Moderation" and "caution," they say, have characterized the new ruling class representatives in their first 100 days of custody over the imperialist state. Apparently the workers and oppressed people are supposed to be thankful that the cold war warrior, the racist reactionary has not yet dropped any A-bombs abroad or initiated any mass slaughter of black people at home.

But the people are in no mood to be thankful. For the Nixon Administration's short record points the way to the deepening oppression of the black people and working class, the heightened power of the corporations which profit from war and militarism and no end to the war in Vietnam. In short, it is a record of flouting the wishes of the masses of the people for the benefit of monopoly capitalism. In this sense it is like all the previous capitalist administrations. The Nixon Administration's only distinction lies in its particularly reactionary and racist character, its backing by the most right-wing elements in the ruling class, its tendency toward fascist method and rhetoric.

It is worthwhile, therefore, for the working class and oppressed people, also, to look at the first 100 days from their own point of view — not merely to know what the ruling class has in store for them, but to know how best to do combat with the class enemy.

The Black Liberation Struggle

The keystone to the Nixon campaign last year was the racist issue of "law and order." In fact, Nixon's forces vigorously competed with Wallace to capture the racist vote. The racist character of his promises to "fight crime" quickly became clear when soon after the inauguration Nixon called for legislation that would legalize "preventive detention" — a polite phrase for fascist denial of all constitutional rights to bail, presumption of innocence, etc. "Preventive detention" (which was a measure used by Hitler) is clearly aimed against the black people in their heightening struggle for liberation. Along with preventive detention, Nixon recommended more cops, judges, courts and jails for Washington's black population — not a far cry from Wallace's idea of putting a soldier with a bayonet every 30 feet on the streets.

The campaign threats of "law and order" came home, too, in the massive frame-up this April of 21 members of the Black Panther Party on charges of conspiring to bomb five New York City department stores, among other trumped-up charges. The national character of the conspiracy to frame the Panthers was revealed when the Daily News reported that the FBI, CIA and IRS were all in on the "investigation" of the Panther Party. Bail set at \$2.1 million for the 21 was calculated to facilitate the ruling class' attempt to destroy the revolutionary black organization. Panther Party chapters in Chicago, Oakland, Des Moines and several other cities have also been harassed and attacked by police in this campaign.

Nixon's message of "law and order" was also brought to the embattled black community of Chicago on the anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King. Afro-American students demanding a holiday to mark the day were quickly and brutally met by 7,000 National Guards dispatched to "prevent trouble." This precedent of sending troops immediately to occupy black communities in the face of their just demands has been repeated in several cities and seems to be the way Nixon's henchmen intend to handle the problems of the black nation — with a deaf ear and a finger on the trigger.

The War on the Poor

Related to the ruling class' general offensive against black liberation have been its calculated assaults on the rights and living standards of the poor — many of whom come from oppressed minorities: black, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American and Indian. Another campaign pledge come true is the dismantling of the main organ of the Johnson "war on poverty," the Office of Economic Opportunity.

For a start, Nixon decided that 59 of the 113 Job Corps centers for training youths from the city ghettos would be closed effective July 1969. The Job Corps budget was mercilessly cut by \$100 million. Of course, Johnson's "war on poverty" was not even a skirmish. But Nixon is bent on destroying the program altogether.

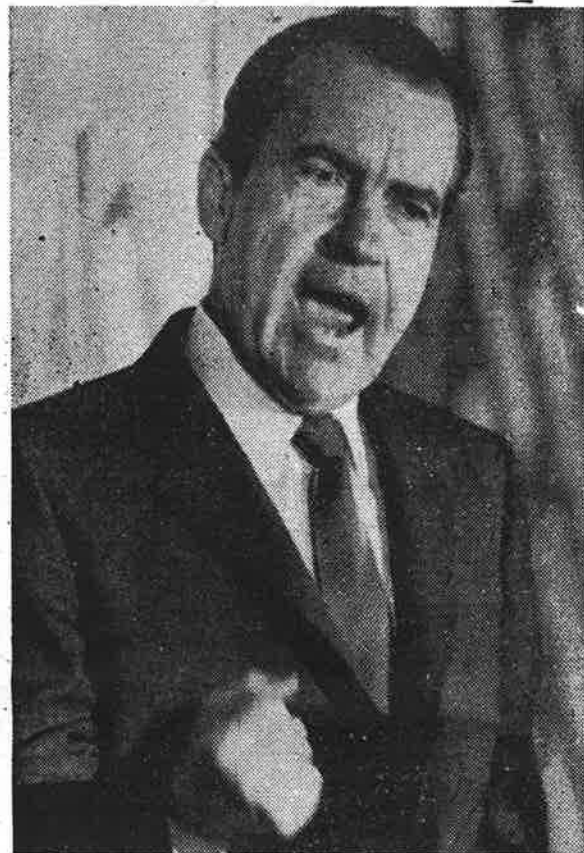
At the end of March, Clifford Alexander, the black chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, angrily quit his post. On March 27 Senator Dirksen had insidiously charged that Alexander was "harassing businessmen" to hire Afro-Americans. He vowed to get "someone fired."

While Nixon was hiding behind phony proposals that private businesses take on more of the burden of training the poor for jobs, the monopolists themselves made clear their position — don't "harass" us.

Hunger in America — To Continue

This February the New York Times ran a series of articles revealing some shocking facts about malnutrition and starvation among the nation's poor — in South Carolina among the black people, among Mexican-Americans, Indians, white Appalachians and migrant farm workers. Stark evidence of widespread diseases of malnutrition — rickets, kwashiorkor, goiter, scurvy and worm infestation — was cited.

Suddenly Congressmen were rushing around the



country investigating "hunger in America" which had been kept hidden for so long. A nationwide campaign (in writing, anyway) was on — until Nixon announced on April 30 that hunger would have to wait three years until the problems of inflation were solved. The pronouncement was shocking for the crudity and baldness of the statement — let the hungry wait.

Under increasing pressure, Nixon finally yielded and sent Congress a food assistance program. But this turned out to be only a stop-gap measure, providing for only \$270 million in the coming fiscal year. The sum was totally inadequate to even begin the fight against hunger, if the imperialists were willing to fight hunger at all.

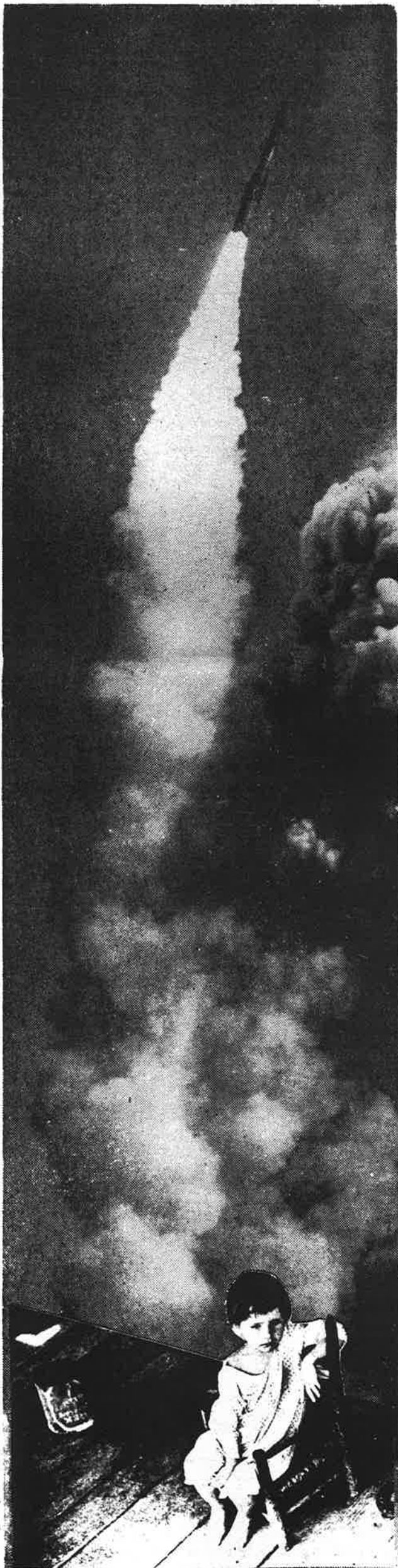
Undoubtedly, the revelation of widespread starvation is quite an embarrassment to the U.S. capitalist class. It has shattered the image they have built of the wealthy society. But Nixon's lack of concern over even this most embarrassing question reveals the unwillingness and the fundamental intransigence of the ruling class to really deal effectively with the problems of the poor in this country.

More Taxes, More Unemployment, More Misery

The fight against hunger was not the only program to be scrapped on the pretext of the need to



U.S. war crimes in Vietnam continue.





Government frame-up of the Black Panther Party: Above, cops take in Curtis Powell, one of the Panther 21.

Nixon's "Justice" Department: Deputy Attorney General Richard Kleindienst recently urged that student demonstrators "be rounded up and put in a detention camp."

stem inflation. Aside from all the budget cuts (taken mainly from spending for the poor) aimed at lowering federal costs to "cool down" the economy, Nixon recently recommended the extension of the 10 per cent surtax. (He was not at all perturbed by the fact that he had attacked Johnson's war tax throughout the campaign.)

The anti-inflation drive, it was clear from the beginning, was to be paid for by the working class, not only in more taxes and budget cuts, but also in unemployment. For a slowdown in a capitalist economy means firings, layoffs and fewer new jobs. In fact, government officials have gone so far as to say that more unemployment was good for the economy.

The anti-inflation campaign that Nixon has in mind is not designed to benefit the workers through lower prices; instead, it will find its first victims among the most oppressed of the working class. But it is the bosses who should pay for any fight against inflation. After all, it is they who have raked in the profits from inflated and outrageous prices — which have wiped out the pay raises of literally millions of workers in the past year.

On Students: "No Compromise With Lawlessness"

On April 29, at a gathering of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, President Nixon took the occasion to lay down a hard line on the student rebellions against war and racism that have spread to campuses across the country this spring.

He told the audience of businessmen, when students "rifle files, when they engage in violence, when they carry guns and knives in the classrooms, then I say it is time for the faculties, boards of trustees and school administrations to have the backbone to stand up against this kind of situation."

He later asserted, "There can be no compromise with lawlessness and no surrender to force if free education is to survive in the United States." The businessmen liked the threats fine; but as far as the students go, Nixon might as well have been talking to himself — the rebellions continued.

Perhaps the general attitude of the Nixon Administration toward the struggle of students and youth over the burning issues of the day — racism and imperialism — was truthfully illustrated by a statement from Deputy Attorney General Richard Kleindienst. He recently urged that student demonstrators "be rounded up and put in a detention camp."

U.S. Imperialism Still in Vietnam

The fact that each candidate for the presidency last year had to pledge to end the war in Vietnam was in itself a testimony to the desire of the American people to see the war over and the troops brought home. After four months in office, the Nixon Administration has demonstrated the determination of the ruling class to continue to escalate the genocidal war of aggression in Vietnam in order to impose an imperialist peace on the people of Vietnam.

In recent months the bombing of South Vietnam by B-52 bombers has been increased in a relentless drive against the population of the country. After the bombing halt last year it was revealed that U.S. planes were carrying out saturation bombing of Laos. Now, in a New York Times report on May 9, we are told that B-52s in recent weeks have been bombing "supply dumps and base camps" of the NLF in

Cambodia. It was also admitted that small teams of soldiers have been sent into Cambodia to locate targets for the bombers.

At the same time that bombing has been increased, U.S. war strategists have launched what is called an "accelerated pacification program" — in reality a stepped-up drive to herd the rural population of South Vietnam into concentration camps where they can be controlled and cut off from their brothers and sisters in the liberation army.

The inability of the Nixon Administration to end the war in Vietnam is a reflection of the basic predicament of the ruling class. The long and heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against imperialist aggression has made it clear that the U.S. cannot win the war; at home the anti-war struggle is enveloping more and more layers of the population; yet the U.S. war criminals continue the murder of the Vietnamese people, driven by their need for im-



Students rebel: Above, cops attack striking black students in front of Townsend Harris Hall at CCNY.

perialist expansion and control over Southeast Asia. Nixon's "Flying Pueblo"

Last fall, during the presidential campaign, Nixon claimed, "it is time for new leadership to restore respect for the United States of America" when a "fourth-rate military power" like North Korea takes on American naval power on the high seas. Nixon's bombastic threats were pretty well demolished last month when the Democratic People's Republic of Korea did it again — challenged U.S. imperialism by shooting down a spy plane which had intruded into her territory.

Apparently the Pueblo incident taught the U.S. rulers nothing. They continued to send provocative spy missions over North Korea.

By April 20, Nixon had dispatched a huge armada

of 40 war ships to threaten the people of North Korea from offshore. The ships included the battle-ship New Jersey, three attack aircraft carriers, one antisubmarine carrier, three cruisers, 22 destroyers and at least five submarines.

The spy plane incident followed by only one month another extremely provocative move by the U.S. against North Korea. From March 9 to March 20 the Pentagon scheduled war games just 80 miles south of the demilitarized zone. Called the "longest airlift in history," the games involved the quick transportation of about 2,500 paratroopers from North Carolina to South Korea.

Who Wanted the ABM?

Perhaps no government program in recent years has been so universally hated and disapproved of by the mass of the people than the Nixon Administration's proposed ABM—renamed Safeguard—system. Widespread bitterness over the sinking of untold billions of dollars into a vast bonanza for the military contractors rather than into social programs, however, didn't deter Nixon from going ahead with the Safeguard. This "representative of all the people" went right ahead, at the urging of a tiny clique of generals and military industrialists, to recommend building an anti-missile system to guard U.S. missile bases in Montana and North Dakota.

(The ABM was originally supposed to "protect" cities against nuclear attack, but popular opposition to this phony military build-up was so great that Nixon and the military simply decided to put the missiles out of sight and hopefully, then, out of the minds of the people.)

The only real benefit of the Safeguard system, of course, will go to the military contractors. Such giant monopolies as Western Electric, McDonnell Douglas, Martin Marietta, Raytheon, General Electric, Sperry Rand, Avco, Hughes Aircraft and RCA were delighted by Nixon's decision or, rather, by their own decision for Nixon.

Whatever opposition there has been in Congress to the ABM has been based on fear that the U.S. will commit too many of its resources into this one huge military program while neglecting its other numerous counter-revolutionary tasks against liberation struggles both at home and abroad.

Nixon's Friends — And Enemies

In the first months of his administration, Nixon has surrounded himself with an entourage of servile tools of the bankers and bosses, the military-industrial complex and racist reactionaries. The appointment of David Packard, straight from General Dynamics, to the Defense Department and Henry Dent, a close associate of Strom Thurmond, as deputy counsel to the President, are only two clear examples. The recommendation of Otto Otepka for head of the Subversive Activities Control Board is another confirmation of the affinity of this government for pro-fascist elements such as the John Birch Society. Roger Robb, Otepka's attorney, was recently appointed to the U.S. Court of Appeals.

The assistant Attorney General, Richard Kleindienst, was Goldwater's campaign manager. While the U.S. ruling class has surrounded Nixon with its paid servants and representatives, it has not, and cannot, give him a program which will solve the deepening contradictions and crises of U.S. imperialism. The question of self-determination raised by the black liberation struggle, the problems of the poor, the war in Vietnam, have all been met by an escalation of violence and aggression.

As the representative of the U.S. capitalist class, Nixon is temporarily in control of the vast resources and military might of the state. But like all representatives of a small clique of capitalist exploiters, he is faced with the problem of keeping in chains the masses of people. And once they decide to be free, they are his implacable enemies.

Nixon to Legalize Preventive Detention, or Jail Without Bail

Slowly but surely, behind the smoke-screen of "moderation" and "middle-of-the-roadism," the Nixon Administration is initiating a policy of terror in the courts. Nixon started off by putting up a trial balloon with proposals for fascist-type "preventive detention" laws. Now the administration is actually sending to Congress a bill which would allow all federal judges to detain without bail so-called "dangerous" defendants or those facing a "substantial likelihood of conviction."

Such legislation flies directly in the face of the constitutional right of defendants to bail and also deprives them of the assumption of innocence before trial, which is supposed to be a basic tenet of law in this country. But aside from the constitutional implications, the bill is clearly a fascist measure designed for use against the liberation struggles of the poor and oppressed, and designed to facilitate the detention and frame-up of politi-

cal prisoners.

According to the Washington Post of April 25, "The Justice Department draft (of Nixon's bill) would allow judges to jail anyone charged with committing or attempting robbery, rape, arson, burglary or the sale of narcotics, no matter what the circumstances."

"It would also cover anyone arrested for any 'crime of violence'" who was free on bail for such a crime or had a record in the past ten years for a "crime of violence." Of course, these conditions could easily cover anything the government wanted.

In fact, the law would give the stamp of legality and official sanction to what already exists in the courts. The Post article continues: "Many judges in Washington admitted that they flout the law and keep 'dangerous' defendants in jail by setting high bail for them." Perhaps the best examples of such criminal practices by judges were the setting of bail at \$100,000 each for the

Panther 21 for alleged "crimes of violence" and the bail for black political prisoner Martin Sostre, set at \$50,000 on false narcotics charges. (Sostre, who was jailed for eight months before his trial, was also denied his constitutional rights to a speedy trial and to find witnesses for his defense.)

To soften somewhat the blatant fascist nature of the Nixon bill, the measure includes a provision for the judge to release defendants in the custody of a U.S. marshal for a limited time to get witnesses and evidence for his case. (The bill does not require the judge to do so, however, when in fact the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution states that "the accused shall enjoy the right...to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor.")

Under the bill, if the detained defendant is acquitted, he would be eligible for up to \$20 a day "compensation." In addition to being an incentive for more convictions, this "compensation" provision would hardly make up for the months and sometimes years of illegal detention imposed on the poor and particularly black and oppressed minorities who are daily rounded up by racist police on trumped-up charges.

Supposedly the defendant would be released after 60 days in prison if his

trial had not begun, unless his own lawyer had asked for a delay. However, this phony condition means, in effect, the person would be jailed until trial, because under normal court procedures, the defense lawyer is compelled to ask for a delay to prepare his case. In addition, the newspaper report

left it unclear as to whether the defendant would be freed outright or whether after 60 days the judge could set bail. In the latter case, the defendant would be continued in jail if he was too poor to make the bail.

With this law, the Nixon Administration would give federal judges what amounts to powers of pre-trial conviction. The bill stops just short of taking away right to trial at all. The measure is designed for use in the coming years of combat with the black liberation struggle, the anti-imperialist movement of radical youth and can serve also as a weapon against an awakened working class.

So far, victims of the new ruling class attack, such as the Panther Party, have answered back in the only way possible — by heightening their struggle against oppression. For in practice the oppressed have never really had the right to fair trials in the rigged ruling class courts. It has only been through fierce struggles that they have been able to take back from the rulers any of their rights.

'Last Hired, First Fired' Still Goes; Black Workers 1st Victims of 'Cool-Off'

A smiling black face looks up from a complicated office machine. "You can get a job like mine and make \$8,000 a year! All it takes is training." The announcer plugs the agency that will help you be like this man.

On subways and busses is the warning ad: "I were a high school drop-out." All it takes is an education.

"Give a damn!" says the black and white button. The campaign reassures middle class liberals that their nickels and dimes will eradicate the ghettos.

A mighty propaganda barrage is un-

derway. Capitalism can work for everybody, say the Ford Foundation, the OEO, American Motors' George Romney and a thousand and one advocates of "urban coalitions," building up "black capitalism" and hiring the "hard-core unemployed."

Well, if anyone can make capitalism eliminate racism and unemployment, they can. Because they're the capitalists. They run this society. They own the factories where they hire and fire. Their banks control the real estate — the slums, the lily-white suburbs. They

make the laws and decide how the workers' taxes will be spent.

Now they are talking of the agony of the ghettos, of the rats and roaches as if they had lived there all their lives.

But what are they really doing? They're firing and laying off black workers faster than ever. They're saying "no jobs" to young eager kids just out of high school and to black veterans back from Vietnam.

That's the essence of recently released Department of Labor statistics for the month of April. Despite all the assurances that the ruling class has turned over a new leaf, black unemployment rose sharply from 6 to 6.9 per cent, while joblessness for white workers held steady at 3.1 per cent. And that's not the whole story — not by a long shot. The percentage of black unemployed in many big city slums runs closer to 25 and 30 per cent. A Department of Labor study in 1966 showed that unemployment among 16 to 19 year-old non-white males was 26.5 per cent. More than 20 per cent of the people in the 1967 rebellions were out of work.

These more realistic figures, that show how absolutely desperate the job situation is for Afro-Americans, are more complete. The monthly Dept. of Labor statistics don't count most black people who need jobs because they're categorized as "unemployable."

However, these monthly figures, while concealing how severe unemployment is in the black community, do show the trend. And it's from bad to worse.

This sudden rise in unemployment for black workers isn't accidental, either. It's the result of a deliberate economic policy of the Nixon Administration, undertaken with the consent of the financial and industrial bosses he represents.

They call this policy "disinflation." It's a conscious effort, through government regulation of currency and financial dealings, to "cool off" the economy. The result they expect and hope for is greater stability for the dollar and lower prices that would make U.S. goods more competitive on the world market and avert a possible financial crisis.

WW, March 6). The Rank & File have attacked this head-on by hiring their own attorney, David Lubash, to represent workers appearing before the T.A. trial board. Since beginning this procedure, a number of the cases have been dismissed for lack of evidence.

However, the TWU can't capitulate to the bosses enough, it seems. Now

It will also mean greater unemployment. The bosses and their financial experts know this. Romney knows it and the Ford Foundation knows it. They know that "willingness to work," job training and a high school diploma won't be worth a damn if the forecast "business slowdown" takes effect. The economic experts aren't even agreed on whether or not Nixon's economic policy has started to work yet — but already black workers are on the streets, looking for jobs that aren't there.

Do the Fords and Romneys really worry about the rats and roaches, the empty bellies of little kids, the blasted lives of the poor? They don't act like it.

That's what they say when they're talking to the oppressed. But when they're talking to each other, it's about the "social dynamite" in the ghettos, the rise of revolutionary groups, the need for more cops and bigger jails to protect their property.

Still they hold out false hopes to the masses. "Investigations" are made into the rotten conditions that cause rebellion. Out of them is supposed to come hope for change.

The Kerner Report on Civil Disorders was one such expose organized by the ruling class, by the people who have created these conditions in the first place. It lent the voice of bourgeois authority to the facts of life black people are all too familiar with. For example, it reported that:

"Recent special censuses in Los Angeles and Cleveland indicate that the incomes of persons living in the worst slum areas have not risen at all during this period (1947-1966, ed.), unemployment rates have declined only slightly, the proportion of families with female heads has increased, and housing conditions have worsened even though rents have risen."

The Report also speaks of "underemployment" — workers on part-time or working full-time but making less than \$3,000 a year — and concludes that this combined with unemployment in the ghettos covers 32.7 per cent of the work force, or 8.8 times the overall unemployment rate for U.S. workers as a whole.

The Kerner Report is now over a year old. There has been a flood of liberal verbiage since then promising these conditions would be corrected "now that we know the problem."

But black workers continue to be the last hired and the first fired.

they have moved that union members pleading guilty be paid for the time spent at these hearings, but that Rank & Filers defending themselves be penalized for the time taken off! This kind of sweetheart arrangement gives an idea of what the Rank & File is up against in their fight to establish a really militant union for the transit workers.

Black Rank-and-Fileers Launch Campaign to Get Rid of Racist TWU

Transit workers are gathering steam in their drive to unseat the TWU. The Rank & File Committee for a Democratic Union in the N.Y.C. Transit Authority has already obtained over 3,000 signatures authorizing it to represent the workers in collective bargaining. In order to compel a representation election under the N.Y. Public Employees Fair Employment Act, the Committee must sign up 10,000 transit workers.

This drive is spearheaded by the black workers, who make up 70 per cent of the T.A. work force. It certainly can be seen as part of the general rebellion of black workers against discrimination and rotten contracts in industries across the country.

Illustrating this point, the Rank & File Committee held a weekend conference early in April that heard speakers from the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) and the Concerned Transit Workers of Chicago, both organizations of militant black workers.

However, the Rank & File Committee has as a goal representing all the transit workers, black and white. In the Rank & File News, this point was recently taken up in an article entitled "Black Transit Workers Key to Victory in Struggle for Democratic Union."

Asking the question, "Why do (we) have to stress black? Why can't (we) just say transit workers?", the article pointed out that the great majority of the transit workers are black. They have special grievances and rising solidarity because of racial discrimination in the industry.

But the Committee, which has a far more militant attitude toward management than the TWU leadership, is

attacking conditions that victimize all the workers. Recognizing that "a large percentage of white workers ... have never become accustomed to real leadership by black workers or sharing leadership with black workers," the R&F News predicts that "as our struggle develops and our program unfolds these fears will become less of a factor."

The goal of the Rank & File is "an independent union that is not tied to management and the rotten, racist power structure of this city."

Every Monday since March, the Rank & File have been picketing the office of William J. Ronan, Chairman of the Metropolitan Commuter Transportation Authority. The demonstrations are to protest the T.A.'s racist disciplinary policy and its failure to adequately maintain equipment, leading to unsafe conditions both for transit workers and for the riding public. These questions also figure importantly in the Committee's basic contract demands.

These demands include a return to "preventive maintenance" rather than the present policy of "breakdown maintenance" which can lead to extremely hazardous conditions — as when a compressor actually fell from its pinning onto the track on March 19 at 148th Street on the IRT. The Rank & File News charges, "Ruptured brake pipes, overcharged feed valves, dead motors, flat wheels are just some of the hazards that contribute to the many delays and unsafe conditions in the NYC subways."

Of particular importance to black workers has been the TWU's failure to combat management's racist disciplinary policy. The union lawyers advise men to plead guilty rather than contest charges for which the company can present no evidence (see

Slaughter On the Job

Workers at the South Buffalo Railway recently conducted a militant strike, calling for the first time on student support. The major issue was job safety.

In West Virginia, 15,000 coal miners struck in February for protection against fatal "black lung," an occupational disease, and for tighter safety standards in the mines. At the International Harvester Tractor Works in Chicago, 96 per cent of the men voted to strike after one worker died following an industrial accident. His family was refused compensation.

Workers in mines, shops and on assembly lines across the country have become increasingly militant about safety conditions in the past few years as job accidents have soared. The grievances are piling up, and these are not bread and butter issues, but questions of life and death.

This year alone, over 15,000 workers will die in industrial accidents, and another 2 million will receive disabling injuries. Another half million will become disabled from crippling occupational diseases, while seven million will be hurt on the job but not seriously.

These government statistics reveal that job accidents and hazards have

reached epidemic proportions. And they have been rising despite new technology which is claimed to make the workingman's job easier and safer.

According to the U.S. Department of Labor, three out of every four men and women who enter the job market this year will suffer a disabling injury before they reach retirement age. These figures don't include the 1,700,000 workers estimated to have impaired or lost hearing because of industrial noise. Nor does it count the toll from nervous tension, mental illness and fatigue that are certain by-products on many jobs. (New York City taxi drivers, for instance, have the highest rate of ulcers of any job category.)

There is a fatalistic attitude toward many crippling or fatal diseases like cancer because the scientific cures are not yet known. But what is astonishing about the high toll of industrial casualties is that they need not happen, can be prevented and yet are allowed to mount year after year.

For example, a national Coal Mine Safety Act was passed in 1951. This law is so weak that miners today are breathing air 100 times as dusty as the safe limit recommended by the Public Health Service. No wonder that since the passage of the Safety Act, per capita deaths in the mines have risen instead of being reduced!

Capitalist propaganda makes people think that most murders occur in the back alleys. But just the opposite is true. Despite the fact that we see ad nauseum cops and robbers, cowboys vs. Indians causing all the deaths on television and in the movies, there are more murders each year in the nation's factories than there are homicides.

And more people are injured at work than in auto accidents.

We also hear of how production is lost each year because of strikes. But in 1966, the number of man-days lost to work stoppages was 24 million — while 255 million man-days were lost as a result of work injuries!

If the bosses squawk so much about strikes cutting into their profits, why aren't they concerned when ten times as much production is lost through accidents? If this boss-run society is really concerned about the amount of "violence" in the streets, then why aren't they equally concerned about the violence in the shop that mangles and destroys just as surely as a knife or bullet?

The answer is that safety is of no

importance to the bosses. New machinery is introduced because it is more efficient, not because it is safer. Often a technological advance that could make a job lighter and safer is nullified because in their mad scramble for profits the bosses make the workers use the machinery without proper safety equipment or techniques. This very question sparked the Buffalo workers to fight back.

The magazine, *Labor Today*, quotes Detroit auto worker John West on how the bosses sabotage safety in the trim shop: "They usually put on a foreman, one of those 90 day wonders, to show the new workers around. You are supposed to use safety tools, a suction cup lifter for example. You smack it onto the steel piece and stick the piece in the die to be stamped. By no means do you ever put your hands into the die."

So the worker stands there watching with his safety tools in his hands... The foreman who demonstrates always puts a piece into the die with his hands, because it's faster that way. The new worker thinks, "Well, I haven't got my 90 days in (probationary period—ed.) and I could be fired any time. And the foreman wasn't afraid to stick his hands in, so I better stick mine in in order to make that production."

"Of course if there is a rush job that must be done, the plant safety man makes sure that he is not in that department when they're rushing it."

The pressure on the foreman comes down from higher up. The drive is for production, and this means getting as much work out of the men today, here and now, as is humanly possible. Every supervisor understands this, although it may be an unspoken law, and so safety regulations go by the board.

Speed-up, hazardous equipment and unsafe work practices — these are the killers, and they are all by-products of the profit motive. The ruling class is not running out and hollering for rivet-gun control laws, or "law and order," in plants that violate what few safety regulations do exist.

The answer to the carnage in the workplace isn't going to come from Congress or federal laws. The West Virginia miners have shown how safety on the job is going to be brought about — through united workers' struggle against the bosses, just like any other improvement in workers' conditions that has had to be wrung out of the billionaires.



Miners' families wait for news of men trapped in Mannington coal mine — 15,000 workers die in industrial accidents each year.

Death Before Retirement — In a Youngstown Steel Mill

By MOSE PETERSON

Shortly before 8 a.m. Saturday morning, April 19 a truck crushed the life from Tony Pervetich, 64-year-old cinderman at the open hearth shop in the Brier Hill works of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. Tony was a veteran steelworker with 40 years' service and was scheduled to retire on April 28.

The Company issued the usual report of the fatality and announced an investigation of the accident was underway and proceeded to push production of steel through Saturday day turn.

However, a juncture of forces was converging in the killing of Tony that was destined to make this "incident" different, cost the company thousands and ruin the weekend golf games of bosses all over the area.

First, Tony Pervetich was killed by the truck of an "outside" contractor and the Union Local (USW 1462) had just the previous week had Industrial Relations reject out of hand and without discussion the whole question of "contracting out" and the safety hazards posed by these outsiders to the regular crews in the open hearth.

Second, the newly elected Steelworkers director of District 26 was Frank Leseganich, also president of Local 1462 and certainly a power to be reckoned with, after June 1, far beyond the influence of his own local.

Third, and most important, within the open hearth were a number of men who believe in action at the point of production as the best way to solve such attacks against the workers as wanton

killing.

These men were on hand at the beginning of the 3 p.m. shift Saturday and pointed out to the open hearth crews that working would be accepting "blood money." Even though it was an overtime day for most men, they agreed and came out of the mill, bringing production of steel to a halt and putting the company in a bad public relations light for operating a slaughterhouse. Frank Leseganich said the refusal to work was justified under the safety provisions of the contract and the company, which usually refuses to negotiate during a "wildcat" and usually threatens mass firings, was this time forced to start negotiations while the men were still out.

By Tuesday, April 22, sufficient agreement had been reached for the men to agree to go back to work on the 3 p.m. shift. Then occurred the most bizarre incident of all. The company issued a public statement that Tony Pervetich was killed through his own negligence and thereby revealed not only the basic arrogance and cruelty of the mill bosses, but also probably some intent to take vicious reprisals in the future, after things had quieted down.

It didn't work! The infuriated open hearth men refused to go back and implied the furnaces would stay shut down for a long time if the boss wanted to charge the death to the dead man's own negligence. The bosses hastily "saw the light" and retracted the former statement about the cause of death,

—Ahmed Evans Sentenced

(Continued from page 1)

and is in fact the author of the so-called "Masotti Report," which is supposed to explain the white racism that is so prevalent in Cleveland as the underlying cause of incidents like the July 23



Mae Mallory

shooting for which Ahmed Evans is now convicted. The authorities refused to release the "Masotti Report" before the Evans trial, presumably because it might create some sympathy for Evans

and so the open hearths started up again on the midnight turn.

The death of Tony Pervetich at Brier Hill was, of course, a tragedy. However, his death has certainly served to rekindle a sense of solidarity among the open hearth workers at Sheet and Tube and also forced the corporation executives to look upon the broken body of a worker in their filthy mill yard as something different than a piece of scrapped equipment.

among the jury.

However, Masotti refused to sign the petition.

Mrs. Mallory said in a strong voice to him and the audience: "Then you're not with us; you're on the other side."

A good number of the whites in the audience repudiated Masotti and did sign, however. And later, Prof. Paul Zilzl, a courageous progressive, became temporary chairman of the remains of the meeting and offered a motion to abolish the Center for the Study of Urban Violence, a phony institution of the Establishment here.

Mr. Grattan told *Workers World* that his organization intended to fight the Evans case all the way and to "defend other victimized black brothers as well."

The case for a new trial for Ahmed Evans stands on very good legal grounds as well as on principles. There were continual racial slurs and racist comments before the all-white jury. One incident alone might suffice.

When Laurie, the prosecuting attorney, questioned Mary Louise Brown, a black woman who testified that the cops tore her clothes during the incident, placing their hands vulgarly on intimate parts of her body, he said: "You hate white people, don't you?"

When she replied, "No," he declared, "This country has been good to you. Didn't my color train your people? Wasn't it my color people that put up the money for these programs?"

Stanley Tolliver, one of the two defense attorneys, immediately called upon Judge McMonagle to dismiss the case at this point, citing these and a whole series of similar remarks. The motion was denied.

The Arab Revolution and the War Against Israel Converge in Lebanon

By P. MEISNER

While the immediate struggle of the Arab people has its roots in the fight for Palestine liberation, the Arab guerrilla movement is sweeping the entire Middle East with revolutionary ferment, challenging the old conservative Arab regimes as well as fighting for the revolutionary overthrow of the Israeli state created by U.S. and British imperialism.

The recent downfall of the Lebanese Premier and a five-day state of emergency in all of Lebanon just three weeks ago were further evidence that the Palestinian guerrilla movement had already sparked a widespread struggle against the reactionary Arab regimes who have also been the most conciliatory to U.S.-Israeli imperialism.

By trying to contain the Al Fatah and the Palestine National Liberation Movement, both the Jordanian and Leb-

anese regimes have been serving the U.S.-Israeli objective of crushing the Arab guerrillas. But the political and military strength of the Al Fatah is so great that neither the Lebanese nor Jordanian governments are in a position to effectively stop the guerrilla movement. And this is in large part due to the wide support that exists for the guerrillas throughout the Mideast.

The moves to dampen the guerrilla struggle against Israel are closely tied up with the Four-Power proposal for a "peaceful Mideast settlement" strongly backed by the Soviet revisionist leaders. The Four-Power agreement would be nothing but a betrayal of Arab liberation and could only strengthen the reactionary forces on the Arab continent and push the UAR government, currently under great pressure from the Israeli aggressors, into a more moderate and conciliatory position to-

wards Israel and the U.S.

The imperialists in Washington were overjoyed by Moscow's latest pronouncement on May 8 calling for "strict observance of the cease-fire," which implicitly included a halt in guerrilla activity. The New York Times, reflecting the U.S. ruling class' fear of the revolutionary thrust of the Arab guerrillas, could not help but praise the Soviet revisionist for their latest capitulation in an editorial published on May 10, entitled, "Good Advice From Moscow":

"A decision by Cairo to heed Moscow's good advice and cool the canal front would add credence to the Russians' concurrent pledge to devote 'all efforts' to promoting a political settlement...."

"If Moscow and Cairo have any influence in Damascus and with the guerrilla chiefs, now is the time to use it before it is too late. Today the guerrillas pick on Lebanon because it is small and weak. Tomorrow they may be after bigger fry—not necessarily Israel."

Here the editors of the Times have inadvertently admitted that the struggle against the colonial state of Israel is inherently connected with the impending social revolution throughout the Middle Eastern continent. Although hidden in the imperialist press, it should be remembered that the primary cause of the June 1967 war was the U.S.-Israeli conspiracy to overthrow the new revolutionary government of Syria, which had taken power in early 1966 and had been the main target of imperialism ever since.

What the Israeli puppet leaders and their U.S. bosses feared the most was the spreading of more militant Arab governments, as in Syria, which would give full support to the guerrilla movement against Israel and threaten all U.S. investments in the Middle East. The "bigger fry" areas the Times

is most worried about are the oil-rich Arab lands with huge U.S. investments such as Saudi Arabia which is ruled by a pro-imperialist monarch.

The revolutionary upsurge of the Arab guerrilla movement has inspired masses of students and workers in all Arab nations into a militant stance against the imperialist-created Israeli regime. It is this revolutionary tide that the Husseins, Faisals, and Nassers must contend with before they completely capitulate to a "peace plan" tied to a disarming of the guerrilla movement against the Israeli state. The Arab revolution has forged the merger of the liberation movement of Palestine with the liberation movement of the entire Arab continent from imperialist and semi-feudal subjugation.

WWP Answers

B'nai B'rith 'Charges'

Workers World Party has been "charged," according to the April 21 edition of the New York Times, with being a supporter of the Al Fatah. These "charges" were made in a staff report recently compiled by the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith.

Workers World Party has not yet studied the staff report in full but wishes to make it known at the outset that it feels no need whatsoever to apologize in any way for the unstinting support which it has given and will continue to give to Al Fatah, The Front for the Liberation of Palestine and all other organizations which are fighting for the liberation of the Arab people. We are proud to support the Arab people in whatever methods of struggle they employ against U.S. imperialism.

The proper charges of guilt in this situation belong at the doorstep of those organizations which have chosen to plead the cause of U.S. imperialism, the U.S. oil monopolies in particular, and their puppet government in Tel Aviv who are hopelessly attempting to stand in the way of self-determination and national liberation of 100 million oppressed Arabs.



Rabin Picketed in Buffalo — "Vive Al Fatah!"

BUFFALO, May 4 — Buffalo witnessed its first demonstration in support of Al Fatah today. The demonstration, which took place at the University of Buffalo's Norton Union, was called to oppose Yitzhak Rabin, an Israeli Chief of Staff, who was speaking that evening in the Millard Fillmore Room.

The demonstration, organized by the Committee to Support Mid-East and Palestine Liberation, started at 7:00 p.m. in the corridor outside of the Millard Fillmore Room. The Committee was soon joined by approximately 25 Arab workers and their sons from the Buffalo community.

Carrying placards which read "Israel = Tool of Wall St. Rule," "Hitler-Dayan, Both the Same," and "Al Fatah, Road to Victory," the demonstrators filled half of the hallway. Chanting "Vive Al Fatah" with clenched fists raised high in the air, the demonstrators gathered support from interested students at UB.

While the chants were going on, the other half of the hall, as well as the Fillmore Room, had filled with Rabin's Zionist supporters who started to sing "Shalom Aleichem" to try and quiet the demonstration down. At this point, the onlookers were provided with a very graphic picture of what liberation movements are all about. On one side of the hall, hundreds of expensively dressed Zionists were smiling, clapping and singing at what they termed the "ridiculous demonstrators." Facing them were the determined faces of about 60 Al Fatah supporters who militantly started pounding

their feet in time and chanting "Hitler - Dayan, Both the Same."

The militancy and volume of the demonstrator's chants soon drowned out the Zionists and shut them up except for hecklers. The picture of the workers and students, who were there supporting a revolutionary movement, standing in opposition to the pro-imperialist Zionists made a dramatic and lasting impression on the hundreds of student spectators.

One entrance to the Fillmore Room was blocked off by the demonstrators in order to force all of Rabin's audience, and Rabin himself, to walk through a human corridor of Al Fatah supporters. Members of the Committee set themselves up as unofficial monitors of the demonstration at this point and both the workers and members of Youth Against War & Fascism there stressed the need for discipline on the line.

Whenever the Zionists attempted to break the line, they were forced back. It became clearly evident after the third unsuccessful Zionist try at breaking the line that the Fatah supporters were dead serious. At this time General Rabin had to be secretly brought in through the back door in the cafeteria — foregoing his triumphal entry through the front doors in order to avoid the liberation supporters.

Long after the applause for Rabin had died out inside chants of "Vive Al Fatah" and "Hitler - Rabin Both the Same" resounded from the walls. Visibly shaken, Rabin finished his speech only to have to face the questions and speeches of the insistent demonstrators.

NY Arab Student Sit-in Protests Lebanon Attack on Commandos

Arab students sat in at the offices of the Lebanese Mission to the U.N. on May 2nd to protest the Lebanese government's attacks on Palestine liberation organizations. After 12 hours, the Ambassador finally gave in and agreed to send a telegram to his government containing the students' demands. Following is the text of a press release explaining the position of the Arab students.

The Arab students in the Greater New York area have been viewing with unprecedented urgency the events that have transpired in various Arab countries recently and which bear, if left unchallenged, grave implications for the future of the Palestinian liberation struggle in the Middle East.

Of immediate concern and consequence are the tragic events that have taken place in Lebanon recently.

It has been noted that since the Israeli attack on Beirut airport last December 28, the Lebanese police and army have sought to curtail the build-up of commando forces in southern Lebanon. The police have tried to limit the commandos' sources of local supplies, and the army has taken up positions that hinder the commandos' ability to get to the Israeli border or farther into Lebanon.

The heroic stand of the Palestinian refugees and students in outright rejection of these efforts was met with bullets and outrageous acts of violence that left scores of dead and wounded and which prompted Israeli Defense Minister Dayan to arrogantly assert that Lebanon must have witnessed a lot of "soul-searching" since the Israeli attack on Beirut airport. Recent reports of military confrontations and

ensuing casualties are even more disturbing and ominous and signify a new and dangerous stage in the conflict.

The Arab students in the Greater New York area have staged a sit-in in the Lebanese Mission to the United Nations to express vehement protest against these acts that have been perpetrated and precipitated by the Lebanese authorities concerned, and to demand that they be abandoned forthwith.

Specifically we demand:

1. Complete freedom of activity for the commandos
2. Freedom of movement and supply
3. Withdrawal of security forces from refugee camps
4. Release of all persons arrested
5. The cancellation of the state of emergency
6. Compensation for the families of the victims
7. Punishment of officials who were responsible for the perpetration of the flagrant acts of violence
8. Immediate disengagement from any confrontation (military or otherwise) with the commando organizations.

Finally, in condemning and deploring these outrageous acts of violence, we take note of the fact that they cannot be viewed in isolation. Recent indications from various Arab countries betray what seems to be a concerted effort on the part of various authorities to fragment, harass and clamp down on the Palestinian freedom fighter organizations. Let it be known therefore that we are not oblivious to these attempts. We thus wish to serve notice that the appropriate response will be made.

The Arab students in the Greater New York area

Revisionism And Imperialist Disarmament

By V. COPELAND

Disarmament has been a favorite topic of bourgeois pacifists and imperialist liars for at least 75 years. The first world disarmament conference was held at the Hague in Holland in 1899 and it solemnly agreed upon some serious limitations upon the arms of nations allegedly in order to make war less destructive, more humane—and less expensive, if possible. The imperialists also agreed upon these things in order to deceive each other about their intentions and above all to deceive their own peoples about the true nature of imperialist war.

The conference agreed to ban dum-dum bullets; it voted against the use of poison gas (with U.S. and Britain objecting); and it prohibited the use of projectiles or explosives from balloons for a period of five years (by unanimous vote).

Since the Hague, Bigger Wars

The conference was called on the initiative of the Russian Czar, who it may be recalled, engaged in two wars in the next two decades, losing both, before he was overthrown. At the time of the Hague Conference, the U.S. arms budget, enormously swollen by the Spanish American War, was considerably less than one-tenth of one percent of its present size. But many in the U.S. ruling class felt that some sort of limitation on arms would save money and be helpful to the growth of U.S. capital.

Whether or not these persons were correct, the limitations never worked. Long before the advent of communism, the antagonisms of imperialist nations became so sharp that wars broke out between them of a far more destructive character than the Hague Conference had even conceived of when it prohibited "explosives from balloons."

This summer there is a scheduled disarmament conference between the Soviet Union and the United States. Since negotiations of this type have been so fruitless and deceptive between imperialist nations, it is difficult to see how they could be more successful between an imperialist country on the one side and a socialist country on the other.

If two great corporations can't get together because their competition is so

fierce, then how can a corporation get together with a labor union, unless its aim is to crush that union, or turn it into a company union or to defeat or disarm it in some way by deceit, if not by open war?

From ABMs to MIRVs

There is already some question about the coming U.S.-Soviet talks ever taking place.

The Associated Press reported the other day (May 9) that the Joint Chiefs of Staff are trying to delay the talks. Why do they want to delay them? To allow the U.S. more time to test some more advanced weapons—a new missile system called Multiple Independently Targeted Re-entry Vehicles (MIRV). This might ensure the U.S. being ahead of the Soviet Union when the talks are held, and then any agreement to freeze the present arms situation (fully disarming isn't even discussed any more), would leave the U.S. ahead.

But a number of Administration advisers are opposed to the Joint Chiefs on this. Is this because they are more sincere about peace or disarmament? No. They "are said by government sources to feel that a delay might dim Soviet interest in an arms agreement because of Moscow's fear of losing ground to the U.S. in development of MIRVs at this time," said the AP.

The opponents of the Joint Chiefs in the ruling class are afraid that if the talks are delayed and the U.S. experiments more with MIRVs, the Soviet Union will build still bigger and better MIRVs and the controversial ABM defenses would be even weaker than they would otherwise be.

But the U.S. is already scheduled to put these devastating weapons (the MIRVs) on submarines, switching from the Polaris weapon to the multi-headed Poseidons. The first subscheduled for this transformation is already at the naval shipyard in New London, Connecticut. The final testing of the Poseidon's efficiency will take place during the U.S.-Soviet talks if all goes "well."

Defense Secretary Melvin Laird has however, asked for a slowdown in conversion of Minuteman intercontinental missiles to multiple warheads in

order to permit time for an arms agreement.

These are only the most flagrant military contradictions, which expose the cynicism of the "arms talks" between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The political and social questions are deeper and more far-reaching.

Pressure for a "Deal"

There can be no real cessation of arms manufacture or even serious limitation on it for any length of time, so long as there are hostile social systems in the two opposing countries. It is true that there are internal pressures in both countries to limit arms production. But it would take a successful social revolution in the United States to do this effectively here. And it would take a successful counter-revolution in the Soviet Union to do it effectively there.

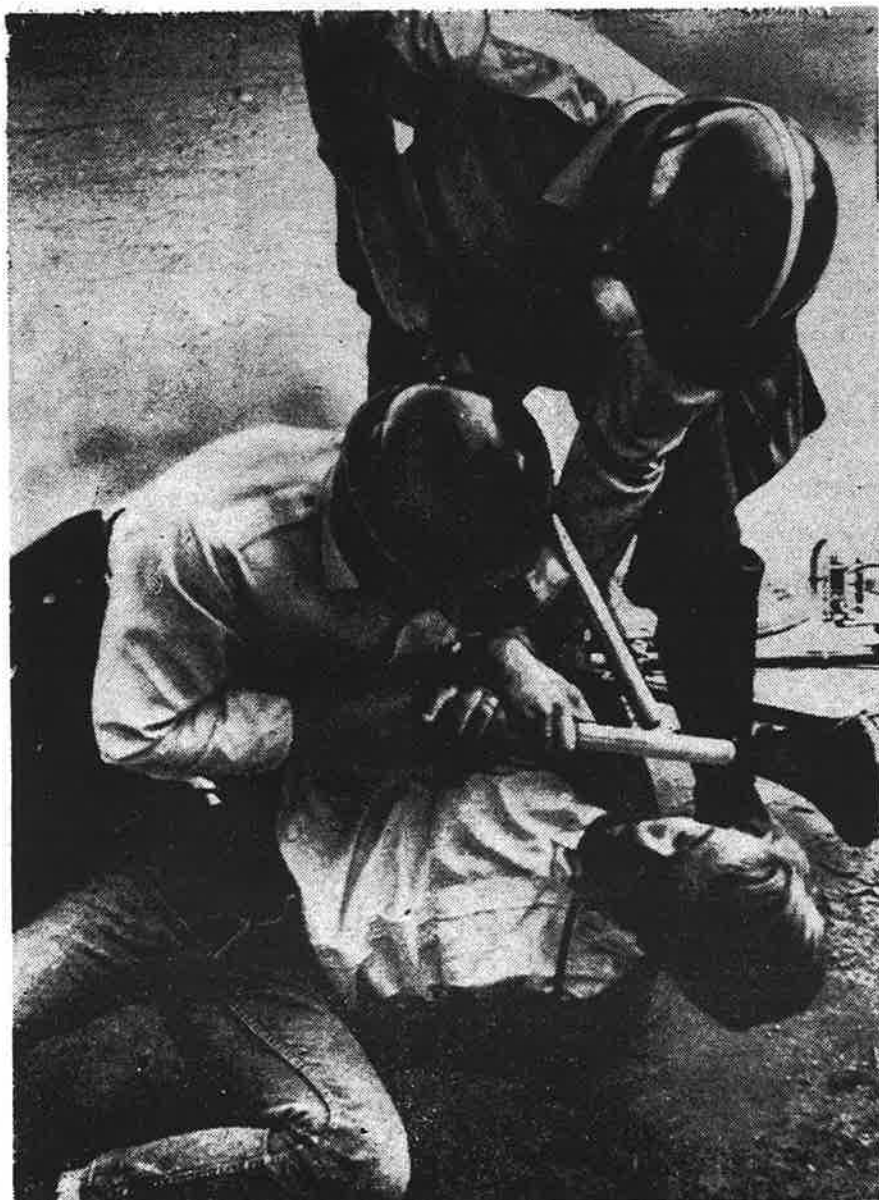
The only way there might be any arms limitation, even temporarily, would be in the event of a more definitive Soviet leaders' sellout of the revolution.

As everybody in the political know is well aware, even the most transitory agreement on arms must be a "package deal." That is, the Soviet leaders are expected to give absolute assurance that they will not aid any more liberation movements, that they will not repeat their arming of the Vietnamese and the Arabs, and that they will on the contrary, pressure the freedom fighters of the world to submit to the U.S. imperialists.

This the Soviet leaders seem willing enough to do. And they may yet really do it. Their request last week for the Arabs to cease fighting the Israelis made this quite clear. But every time the question of definitive sellout has been posed so far, the interests of the world revolution seem to intertwine themselves in some immediate way with the interests of the Soviet state itself. And the most revisionist Soviet leaders are based in the Soviet state and cannot wholly ignore this fact.

Thus the disarmament talks—or "arms limitation" talks—are not likely to get very far, and it would have been infinitely better for the Soviet Union as well as the world revolution, if the Soviet leaders had made this fact clear in advance.

Gas Attack by Madison Cops Meets 3-Day Resistance



MADISON, Wisc., May 6—A tense quiet fell over this city after three nights of violent clashes between riot police and students in the residential areas surrounding the University of Wisconsin. For three nights the area had been saturated with clouds of tear and pepper gas, sometimes so thick as to make it impossible for some of the area's residents to stay in their homes.

The street fighting began late Saturday afternoon when police refused to allow a block party in the heart of the student housing area to take place. The police charged the crowd of about 500, following them off the street and into the housing, making dozens of arrests on charges of disorderly conduct or unlawful assembly when students refused to leave their own porches. The police action was met with a barrage of bricks and bottles, and within a few hours with the setting up of barricades. The battle continued until about 12:30 A.M.

The next afternoon police reinvaded the area and began gassing the students who stood in small groups throughout the area, and the battle continued throughout the night. At about 10:00 P.M. about 500 of them marched to the City-County building, which houses the jail, demanding the release of the students still in jail. Police again charged and drove them back towards the university area. Monday night, after the mayor (a conservative recently elected by the "liberal" city largely in response to student activism on the campus) "talked" to a crowd of over 1200 students, the police again moved into the student area and drove them towards the shopping area near the university, indiscriminately gassing various businesses, the Memorial Library and several student centers. The main street between the university and the state capitol was a literal battleground for over three hours.

The issues involved were more

complicated than the simple holding of a block party (for which there is no legal provision, although in the past they have occurred quite regularly in different areas of the city) or even community control. Certainly the area involved is a slum, with rents as high as 250 dollars a month on a rundown three bedroom apartment. Students are stuffed into the area which is the only convenient place to live near the university, and the tensions have been rising for the past few years as the university has torn down available housing, and absentee landlords have bought up as much of the existing property as possible, raising the already high rents.

But besides all of these real complaints which were bound to explode eventually, the real reason the police were used so freely was political. After the original outbreak, the majority of the students involved were the same ones who had provided the core of the Strike last February. The use of the police against the student community was the physical side of the repression the city desired to mete out to them. Arrests had been kept at a minimum during the Strike, because the University feared a snowball effect. Here the police were given a free rein to clear the students from the area, knowing full well that these students had nowhere to go. Over 100 arrests were made, including two student aldermen, and two students were arrested for the serious charge of attempted arson. These added to the legal repression already in process after the strike.

In essence, the police have again been shown to be the repressive tool of the system, which needs to strike at every form of resistance against it. The response of the students, to band together and fight against those agents of the system is one good sign that the system cannot succeed in its goal of repressing the people.



Who Rules?

Amazon in Chains

----- the Empire?

Brazil has been called, with good reason, the "tropical China." The world's fifth largest country and eighth in population, Brazil is an unparalleled example of the contradictions of imperialism. Equal to the rest of South America in natural wealth, physical size and number of inhabitants, Brazil is expected to more than double its present population of 90 million by the end of the century.

With more arable land than all of Europe, Brazil is first in world production of coffee, third in sugar, cocoa and tobacco. Brazil's Amazon River, which is "more than 3,000 miles long," according to the Wall Street Journal, has "1,000 tributaries (several of them rivaling the Mississippi in size)," giving Brazil a potential for hydroelectric power greatest in the world. More than a third of the world's iron-ore deposits and 16 per cent of the world's timber are found in Brazil, as well as "an incalculable wealth of gold, silver, diamonds and other minerals and semi-precious stones" (Time). Titanium (essential for jet aircraft) and uranium are among Brazil's mineral resources, which are of particular interest to the U.S.

PEASANT "DID NOT MIND BEING SOLD"

In this land of "incalculable wealth," men die of old age at 30 years and are fortunate to have lived that long. In the Northeast, 50 per cent of the children born die in their first year. Millions and millions of peasants and urban poor slowly starve on a diet providing no more than 100 calories per day. Estimates of unemployment range from 40 to 70 per cent. Each year, thousands of men, women, girls and boys are sold into chattel slavery to work on ranches, coffee plantations, construction projects, and brothels. A newspaper in Belo Horizonte discovered 50,000 people "in chains."

Millions of peasants are working on estates in feudal bondage under conditions that are hardly better than outright slavery. In Brazil, the peasant must give up

From the Second Declaration of Havana

February 4, 1962. "It all boils down to imperialism and its work of repression and retrogression. The summary of this nightmare which torments America from one end to the other is that in this continent of 200 million human beings, two thirds of whom are Indians, Mestizos, Negroes... there die of hunger, of curable diseases or of premature old age some four persons per minute, some 5,500 per day, 2 million per year, some 10 million each five years.

"These deaths could easily be averted, but nevertheless they continue. Two thirds of Latin America's population lives briefly, and lives under the constant threat of death. In 15 years this holocaust has brought about twice as many deaths as the First World War... and it still rages. Meanwhile there flows from Latin America to the U.S. a constant torrent of money; some \$4,000 per minute, 5 million per day, \$2 billion per year; \$10 billion each five years. For each thousand dollars which leaves us, one dead body remains. \$1,000 per death! that is the price of what is called imperialism. \$1,000 PER DEATH, FOUR DEATHS EVERY MINUTE!"

two-thirds of his produce to the landlord and then sell the remainder at a third of its value. The life of the peasant is totally subject to the will of the landlord. One Brazilian reporter, in a muckracking attempt, "bought a man and his wife for \$30. 'I have seen many a good man starve,' explained the slave, 'that is why I did not mind being sold.'"

Bad as these conditions are, it is not even a question of a poor minority that is suffering. The New York Times correspondent in Brazil had to admit that "the poor make up 80 per cent of the population." In 1961, just 3.9 per cent of Brazil's people had completed primary school. Although the cost of living increased by 25 per cent in the last year, rates of 80 and even 140 per cent have been hit in this decade.

NO "EQUAL OPPORTUNITY" AMONG THIEVES

The ideological henchmen of the mass media here, after revealing the really extraordinary natural wealth of Brazil, somehow never explain why it remains unavailable to the people of that country. They are anxious to point out, however, how generous the fascist regime has been to the U.S. corporations operating there. Business Week disclosed that Brazil is offering "a package of incentives that businessmen can't pass up."

Brazil is offering "liberal" tax exemptions, in some cases extending total exemption for up to 15 years! The President of the Federation of Industries of Sao Paulo had to go on his knees before the Brazilian government: "Foreign firms can bring their entire equipment in at the free market price... national firms, however, have to do so through exchange licenses established in import categories. In this, there was created veritable discrimination against national industry. We do not plead for preferential treatment but for equal opportunities." (Imagine the head of the NAM, National Association of Manufacturers, pleading for "equal opportunity"!) Not only did the government not heed this "plea," it actually made conditions more stringent for national industry to the point where it could no longer even compete.

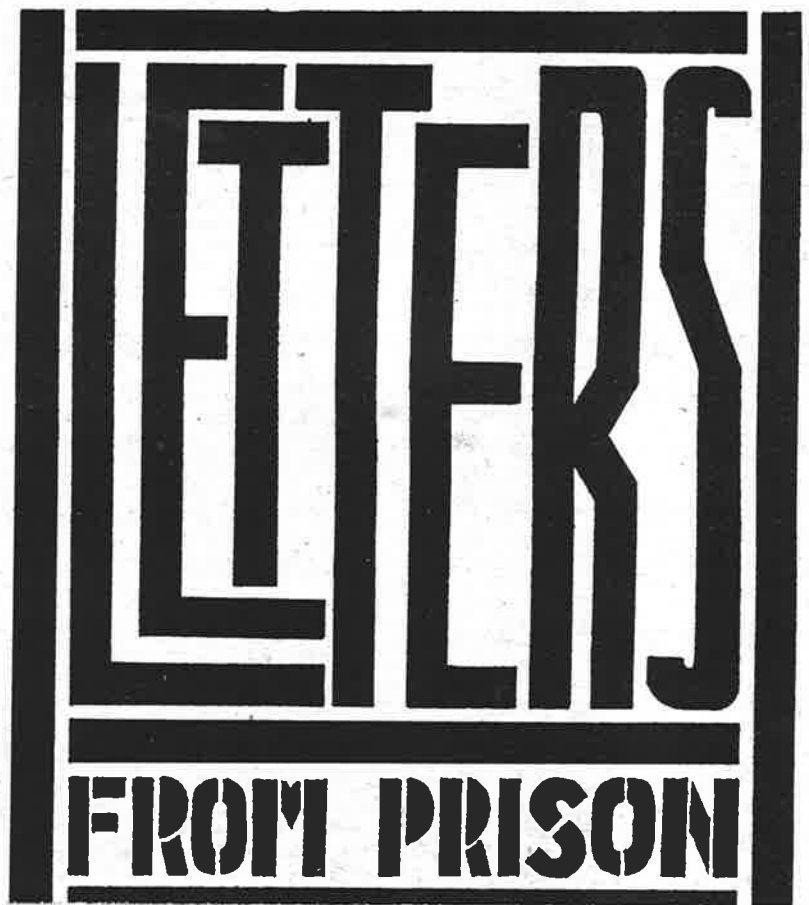
Even the giant monopolies of Europe are being "devoured" by U.S. imperialism; how could Brazilian industry, under a quisling neo-colonial regime, withstand the pressures from General Motors and the other corporate gangsters? Before the present censorship was imposed, there was widespread opposition to what one economist called the "de-Brazilianization of the economy." Some of those participating in cutting up the pie, besides GM, are General Electric, Ford, Dow Chemical, Union Carbide, Lone Star Cement, Mohawk Rubber, Northrop Corporation and American Cyanamid.

"THE ARMY IS SITTING ON THEM"

According to Brazil's Interior Ministry, "in late 1967, Foreign investment capital and reserves came to \$4 billion," and "foreign investment and reinvestment comes to 10 per cent of the total each year. U.S. investments aggregate roughly 40 per cent of the total foreign capital in Brazil." For various reasons of dishonesty, these figures represent only a portion of the actual amounts involved, and the vise-like grip of U.S. capital over the economy.

Business Week quotes a Brazilian official: "There are 30 million people in the Northeast, and they're keeping quiet only because the army is sitting on them." The army, which is "sitting on" the whole nation, no longer representing anyone other than Wall Street, is isolated and without domestic support. Popular struggle in Brazil, in all areas and among all sections of the people, will in the not distant future, smash the imperialist regime; and in this "tropical China," there will be no island of Formosa where the oppressor can escape annihilation.

-- KENNETH LAPIDES



—Martin Sostre's correspondence from Erie County Jail and Green Haven Penitentiary, Stormville, New York. Martin Sostre is a black political prisoner serving a 40-year sentence. He was the proprietor of a bookstore which sold literature of the black liberation struggle and was framed by Buffalo authorities after a black rebellion in that city in 1967.

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