

THE MILITANT

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China Crisis Prodded By Economic Factors

(World Outlook) — The Jan. 1 issue of *Red Flag*, one of the publications of the Red Guards in Peking, carried an attack on a well-known figure in China — Shi Chuan-hsiang. He was accused of being a "protégé of Liu Shao-chi," the head of the People's Republic of China. Liu himself recently stood at the side of Mao Tse-tung to receive the homage of millions marching through Tien an Men Square, yet is today reviled as the chief of a "handful" seeking to restore capitalism in China.

Only last September Shi Chuan-hsiang was still one of the figures held up for emulation in the Chinese press. As "the all-China model night-soil collector," his efforts to advance the "cultural revolution" were cited everywhere. The story about how he took Red Guards on his round of duties and showed them by example how to "uproot capitalism and revisionsm" was featured on the front pages. His approval of these Red Guards was widely quoted: "You are really good revolutionary fighters, educated in the spirit of the thought of Mao Tse-tung."

"Worked Insufficiently"

The Jan. 15-16 issue of *Le Monde* confirmed the fall of this luminary from favor. According to the Paris daily, Shi Chuan-hsiang was taken through the streets of Peking in a truck, a dunce's cap on his head as a sign of infamy. A placard hanging from his neck read: "Worked insufficiently. Supported Liu Shao-chi. Shook Liu Shao-chi's hand when the latter made him an elite night-soil collector and a deputy in the National Assembly."

The fate of Shi Chuan-hsiang epitomizes that of others. A Jan. 16 Reuters dispatch from Peking said: "Today, three persons, rigged out in dunces' caps and bearing notices were driven through the city in a truck loaded with

Red Guards. They had slogans scrawled even on their faces and it was impossible to distinguish who they were."

The same dispatch reported big crowds in Peking gazing "at poster photographs showing the humiliation of purged Communist leaders and intellectuals at the hands of the Red Guards." The pictures taken at recent meetings "showed 20 men, most of them over 60, kneeling or standing with heads bent." The posters, the work of Red Guard propagandists from the Peking Law Institute, were titled, "We show these counterrevolutionaries to the masses."

Humiliation

The *Toronto Globe and Mail*, in an account from Peking reproduced in the Jan. 21 *New York Times*, said that a special newspaper called *Fighting News* printed photographs of purged leaders at a meeting at which they were humiliated. "In a photo of Peng Chen, the one-time Mayor of Peking and member of the party Politburo stared blankly ahead of him as two Red Guards held his arms pinned behind his back. A three-foot placard showed his name crossed out."

The same account said that wall posters in Peking reported the suicide of Lo Jui-ching, who was dismissed as chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. He, too, was shown in one of the photographs. "Mr. Lo, now dead, who recently broke his leg when he jumped from a window, was shown in a cast. He was permitted to have a chair but one of the troopers he had once commanded was shown twisting his arm behind his back.

"Other prominent leaders photographed included the former propaganda chief, Lu Ting-yi, and a former party Secretariat member, Yang Shang-kun. The wives of Mr.

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TEXT OF CORE LEADER'S STATEMENT

McKissick's Call for Black Parley

[The following statement by Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE, calling for a two-day national conference to create a "black national political structure," is printed for the information of our readers. McKissick reportedly said that "we are not forming a political party, but a structure, an apparatus for unifying black people."]

WAKE UP, black men; sleep no more.

Racist tyrants crash at your door.

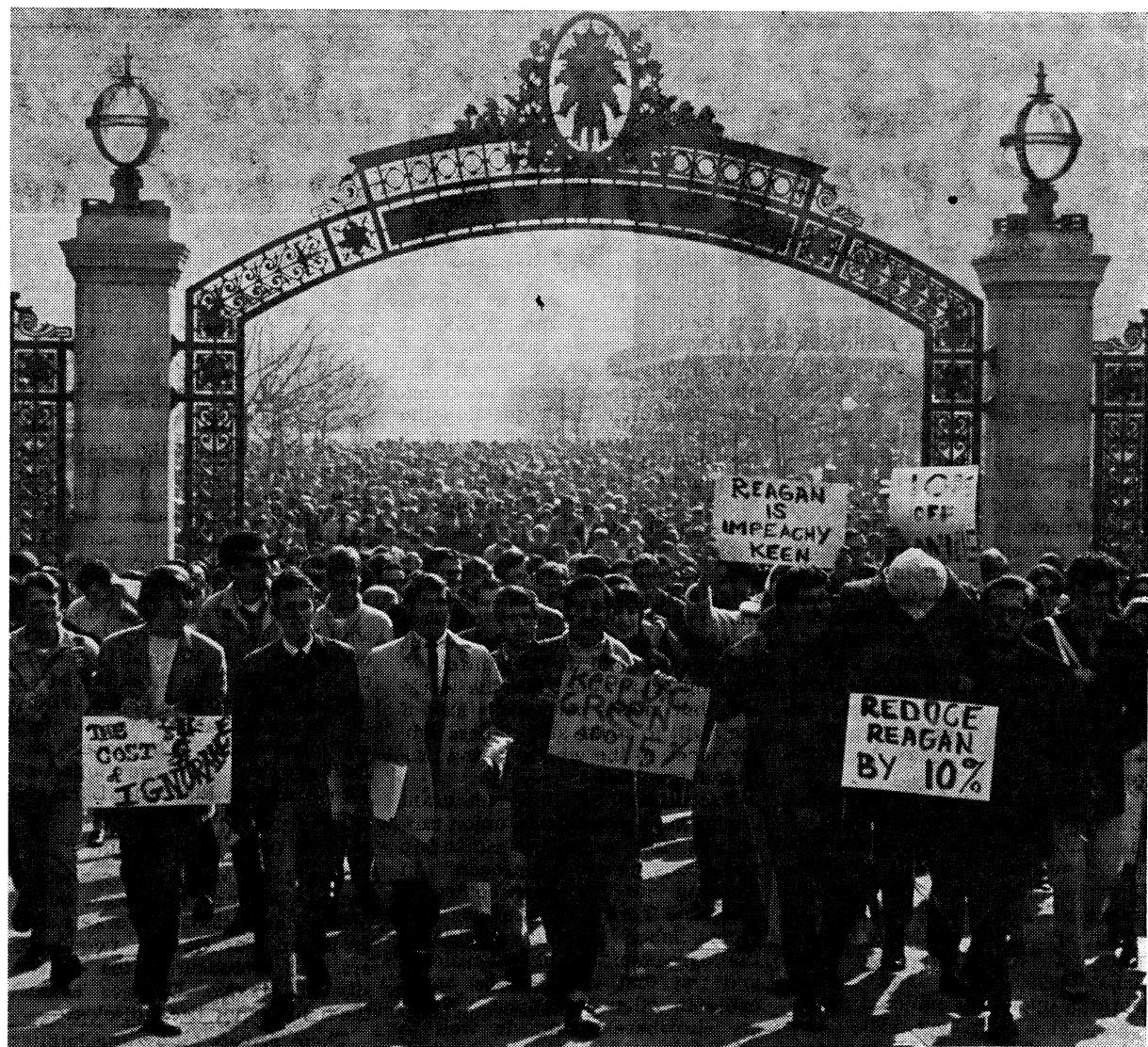
More than a century after the Emancipation Proclamation, black Americans still experience the evils of a racist society — economic deprivation, inferior education, sub-standard housing and an unemployment rate almost three times higher than white workers. Political disfranchisement, economic exploitation, fear and frustration continue to plague black citizens throughout the country.

Discrimination in every aspect of American life perpetuates our misery and prolongs the blight of second-class citizenship. The moral

concepts of human equality and brotherhood have been compromised and subverted by the white power complex of government and business. Thus the masses of black Americans are still paralyzed by poverty; frustrated by unkept promises, bloodied in the streets of America, sacrificed in the jungles of Vietnam and strangled by a pattern of racism that runs through the entire fabric of American life.

Black men, women and children watched as a racist Georgia legislature twice denied Julian Bond the right to represent them. Again more than twenty million black men, women and children watched a racist United States Congress deny Adam Clayton Powell the right to represent them.

No longer can black people be regarded by this society as passionless, as insufferable and as subhuman, for they can see that the time is now to assert themselves as men. These racial injustices prevail because of the absence of adequate political power on the part of black Amer-



PROTEST TUITION. Mass march of Berkeley students coming through Sather Gate on way to University Hall, where Regents were meeting. Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Berkeley, is third from left, in front. See page 8.

'Operation Cedar Falls' Aims At Wholesale Extermination

By Dick Roberts

JAN. 24 — The "new" Pentagon strategy in Vietnam has been revealed to be nothing less than an attempt to liquidate the male population in areas of the country sympathetic to or governed by the National Liberation Front. This kind of terrorism can only strengthen the Vietnamese resolve to fight to rid their country of the U.S. aggressors.

The Pentagon strategy was made murderously clear by the casualty figures released in the near-end days of "Operation Cedar Falls," the largest U.S. military campaign in the course of the war. The other

side of "Operation Cedar Falls" is that all women, children and old men in this area are being transported to concentration camps as prisoners.

Even by conservative estimates, two-thirds of the south Vietnamese population lives in regions controlled or influenced by the NLF.

According to *New York Times* reporter Tom Buckley, writing from Saigon Jan. 23, "Villages in the area have been destroyed to deprive guerrillas of shelter and 5,967 residents, virtually all of them old men, women and children, are being housed in camps..." In an earlier report, written from Phucong where these persons had been transported, Buckley estimated that of the nearly 6,000 prisoners there were "only 100 or so men in the camp between the ages of 18 and 50."

What happened to the remainder of the male population? According to Lieut. Gen. Jonathan O. Seaman, commander of the Second Field Force, which has over-all control of the campaign, *only 179 prisoners were taken. Seaman said there were 1,219 casualties.*

If these figures are correct, it means that almost 20 percent of the south Vietnamese who encountered the invasion force were murdered. Hopefully, many of the residents were previously able to escape the path of Washington's armies.

However the casualty figures may easily be underestimated. The area was saturation-bombed and shelled for many days prior to and during the "Cedar Falls" attack.

The price paid by American soldiers for this butchery was apparently not small. More American servicemen were either killed or wounded in the week during which the campaign began than in any other week of the war. Although casualties were not listed for "Operation Cedar Falls" itself, there were 144 American soldiers listed as killed that week, 1,044 wounded and 6 as missing. And,

the government often withholds the actual number of casualties involved in big operations, spreading them out over a number of weeks.

Meanwhile the U.S. Defense Department has made one more concession about its bombing of north Vietnam. It concedes that civilians actually have been killed by U.S. bombs and it admits that it has aerial photographs showing "considerable damage to civilian structures." (*New York Times*, Jan. 22.)

Still maintaining that these are "accidental," the Pentagon presently explains that it is the policy of U.S. bombers often to dump "excess" bombs after a raid in order to "lighten the load." That's really the fault of the Vietnamese, you see, because if they weren't trying to shoot down U.S. planes, then the bombers wouldn't have to get rid of the extra bombs.

Even this further chapter in the warped rationalizations of the

(Continued on Page 2)

Ferretting Out Viet Pro-Reds

The following is the text of a Jan. 22 Reuters dispatch: "NUIDAT, South Vietnam — Captured Vietcong guerrillas cheer for the Indians during Western movies shown to them at an Australian hospital at Vungtau, an Australian intelligence officer said here today.

"One guerrilla, who said he had changed his political views since his capture three months ago, gave himself away by crying at the end when the Indians lost, the officer said.

"He said the guerrilla would be handed over to South Vietnamese authorities tomorrow to be interned."



PROTEST TUITION. Mass march of Berkeley students coming through Sather Gate on way to University Hall, where Regents were meeting. Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Berkeley, is third from left, in front. See page 8.



Teamster president James R. Hoffa outlined the union's new contract demands at a meeting with truck industry representatives in Washington Jan. 17. These included wage demands of an increase of 75 cents an hour over the next three years and an annual increase of 0.5 cents a mile in the rate paid drivers of long distance trucks.

The present contract expires March 31. Union members now average between \$3.10 and \$3.50 an hour in wages, and long-distance drivers receive 10.75 to 11.25 cents per mile. In all, the union's demands are estimated at about 92 cents an hour in wages and fringe benefits, amounting to a 4.5 percent to 7 percent boost yearly.

The demands made further steps toward enlarging the coverage of the national master agreement now covering 450,000 workers. This included extending to all workers some key provisions which are now negotiated regionally and steps toward bringing some 50,000 office and garage workers under the national agreement. The teamsters called for retention of the cost-of-living escalator.

* * *

Twelve unions have voted to set up a coordinated bargaining structure within the oil industry. Toward that end they plan to hold a "formational meeting" next April in Kansas City, Mo. The step is planned to overcome the grave handicaps of existing procedure under which bargaining with the oil monopolists is conducted union by union, company by company and plant by plant.

In addition to the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and several independent unions of oil workers, the coalition will include unions of operating engineers, teamsters, machinists, service station workers, boilermakers, carpenters and seamen.

Meanwhile, a settlement has been reached after an eight-day strike between Texaco Inc. and two unions in Port Arthur, Texas. The agreement, with the OCAW and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, was said to parallel the recommendations laid down by the OCAW's International Policy Committee for new contracts throughout the oil industry (See *Militant*, Jan. 23).

According to Texaco, it included a job security provision, but details on this were not released. OCAW workers are still out at Standard Oil Co. of Ohio plants in Cleveland and Toledo.

* * *

A new low in unprincipled leadership conduct has been reached by officials of a restaurant workers union in New York City. It has been achieved in signing new contracts covering about 4,500 workers at chain restaurants operated by Bickford's and Schrafft's.

Today it is commonplace for "labor statesmen" to include a no-strike clause in contracts, but in this case new outrages are committed on two counts. The union

is pledged not to support actions by its members such as "wild-cat strikes, slowdowns, accidental sabotage and mass sicknesses and absenteeism." A provision is added that the union won't question the companies' "right" to discipline or fire employees engaging in or encouraging such practices. Put bluntly, the union bureaucrats have openly signed on as company cops.

A second violation of union principles is a proviso in advance that, when the present contract expires, any dispute over terms of renewal will be submitted to binding arbitration. For the workers, that means permanent loss of the right to strike and endless subservience to the whims of the profit-hungry bosses.

Executives of the restaurant chains have praised the union misleaders for their "statesmanship and constructive approach" in working out the new contracts. The *New York Times* reports that "some labor officials considered the agreement highly significant and felt that it might be applicable in other situations." Workers elsewhere would do well to take this as a warning to be on the alert against further sell-outs of the kind.

* * *

The United Steelworkers have asked the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn a Taft-Hartley injunction used by Johnson to force 2,100 strikers back on the job at the Union Carbide plant in Kokomo, Ind. The victimized workers are part of a force of about 8,000 members of three unions who have been on strike at Union Carbide plants across the country since last summer. The main issue is a demand for multi-union and multi-plant bargaining for common union goals. The company insists that contracts be negotiated union by union and plant by plant.

Johnson's alibi for the strike-breaking injunction is that the Kokomo plant supplies an alloy used in making engines for fighter planes and the strike therefore "affected national safety." Union lawyers argue that similar alloys can be found elsewhere. Besides that, they contend, the strike has not affected a "substantial portion" of the engine industry and the Taft-Hartley Act requires such a finding before an injunction can be invoked.

In its brief to the high court the union says, "The fundamental concern here is whether a threat to the national safety or health entitles the executive branch to proceed without authority from, or contrary to limitations imposed by, the legislative branch."

* * *

On a separate matter, the Supreme Court refused Jan. 16 to rule on the crucial question of multi-union bargaining raised in last October's negotiations between GE and the International Union of Electrical Workers. IUE had appealed a lower court decision supporting GE's policy of refusing to negotiate jointly with representatives of IUE and other unions in GE plants.

More Mexicans Jailed In Gov't Repressions

In a continuing campaign of repression, the Mexican government has made new political jailings on trumped-up charges.

Last month in the oil city of Poza Rica in the state of Vera Cruz, two doctors and a lawyer were seized without warrant and jailed in Mexico City, nearly 300 miles away. Two students were also arrested but later released. Meanwhile, three others were arrested in Mexico City and taken to Veracruz where they have been held incommunicado.

All are charged with membership in the Revolutionary Workers Party, the Mexican followers of J. Posadas. The three Poza Rica victims are accused of the fantastic charge of sabotaging the city's oil installations. The three are: Doctors Fausto Dávila Solis and Tito Armando Rodriguez Lara, and Genaro Jongitud, a lawyer.

Charges Withheld

The four Mexico City victims include Alfonso Lizarraga, editor of the Revolutionary Workers Party paper, *Voz Obrera*, two workers, and a student at the University of Mexico. Charges against them have not been disclosed.

These arrests follow the jailings in Mexico City of the Argentine radical journalist Adolfo Gilly and a number of members of the Revolutionary Workers Party, and members of the Revolutionary Movement of the People, including its leading figure, the journalist Victor Rico Galan.

Members of the Mexican Communist Party have also been jailed in Tampico. Other political prisoners include a group of students arrested at the university in the city of Morelia.

Dr. Dávila of Poza Rica is a celebrated figure in that city. Poza Ricans have long been the victims of venal municipal officials, corrupt oil union bureaucrats and

gangsters. In 1958 Dr. Dávila, who had been a Trotskyist in his student days and who was widely known in the city for his devoted care of his patients, was persuaded to run in the municipal elections against the official candidate.

Dr. Dávila received an overwhelming majority of the vote but was counted out. Angry demonstrations then erupted in the city which were brutally suppressed by municipal and federal forces. Dr. Dávila was kidnapped, imprisoned and tortured. It was only after the local administration was rocked by scandal that he was able to return and resume his practice.

When Dr. Dávila and his two companions were jailed last month, city and federal officials denied knowing their whereabouts. Public reaction was so strong that they felt obliged to open the local jails for inspection. It was then that it was disclosed they were being held by the federal authorities.

**Don't Buy
Tribuno Vermouth**
After conducting successful boycotts against Schenley products and DiGiorgio farm products, the United Farm Workers is now appealing for support to a boycott against the products of Antonio Perelli-Minetti, whose Delano Valley farms have been struck since last September. The products include: Tribuno vermouth, Ambassador burgundy wine, Aristocrat brandy and 11 Cellars burgundy.

Big Cleveland Rally Demands Adequate Welfare Grants

CLEVELAND — Over 700 people attended a citizens rally on public welfare held here Jan. 16 at the Manger Hotel. The purpose of the meeting was to unite community support to improve local welfare grants. Ohio is the fifth wealthiest state in total personal income but only 30th in per capita welfare spending. A typical family of four on ADC in Ohio receives \$163 a month to live on, including rent.

Sponsors of the rally included the Welfare Federation of Cleveland, the Council of Churches, the Cleveland Federation of Labor, the National Association of Social Workers and the Area Councils Association, and a group of neighborhood organizations, some including people on relief.

Among the participants were many recipients of public assistance, some with large signs advertising their plight. Also, many members of the welfare workers union which has just completed a successful two-week strike as well as representatives of church groups, labor organizations, civic groups and PTAs were present.

The featured speaker, Miss Elizabeth Wickenden, an expert on public welfare legislation, noted that she had not seen such a large audience assembled out of concern for inadequate public assistance since the depression.

"The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions yet made to her august claims have been born of earnest struggle." — **Frederick Douglass.**

Black Opponents Of Vietnam War Hold Conference

NEW YORK — A conference of black activists opposed to the war in Vietnam and to drafting of black youth as cannon fodder in that war, was held in Harlem Jan. 21. The meeting attracted over 80 activists, mostly young, including high school students. The entire spectrum of black militants were represented, and there were delegations from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington and Atlanta.

A businesslike discussion took up various problems in organizing opposition of black people to the war and the draft, and reflected some experience on the part of the participants.

Three fraternal visitors from Puerto Rican independence groups opposed to the war were present.

The conference was addressed by Robert Allen, Robert Browne, Conrad Lynn and Mike Simmons. Robert Allen is a youthful anti-draft activist instrumental in organizing the conference. Robert Browne is a professor at Fairleigh Dickinson College. He served six years in Cambodia and Vietnam as a State Department officer, and is outspoken in his opposition to U.S. imperialism. Conrad Lynn is a civil rights attorney, and is now handling several legal actions in defense of victims of the draft laws. Mike Simmons is from Atlanta, Ga., and recently spent two months in jail for his participation in an all-black demonstration at the Atlanta induction center.

The meeting voted to set up a coordinating committee, which is interested in receiving the views of all black activists opposed to the war and the draft. Inquiries may be sent to: Coordinating Committee of Blacks Against the Racist Draft, c/o Harlem Unemployment Center, 139 W. 125 St., New York.

... 'Operation Cedar Falls'

(Continued from Page 1)
Washington military authorities (a history of some of the previous ones was given in the Jan. 9 *Militant*) only came about under the pressure of further American news reports from north Vietnam.

These are the reports of William C. Baggs, editor of the *Miami News*, and Harry Ashmore, Pulitzer-prize winning former editor of the *Arkansas Gazette*. Baggs' dispatches, which appeared in the *Miami News* and were distributed by the Associated Press, confirmed the earlier reports of *New York Times* correspondent Harrison Salisbury in every detail.

"Namdinh," Baggs wrote Jan. 19, "is a city which has been bombed often . . . The nursery school is pretty much destroyed. The school is a large building, and bombs have reduced one-half of it to rubble. A nearby building, which was a two-story housing facility, has been riddled by rockets. And 34 pocks in the exterior walls, where the rockets struck, were counted."

What He Saw

"You do not report what you hear in north Vietnam. Too much propaganda shrouds reality in any country at home. So you only report what you see and feel and examine. But the complaint of the people in Namdinh that many civilian neighborhoods with no military function have been bombed appears to be a valid complaint."

On the following day, Baggs described the complaints of north Vietnamese farmers that U.S. bombs were pounding the dikes. One reporter told him that a 1,000-pound bomb was dropped Dec. 6 on the dike at the village of Xuantien on the Nincho river.

"He produced a picture of a dike and said the portion destroyed, clearly visible in the photograph, was 24 meters long (about 26

yards) and 9 meters deep (almost 10 yards)." When Baggs attempted to tell the reporter that it wasn't Washington's policy to bomb dikes, the reporter's "reaction is to show you the photograph again."

Baggs also confirmed Salisbury's report of the bombing of Phuly: "This is a little city," he wrote in a dispatch from Phuly Jan. 17, "which has been pretty much bombed off the map. Indeed, an uncommon sight around here is a structure with a roof and walls. After examining the rubble, you estimate that at least four-fifths of the city has been destroyed. Acres and acres of ruins stretch out from either side of the highway through the place."

N.Y. Times Letter Hits U.S. Campaign

To the Editor:

On Jan. 16 you ran a news report by Tom Buckley telling of the systematic and total destruction of the villages of Bensuc, Rachhap, Bungcong and Rachkien . . . This involved the semi-incarceration of 6,000 individuals and (from a previous article about Bensuc alone) liquidation of many suspected Vietcong.

On Jan. 18 there appeared a news article by Henry Kamm telling of the 25th anniversary of the razing of Lidice by the Nazis. Where is the difference? By what standard can we revile the destruction of Lidice and accept the destruction of Bensuc?

Erik Lewis
(A letter to the Jan. 23 *New York Times*.)

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... The Crisis in China

(Continued from Page 1)

Lo and Mr. Lu went through the same ordeal as their husbands as Red Guards leveled accusations at them."

Did figures like these "worm their way into the party and into positions of power" in order to spearhead a movement to restore capitalism? It seems unlikely. This is one of the elements that make it so difficult to decipher the meaning of the "cultural revolution."

But if the charges leveled by the Mao faction are not true, or are grossly exaggerated, what are the real issues that have split the leading cadre into warring factions? Even more important in analyzing the meaning of the political crisis, what social forces are represented by the various contending groups or the figures that come to symbolize them?

This has not been easy to determine, for even if a tentative identification is made, this may soon be upset as the case of Shi Chuanhsiang rather dramatically illustrates. Other shifts are even more puzzling. The very figures in charge of purging old officials in the name of the "cultural revolution" are themselves purged in the name of the same cause within weeks.

The new stage in the "cultural revolution" that opened in December has begun to involve the workers on an increasing scale and this has provided more intimations of some of the real issues at stake in the struggle.

Thus a Jan. 14 Hsinhua dispatch speaks about the "intrigues and tricks of the enemy" and his "many disguises." We are able to deduce that two tendencies oppose the Mao faction. One is called "a handful of those within the party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road." This apparently refers to the tendency headed by Liu Shao-chi. The other tendency is called "an extremely few die-hards who are stubbornly pursuing the bourgeois reactionary line." This tendency is apparently attempting to straddle between Mao and Liu Shao-chi. Among the top figures of the regime, this tendency may center around Chou En-lai.

All Love Mao

Nothing is clear in this, since all three tendencies are devotees of the cult of Mao, disciples of "Mao's thought," and ardent advocates of the "cultural revolution." To find hints of the differences it is necessary to study the descriptions of the "intrigues and tricks" used by Mao's foes and their "many disguises."

In the Jan. 14 article, we are told, "In every conceivable way, they slander and undermine this alliance [of the "revolutionary workers, revolutionary students and revolutionary masses"], deceive part of the masses by hoisting 'red flags,' and bribe them with material benefits in an attempt to divide and break up the alliance, so as to attain their own ends."

This probably means that Mao's opponents, while speaking in favor of the "cultural revolution," actually go against it by offering material incentives to the workers. In other words, as advanced by Mao, the "cultural revolution" is opposed to a rise in the standard of living of the workers. His op-



Chou En-lai

ponents, or some of them, favor it.

Apparently Mao's opponents were not totally unsuccessful, since the article speaks about the need for "painstaking ideological work with those comrades who have been temporarily hoodwinked..."

The line of offering material inducements to the workers; i.e., an immediate boost in their standard of living, is called "economism" by the Maoists and they say it is a "bourgeois reactionary line," one that has been adopted by "counter-revolutionary revisionism."

A different dispatch from the same source on the same day gives an example of the indignation of the "young Red Guards" at the Foochow high school because the two enemy tendencies "had incited workers and peasants to wage 'economic struggle.'"

In the same area, the same enemy forces "had incited large numbers of the workers' Red Guards to go to Peking to 'voice their resentment' and had supplied them with money for their fares. This was an act of defiance of Chairman Mao's policy of 'taking firm hold of revolution to stimulate production.'" Since millions of Red Guards have been given free transportation to and from Peking, with meals and lodging also supplied, it is difficult to see why — on the level of principles, and particularly equalitarianism — it is an act of defiance to pay the way for workers to go to Peking to voice their grievances.

Control of financial matters is mentioned in the same article as an issue in dispute in various factories in Harbin. In other areas it was likewise in dispute. In one instance the payment of "bonuses" to workers is specified as the counterrevolutionary act. In Fukien and Foochow the foe "gave a large amount of money to the workers' and peasants' Red Guard army on the Fukien front with the purpose of undermining the great proletarian cultural revolution."

Strikes

Besides "economism" and "state finances"; i.e., wage boosts, bonuses, "welfare services" or other forms of material benefits for the workers, "sabotage" is frequently cited in the latest press dispatches released by Hsinhua. This refers to strikes or other forms of action undertaken by the workers. As an example, a Jan. 15 Hsinhua report on trouble in the famous Taching oil field, where the workers have been held up as models for all of China, can be cited:

"Revolutionary rebels [approved followers of Mao] in the Taching oil field said that at the beginning these persons 'grasp produc-

tion' as a pretext to suppress the masses who wanted to rise up to make revolution; later when the revolutionary masses had seen through their schemes, these same people pretended that they 'supported' the revolution and used material incentives to lure large numbers of workers to leave their production posts; in doing so they attempted to use economism as a bait to shift the general orientation of the struggle, maintain their positions by using state money, sabotage production and hit hard against the revolution. The workers have revealed the tricks of these people opportunely and defeated their schemes."

One of the most interesting items is the indication that at the beginning of the "cultural revolution" in the Taching oil field, there was an effort to change its general orientation. One wonders if the workers at first took the slogans of the "cultural revolution" for good coin and began to rectify long-standing grievances.

Is an expansion of democracy involved? An article in *Red Flag*, the journal of the Central Committee, reported in a Jan. 15 Hsinhua dispatch from Peking, would indicate that caution is advisable before accepting this claim of the Maoists at face value. "Shanghai's experience," says the article, "proves that the extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat is absolutely not ultra-democracy..."

Like Paris Commune?

Another Jan. 15 Hsinhua dispatch, this time from Shanghai itself, can be taken perhaps as evidence on how Mao's promise about instituting democracy like that followed by the Paris Commune is to be made good: The "rebel group" of true Maoists "talked things over" with the workers in a factory. "In accordance with the election system of the Paris Commune, they set up revolutionary production committees for work teams, workshops and administrative offices, in order to successfully carry out both the revolution and production, and to fulfill state production plans."

The limitations of this democracy can be gathered from the goal specified in the final phrase. The production committees are designed to "fulfill state production plans." To emphasize this, the Hsinhua dispatch goes on to say that "the masses of workers... pledged to carry out production well..."

This is a far cry from the genuine workers' democracy of the Paris Commune. In the Commune, the revolutionary workers directly controlled the government. It is this essential aspect of workers' democracy which is lacking in China.

Prospects for Antiwar Movement

There are significant signs that opposition to the Vietnam war is mounting, particularly since the revelations about the bombing of civilian areas in Hanoi and elsewhere in north Vietnam.

There has now been an official expression of concern about the slated April 15 New York-San Francisco demonstration against the war. The action has been initiated by the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and supported by the Student Mobilization Committee. Edwin Willis, the brilliant super-sleuth from Louisiana who heads the House Un-American Activities Committee, revealed Jan. 22 that his undercover agents had unearthed plans for the April 15 demonstration.

Others who were aware of the slated action are readers of newspapers and recipients of publicity from the two groups involved. The Spring Mobilization Committee issued a national press announcement on the mobilization after a decision to hold it was made at a publicly announced conference in Cleveland last November. The Student Mobilization Committee, formed at a Chicago conference last month, was the subject of press, radio and television coverage. Mr. Willis said his agents learned about the mobilization while probing ghetto outbreaks.

Apart from the rather unstartling character of HUAC's discovery, there is reason for the administration to take notice of the April 15 demonstration.

Two recent expressions of the mounting revulsion against this barbaric war involve the academic and professional communities. One was the *New York Times* advertisements calling for a halt to the bombings of north Vietnam signed by more than 6,000 college professors in 200 colleges and universities in 37 states. The other was an open letter to Johnson urging a ceasefire and negotiations to end the war by 300 architects, engineers, planners and other members of the design profession.

Also, in what was described as a surprise bipartisan move, members of the Colorado House of Representatives adopted, with only a scattering of dissenting votes, a resolution calling on Congress to investigate the legality of U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Meanwhile in Canada, there was a further expression of opposition to the U.S. role in Vietnam and protest against U.S. cruelty and arrogance.

The *New York Times* reported Jan. 22 that U.S. efforts to block Toronto Quakers from shipping medical supplies to north Vietnam have touched off "a political uproar" in Canada. Members of the Canadian Parliament directed pertinent questions to government leaders about U.S. efforts to impose its blockade regulations on Canada. These have included instructions to Canadian subsidiaries of U.S. companies not to sell drugs to the Quakers and pressure on the Royal Bank of Canada not to handle U.S. financial contributions toward the humanitarian activities of the Canadian Quakers.

The Canadian Minister of Trade assured Parliament that he would inform Washington that the subsidiary firms are subject to Canadian, not U.S., law. The general manager of the Royal Bank said that the bank would continue to process the checks, commenting, "We are still not the 51st state."

All of these things indicate there is every prospect for a successful Spring Mobilization against the war and that it will also evoke a favorable response abroad.

Good Riddance to Bad Rubbish

Apparently acting with "deliberate speed," the U.S. Supreme Court on Jan. 23 struck down three New York State "anti-subversive" statutes.

The first, providing for the dismissal of teachers "for the utterance of any treasonable or seditious word," was adopted in 1917. The second provided for the dismissal of teachers and others who advocate "forcible overthrow" of the government. This statute was adopted in 1939. The third statute finally declared illegal was the Feinberg law which provided that teachers could be fired for membership in the Communist Party. This cold-war product became law in 1948.

There is good reason to note the high court's delay in striking down these clearly unconstitutional measures. For example, 378 teachers lost their jobs between 1951 and 1958, according to New York officials, for refusing to answer questions about their political beliefs and associations as required by the Feinberg law. Will the state now offer restitution to these witchhunt victims?

In making its decision, the court asserted that while the laws it struck down were defective, the state does have the right to adopt "proper" laws against "subversion." There is no such thing. Any law that limits the right of free speech or association is a violation of the Bill of Rights and should be fought on that basis.

The present high court decision, which has a direct bearing on the many similar laws in other states, came as the result of a principled, courageous fight made by five University of Buffalo professors who refused to sign a Feinberg law oath and took the issue into the courts. Their action should serve as a fresh reminder that victories can be won against the witchhunters by people who stand up and fight them.

Malcolm X The Man and His Ideas

By
George Breitman

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Fidel Castro on Role of Women in Revolution

One of the principal gains of the Cuban Revolution is the changes it has achieved in the status of women in that country. The impressive degree of equality achieved by Cuban women since the Revolution was most recently testified to by Georgie Anne Geyer, correspondent for the *Chicago Daily News*, in a special report from Cuba last Sept. 8. (For excerpts, see the *The Militant*, Oct. 24, 1966.)

The systematic efforts to integrate women into Cuba's productive process, and the beneficial effect this has had in emancipating them from their previous status, was discussed by Fidel Castro in two speeches. One was his May Day 1966 speech. The other was an address last Dec. 9 to the Fifth National Plenary session of the Federation of Cuban Women meeting in Santa Clara. The following are extracts from these speeches.

(From the May Day Speech)

If there's something that really catches one's attention in these May Day parades, and especially in this one, it is the process of integration of women into the labor force.

In the past the possibilities of work for women were extremely limited. In this sense, discrimination certainly existed. But aside from this, it was logical that in a country where there were hundreds of thousands of men without work there would be little or no work opportunities for women.

Prostitution

We already know what kind of work was reserved for women in the capitalist society. We know how prevalent was the custom among the bourgeoisie of hiring working class women, pressed by necessity, to work in amusements in bars, as just one more kind of commercial attraction.

We know of the considerable numbers of women in our country who were forced into that most lamentable form of survival that is prostitution. We know that our bourgeoisie had established many brothels in this country: brothels in every Cuban city, brothels for the Yankee tourists, for the Yankee Marines, in Havana, in Guantanamo.

We know also that the bourgeoisie of the region of Guantanamo were so ingratiating that they not only supplied the Marines with brothels but also, on many occasions, with their own daughters. In Guantanamo many stories are known about all this and about the parties that went on at the naval base.

Many of those people sent their daughters to those parties. In any event, it can be concluded that this type of work is one of the types that capitalist society — all capitalist societies — reserves for women.

It was not possible, of course, to eradicate this evil from our country in one day. But we can say with pride and with satisfaction that just as the Revolution has eradicated other vices, such as gambling, for example, just as the Revolution has rid the country of beggars, just as there are no longer poverty-stricken children roaming the streets (and there is no capitalist society in which there are no beggars, homeless children, brothels, gambling, vice and corruption of all kinds), the Revolution has also eradicated



VILMA ESPIN, president of Federation of Cuban Women.

practically all prostitution from our country.

Today a tremendous number of dignified and decent activities are accessible to Cuban women.

Many thousands of Cuban women have gone into public health work during these years of the Revolution. Many thousands of young women have become nurses and nurses' aides, assistants in the field of medicine in general. Thousands of women work in the scholarship students' centers.

Other thousands of women, tens of thousands, are teaching. Today the number of women who go into technological institutes and technical training centers is incomparably greater. The fact that the number of women studying in the school of medicine almost equals the number of men, will serve to illustrate the idea.

Thousands of women are working in day nurseries and thousands are working not only in these public service jobs, but also in the production of material goods.

Women are working, for example, in the planting of seedlings in tree nurseries, or planting coffee seedlings.

The whole poultry plan of four million — now we have somewhat over four million laying hens, and by the end of this year we will have 5,800,000 hens in order to cover our needs all year round — this entire important branch of our nation's food production is manned by women workers. Hundreds of poultry centers are managed by women.

Women have joined agricultural production in other activities, such as vegetable production, the raising of calves, and rabbit breeding. In sum, new job opportunities are constantly opening up, in which an extraordinary number of women have found decent, remunerative and satisfying employment.

Because that was the agonizing worry of the immense majority of our people. How to get a job? How to earn a living? It is really incredible how men suffer in capitalist society over this vital question, this elemental matter of how to assure oneself of a job in order to earn a decent living.

Therefore, on a day like today, this phenomenon of which I am speaking can be understood direct-

ly as we see the composition of our labor force. But there is something more: The women of our country are not only entering production work en masse, but are turning out to be workers of high efficiency, and we have heard many commentaries in praise of the work of our women, their sense of responsibility and their lack of absenteeism.

For this reason the Revolution is making efforts to create more day nurseries, more schools, to establish more school cafeterias, to make it constantly easier for women to work. But when we speak of making it easier for women to work in production, this does not mean simply that society wishes to help women, not only that.

Society has a duty to help women, but at the same time society helps itself considerably by helping women because it means more and more hands joining in the production of goods and services for all the people.

As it is known, one of the means to make it possible for women to work is the creation of day nurseries. The women workers themselves pay certain amounts, in accordance with their income, for their children's care in the nurseries. But the women who have entered agricultural production have the added benefit that they do not have to pay for the day nursery.

And it is the intention of the revolutionary government that by the end of this year, that is to say by next year, no woman worker will have to pay for her children's day nursery. We believe that this will contribute in encouraging Cuban women to work, and we also believe that this is just. Society profits from the work of every woman.

* * *

(From the Santa Clara Speech)

Arriving here this evening, I commented to a comrade that this phenomenon of women's participation in the Revolution was a revolution within a Revolution. And if we were asked what the most revolutionary thing is that the Revolution is doing, we would answer that it is precisely this — the revolution that is occurring among the women of our country!

If we were asked what things in the Revolution have been most instructive for us, we would answer that one of the most interesting lessons for revolutionaries is that being offered by our women.

You all know perfectly well that, in saying this, we are not uttering given words with intent to please the compañeras who are here tonight, but that we say it because it is what we firmly believe and feel.

But why is this one of the most interesting lessons? You yourselves may ask why. In reality, the most honest answer that we could give — and I assure you that the person who offers this answer is precisely one who has always believed himself free from prejudice — the answer is, I believe, that in reality all of us were prejudiced in regard to women.

Castro Prejudiced?

And if anyone had ever asked me if I considered myself prejudiced in regard to women, I would have said absolutely not, because I believed myself to be quite the opposite. I believed that an enormous potential force and extraordinary human resources for the Revolution existed in our women.

But what has happened? What has occurred, or rather, what is occurring? We are finding that, in reality, this potential force is superior to anything that the most optimistic of us ever dreamed of. We say that perhaps at heart, unconsciously, something of bias or underestimation existed.

For events are demonstrating, even now, the possibilities of wom-

en and the role that women can play in a revolutionary process in which society is liberating itself, above all, from exploitation, and from prejudices and a whole series of circumstances in which women were doubly exploited, doubly humiliated.

What have we found, for example, in regard to the work of women? I have been talking with several comrades and, following my visit to the Banao Plan, I told Comrade Milián: "I have the impression that the women working in this Plan are more responsible and more disciplined than the men. I have the impression that they will dedicate themselves to the work with more enthusiasm, more passion, more dedication."

And Milián — although I certainly don't want to give this comrade a bad name with the women of Las Villas — argued with me, "Well, but . . . really . . . the case of the young men who are in the Juraguá Plan of the Young Communists . . ."

Enthusiasm

I told him that finding a spirit of discipline and enthusiasm, for work in a program involving selected Young Communists was not as extraordinary as finding the same spirit of discipline and enthusiasm in a program carried out by women who had not been specially chosen for this program, who had not been chosen by any organization, but had simply volunteered to do this work.

What have we found? What is being found everywhere in this revolutionary program, as far as the Cuban women are concerned? Well, we are finding a whole series of things such as those I men-



PASTORITA NUNEZ. A veteran of the July 26 underground, she became director of INAV, Cuba's public housing authority.

tioned before: a great sense of responsibility, great seriousness, great discipline and enthusiasm.

What have we found right here in the province of Las Villas? Well, let us take the Banao Plan, for example. This program was growing and needed a cadre. Comrade Milián sought a cadre from the Party; Comrade Santiago Acosta, from the Santo Domingo zone, I believe, and sent him to the Banao Plan as administrator.

But one day, Comrades Santiago Acosta and René Acosta — the specialist on technical matters — had to go abroad. They were the men holding the positions of greatest responsibility in the plan. Someone had to be appointed to take their place and we decided to appoint Comrade Osoria, who was representing the Federation of Cuban Women on the directing board of the plan.

We firmly believe that this even may some day have historic significance, for it was the first time

that a woman had been assigned to such a task, not for political reasons or to impress anyone, but simply because she had, objectively speaking, proved herself capable of heading such a program.

And from that moment on, we thought it would be reasonable and an excellent thing, indeed, to have a woman directing a plan involving thousands of women workers.

Moreover, when it became necessary to organize the work brigades, a number of women who had distinguished themselves for their great spirit of work were chosen as brigade leaders.

This gave us an idea:

We had to train a group of technicians for this type of work and, at first, 10 comrades from the Technological Institute had been sent here to specialize in this branch of agriculture. We decided that 20 additional students who were to be sent here to specialize in this field should be chosen from among the girl students at the Technological Institute.

Thus, the workers, the brigade leaders, and the technicians — that is, the technical and administrative staff — is going to be made up almost entirely of women. Yes, women!

This is one of the great lessons we spoke about before: one of the great lessons and perhaps one of the greatest victories over prejudices that have existed, not for decades or centuries, but for thousands of years. We refer to the belief that all a woman could do was wash dishes, wash and iron clothes, cook, keep house, and bear children, age-old prejudices, that placed women in an inferior position in society. In effect, she did not have a productive place in society.

Such prejudices are thousands of years old and have survived through various social systems. If we consider capitalism, women — that is, lower-class women — were doubly exploited or doubly humiliated. A poor woman, part of the working class or of a working-class family, was exploited simply because she was poor, because she was a member of the working class.

Within Working Class

But in addition, although she was a woman of the working class, even her own class looked down on and underrated her. Not only was she underestimated, exploited and looked down upon by the exploiting classes but, even within her own class, she was the object of numerous prejudices.

So all these events have been a great lesson to all of us, to every revolutionary. Naturally, a considerable amount of prejudice still persists. If women were to believe that they have totally fulfilled their role as revolutionaries in society, they would be making a mistake. It seems to us that women must still fight and exert great efforts to attain the place that they should really hold in society.

If women in our country were doubly exploited, doubly humiliated in the past, then this simply means that women in a social revolution should be doubly revolutionary.

And perhaps this is the explanation, or at least the social basis for the resolute, enthusiastic, firm and loyal support given by Cuban women to this Revolution.

This Revolution has really been two revolutions for women; it has meant a double liberation as part of the exploited sector of the country, and, second, as women, who were discriminated not only as workers but also as women, in that society of exploitation.

The attitude of Cuban women toward the Revolution corresponds to this reality; it corresponds to what the Revolution has meant to them.

And the support of the popular masses for the Revolution is di-

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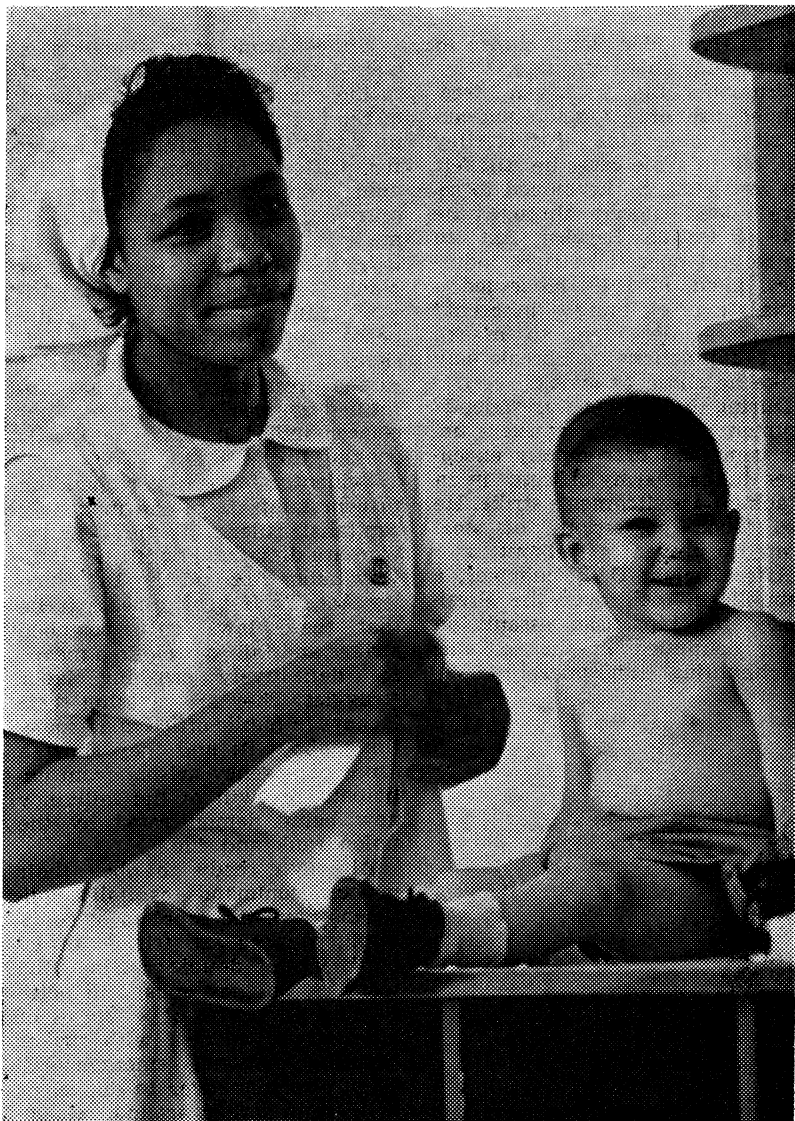
The Rising Revolt In the Black Ghettos

by Robert Vernon
and George Novack

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Revolutionary Cuba



NEW ORDER. Rapid development of child care facilities is a major Cuban project. Abolition of capitalism laid basis for emancipation of women. But full realization of that goal requires development of facilities to free women from home and permit their integration into the productive process.

rectly proportionate to what the revolution has meant to them in terms of their liberation.

There are two sectors in this country, two sectors of society which, aside from economic reasons, have had other motives for sympathizing and feeling enthusiasm for the Revolution. These two sectors are the Negro population of Cuba and the female population.

I suppose you recall that in Cuba's old bourgeois Constitution, there was an article which declared illegal any discrimination for reasons of race or sex. Now the problem of such discrimination has disappeared from our country, because the basis for these two types of discrimination which is, quite simply the exploitation of man by man, has disappeared.

Much news reaches us from the United States, for example, about the civil-rights struggle for Negroes. Nevertheless, racial discrimination in the United States will not disappear until capitalist society has disappeared.

Need Revolution

That is, discrimination will never be wiped out within the framework of capitalist society. Discrimination with respect to race and sex can only be wiped out through a socialist revolution, which eradicates the exploitation of man by man.

Now, does the disappearance of the exploitation of man by man mean that all the conditions are immediately created whereby woman may elevate her position in society? No. The conditions for the liberation of women, for the full development of women in society, for an authentic equality of rights, or for authentic equality of women with men in society, require a material base; they require the material foundations of economic and social development.

I described before the opinion held by many men concerning the functions of women, and I said

that among the functions considered to belong to women was — almost exclusively — that of having children. Naturally, reproduction is one of the most important of women's functions in human society, in any kind of human society.

But it is precisely this function, relegated by nature to women, which has enslaved them to a series of chores within the home.

There is a sign here in front of us, for example, which says, "One million women working in production by 1970." Unfortunately, it will not be possible to have one million working in production by 1970. We feel that this goal may be reached, perhaps, within 10 years but not within four.

We could propose it as a goal to be reached by 1975. Why can't this goal be reached in four years? Because in order to have one million women working in production, we must have thousands of children's day nurseries, thousands of primary boarding schools, thousands of school dining halls, thousands of workers' dining halls, thousands of centers of social services of this type must be set up, because if not, who is going to cook for the second- or third-grade child when he comes home for lunch?

Who is going to care for unweaned infants, or babies of two, three and four years of age? Who is going to prepare dinner for the man when he comes home from work? Who is going to wash, clean, all of those things?

In other words, in order to reach the social goal of liberating woman from all these activities that enslave her and impede her from full incorporation into work outside the home and all these activities she can engage in society, it is necessary to create the necessary material base, to attain the necessary social development.

It is impossible to construct the required thousands of children's day nurseries, school dining halls, laundries, workers' dining halls,

boarding schools, in four years. In fact, merely to meet present needs, great effort is necessary on all fronts.

Everywhere women are working it has been necessary to make a special effort to establish day nurseries, set up boarding schools and all of the necessary institutions so that these women could be free to work . . .

At this stage, of scarcity of cement, machinery and construction equipment, the problem can be solved only through maximum efforts on all fronts: sometimes at a regional level, other times at a provincial or national level, using the resources we have at hand.

Nor can we expect that the day nurseries be perfect, that the constructions be perfect, nor the service. They must be as good as possible, but they cannot be perfect.

These problems will have to be solved in many areas of the country, little by little. One million women cannot be employed in one day. A whole series of economic steps must be taken, and agricultural plans set in motion.

Statistical Study

It would be interesting to know how many women have already started to work in the production of consumer's goods as well as in services since the triumph of the Revolution, how many are working as nurses' aides, technicians, industrial and agricultural workers. If a statistical study were made as to how many women have begun to work since the triumph of the Revolution, the number would probably be close to 150,000, and certainly no less than that!

This figure, of course, is not based on exact statistics, and it seems to us that a study should be made in order to learn precisely how many women have found work in newly created jobs, in jobs created by the Revolution.

Next year the number of women working will be considerably greater. Why? Because a whole series of plans will get underway, mainly in agriculture. Several thousand women are to be incorporated into the Banao Plan and when that plan reaches its maximum development, it will require six or seven thousand women.

In Pinares de Mayari, some eight thousand women will be working by springtime. In the coffee-plant nurseries set up for the 1967-68 coffee-growing plan, 30,000 women will be needed and many thousands will work in the reforestation plans, in vegetable cultivation, and other thousands are being incorporated into jobs in the cities.

Enormous Effort

This means that more than 50,000 women will be involved in tasks related to production by next year, and this will require an enormous and simultaneous effort to be made so that all of the problems related to dining halls, schools, and children's day nurseries may be worked out.

I am going to tell you something. Without the incorporation of women, the Banao Plan could never have gotten off the ground, nor could the plans for microclimate vegetable cultivation in Oriente Province have been carried out. Without the incorporation of women, the plans for coffee growing could not even have been considered.

Many of the plans that the Revolution is today drawing up and beginning to carry out could not have been conceived until the great reservoir of human resources that our society possesses in its women was clearly seen for what it was.

These plans, which stand for extraordinary contributions to the economic development of our country, to the increased well-being of our people, could not have been conceived without the mass incorporation of women into work.

Hugo Blanco Wins Temporary Delay

The international campaign to save the life of imprisoned Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco is having repercussions even among the Peruvian military authorities who are to decide the question of his life or death. There is reason to believe that the worldwide outcry demanding an amnesty for Blanco has succeeded in gaining a respite for the framed-up revolutionary, although the danger to him is still great. (Blanco was sentenced to 25 years in the prison fortress of El Frontón,

that they had authorized it to make us look ridiculous because of the small number of demonstrators in such a huge place . . .

"But the plaza was filled to overflowing with people. The meeting was enthusiastic, warm, the people of Lima were offering us their support and solidarity. It was moving to hear these cries and 'vivas' for our dear Hugo....

"After the meeting, the demonstrators . . . stopped in front of the government palace to shout, 'Freedom for Hugo Blanco,' until the police dispersed them. In short, it was a triumphal meeting . . ."

Almost a score of political prisoners in Mexico City sent a letter from prison to the biweekly magazine *Política*, demanding "the immediate release of Hugo Blanco, Pedro Candela, Héctor Béjar and other guerrillas, workers and peasants imprisoned in Peru."

A moving open letter by Jacqueline Lobatón on behalf of the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Man, urged intensification of the campaign. She has had personal experience with Peru's notorious prisons having been placed behind bars as a hostage while the government hunted down and executed her husband, who played a prominent role as a leader in the movement launched by Luis de la Puente Uceda in 1965.

"...I am sending you warmest greetings," she wrote, "... in spite of the censorship . . . I only want you to share today the complete triumph of the meeting which we held at the Plaza San Martín Friday, Dec. 2. I want to tell you that the people, free of fear, resembled a soldier resolutely defending the rights that have been trampled underfoot in recent years. Unjust persecution, base crimes, illegal sentences, have sullied our country. But we are convinced — because we are devoted to tasks which are sweet to fulfill when life is involved — of the worth and the beauty of human beings. . . The defense of Hugo is like a song."



Hugo Blanco

but the prosecution has now demanded the death penalty from Peru's highest military court, which is hearing the appeal on the case.)

Héctor Béjar, himself a political prisoner in Peru, wrote a letter Dec. 30 which appeared in the Jan. issue of *La Quatrième Internationale*, organ of the French section of the Fourth International, in which he reported:

"...On Jan. 15, the tribunal goes on vacation until April. In addition, many military figures, including some members of the tribunal, are taking their retirement. It seems that the present members of the tribunal have been startled by the international protest and don't want 'to have this death on their conscience.'

"They prefer to leave the responsibility to those who will replace them because they burned their fingers in this business. For this reason I believe they will prefer to drag it out, so that their names won't be mixed in with such a death sentence.

"Nevertheless it is necessary to remain very vigilant, because it could be that they have been waiting all this time for the campaign for Hugo to die down, for people to forget the thing a little, and then they will offer us a surprise when Parliament is not in session and the university students are on vacation. Above all, it must not be forgotten that a death sentence is carried out within 24 hours.

"The only way to counter this maneuver is to intensify the campaign and to take advantage of the time gained in order to broaden it."

The outrage at the threat to Blanco's life has reached mass proportions in Peru itself where 15,000 people filled the Plaza San Martín in Lima on Dec. 2 to demand freedom for Hugo Blanco. The following eyewitness report was published by *La Quatrième Internationale*:

"Friday the meeting took place that we had been preparing for during the past month. We were very surprised that they permitted us to use the Plaza San Martín, the most favorable place for such a demonstration. Then we thought

British Gov't OKs Sale to Cuba of a Fertilizer Plant

The British government confirmed Jan. 21 that it had given formal approval to plans by a British firm to construct a \$29.2 million fertilizer plant in Cuba.

The action is one more setback for Washington's policy of trying to strangle Cuban economic development by blackjacking countries under its domination not to trade with Cuba. The British government action came after Washington had expressed disapproval of the deal.

The Cubans will pay a \$2 million deposit and have a five-year period after construction is completed to pay the balance.

In 1964 the British government approved a sale of \$8 million worth of busses to Cuba over Washington's objection.

Japan, Spain and other of Washington's allies have significantly increased their trade with Cuba despite U.S. protests. These countries consider the Cuban government a stable one with a good credit rating.

The fertilizer plant will give a significant boost to Cuban plans for a qualitative increase in the production of agricultural goods. The expanded agriculture is intended to increase domestic consumption and to provide farm products, in addition to sugar, for export.

Assault on Labor Reaches New Stage

By Farrell Dobbs

Current news reports stress an impending clash between "a more conservative Congress and more aggressive union demands . . . amid growing business clamor for a new law to prevent strikes." At the same time evidence mounts that Johnson is moving to satisfy the desires of big business and, as usual, the liberals are running interference for him. Plainly a new chapter is opening in the long story of anti-labor legislation.

Government assaults on labor's rights are as old as the history of world capitalism. In this country the attacks have grown in intensity since the Civil War, especially at junctures when objective conditions have impelled workers into struggle in defense of their class interests. The subject merits extensive research by students of labor history; but for purposes of this article a review will be limited to features of the last 30-odd years.

As the nation entered the 1930s social unrest was mounting under pressures of deep economic depression. Working people desperately wanted action to meet their needs, but only a relative handful belonged to unions. These few were mainly skilled tradesmen organized into craft unions within the American Federation of Labor. Production workers in basic industry, and the growing mass of unemployed, remained generally unorganized; and they were to find the AFL more a hindrance than a help to them.

Samuel Gompers had founded the AFL on concepts of "business unionism," putting emphasis on "sanctity" of contracts and strict control of strikes. Capitalist political rule went unchallenged, with the unions confined to rewarding "friends" and "punishing" enemies by horsetrading the labor vote. One craft often scabbed on another. AFL unions tended to unite only in defense of common craft interests, focusing on their narrow concerns without regard to the needs of other workers.

Battles of 1930s

As the crisis of the 1930s grew worse the unemployed began to organize on their own, with help from radicals, and pressed for government action to ease their plight. Employed workers sought to organize as best they could through the AFL, doing so in a general mood to strike in support of their class demands.

In the battles that ensued the capitalists hit back with labor spies, company cops, injunctions, regular police, special deputies, troops, jailings, beatings and killing of pickets. While facing this capitalist assault, strikers often got a stab in the back from AFL bureaucrats. By the mid-1930s the AFL default had set the stage for the Committee for (later, Congress of) Industrial Organization to explode onto the scene as the union of mass production workers in basic industry.

With a sure class instinct the CIO ranks went for the jugular vein of the industrial overlords. In massive sit-down strikes they occupied the plants, defying capitalist dictates about the "sacred rights" of private property. Once a contract was won, they continued to exercise workers' control in changed form. When a company violated the contract, union stewards halted the assembly line un-

til grievances were settled to the workers' satisfaction.

The capitalists reacted by having local and state courts declare the sit-downs "illegal." State laws were passed against "trespass" on company property during strikes. In 1940 a U.S. Supreme Court decision set the legal stage for injunctions against sit-down strikes. With the CIO by then under bureaucratic internal control, use of the sit-down tactic had already ebbed; but it was to reappear in the 1960s in the form of sit-ins by black freedom fighters.

Parallel with the CIO upsurge, Franklin D. Roosevelt moved to lay a basis for presidential strike-breaking. He issued an arbitrary dictum that "You can't strike against the government." A federal law followed making it a crime to do so, and that led to a rash of state and local laws of the kind. The dictum was aimed not only at public workers; it was

walkout. Government "possession" of rail lines was shown by putting company executives in colonels' uniforms, and operational profits were left in the "colonels'" tills.

That same year (1943) the United Mine Workers fought a running battle against a strike-breaking "seizure" of the coal mines. Since Roosevelt couldn't jail 320,000 miners, he was forced in the end to permit a strike settlement on terms that broke through the wage freeze he had imposed on all workers. The miners' heroic battle stirred workers generally toward an upsurge of struggle that culminated in the powerful 1945-46 strike wave.

It should be noted in passing that the Communist Party denounced the 1943 mine strikes as "treasonable." Since 1937 the CP had been on record against "unauthorized" strikes; that is, membership action without permission from the union bureaucrats. Later

the massive labor power shown in the 1945-46 union upsurge.

Truman quickly began free-handed use of his newfound authority under the Taft-Hartley Act, but in some cases he still felt too restricted. So he moved to secure added powers through the 1948 Selective Service Act to "seize and operate" struck industries. Then, in 1949, he issued a declaration claiming "inherent" power" as President to invoke court injunctions to break any strike he chose to attack.

During the Korean war "friend" Truman put railroad workers under command of company executives dubbed "army officers" in an attack on a switchmen's strike. He also "took possession" of steel plants to prevent a walkout.

After Dwight D. Eisenhower, a Republican, took over the Presidency, the bipartisan assault on labor continued in the extreme witchhunting atmosphere of Mc-

While Democratic candidates were posing as "friends of labor" in the elections last fall, the head of the party, Johnson, sneakily set up a task force to prepare the way for stiffer anti-labor laws. His aims were forecasted in an obscure passage of a pompous speech made last July at Indianapolis. In it he warned labor — along with black freedom fighters and anti-war students — to "keep the peace" and to "abide by the decisions of government." Tips leaked to the press since then from "informed sources" give a somewhat clearer indication of what he is cooking up.

Evidently Johnson is responding to complaints from the monopoly capitalist rulers of the country, who are dissatisfied with the Railway Labor Act and the Taft-Hartley Act. Their beef appears to be that these laws only postpone strikes and fail to provide a means for definitively crushing labor struggles. They are pressing their lackeys in public office to do something about it; and they show a sense of urgency arising from anticipated growth of the militancy now being demonstrated by the union rank and file.

Although ready to obey their masters' commands, capitalist politicians have the problem of continuing to pose as "friends of labor" while double-crossing the workers. So they engage in pettifogging discussion of a "series of alternatives" to deal with strikes "causing national emergencies." They also maneuver to dodge, or at least to spread around, responsibility for the foul deeds they intend to commit. No matter how they may proceed in detail, one thing is already certain: The capitalist politicians are preparing a new and more severe assault on labor's rights.

Union Bureaucrats

As though that were not danger enough for the workers, they must also face leadership treachery within the unions. At every juncture in the capitalist attack the union bureaucrats have offered no more than token resistance; their actual policy has been to beg for a "compromise" entailing "milder restrictions" than the capitalists planned. At the same time they strive to prove their value as "stabilizers" of class relations on capitalist terms.

George Meany has proposed a voluntary no-strike pledge at "war-essential" plants and what would amount to compulsory arbitration of labor-capital disputes. Walter Reuther, being less frank than Meany, has echoed the notion by saying workers should "... not be forced to resort to strike action that endangers the health and safety of the public." Other union bureaucrats can be expected to capitulate to the capitalists in similar fashion. Surely John L. Lewis spoke the truth when he once called the workers' situation under the union bureaucrats one of "Lions led by asses."

In the conflict now developing a fighting union leadership would launch a political struggle in defense of labor, starting from the realities of the present union situation. One thing needed is a giant Congress of Labor. Massive assemblies, uniting all sections of labor, should be convened in Washington, at state capitals and in major cities. Notice should be served on capitalist politicians that their strikebreaking must cease and all anti-labor laws must be repealed. To show that the workers mean business, these demands should be backed up by mass demonstrations and protest strikes.

Steps should also be initiated by such a Congress of Labor to launch an independent labor party. Only then will it be possible to put in public office men and women who, as genuine labor representatives, will uphold and defend working class interests on all questions.



also preparatory to strikebreaking government "seizures" of private industry.

Roosevelt, whom mythology pictures as "the best friend labor ever had," openly bared his fangs against the workers in the 1937 steel strike. On Memorial Day of that year a peaceful parade of strikers outside a steel plant was fired upon by Chicago police. Ten workers were killed and another 40 shot in the back. The CIO leaders asked Roosevelt's help against the steel corporations' uniformed killers. Labor's Democratic "champion" replied, "A plague on both your houses." This condemnation, aimed with seeming impartiality at both the murderers and the murdered, could only put him on the murderers' side.

In June 1941 Roosevelt proved definitively where he stood by sending U.S. troops in peacetime to smash union picket lines at the North American Aviation plant in California. He did so through government "seizure" of the plant in the name of a trumped-up "national emergency." Actually he was preparing to plunge the nation into World War II and his plans included suppression of the right to strike.

Two years later "friend" Roosevelt engineered passage of the wartime Smith-Connally Act, making it a "crime" to strike or slow down production at facilities in "possession" of the government. Resorting to strikebreaking "seizures" of private industry under this law, he blocked a railroad

it was to advocate that the wartime no-strike pledge made by union bureaucrats be continued "indefinitely" after hostilities ended. As has been the case from the 1930s up to the present, the CP also backed the bureaucratic class collaborationists in keeping labor tied to the Democratic Party.

When Roosevelt died in 1945 the union bureaucrats and CP hacks lined up in support of Harry S. Truman, who had assumed the Presidency. Soon after World War II ended, this Democratic "friend" invoked wartime powers to break an oil refinery strike. A few months later he commanded the railroads to block a walkout, asking Congress to authorize the drafting of strikers into the army.

Fines Miners

In mid-1946 Truman signed the anti-labor Hobbs bill into law. It provided for jailing of strikers convicted of "racketeering" which "obstructs, delays or affects" interstate commerce. Toward the end of the year he conspired with a federal judge to impose a \$3.5 million fine on the United Mine Workers for "contempt" of a strikebreaking injunction.

In 1947 Democrats and Republicans ganged up to pass the Taft-Hartley Act with the central aim of empowering the President to invoke injunctions against strikes. Among other features of the Act, Section 14(b) opened the way for anti-union "Right to Work" laws in the states. By this means capitalism began to whittle away at

Carthyism. In 1954 Democrat Hubert H. Humphrey teamed up with Republican John M. Butler to push through an ultrareactionary law. It undertook, for the first time in U.S. history, to outlaw a political party — the Communist Party — and it denied legal recognition to any union suspected of being "subversive."

Then, in 1959, the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law was put through. Its purpose was to authorize government intervention in internal union affairs and to stymie labor's use of secondary boycotts as an economic weapon. A year later John F. Kennedy, who had helped to mastermind that law, was elected President. Under his Democratic administration the first compulsory arbitration law in U.S. history was enacted to prevent a 1963 railroad strike.

Lyndon B. Johnson had scarcely gotten settled into the White House, after Kennedy's assassination, when he invoked a Taft-Hartley injunction against a waterfront walkout.

Last summer Johnson connived with Congress to rig a special law intended to force striking airline mechanics back to work for 180 days on company terms. The bill had passed in the Senate and was on its way to the House floor when the dispute was settled. Lately Johnson has repeatedly threatened and — with increasing frequency — invoked strikebreaking injunctions, using the Vietnam war as a pretext for backing capitalists against workers.

Does your local library have a subscription to THE MILITANT? If not, why not suggest that they obtain one. Librarians are often pleased to have patrons call their attention to publications that they should have available.

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

A Tragic Loss

New York, N.Y.
I would appreciate it if your paper would print the sad news that Mrs. Dorothy Fulmer and two of her sons, Douglas and Jonathan, died in a fire in their home Jan. 9.

This tragic event is a shock and a heavy loss to the entire integration and educational movement in New York because Mrs. Fulmer and her husband Chester put their very lives and hearts into their beliefs for a better world by improving education through better racial relations.

Against insuperable odds, Mrs. Fulmer forced the Board of Education to supply buses for more than 100 white school children who voluntarily bused to predominantly Negro areas of Brooklyn.

Even the bus trips were turned into educational experiences for the children who learned Spanish and sang freedom songs on the trip each day.

Every fiber of the Fulmers was against segregation, and the loss to Chester Fulmer and the civil rights movement should not go unnoticed in a world where too many people give lip service to the idea of civil rights but do not accompany these words by deeds.

E. P.

Arab-Israeli Issue

Brooklyn, N.Y.
Your reply to your reader D.R. (*Militant*, 19) in reference to the Israeli-Arab conflict seems to this old timer in the Jewish labor movement as not satisfactory.

Your reader was asking you which side are you supporting. Instead of replying that the position of the revolutionary socialists is not to support any opposing nationalistic camp but to stress the international solidarity of the working people in each warring camp you let yourselves by implication to be cornered in support of the Arab camp.

The Jewish labor movement in East Europe was predominantly anti-Zionist and the basis of this position remains valid till now. But we have to take into account the changed reality to determine our attitude. The existence of an independent state of Israel is a fact. As some Indian socialist quipped in connection with this event — if we are for birth control it does not mean that we should be for genocide after the child was born . . .

You are right that we should consider the incidents on the border between Israel and Arab countries not "as a single episode" but in perspective of "a much larger development." The border clashes are the result of the conflicting nationalistic tendencies of the ruling circles in Israel on one hand and in the Arab countries on the other. The chain of permanent provocations, retaliations and escalations endanger the peace in the whole area and even more . . .

It is obvious that the main rea-

son for this state of affairs is the unwillingness of the neighboring Arab countries to recognize the existence of Israel as an independent state, their more or less explicit desire to destroy it and the toleration or even encouragement of the armed "irregulars" raiding from time to time the Israeli territory. The ruling circles of the Arab countries try to divert the dissatisfaction of the impoverished, downtrodden Arab masses from the necessary social changes in the direction of national hatred and preparation for foreign military adventures. The irresponsible acts of Israeli government (e.g. Sinai adventure in 1956 or the recent incursion into Jordan) is often water on the mill for the Arab rulers in their anti-Israeli policy.

Your remark about "Israeli government as a pawn of imperialism" is only partially relevant to this problem. It is true that the Israeli government under the enormous pressure (political and economic), often acts as an agent of the State Department. However, the point is that not only the Israeli government but Israel as such is under the attack by the Arab countries.

Anyhow, it is ridiculous to say that Israel is used "to maintain control of the rich oil resources in the Arab countries." As a matter of fact Israel as a common enemy of the Arab countries is rather a headache for the oil imperialism of USA, which finds much better support for its interests in the military base in Saudi Arabia and in the reactionary regimes in the Arab countries.

The whole Israeli-Arab conflict is very complex as there are even more angles to it and therefore there is a risk that by some superficial analysis we can be taken for a ride by one or another nationalistic camp or by a great power policy. Consequently, we have to be very careful in expressing our

Thought for the Week

"It looked just like the Fourth of July." — A U.S. military spokesman describing the American fire-bombing of a 28-mile square area of forest near Saigon.

preference (if any) in order not to stray away from the path of international workers solidarity.

A. Binder

Pro-Israel

Berkeley, Calif.

In the Jan. 9 issue of *The Militant*, in the Letters from Our Readers department, you stated that the Israeli government is a pawn of imperialism. This is false.

There exists in Israel a Marxist youth organization, Hashomer Hatzair, and two radical labor organizations, Mapai and Mapam. Mapai is the biggest political force in Israel. Mapam has been a member of the government since 1955. Hashomer Hatzair is one of the largest youth groups.

The Israeli radicals have been supporters of the Russian CP, but as a result of Soviet anti-Semitism and anti-Israeli machinations and maneuvers, they have moved away from this. Israel is fertile ground for Trotskyism.

D.R.

Mao Tse-Tung

New York, N.Y.

An article by Mark Gayn in the Dec. 27 *New York Post*, titled "At 73, Mao Is Still the Red Dragon" credits Mao Tse-tung with trying to return the Chinese revolution "to its Spartan youth, to militancy" and credits him, in this recent period, with "making a revolution" and "pulling it to the left."

Gayn does not consider in passing that Chinese unionists who fought the Red Guards in the streets, and students at the universities referred to by Gayn as "centers of dissent," might be more militant and closer to Marxism-

Leninism than Mao. He takes Mao at his word.

Stalin in his time received similar treatment; anti-communist historians like George Vernadsky breezily credited Stalin's claims to being a practitioner of the real Marxism in his fight against Trotsky, Bukharin, and others — in order to turn around and say that this, the "real" Marxism-Leninism led naturally and inevitably to totalitarianism. Stalin makes an easier target, so dispatch his opponents by making them out to be utopians, and parodying their arguments if time permits.

Gayn appears to be attempting the same thing by equating Mao with revolutionary idealism; he can thus make the latter an easier target.

Gayn approaches Mao with benign fascination, knowing that a reader acquainted with starker accounts of the Maoist purges will not buy.

How better to slur revolutionary idealism and preclude people from placing hope in revolutions, like the Chinese, that go beyond capitalism, than as a friend! With nothing to gain by giving it a bad name.

The motto of these Herbert J. Muller-type commentators is: "Don't knock the cult of personality, parasite off it."

R.D.

Inspired Thought

Detroit, Mich.

Wages are low, and prices are high. The East is Red, and so am I. (Inspired by Mao Tse-tung's thought.)

L.B.

Weekly Calendar of Events

CHICAGO
SOCIALISM AND EINSTEIN. Speaker: Dr. Otto Nathan, trustee of Einstein's estate. Fri., Feb. 3, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT
URBAN RENEWAL — WHO AND WHAT ARE BEING RENEWED? Speaker: Hugh Whipple, Wayne State Univ., Monteith Natural Science Dept. Fri., Feb. 3, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES
MARXIST COMMENTARY. A biweekly analysis of the news by Theodore Edwards, So. Calif. chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. Mon., Feb. 6, 6:45 p.m. (repeated Thurs., Feb. 9, 12:45 p.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial.)

NEW YORK
BLACK POWER AND POLITICS — The Meaning of Powell's Congressional Lynching. A symposium featuring Roy Inness, chairman Harlem CORE; Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general in 1966; Jeff Greenup, president NYC NAACP. Fri., Feb. 3, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

MARXIST LECTURE SERIES. Birth and Bright Noon of the Labor and Socialist International: 1889-1904. Lecturer: George Novack, author of *Existentialism vs. Marxism*. Mon., Feb. 6, 8 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Fee: 50c. A usp. Socialist Workers Party.

SAN FRANCISCO
SINCE THE KOREAN WAR. Part Four of a Class on American Labor. Speaker: Asher Harer. Fri., Feb. 3, 8 p.m. 1733 Waller St. A usp. Young Socialist Alliance.

It Was Reported in the Press

A Leading Philosopher — The Most Reverend Fulton J. Sheen, described by *U.S. News & World Report* as "a leading philosopher of the Roman Catholic Church," decided after due meditation that there is too much "compassion" shown to criminals. "Social slobberers," he observed philosophically, "insist on compassion being shown to the junkies, to the dope fiends, the throat slashers, the beatniks, the prostitutes, the homosexuals and the punks."

Crime Doesn't Pay? — Stock in the Wackenhut Corp, jumped \$2 a share since the gum-shoe firm was named by the governor of Florida to act as a privately financed Gestapo-like secret police agency in the state. In addition to snooping, the outfit specializes in a monthly "news" bulletin that would do justice to the John Birch Society.

Penalized for Award — Two student editors of the *News-Letter* at John Hopkins University were suspended until they expressed "regret" for a satire they did on LBJ. They had nominated him for "man of the year" along with Charles Whitman, the Texas University tower slayer, and Richard Speck, accused of slaying eight Chicago nurses. The *News-Letter* article said: "Last year's top mass murderer was a Texas plowboy who has come a long way in the American crime business."

Feature That — Hiroshima Harry Truman says the UN should quarantine those who would resort to war "to impose their will, or their system or their ambitions on others."

Can't Fool Him — Arthur Sylvester, recently resigned Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, said Harrison Salisbury of the *New York Times* was a "Hanoi-picked correspondent." Sylvester is the man who told complaining newsmen that in wartime the government has a right to "manage" news.

Different Perspective — W.C. Fields held to the view that "you can't cheat an honest man" and "there's no sucker like the one with a little larceny in his heart." But Arthur Sylvester, in a further

datribe against Harrison Salisbury, contends that "an honest man is easier to sucker."

A Credible Figure — A Reuter's dispatch from Saigon said U.S. military authorities there announced Jan. 21 that 610 combat planes have been lost in north and south Vietnam. The report added that the spokesman said: "The figure did not include helicopters, spotter planes or transport aircraft shot down by ground fire or aircraft destroyed by the Vietcong on the ground."

—Harry Ring

Malcolm X On Afro-American History

On the occasion of Negro History Week the International Socialist Review devotes a special issue to the hitherto unpublished speech by Malcolm X on Afro-American history.

The speech has been transcribed from a tape recording made on January 24, 1965 at the Audubon Ballroom just a few weeks before Malcolm was assassinated.

The Malcolm X speech is published with an introduction by George Breitman, editor of the book, **MALCOLM X SPEAKS** and author of the new work, **THE LAST YEAR OF MALCOLM X: THE EVOLUTION OF A REVOLUTIONARY.**

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L.A. Trade Unionists Set Up SANE Chapter

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 22 — About 150 trade unionists met here last week to form a chapter of the Trade Union Division of SANE. The meeting was called by regional directors of three unions: Leonard Levy of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Paul Schrade of the United Auto Workers, and Bud Simonson of the United Packinghouse Workers.

More than a dozen international unions were represented in the gathering at Sidney Hillman Auditorium. Present were regional and local officials, shop stewards, and rank and file auto workers, steelworkers, teamsters, longshoremen, social workers, teachers, a large number of clothing workers and others.

The need to actively oppose the official position of the AFL-CIO in support of Johnson's every action was strongly expressed from the podium and the floor. Speakers stressed the need to break the silence of union officialdom and bring discussion of the war into union gatherings and to every working man.

Leonard Levy said the rank and file unionist will begin to actively oppose the war as he realizes the harm done to him, his family and his union by the war's continuation.

Representatives of the Teachers Union Executive Board reported that they had passed a resolution calling for the withdrawal of

American troops from Vietnam. This news was received with loud applause.

A draft statement of purpose was adopted stating in part: "We are opposed to further escalation of the fighting in Vietnam. We support the proposals of U Thant that there be an immediate cease fire, that we stop the bombing, and that we proceed to negotiate with all the principals engaged in the struggle. In this we include the National Liberation Front.

"We propose further that funds now being allocated to the Vietnam war be devoted to meeting the needs of our poor.

"The problems of housing, education, air pollution, discrimination, job training, and crowded cities continue to plague us. It is ironic that we seek to build a free and viable society in Vietnam while all about us there is overwhelming evidence of a social fragmentation at home. It is meaningless to struggle for freedom and justice in Vietnam while all forms of social and economic injustices stain our land."

Paul Schrade, who chaired the meeting, and the other sponsors were named to continue as the interim steering committee. They will be responsible for applying for a charter, publishing material in opposition to the war, and for calling the next meeting of the new chapter.



PETER CAMEJO, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Berkeley, speaking at Sproul Hall rally of Vietnam Day Committee on Jan. 19.

3000 Students Demonstrate Against Reagan Tuition Hike

BERKELEY — In protest of the institution of tuition at the University of California proposed by Governor Reagan, 3,000 students at the Berkeley campus marched on University Hall on Jan. 19. Inside the hall the ex-actor was meeting with the Regents of the university to discuss a possible budget cut and the institution of a \$400 tuition charge.

[The following day, the Regents voted to fire the university's president, Clark Kerr, in an obvious move against the university by the new conservative state administration. Reagan made the university and student radical movements an issue during his campaign.

[On Jan. 23, thousands of students marched at the University of California at Los Angeles in protest of the governor's actions. The students presented Chancellor Franklin Murphy with four demands: that the Board of Regents reject the proposed tuition charge, that the proposed cutback in state funds for the university be rejected, that the 87,000 students in the university have a role in the selection of Dr. Kerr's successor and that the students have a permanent voice in the direction of the university.]

The Jan. 19 march in Berkeley occurred after a rally sponsored by the Vietnam Day Committee, originally called to discuss the proposed referendum on the war

being discussed by the City Council. Part of the rally was devoted to the tuition issue.

About 2,500 student gathered to hear Rick Feinberg of the VDC; Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Berkeley; Professor J. B. Nielsands, candidate for City Council of the Community for New Politics and several SDS speakers.

Feinberg explained that a petition drive was in process to recommend to the City Council that it go ahead with the proposed referendum in the April 4 elections. Camejo pointed out that the tuition proposal was one more way, along with LBJ's new war tax and inflation, to make working people pay for the war.

Two Parties

"The Democrats will blame the Republicans and the Republicans will blame the Democrats and you will pay the tuition," Camejo said. "The working people and the Negro people of California whose sons and daughters will be most affected by the tuition have no way of fighting back because they have no party of their own, no political power."

Camejo concluded by saying: "If Berkeley is supposed to be a center of intellectual opposition, of radical protest, let us be clear on this all-important question: We must educate and fight for a complete break by working people from the Democratic and Republican parties."

Prof. Nielsands urged support for the referendum petition, and for a vote for the various candidates who oppose the war.

The rally grew to 3,000 by the time the students marched across campus to University Hall where the Regents were meeting. Across the street from the hall, a second rally sponsored by SDS was held in protest of the proposed imposition of tuition.

Ed Schwartz, vice president of the National Students Association, was quoted in the *Daily Californian*, campus newspaper, as saying that tuition had been instituted in other states, but "it has never been in the context of stifling dissent."

The *Berkeley Barb* newspaper said, "Pete Camejo, Socialist Workers' candidate for Mayor, drew the

biggest applause when he asked, 'Where is Reagan going to get the money? Let him tax the war industries 100 percent.'

The Socialist Workers Party election campaign and the drive to put a referendum on the Vietnam war on the ballot continue to receive excellent coverage in the press.

The drive to collect signatures to ask the City Council to put the referendum on the ballot is being supported by a wide range of groups and individuals.

Besides Camejo, the other SWP candidates are: Jaimey Allen, Ove Aspoy, and Brian Shannon for City Council; and Ernest Erlbeck for Board of Education.

A party to meet the candidates is being held on Jan. 28, and a benefit for the socialist campaign is planned for Feb. 6. The benefit will be held at the Jaberwock, and the program will include poet Stephen Schwartz, dancer Lisu and jazz guitarist Jan Tangen.

Health Care Lag Cited by Expert

MINNEAPOLIS — Robert Sigmond, an expert in hospital planning, said here that "there has been no evidence of improvement in health in the United States since 1957." Speaking before the Minneapolis and St. Paul Hospital Planning Councils on Jan. 11, he pointed out that while care for the individual patient may be improving, over-all community health care is not.

From 1900 to 1957, Sigmond said, the death rate in the U.S. was cut in half. Since 1957, it has leveled off. "In other countries, in Europe, however, the death rate has continued to decline," he said.

"Even in maternity," the expert explained, "there has been no improvement in infant mortality rates in recent years; and the U.S. now ranks 12th among nations in infant mortality."

Cornell Students Fight Campus Magazine Ban

Aroused by efforts of campus and local police officials to suppress a magazine article, students at Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y., forced the release of six students police were trying to arrest for selling the proscribed magazine.

The attempted arrests took place at a campus rally Jan. 20 called to protest a previous confiscation of copies of the magazine. Angry students surrounded a patrol car, deflated its tires, and refused to clear a path until the students were set free.

The controversy centered around publication of an article in the campus magazine, the *Trojan Horse*, which the authorities decided was pornographic. The article dealt with sexual fantasies.

The trouble began when a commercial printer refused to include the article in the issue. Students printed it themselves and attached it to the issue.

Then, when a table was set up in the lobby of the Student Union building to sell the magazine, campus police appeared and confiscated the 113 copies on the table. They were acting on orders from the head of Cornell's Safety Division, who in turn had the approval of a ranking member of the university administration.

Protest Rally

Following this action by the campus police, a protest rally was called by the Ad Hoc Committee for Free Expression at Cornell University. The committee included leading members of the student government and the editor of the campus daily, the *Cornell Daily Sun*.

A reported 1,500 students and faculty members turned out for the rally. It was said to be the strongest, most spirited general student protest seen at Cornell in some time.

While the protest rally was in progress, Richard Thaler, District

Attorney of Tomkins County appeared. He took the microphone to advise the students that anyone who sought to circulate the magazine would be arrested. At that point, immediately in front of him, the six students began selling it. They were seized by the cops and put in the patrol car. Thaler sought unsuccessfully to divert the crowd but finally the six were released. Thus far, no further criminal prosecution has been attempted.

However, Thaler did go to a local judge and secured a temporary injunction against circulation of the *Trojan Horse*. A hearing on whether or not the injunction should be continued was slated for Jan. 25. The editors of the *Trojan Horse* will be represented by the American Civil Liberties Union.

An attempt will be made to present a petition signed by numerous students and a number of faculty members on which the signers declare themselves as "guilty" as those who sought to sell the publication.

Meanwhile there is deep campus resentment not only at the high-handed local district attorney but at the campus police and administration. Members of the university administration have deplored the district attorney coming onto campus in the way he did. But thus far they have ducked expressing their view on the action of the campus police in confiscating the magazine.

In a telephone interview, Anne Bell, an SDS campus activist, said: "What is involved is not a question of obscenity, but of free speech. At worst such 'obscenity' is a distorted manifestation of human experience. At best, it is a sensitive and accurate expression of the sickness of a society. The real question here is not one of obscenity. It is one of free speech."

Five Convicted In Berkeley Protest

Mario Savio and four others were convicted Jan. 21 of creating a "public nuisance" during an antiwar sit-in protest at the University of California campus at Berkeley. One of the five, Stephen Hamilton, was also found guilty of trespassing. They were arrested during a campus demonstration against a military recruiter last Nov. 30. A student strike was held in protest against the jailings. Melvin Belli, attorney for the five, said the convictions would be appealed.