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Police and courtroom spectators clash Aug. 26 at San Francisco hearing for two remaining Soledad Brothers.

Jackson death mystery deepens

By Karen Wald
Special to the Guardian

San Francisco

The confusion surrounding the mysterious death of George Jackson in San Quentin prison deepened this week as prison officials continued to issue contradictory reports about the shooting Aug. 21.

Prison authorities, under pressure to prove how Jackson could have smuggled a large, 9 mm pistol back to his quarters—as originally alleged—now claim the gun was considerably smaller than they initially reported.

Jackson, a black Marxist revolutionary who spent 11 of his 29 years in jail, was buried last week in a family cemetery plot in Mount Vernon, Ill., only a few stones from the grave of his 17-year-old brother, Jonathan, slain a year ago in an effort to free Jackson's attorney, Stephen Bingham, was indicted for murder Aug. 31. Bingham, who has not been apprehended, has been accused of bringing the pistol to his client in San Quentin.

The week between the killing and the funeral Aug. 28 was one filled with confusion and bloodshed, with ever-changing statements by officials and charges of torture by prison inmates. It was also filled with judicial indifference, legal wrangling and demonstrations.

For three days after George Jackson was gunned down inside the San Quentin walls no adequate word came out to clarify what really happened. There were only the pronouncements of San Quentin officials and California Department of Correction chief Raymond Proctor. Few who knew the Soledad Brothers or Jackson through his writings or were familiar with the penal institutions of this country were disposed to believe those pronouncements even if the official story had been consistent and reasonable. But it was not.

Associate Warden James W. L. Park held a series of press conferences. On the first day it was said a gun or guns had been smuggled into the prison leading to a jail break attempt in which Jackson was killed along with three guards and two white inmate trustees. The guns were suspected of having been brought in on a tourist bus or with a visitor or "one of those radical lawyers."

In the days that followed it was stated by prison officials and dutifully printed as the "real inside story" by the press that a 9 mm Spanish made gun had been smuggled to Jackson by attorney Bingham. When people pointed to the thorough search of visitors and inmates (who are stripped and searched on leaving and re-entering the maximum-security Adjustment Center), Warden Park suggested the gun was brought to Jackson inside a tape recorder. He then allegedly hid it in his long, Afro-styled hair. Meeting disbelief, the next day officials reported that Jackson had lately taken to wearing a tight-knit cap at the back of his head and the gun was hidden half inside the cap and half in his hair but was spotted by a guard. Still not believed, officials the following day announced they had discovered an Afro wig flushed down a toilet—supposedly the means by which Jackson had hidden the gun. The San Francisco Chronicle reported Aug. 27 it had procured an identical gun and had a black model try to hide the gun beneath a wig. At first it wouldn't fit. When he finally removed the wig and with great difficulty forced it back on to his head with the gun inside, the Chronicle reported, "The wig was obviously askew and with every step he took, the gun wobbled dangerously bringing his hand instinctively to his head." The Chronicle observed without comment that if the prison version were true Jackson would have had to walk 50 yards under the eyes of a guard until he reached the Adjustment Center without having the gun observed.

The following day, the warden calmly announced that the gun was not after all an 8½ inch Spanish Astra 600 as had been reported but instead a smaller, similar gun. He did not explain why officials had given such a specific, erroneous report previously. Even stranger was the fact that when the gun was described it was declared to have been purchased by Black Panther Landon Williams over two years ago according to the gun's serial number. The warden did not state whether the "smaller" gun was also purchased by Williams.

At one point, prison officials trying to make their theory of an escape plan seem realistic, justified the stripping and shaving of the inmates and searching their cells by saying they were looking for grenades. The courtyard in which Jackson is said to have

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"One of the worst beatings" many had ever seen occurred last week at the trial of two Soledad Brothers. Police moved in on spectators with clubs. Above, woman struggles with cop.

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entered is surrounded by a 20-foot wall mounted by gun towers. Jackson and other prisoners, presumably, were going to blast their way through the prison wall in the courtyard, perhaps killing the lower guards with a grenade. In another attempt to bolster the escape conspiracy theory officials also announced late in the week that the slain prison guards had their uniforms removed. As in previous discrepancies they did not explain why it took them five days to discover the dead guards' nakedness.

More contradictions

The official description of Jackson's "escape attempt" contained even more serious discrepancies. Park told reporters in press conferences that after Jackson bolted from the Adjustment Center, he progressed about one-third of the way across the yard when he was shot. But, Park said, Jackson kept running toward the 20-foot high wall surrounding the prison yard, stumbled and fell near the corner of the prison chapel after crossing the yard where he died. The story conflicts sharply with an aerial photograph of the yard taken by an Oakland Tribune photographer. The photograph shows what appears to be a large circle of blood about 15 yards into the courtyard from the Adjustment Center door. Defense attorneys have said that is where Jackson was shot and left to bleed to death.

Floyd Silliman, the attorney who represents Soledad Brother John Clutchette, told the Washington Post: "If you're shot and keep running, you don't leave that much blood behind in a big circle." He added that persons who are shot and instantly killed do not normally bleed so profusely.

The first version of the shooting from the prisoners came when Drungo and Clutchette, the surviving Soledad Brothers, were brought to court Aug. 24. They had been prevented by prison officials from appearing at their scheduled hearing a day earlier and it took a court order to get them there. Their attorneys said the delay was caused because prison guards were still beating Drungo and Clutchette. The two men, scarred from beating, burned with cigarettes and suffering from internal injuries, were also suffering from mental torture inflicted on all Adjustment Center inmates since Jackson's death by constant death threats from the guards. Nevertheless, they brought with them a hand-written affidavit signed by all 27 inmates involved in the events.

Even before their statement was read to the press (the judge refused to allow their attorneys to present it to the courts), Drungo and Clutchette had told the people on the other side of the bullet-proof screen dividing the courtroom that George Jackson had been cold-bloodedly murdered. "He was shot in the back," said Clutchette, "and when they saw he still wasn't dead, they shot him in the head."

Inmate's affidavit

The prisoner's affidavit stated that the guards entered the first tier of the Adjustment Center and ordered the inmates to come out from their cells. "Thereafter, gunshots or what appeared to be gunshots went off and we all ran in our cells in the back of the same building to avoid being shot. Thereafter, the prison guards, armed with guns, entered the cell block and ordered the undersigned to come out or be killed. The undersigned were ordered by the officers to take off all their clothes and walk from the cell one at a time. Each of the undersigned received malicious physical beatings by prison guards with blackjacks, guns and clubs. . . and made to lay on the ground naked from approximately 4 p.m. to 10 p.m. at which time one inmate, Allen Mancino, who was hand and leg-chained on the ground was begging the guards to loosen the handcuffs cutting him and was told to keep his mouth shut by the officer (guard) who shot part of his leg off with a rifle. There, Mancino was made to lie begging for a doctor for approximately an hour before the guards would allow him to move. . . ." The affidavit continued to describe the physical torture, the threats and terrorism in the courtyard and asked the court for judicial release. The first judge wasn't even willing to look at the affidavit; no judge in California state or federal courts was willing to take the political risk of granting such release by enjoining the prison officials from further terrorizing and torturing the prisoners.

In discussions with their lawyers, Clutchette and Drungo elaborated further. They stated that they knew something was wrong earlier because the guards had begun inexplicably moving people from the second and third tiers to the first. When they had everyone they wanted on the first tier they ordered them out. When the firing began, they said, Jackson—knowing that the guards' principal aim was to murder him—ran out the open door to the courtyard to draw the fire of the guards on himself and to spare the other prisoners. The yard—which is normally sealed shut by a heavy door that can be unlocked only from the outside—provides no possibility of escape. It is surrounded by a 20-foot wall mounted with expert marksman guards in watchtowers. There is no spot in the yard where a person is not exposed to the gunshots of the guards' rifles.

Prisoners in San Quentin were still being held incommunicado and dozens of lawyers began working frantically to gain entrance to the prison to learn the fate of the other inmates and to stop the torture. Drungo had been told repeatedly he would be dead by Friday; his lawyer, Richard Silver, could not get a judge to move him to the San Francisco county jail. Pleas went out to black state and federal Congressmen and legislators to apply pressure, but when Drungo and Clutchette reappeared in court two days later, they reported they had been beaten and burned with cigarettes again when they returned to the prison Aug. 24.

Courtroom gestapo

Drungo's mother fled the courtroom, crying. Soon after, Mrs. Maxwell, John Clutchette's mother, began crying uncontrollably and cursing the unyielding judge. Suddenly, the San Francisco Tactical Squad, standing reinetered with clubs ready in the back of the sealed-spectator section of the courtroom, waded in with clubs flailing. Although most of the people who moved around Mrs. Maxwell to keep her from being dragged out were black

women, it was two black men whom the Tac Squad and sheriff's deputies chose to attack. They began one of the longest, most vicious and most bloody beatings ever witnessed in a demonstration or riot—not to mention inside a courtroom. For long moments, the Tac Squad beat Phil Price, a cousin of Fleeta Drungo, as he lay on the ground, bending his leg over a chair and slamming a club on the leg repeatedly, trying to break it. Then the sheriff's deputies moved in. Lifting Price to his feet, slamming his already profusely bleeding head repeatedly, then forcing him against the wall where they continued to beat him. Marty Price, Phil's older brother was being shoved around the neck with a Tac Squad club but he wasn't beaten. Instead, both were dragged inside to a prison holding cell where the guards forced Marty to watch as his younger brother was clubbed and beaten some more. When they finished, an officer said, "We need some injured men," and several officers wiped their hands in Phil's blood, rubbed it on their own faces and went off to have their pictures taken. The brothers were charged with assaulting an officer.

Before the courtroom beatings began, defense attorneys had been trying to gain the attention of presiding judge Carl Allen to the marks and bruises apparent on the bodies of Clutchette and Drungo. To the amazement of those in the spectator section, who could see the marks even from behind the screen set up in the courtroom, the judge denied being able to see the marks and refused to step forward at the attorneys' request to take a closer look. Attorney Silliman told the Guardian, "He just didn't want to see it." Allen denied all defense motions, including a challenge to dismiss himself from the trial for reason of bias and prejudice, but announced that the trial will be continued to Sept. 20. At that time, Allen will be on vacation and will no longer be the presiding judge.

Lawyers back prisoners

Meanwhile, demonstrations of increasing numbers had been going on outside the prison, blocked by shotgun-carrying guards from approaching the gates. Cries went out to noted black congressmen, publishers, doctors and others. On Aug. 26, a few lawyers were allowed into the prison for the first time. They confirmed what Clutchette and Drungo had told their attorneys; all the prisoners told essentially the same story: there had been no escape attempt but only brutal, premeditated murder and unabated torture, both physical and psychological. By Aug. 27, with the demonstrations outside the prison now drawing numbers in the thousands, three white reporters were allowed into the Adjustment Center—accompanied by prison officials. Not unexpectedly, the distrustful black and brown prisoners who fill the Adjustment Center had little to say and the reporters who told the story they were sent in to tell: they saw little evidence of torture or recent beatings. They weren't allowed to see Mancino, whose leg had been shot off, nor any other prisoner injured seriously enough to warrant sending him to the hospital.

The same public pressure which led the prison administration to make a showcase for the three reporters also finally forced them to allow Rep. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.), state assemblyman Willie Brown and Dr. Carlton Goodlet into the Adjustment Center on Aug. 27 although Park and Department of Correction chief Procnietter had denied their request the previous day.

After a quick tour, however, the group was unable to substantiate claims made in the lawyers' and prisoners' report. They said it appeared most prisoners had not been beaten in the last 36 hours, with the exception of Hugo Pinell, born in Nicaragua and serving a life term and accused of killing one of the eight San Quentin guards who have been slain during the year prior to Aug. 21, has been beaten every day without stop. Some of the official rumors imply he was responsible for the knife slayings of the three guards and two white trustees.

Prison officials are circulating rumors of conspiracy indictments, charging Jackson was involved in a pre-planned prison break attempt involving a number of other inmates. In addition to the most obvious—Clutchette, Drungo and Russell Magee—the people who head the list of "rumored conspirators" include Pinell, another inmate named Johnny Spain, lawyer Bingham, who was the last to see Jackson and an ex-cellmate named Jimmy Carr who is now in a San Francisco county jail.

Investigations into the slaying have been demanded from several quarters, including Rep. Dellums, Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), the National Conference of Black Lawyers, defense attorneys for the Soledad Brothers, the Communist party and the National Commission of Inquiry, the group headed by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark which investigated the murder of Black Panther Fred Hampton. Rutgers University law professor Herbert Reid, with the Commission, was said to be in California awaiting the opportunity to visit the prison to be in the NAACP Legal Defense Fund announced its staff resources would be available for an investigation.

On Aug. 28, several thousand black and white, old and young, people gathered at St. Augustine's Episcopal Church to show their love and respect for George Jackson. The church was the scene of Jonathan Jackson's funeral just a little more than a year ago.

The funeral was not a moment of mourning but a call to action. "Last Saturday, this system called American justice murdered George Jackson," Father Earl Neil told the 200 relatives and comrades gathered inside the church and the thousands listening outside. "They tried to end the life George gave us but George still lives on. He is with us today and he is saying to us, rise up and walk—take some steps for liberation." When Huey Newton, minister of defense of the Black Panther party, gave the eulogy, he referred often to the three rows of young children seated before him. He described how prisoners put Jackson's ideas to life. "We'll see his ideas stay alive because we'll manifest them in the bodies and minds of children."

The coffin, draped with the blue satin Black Panther flag, was flanked throughout the service by an honor guard of two Panthers in full uniform of black jacket, pants and beret and blue shirts. Each carried a shotgun across his chest.

Jackson death mystery deepens

Women march for rights

By Renee Blakkan

Some 10,000 people, mostly women, observed a militant second anniversary of the Aug. 26 march in New York City last week.

On the 51st anniversary of women's winning the right to vote they lined up on 44th St. off Fifth Ave. in preparation for the 5:30 p.m. march up the avenue to Central Park's 72nd St. mall. But when the police gave the go-ahead signal and attempted to channel the women into two lanes, the thousands of women halted. They refused to move until, after heated arguments and some shoving with police, they won the right to march on the entire avenue.

At the mall some 7000 to 8000 people stayed to hear 16 speakers who were divided roughly into two groups, characterizing the organization of the march and the state of the women's movement in New York and the country as a whole today.

On the one hand there was the group tied to reforming the capitalist parties. Dominant were the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the newly formed but proliferating women's political caucuses. The caucuses came from Connecticut, New York City, several counties on Long Island and other places. (The goals of this group are political power (since women are 53% of the population they ideally would like 53% of all elected positions in the country) and reforms on the questions of abortion, childcare, equal pay for equal work and equality before the law.)

In answer to the question "power for whom," this group would answer, "for women." Supporting capitalism and with no class analysis, their several attacks on racism and poverty were not always carried out in practice. For instance, at a steering committee meeting a week-and-a-half before the march a member of the Third World Women's Alliance asked why her group—and other third world women's groups—had not been notified that an



Over 400 women stormed Chicago Mayor Daley's office Aug. 6, changing him with turning off the microphones at Women's Equality rally.

action was planned for Aug. 26. The explanation of the all-white steering committee members was that there wasn't time to notify everyone, they didn't have the phone number, etc. While this group is quickly organizing on a local, regional, state and national basis (Aug. 11), the radical and left groups were in complete disarray and hardly in evidence.

Where was the left?

The Socialist Workers party, which last year played a key organizing role, took no part in the planning. SWP member Klip Dawson explained that the women members of her party supported Aug. 26 but were mainly involved in organizing within the Women's National Abortion Action coalition. The Communist party does not play a role in the independent women's movement, preferring to organize women in trade unions and to work for daycare centers.

The march up Fifth Ave. and the rally were militant, in spite of the nearly all-white participation and the absence of trade-union women. People watching lined the sidewalks four and five deep. There were fewer male hecklers this year and those there were—one man shouted out it was the ugliest bunch of women he'd ever seen—we met with much more confidence. One man carrying a sexist sign found it ripped out of his hands and torn to shreds by four women. Men who shouted out once or twice at the rally were universally told by the un intimidated women to shut up.

One woman wore a sign around her neck saying "secretarial slave." Another, "equal education." A large banner reading "Working women's contingent" seemed to have no one behind it. Two other banners with many followers read "Lesbians unite" and "Women's liberation is a lesbian plot." Carried in great number were signs proclaiming the five demands of the march: (1) equality under the law; (2) abortion and contraception; (3) childcare centers; (4) equal education and employment; (5) political power.

In contrast with last year, there were only a few signs calling for the freedom of Angela Davis. These were carried by black women members of a group called "Women, Students and Artists for Black Art Liberation." The organization supports black women artists who, according to 36-year-old member Faith Ringold, are discriminated against by black male artists.

Among the speakers were Betty Friedan, saying the women's movement was becoming a "decisive historical and political force." "We are moving to use the vote that we have," she said. "We must use our political power for our own priorities, for human priorities" that include an end to sexism, racism and the war. "No one is thinking of human priorities in Washington today," she said, adding that "every year we will march and every year we will feel more proud that we are women and more men will march with us."

Establish women's banks

New York City's Democratic councilwoman Carol Greitzer called on women to "go ahead and deduct childcare expenses" if they are working, as the present \$600 deduction allowed by the government is

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Antiwar protests scheduled in next three months

By Carl Davidson

In the context of the Nixon administration's new attack on the livelihood of American workers, the President's upcoming trip to Peking and the high farce of the Saigon elections, the U.S. antiwar movement has closed ranks in the highest degree of unity since the invasion of Cambodia and developed a broad program of struggle for a fall offensive against U.S. aggression in Indochina.

While the two antiwar coalitions—the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice—still operate independently and are not agreed on all actions planned, both are jointly planning and mobilizing support for the two major actions of the offensive: an Oct. 13 nationwide moratorium and a Nov. 6 mass mobilization in 16 major urban centers across the country.

At the present time, the following calendar of events has emerged, although not all the actions listed are officially endorsed or given priority by both coalitions.

September 8: The National Welfare Rights Organization is planning protests in cities across the country and in Washington, to oppose Nixon's welfare legislation and to demand a \$6500 minimum annual income for a family of four. The actions will be supported by the People's Coalition.

September 16: Chicano antiwar actions will be organized on this day—the anniversary of Mexican independence—in cities and small towns throughout the Southwest. The protests were called by the National Chicano Youth Conference and the Denver-based Crusade for Justice. The events are endorsed by both

coalitions and will stress the Chicano struggle for self-determination as well as the war.

October 2: Mass demonstrations at Danbury strike in Connecticut in solidarity with antiwar prisoners there, including the Berrigan brothers. Plans are being formulated by Catholic resistance forces for a nationwide action at prisons across the country, including an action at the Saigon embassy in Washington in solidarity with Vietnamese political prisoners. Presently, actions are planned at Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary in Lewisburg, Pa. and San Quentin in Marin County, Calif. as well as Danbury.

October 13: Moratorium meetings, rallies, demonstrations and teach-ins will be organized in "every city, town and village." One important breakthrough for the antiwar movement is that a number of trade union locals and rank-and-file workers' groups are planning work stoppages and rallies at factories beginning at noon. In addition, the National Student Association is planning a student strike. The Student Mobilization Committee will also organize protests on that day but, according to SMC coordinator Debby Bustin, "the character of the actions will be up to the local areas."

October 25: Antiwar protests in solidarity with the GI movement will be held in local areas and on military bases on Veteran's Day. Main organizers of the events will be the Vietnam Veterans Against the War with the support of both coalitions.

October 25-28: The People's Coalition will organize mass civil disobedience in Washington during this period. While tactical plans are still being formulated, the events will have a main focus on the White House for at least one of the

days. One of the plans being considered by Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, which endorsed the general plans for the fall offensive at a national meeting in Ann Arbor two weeks ago, is to have groups of clergy/men engage in daily civil disobedience at the White House from Oct. 13 to Oct. 28. NPAC, which opposes the tactic of civil disobedience, considers the timing of this action and the emphasis given to it by the People's Coalition as a violation of the unity agreements between the coalitions. Crucial to the success of the action will be the support of the radical youth mobilized last spring by Mayday, which has yet to effectively organize for the fall, either through Mayday or any other independent formation. While NPAC disapproves of the action, this is not likely to disrupt the other joint efforts, due to the strong pressure for united actions throughout the movement.

November 3: SMC plans a mass mobilization of students in colleges and high schools to go into nearby communities on this day to build support for Nov. 6. Originally billed as a student strike, plans were modified somewhat to keep the main focus on Nov. 6 and to work with NSA and other groups for the Oct. 13 actions.

November 6: Massive "peaceful, orderly and non-confrontational" street demonstrations will take place in 16 major urban centers: Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Denver, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New York, Philadelphia, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Seattle, Tampa and Washington, D.C. The main demand will be for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina.

Hannahan charged in Chicago

By David Moberg
Special to the Guardian

Chicago state's attorney Edward Hannahan and 13 other city lawmen have been indicted for conspiracy to obstruct justice following the killing of Illinois Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark by police in the early morning of Dec. 4, 1969.

After five months of investigation and four months during which Hannahan, the police and Judge Joseph Power did everything they could to quash the unreleased indictments, the Illinois supreme court ordered the results of the county grand jury inquiry to be made public.

An earlier federal grand jury investigation established that the state's attorney's special police squad fired 99 bullets and the Panthers fired no more than one and revealed grave discrepancies in police testimony and deliberate falsification of evidence. No indictments were returned.

In the controversy which followed that report, however, several top-ranking police officers were demoted, charges lodged against the survivors of the raid were dropped for lack of sufficient evidence to prosecute and a coalition of over 80 community organizations launched a legal drive to set up a special county grand jury.

Partial victory

It was that body which finally returned the verdict which was opened Aug. 24. Thus the indictments can be seen as a partial victory for those people who were convinced the police deliberately assassinated Hampton and Clark, even though the light charge (carrying a maximum penalty of 1 to 3 years in prison and \$1000 fine) was seen by the Black Panthers and many others as "a feeble attempt by the state to redeem itself in the eyes of the people." Jesse Jackson and other black leaders joined Bobby Seale and Illinois Panther leader Bobby Rush in demanding Hannahan be charged with murder.

Hannahan denied guilt and immediately began efforts to dismiss the indictment on the grounds that special prosecutor Barnabas Sears had "intimidated" the jurors and that the statute of limitations had expired. He refused to step down from office pending any decision. All the other accused conspirators, including eight of the 14 raiders, an assistant state's attorney, and who supervised the crime lab investigation of evidence and the internal investigations division review of police procedure in the raid, are still on active duty. Police superintendent James Conlisk, a Mayor Daley appointee who was named as a co-conspirator but not indicted, also remains securely in office.

The indictment does not specifically deal with the attack, in which Hampton was killed in his bed while he slept and the Westside Chicago apartment was riddled with automatic weapons fire. The defendants are accused only of "willfully, fraudulently and deceitfully conspiring, confederating and agreeing to commit an offense of obstruction of justice" by collecting evidence solely to prove the police version (which claimed the Panthers had engaged them in a long gun battle), by carrying on false and inflammatory publicity (such as Hannahan's numerous press conferences lauding the police and his feeding false information to the press), by falsely testifying before several previous investigators, and by using evidence Hannahan knew to be "false and inflammatory" to get indictments against the Panther survivors.

Daley fights indictments

Nevertheless, it was considered a miracle even this indictment



Fred Hampton, murdered by Chicago cops.

saw daylight. With the connivance of Judge Power, the state's attorney and the Daley political machine have fought bitterly to prevent, then disrupt, then block the county grand jury. It is still possible Hannahan and the others indicted will never come to trial, especially since Judge Power, a longtime close friend of Mayor Daley, is still hearing the motions for dismissal of the indictments and the remainder of the case despite calls from various people that he excuse himself.

Hannahan rose to power within the Daley machine as a tough law-and-order attorney. "Hoodlums fear his election" campaign slogans claimed, but it turned out young blacks had the most to fear. Besides the continual attacks on the Black Panther party, Hannahan is best known for repeated harassment and trial of black youth organization members, especially from the Black P Stone Nation. However, the cases were so flimsy that even given a wide public hostility to any youth described as a black "gang" member, Hannahan has won very few convictions. A harsh and vindictive man, Hannahan reacted to the failure of his repression campaign in the courts with broadsides against judges who were "soft" on criminals—whenever maximum penalties were not meted out.

Although he was once tagged as among the most promising of Daley's proteges, the indictment probably dealt a death blow to his case, he will probably be retired to some machine sinecure, like a judgeship.

When a suburban newspaper chain in April leaked the word he would be among those indicted, Hannahan began a series of desperate moves which have stalled all action on the case. Judge Power ordered prosecutor Sears to call Hannahan as a witness, even though the state's attorney had turned down a previous offer to testify. Sears finally gave Hannahan a turn on the stand despite objections that Power had no right to intervene, but he would not call several other witnesses Power had named. That led to contempt charges only later overturned by the Illinois supreme court.

In the meantime, lawyers for the policemen who expected to be indicted claimed Sears had bullied the grand jurors into returning an indictment and asked the indictment be suppressed. The supreme court said Power could question the grand jury as a group to see if they had been intimidated, so Power appointed Mitchell Ware, chief of the Illinois Bureau of Investigation, to carry out that examination. Appointing a man known for his grandstand staging of drug and political harassment arrests as investigator of a case threatening a tough state's attorney was like asking the commander of the Marine Corps to check out reports of atrocities in Vietnam. But the Supreme Court ruled. Ware couldn't do the job and ordered the indictment read.

Labor eases opposition to freeze

By Bruce Severy

Much of the stormy resistance to President Nixon's New Economic Program (NEP) coming from organized labor leaders has calmed in the face of calls by George Meany and Leonard Woodcock for cooperation with the 90-day freeze on wages and prices.

This shift from uncompromising resistance to the freeze represents a retreat by a powerful sector of organized labor to Nixon's harsh new policies, apparently based on the belief that better concessions can be gotten from the government in terms of benefits for union workers if the first big concession came from labor.

Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans met with 11 representatives of top industrial corporations Aug. 25, then announced to the public that there would be a "phase II" of the NEP after the 90-day freeze. Noting that the price freeze had put big business "at a considerable disadvantage" and that business is "sacrificing profits" because it cannot recoup anticipated price increases due to the freeze, Stans would only further comment that "some form" of mandatory controls on wages and prices will appear in "phase II."

Labor Secretary James Hodgson "dropped in" on George Meany Aug. 26 with an open invitation for talks between labor, business and government officials to determine the specifics of "phase II" and with words of assurance that organized labor would have an "equal voice." At the same time, UAW president Woodcock was announcing autoworkers would "cooperate during the freeze" but "beyond that we don't know." His statement reversed earlier remarks that UAW would totally resist the freeze.

Also on Aug. 26 the Machinists Union (AFL-CIO) ordered all striking workers back to the job if the strike issue was higher wages. This policy is to continue for the duration of the freeze.

AFL-CIO seeks "equity"

Another significant event which occurred Aug. 26 was the closed-session meeting in Washington of lawyers from the scores of AFL-CIO affiliate unions. By the

FORBES' tenants may apply for rent reduction based on inflation in individual cases. If the landlord refuses to grant a reduction or failure to permit them can file charges to the August 1, 1970, rent increases.

FORBES' In certain carefully selected cases, tenants may spend money for essential repairs, fuel, toilet facilities, etc., in independent.

FORBES' The tenant's grievance should be filed with the appropriate office on the books longer than six months, no rent need be paid at all. However, tenants must deposit rent into court when they assert this.

FORBES' As that the worst that can happen is the rent. The objective of this is to get the landlord to let the landlord or any of his representatives into your apartment unless he has given you twenty-four hours' written notice, and even then it must be at your convenience.

FORBES' If you see the disposses stuck into or under your door, call another tenant to see exactly where it was put before you pick it up. He may be a useful witness.

FORBES' Getting a disposses means that your landlord/owner has started an action against you, but it is nothing to fear as long as you answer your disposses within five days--including Saturday and Sunday--of the date you get it, unless Saturday or Sunday is the fifth day. Don't wait; although the landlord or his process server must file an affidavit giving the date of service, this may be faked. The date of service, this may be faked. The date of service, this may be faked.

FORBES' Do not let the landlord or his process server enter your apartment without your consent. If they do, call the police. If you see the disposses stuck into or under your door, call another tenant to see exactly where it was put before you pick it up. He may be a useful witness.

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What's A Tenant To Do?

FORBES' During the hearing itself, the judge may direct the parties to go out to the corridor and negotiate. Sometimes the landlord himself offers to negotiate at court. In either case, don't insist that the case be adjourned instead, so that you can take your time to have the landlord or your own lawyer to handle the matter as frequently anticipated. If you turn over the rent personally, without to be considerably "on the right side" of the law.

FORBES' The landlord may require the tenant to pay a court hearing and forcing the judge to render a decision.

FORBES' The landlord asks for partial payment of the rent. If you have a good faith, rent should not turn over any money at all. Tell the landlord you've shown good faith for years by paying rent without receiving service. If you know your landlord's home address, picket his house when his neighbors are coming home from work or shopping. Many landlords live in "nice" neighborhoods--much nicer than their tenants--where the integrity of picket signs is disconcerting.

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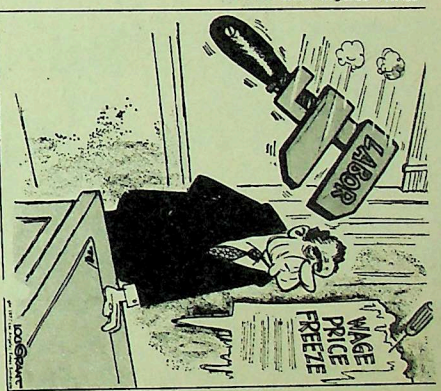
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 By Debbie Shiloh



Grant: Los Angeles Times

"Of course, there's bound to be a few isolated complaints." But that was last week.

end of the day the attorneys were in general agreement that no legal action be taken by the AFL-CIO, but rather that the country's largest labor organization should reaffirm its emphasis on wage and price "equity" by taking its own wage-price program before Congress.

Two days later, AFL-CIO president Meany said he would participate in talks with government representatives and corporate executives as well as mount a lobby campaign in the Congress when it convenes, centering around the creation of a tripartite wage-price review board similar to the one during World War II. Such a board would have limited powers to stabilize the wage-price spiral and to guarantee wage equity between different sectors of industry.

With the reluctant acceptance of the wage and price freeze by a large part of organized labor, Nixon administration officials followed suit with several concessions to labor.

George Lincoln, director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness (OEP) and a member of the Cost of Living Council, announced that "all forms of executive remuneration" were to be included in the 90-day wage freeze. Executive remuneration was defined by Lincoln as vacation and holiday pay, bonuses, increased payments for night work, employer contributions to savings and pension plan funds, stock options, expense accounts and deferred compensation payments.

While the freeze on stock options will cramp executive privilege, dividends remain not frozen and can probably make up the difference. The freeze on expense accounts--one of the more blatant examples of institutionalized corporate graft--will be virtually impossible to enforce. On the other hand, the freeze on contributions to savings and pension plan funds means a considerable loss to the millions of workers they cover.

Following Lincoln's announcement, Assistant Secretary of Labor W. J. Usery said the estimated \$500 million in negotiated wage increases affected by the freeze might be allowed to be paid retroactively. Usery would not, however, go much beyond the hint, saying only that, "Where there are bona fide legal contracts, people should get what they have coming to them."

Limit on profits?

On Aug. 30 both Stans and Hodgson, in separate interviews, said government-administered controls of the ceiling-limit type on corporate profits and dividends are being considered by the Nixon administra-

tion as a possible element of "phase II." In another broadcast interview, UAW's Woodcock said he hoped "phase II" would have a mechanism to impose taxes on "excess" corporate profits. Woodcock did not spell out what an "excess" would amount to, but rather explained that such a scheme would keep prices down and would be fair to businesses whose profits had been severely cut into by the recession, "since they would escape the consequences of an excess profits tax because they wouldn't have any."

Two other developments also point to the extent which the real issue--whether or not a freeze on wages and prices will stop inflation--has become obscured in the midst of speculation over the final form of NEP's "phase II."

Two polls, Gallup and Opinion Research Corporation, both taken a week after Nixon's television address Aug. 15, indicate that 65% of members of union families and 75% of members of non-union families (Gallup) and 71% of members of union families (Opinion Research) supported Nixon's plan to "provide jobs and halt inflation." The polls were taken before critical reaction by labor leaders had time to take effect and were confined to a very small sample of the population (the Gallup Poll took opinions from 252 labor union members, for example).

The other development is the claim by the Nixon administration that since its call for workers on strike to go back to their jobs until the end of the freeze, in the first 10 days some 97 strikes involving 29,000 workers have been stopped. In the majority of cases, unions and employers have resumed previous negotiations.

All of the developments since Nixon's dramatic announcement, from the fiery denunciations by labor leaders, the talk of a 24-hour national strike, to the acceptance of the wage freeze by these same leaders and the apparent success of Nixon's patric appeal to the greater majority of the nation's working class, point up now as never before the need for an understanding of inflation, its causes and effects.

Inflation not a cause

Inflation is a symptom, not the cause of current economic problems. Inflation has become a more or less permanent feature of the U.S. economy since the second World War. An "allowable" rate of inflation, between 1% to 3%, has enabled large corporate monopolies to reap super-profits.

Two factors are involved--and the interaction of the two has resulted in a self-defeating acceleration in the rate of inflation. On the one hand, corporate monopolies (which dominate given markets) have been able to drop for the most part price-cutting as a practical form of competition simply due to their relative domination of key industries. Using the "price leadership" theory, they arbitrarily set high prices to make greater profits. Smaller capitalists, dependent on the monopolies for machinery, raw materials, etc., must also raise prices to lose on their own profits. The result is an overall price rise that drives the real buying power of workers' wages down.

On the other hand, defense spending, while bringing exorbitant profits to some defense industries, has increased the tendency for the average rate of profit for all capitalists to fall, even though the accumulated total of capital (realized as profit) has increased. Ironically, the permanent war economy, the creation of a huge defense industry and the reliance on continual deficit spending was intended to "save" a capitalist system unable to deal with its

(continued on page 15)

Irish singers at picnic

A trio of Irish folk singers currently touring the United States with a program of political and traditional songs--the Johnstons--will perform at the Guardian-Angela Davis Picnic on Saturday, Sept. 18th, at Arrow Park in Monroe, N.Y. Among the group's songs which they have been singing extensively here is a tribute to Angela Davis.

The Johnstons join Pete Seeger, the Olatunji Dancers and Ossie Davis for what promises to be a rich and varied cultural program that will highlight the picnic's

array of activities.

Another feature of the day will be a series of "open mike" discussions with special guests and various members of the Guardian staff.

Tickets for the picnic are \$3, children from 6-12 at half price; younger children free. Round-trip bus transportation at \$3.50 is available while free parking will be provided for those who come up by private car. All proceeds will be shared jointly by the Guardian and the Angela Davis Defense Committee. (See ad, page 4.)

ASIA

VIETNAM-CAMBODIA

All 220,000 GIs in South Vietnam were put on a so-called yellow alert Aug. 24, following Nguyen Cao Ky's refusal to run for President in the Oct. 3 elections. Only incumbent president Nguyen Van Thieu was left on the ballot. U.S. displeasure was great and there were rumors of the possibility of a coup d'etat. . . . Liberation forces last week continued to attack U.S.-Saigon bases in the northern half of the country. Thirteen hours of explosions ripped through an ammunition dump Aug. 25 at Camranh Bay, a large base 130 miles northeast of Saigon. Bases below the demilitarized zone were heavily shelled. In one case, in Huonghoa District, north of Firebase Sarge, National Liberation Front fighters penetrated 200 yards from an American compound. "The people in the village didn't even tell us or warn us," an American sergeant complained. . . . B-52s and the U.S. Seventh Fleet, stationed in the Gulf of Tonkin, continued to shell the southern half of the demilitarized zone. U.S. planes several times struck inside North Vietnam in "retaliation" for anti-aircraft fire. . . . Australia and New Zealand announced last week that nearly their entire forces in South Vietnam would be home by

GI TOLL: 357,926

The following casualty figures for Indochina are based on U.S. government statistics. They are lower than U.S. casualties reported by the liberation forces. Figures are from Jan. 1, 1961 to Aug. 21, 1971. Figures in parentheses are for the week Aug. 14 to Aug. 21. Killed: 45,452 (10); "Non-combat" deaths: 9639 (14); Wounded: 301,359 (78); Missing, captured: 1476.

Christmas. Some 6000 Australian and 264 New Zealand soldiers are in the country. Thailand is withdrawing half of a 12,000-man force and plans to pull out the other half early next year. The Philippines withdrew about 2000 troops about three years ago. . . . In Cambodia, several infantry battalions were airlifted last week to the provincial capital of *Kompong Thom*. The area north of the capital has been held by liberation forces for over a year. . . . The U.S. embassy staff in Phnom Penh now numbers about 120, compared with six at the time of the ouster of head of state Norodom Sihanouk in March, 1970. . . . The northwestern African state of Senegal last week ordered its embassy in Phnom Penh shut down. President Leopold Sedar Senghor recognized instead the government of national union under Sihanouk.

SOUTH KOREA

Over 50,000 poor peasants and other citizens of Kyonggi province in South Korea stormed a district real estate office last month in protest against the seizure of their land and its redistribution at a rate 100 times the expropriation price. The peasants destroyed the land operator's office and burned all documents there. . . . On the same day in Seoul, patriots attacked a U.S. ammunition depot, making off with many handgrenades. . . .

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WORLD IN REVOLUTION

Over 6000 peasants in Kangwon province were kicked off their land when a civil engineering project of the Seoul regime submerged about 3000 square miles of their farm and home land under water.

PEOPLE'S CHINA

China last month established diplomatic relations with Iran, Turkey and Peru. At the same time the Reuters news agency said it would reopen its bureau in Peking which has been closed for the last two years. . . . President Nixon said he would suspend U.S. spy flights over People's China, but that he would maintain spy satellites and continue to approve provocative flights over China's airspace by Taipei pilots. The People's China government has registered nearly 500 formal protests against such flights.

AFRICA

TANZANIA-UGANDA

Border clashes erupted Aug. 24 between Tanzania and Uganda. Tanzania accused Uganda of sending tanks and troops across the border and denounced as a "blatant lie" Ugandan usurper Idi Amin's claim that a Chinese instructor accompanied Tanzanian troops across the border. Amin, who threw over the progressive government of Milton Obote in January, claimed Tanzanian forces had crossed into Uganda.

CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)

Over 50,000 people rallied in Brazzaville, capital of the People's Republic of the Congo, Aug. 15 in celebration of the eighth anniversary of the "August revolution." President Marien Ngouabi told the enthusiastic people "Every time we commemorate the days of Aug. 13, 14 and 15, 1963, it is a new victory for our people and a defeat for imperialism and its lackeys, the traitors of Africa." The country has been on alert since the beginning of August, when it was revealed there was a plot underway to invade the republic. Claude-Ernest N'Dalla, first secretary of the political bureau of the Congolese Labor party said mercenaries trained in Israel, Portugal and in "the anti-guerrilla camps of U.S. imperialism" had been trained for the job. The Voice of the Congolese Revolution radio station said, "It goes without saying that after Guinea imperialism would turn to the Congo." (Portugal staged an abortive invasion of Guinea last November.)

LATIN AMERICA

ARGENTINA

The military is increasingly taking over the job of the police in seeking and repressing leftists in Argentina, Prensa Latina reported. The Cuban news agency said the army stepped in after over 50 bombs were exploded in three cities in July and after the shooting of Cordoba's police chief. Cordoba and Tucuman have been "the scene of spectacular operations aimed at arresting suspicious persons," Prensa Latina said. In addition a "death commando" was set up there which is believed to be comprised of police. "It has made threats against lawyers, union leaders and popular political leaders and even took responsibility for terror attacks in reprisal for the execution of the former police chief."

CUBA

At the last UNESCO meeting in Geneva, Cuba said it planned "to progressively move all junior high schools to the country." Two such schools were reviewed recently in Prensa Latina. Ceiba junior high number one is located in a large orange-growing project and the other, named after the martyrs of Kent State U., is near a huge banana grove. The "schools in the countryside" are attended by students who work in the fields three hours a day from Monday through Friday and who attend classes the rest of the day. The schools were contrasted with those in urban centers such as Havana, which lack "integral education." That is, while the school's represent an epic jump by revolutionary Cuba, they remain divorced from the productive life of the rest of the people.

Compiled by Renee Blakkan

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HUEY NEWTON SPEAKS

The founder of the Black Panther Party speaks of struggle, revolution, racism and death. Interviewed by Mark Lane in California state prison.

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Fall offensive

A number of important antiwar actions have been scheduled during the next three months, principally by the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. The main events take place Oct. 13 and Nov. 6 (See page 5). It goes without saying that Guardian readers should participate to the maximum in all the scheduled activities.

Antiwar forces have a number of favorable factors which can lead to a large turnout in addition to the fact that both coalitions have agreed to support actions on the above dates, including:

—The impact of the Pentagon papers. This self-exposure of imperialism's deception of the American people, which occurred after the spring offensive, has the potential of activating vast numbers to join the mass demonstrations.

—Nixon's new economic plan. This assault on the living standards of the working class—stemming from the inflation, caused by the war economy and aggravated by the continuation of the war—has the potential of creating wide support for the antiwar movement among rank-and-file workers, who have yet to join antiwar protests in large numbers even though surveys have shown antiwar sentiment to be higher among workers than the general population.

—The Saigon elections. The charade of President Thieu's running against himself in a rigged election and the obvious machinations of the U.S. embassy have stripped the last vestige of "democracy" from U.S. despotism in Indochina before the eyes of the American people. This could lead to a new upsurge in Congressional and popular opposition to the war.

On the other hand, there are a few factors that the antiwar forces will have to overcome if the projected turnout is to exceed the spring offensive.

—The Nixon China trip. There are illusions, fostered by the Nixon administration, that the war will be settled in Peking behind the backs of the Vietnamese. This has taken the spotlight off the U.S. intransigence in Paris, given the liberal opposition in Congress an excuse to capitulate and led to a passive "wait-and-see" attitude among a section of the antiwar masses themselves.

—The disarray of the white section of the independent youth movement, as expressed in one aspect by inability of the forces around Mayday to develop a firm national focus for struggle against the war. This may be mitigated by the efforts of the Student Mobilization Committee and the National Student Association.

—The still existing relative isolation of the organized antiwar movement from the masses of the working people, particularly from the black population.

Nevertheless, these are problems that the antiwar movement has the ability to overcome. The contradictions facing Nixon's war policy are of a different sort, which can only lead to a U.S. defeat.

Motive for murder

The more that's said by San Quentin prison officials about the death of George Jackson, the less that's really known.

The latest contradiction—changing the calibre of the gun from a 9 mm Astra 600 to a "smaller" size, presumably an Astra 400—can only be characterized as bizarre. (Astra 600s have the model number plainly visible on the barrel; there is no opportunity for a mistake unless one doesn't know how to read.)

But the story had to change because the Astra 600 prison officials said was involved is simply too large to fit under the "wig" the black revolutionary is alleged to have worn to conceal the nearly 8½ inch pistol.

Coupled with the vicious beating of Jackson's comrade inmates and the brutal behavior of the San Francisco police in the courtroom during the remaining Soledad Brothers' hearing, it seems evident that the authorities are seeking to prove by intimidation and lies what may be without foundation in fact.

More important, perhaps, is the question of motive. Jackson had little motive to attempt an escape at this time, especially a suicidal escape. The trial of the Soledad Brothers for allegedly killing a white prison guard was scheduled in a few weeks and there was a good chance the three accused convicts may have been found not guilty.

Motive on the other side, however, clearly exists. To quote from Karen Wald, who wrote the Guardian's page 1 article this week: "It was in the interest of the prison authorities at the highest level that they silence Jackson before he could take the witness stand at the Soledad trial. George Jackson was a very sharp thorn in their side. Not only because he so effectively educated and organized the prisoners in every California prison they sent him to, Jackson was also an eloquent and articulate spokesman who had been able to reach out and gain the attention of the outside world at a time when prison officials were being plagued by calls for prison reform from those they considered 'bleeding heart liberals.'"

"A number of investigating commissions have toured various California prisons in the last year; without exception they have come out with scathing unfavorable reports. Killing George Jackson not only silenced the voice that was causing them so much discomfort, it also served as a pretext, in the words of warden Park, 'to go back to the old-fashioned prison method.' Park announced after the killing and in defiance of California law that certain revolutionary newspapers will now be banned from prison. Also, tape recorders, a key instrument not only of reporters but of defense attorneys and legal workers, will be banned.

"Even more, as Angela Davis pointed out, it means the return to raw terror in the prisons."

A good motive alone, of course, does not establish a murder

Options for 1972

Leon Blum, New York City:
The Guardian Aug. 25 begins with an article by Jack A. Smith, interpreting and editorializing on Nixon's "New Prosperity" measures. I have no quarrels with the opinions expressed, nor the ironic wit therein, but with

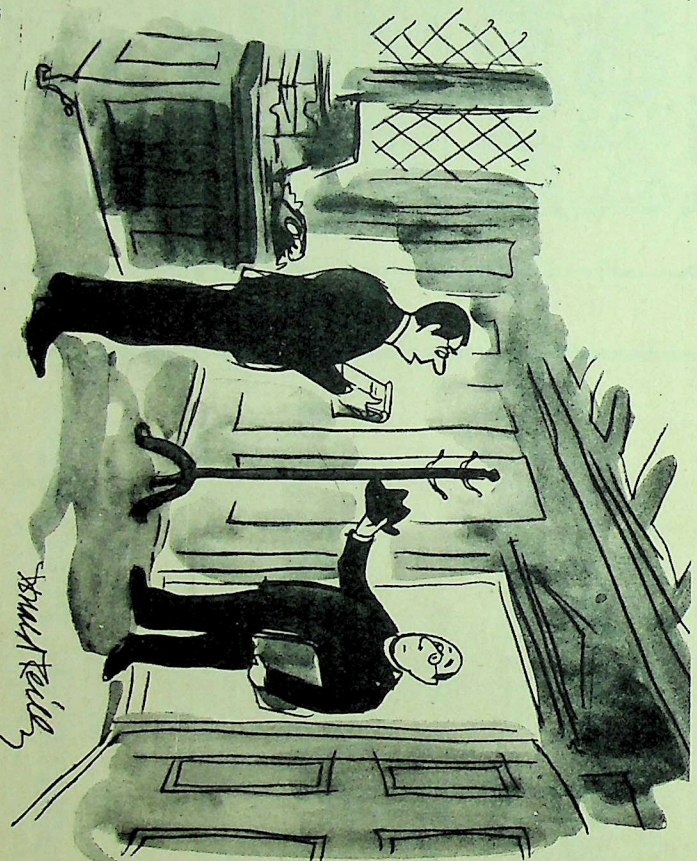
the language, even just in the introductory paragraphs. Is the Guardian published for Professors of economy? Will the American revolution be made by students of political economy? Can no one in the Guardian speak English as it should be written?

And while I welcome his concluding paragraph calling on the left and the labor movement to unite in a struggle of resistance against the attempt of Nixon and the capitalist class to put the burden on those least able to survive, I object, most strongly, to the warn-

ing that the campaign must not develop into a "vote Democrat fiasco in 1972." In this one line sentence, the Guardian, presumably, decided an issue that should call for reams of paper discussion. Just what are the options for 1972? What does the Guardian propose? Is no joint action by labor, the left and some Democrats possible? Shouldn't the Guardian first open its pages for discussion of the subject?

LETTERS

New Yorker



"Two messages, Father—the Bishop is quitting to get married and Sister Celeste needs \$10,000 bail money."

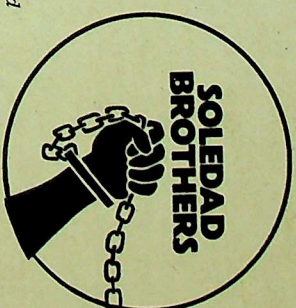
Mayday misrepresented

John Trinkle, Chicago: I think your article on the Atlanta Mayday gathering (Aug. 25) seriously misrepresents what went on there. At the Needmore, Ind., Mayday conference in late May, gays, women and many of the straight men had felt that sexism was an important enough problem to devote some time to at the Atlanta meeting, especially considering the many manifestations of sexism in Washington. The problem arose when people arrived in Atlanta without the expectation of discussing sexism, not because the meeting was "dominated" by gays.

People in the gay caucus stated that they wanted to

VOICES OF REVOLUTION

George Jackson



The following is an excerpt from, "Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson." The author was murdered Aug. 21 by a San Quentin prison guard. In this letter, while discussing aspects of the general oppression of blacks by whites, Jackson urges that "...our principal enemy must be isolated and identified as capitalism."

Down here we hear relaxed, matter-of-fact conversations centering around how best to kill all the nation's niggers and in what order. It's not the fact that they consider killing me that upsets. They've been "killing all the niggers" for nearly half a millennium now, but I am still alive. I might be the most resilient dead man in the universe. The upsetting thing is that they never take into consideration the fact that I am going to resist. Do they honestly believe that shit? They do! That's what they think of us. That they have beaten and conditioned all the defense and attack reflexes from us. That the region of the mind that stores the principles upon which men base their rationale to resist is missing in us. Don't they talk of concentration camps. Don't they state that it couldn't happen in the U.S. because the fascists here are nice fascists. Not because it's impossible to incarcerate 30 million resisters, but because they are humane imperialists, enlightened fascists. . . . Well, they've made a terrible mistake. It's going to be "Kill me if you can," fool, not "Kill me if you please."

But let them make their plans on the supposition, "Like slave, like son." I'm not going for it, though, and they've made my defense easier. A cop gives the keys to a group of right-wing cons. They're going to open our cells—one at a time—all over the building. They don't want to escape, or deal with the men who hold them here. They can solve their problems only if they kill all of us—think about that—these guys live a few cells from me. None of them have ever lived, most are state-raised in institutions like this one. They have nothing coming, nothing at all, they have nothing at stake in this order of things.

In defending right-wing ideals and the status quo they're saying in effect that ninety-nine years and a dark day in prison is their idea of fun. Most are in and out, and mostly in, all of their life. The periods that they pass on the outside are considered runs. Simply stated, they consider the periods spent in the joint more natural, more in keeping with their tastes.

Well, I understand their condition, and I know how they got that way. I could honestly sympathize with them if they were not so wrong, so stupid as to let the pigs use them. Sounds like Germany of the thirties and forties to me. It's the same on the outside there. I'll venture to say that there's not one piece of stock, not one bond owned by anyone in any of the families of the pigs who murdered Fred Hampton.

The fascists, it seems, have a standard M.O. for dealing with the lower classes. Actually oppressive power throughout history has used it. They turn a man against himself—think of all the innocent things that make us feel good, but that make some of us also feel guilty. Think of how the people of the lower classes weigh themselves against the men who rule. Consider the con going through the courts on a capital offense who supports capital punishment. I swear I heard something just like that today.

Blacks embrace capitalism, the most unnatural and outstanding example of man against himself that history can offer. After the Civil War, the form of slavery changed from chattel to economic slavery, and we were thrown onto the labor market to compete at a disadvantage with poor whites. Ever since that time, our principal enemy must be isolated and identified as capitalism. The slaver was and is the factory owner, the businessman of capitalist America, the man responsible for employment, wages, prices, control of the nation's institutions and culture. It was the capitalist infrastructure of Europe and the U.S. which was responsible for the rape of Africa and Asia. Capitalism murdered those 30 million in the Congo. Believe me, the European and Anglo-American capitalist would never have wanted the ball and powder were it not for the profit principle. The men, all the men who went into Africa and Asia, the fleas who climbed on that elephant's back with rape on their minds, richly deserve all that they are called. Every one of them deserved to die for their crimes. So do the ones who are still in Vietnam, Angola, Union of South Africa.

But we must not allow the emotional aspects of these issues, the soun at the surface, to obstruct our view of the big picture, the whole rotten hunk. It was capitalism that armed the ships, free enterprise that launched them, private ownership of property that fed the troops. Imperialism took up where the slave trade left off. It wasn't until after the slave trade ended that America, England, France, and the Netherlands invaded and settled in on Afro-Asian soil in earnest. As the European industrial revolution took hold, new economic attractions replaced the older ones; chattel slavery was replaced by neo-slavery. Capitalism, "free" enterprise, private ownership of public property armed and launched the ships and fed the troops; it should be clear that it was the profit motive that kept them there.

It was the profit motive that built the tenement house and the city project. Profit and loss prevents repairs and maintenance. Free enterprise brought the monopolistic chain store into the neighborhood. The concept of private ownership of facilities that the people need to exist brought the legions of hip-shooting, brainless pigs down upon our heads, our homes, our streets. They're there to protect the entrepreneur! His chain store, and his property that you are renting, his bank.

If the entrepreneur decides that he no longer wants to sell you food, let's say, because the Yankee dollar that we value so dearly has suddenly lost its last thirty cents of purchasing power, private ownership means that the only way many of the people will eat is to break the law. Fat Rat Daley has ordered all looters shot.

plot. But it's as much a possibility as an Astra 600, or was it 400, as a wig, or was it his hair, as an escape attempt, or was it—what?

Bolivia

The political trend in Bolivia is to the left, regardless of the right-wing coup which toppled the 10-month-old government of Gen. Juan Jose Torres last month.

A coup in Bolivia, Latin America's second poorest nation (after Haiti), is not like a coup elsewhere and the takeover by Col. Hugo Banzer, the right-wing nationalist, is not likely to last too long. Since achieving independence from Spain by armed struggle in 1825, there have been 185 coups in the now land-locked nation of 4.6 million people, 53% of whom are of native Latin American origin.

Torres, who took power from the wavering leftist regime of Gen. Alfredo Ovando, was no socialist revolutionary but his government more than any other reflected the revolutionary politics of Bolivian workers, peasants and students.

In his brief stay at the top, Torres permitted the organization of a People's Assembly, nationalized Gulf Oil properties and other holdings and was planning to reestablish diplomatic relations with Cuba, among other accomplishments.

The issue of Cuba, as well as the growing power of the working class, peasant and student revolutionaries, was particularly obnoxious to the business and military interests who decided to depose Torres. "The Bolivian people cannot forget the invasion headed by Che Guevara," said Col. Banzer upon taking power, obviously speaking for Bolivia's big money. Bolivian workers and peasants (average per capita income, \$167) cannot forget it either, though for different reasons.

Washington's denial of involvement in the coup cannot be taken at face value. With the leftist governments of Peru and Chile on the West and rightist regimes of Brazil, Paraguay and Argentina from the Northeast to Southeast, Bolivia is in a geopolitically sensitive position in Latin America. Even were there not a U.S. Maj. Robert J. Lundin to point to (Washington's man on the spot who was in clandestine league with Banzer), the Nixon administration certainly had sufficient reason to get rid of Torres to produce a conviction.

Torres, of course, blundered. He armed the working class too late and inadequately. Also, he mistakenly did not purge the army of right-wing officers, probably believing he could keep *them* in line with small concessions along the way.

The mistakes of Torres, however, amount to nothing compared to the error of the reactionary elements temporarily in control in La Paz who believe they have crushed the Bolivian liberation struggle. The Banzer coup will yet prove to be but one step backward before Bolivia takes another two steps forward—to economic self-sufficiency, national liberation and socialism.

stance at issue they offer us one road alone: dogmatic, slavish belief in what they say is true. Are these writers Marxist or are they priests in some church they have not yet revealed?

Uncritical?

David Z. Levine, Albuquerque, N.M.: I really enjoy the Guardian, though I do have one deep criticism to make. I think the paper tends to adopt a very non-critical stance vis-a-vis the movement in this country and abroad. It tends to become a sort of "Good News" sheet for the American left. I'm fully conscious of the dangers of adopting judgmental attitudes towards struggles in which one is not directly involved but think that to avoid critical—and I mean critical—analysis of left movements elsewhere leads to liberalism.

"Live it must"

Juliette Martin, New York City: My Social Security check is \$62.50 and I have gone overboard by sending you \$2 extra (on a subscription renewal) to save the Guardian—but live it must.

talk about a fall offensive, but wanted sexism to be dealt with also and not just be discussed in passing. To say that one can't prove that one isn't a sexist in two days is, at best, a non sequitur: was it expected that U.S. imperialism would be stopped in two days?

The primary problem at the Atlanta meeting, it seems to me, was the ultra-democratic and anarchistic tendency in the group. If this could have been overcome, the problems of sexism, racism and generating a political program could have been dealt with in a much better fashion.

Marxists or priests?

Dick Krooth, Madison, Wis.: Now Irwin Silber has joined hands with Lionel Martin (Aug. 18) in defending the Cuban revolution. Many of us defend that revolution—but Marxists should not blindly defend any revolution. I believe Silber and Martin are incapable of discussing the political economy of Cuba and the Cuban revolution. For facts they offer us polemics. For the sectarianism of others they offer us more of the same. For a discussion of the sub-

Premier Chou En-Lai discusses Nixon trip

Following is the second and concluding part of an excerpted transcript of tape recordings made by members of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars' Friendship Delegation to China during their four-hour interview with Premier Chou En-lai on July 19, 1971, in Peking, China. As mentioned, what transpired was an informal discussion and exchange of views, rather than an official, formal statement of the Chinese government.

In addition to Chou En-lai, other Chinese officials speaking were Yao Wen-yuan and Chiang Chun Ch'iao, both members of the Chinese Communist party. Fifteen members of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars were present.

The text of the interview was given to the *Guardian* by Frank Kehl, a member of the delegation.

Chou En-lai: Besides these two issues [Taiwan and Indochina] I think that there should be two other issues that are worth your attention.

I believe you have seen the friends at the Embassy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Perhaps you know less of this issue, as it has been a long time before, because there was a ceasefire in 1953. I should like to bring to your attention the fact that in Korea up to the present day there is only a ceasefire, only an armistice agreement was passed. After that there was a meeting held in Geneva, the same Geneva Conference, in 1954.

The first stage of that conference was devoted to Korea. I can try to describe the meeting to you. It was completely without results. On the final day of that stage, as there was not whatsoever with regard to the Korean question, we put forward the question, what was the use of our coming? We said that at least we should adjourn, we should at least set a date for another meeting. At that time the foreign ministers of certain countries were persuaded, for instance Mr. Spaak of Belgium. He had worked with the UN. The chairman of the meeting at that time was Mr. Eden. At that time he wavered a bit and he tended to agree with this view. Also at that time there was an authoritative representative who was seated at the conference and who waved his hand in opposition and the result was that it was not passed. You probably know who he was: the deputy of Mr. John Foster Dulles, Mr. Smith. Of course, it might not have been his own personal opinion but he did so on instructions. He didn't say anything, he couldn't find any words. He just waved his hand.

As a result of this, the meeting was called off with no result whatsoever. And so now at the 38th parallel in Korea, there is a military armistice commission that meets every week. One side is the American representative and the representative of the South Korean puppets, and on the Northern side there is a representative of the Peoples' Army of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and also a representative of China. They meet once about every two or three weeks. There's only a ceasefire, there's no other treaty whatsoever. According to international law the state of war has not yet ended and I believe that there must be people among you who study international law. It is the same case between China and Japan. The state of war has not been called off yet. . . .

Udis Krutz: I'm very interested in the movement to study philosophy. I believe it has great significance, not only for China, but also for the American movement. I'm very interested in the way Marxism-Leninism is practically applied. I've asked numerous questions about how people apply philosophy in their ordinary lives and have gotten many answers on how Marxism-Leninism has direct application to their situation. Could I ask either Comrade Chang or Comrade Yao how they particularly study philosophy and how they apply it in their daily work?

Yao Wen-yuan: I agree with your idea and your question. That is, that the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism must be combined with concrete practice. And there are many among the workers, peasants and the People's Liberation Army who have studied Marxism-Leninism in a much better way than we have. Because through their practice they have come to truly understand the points and the views of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tseung thought. They've also summed up their own experience that they have accumulated through their own practice and they have been able to relate these two things.

In studying philosophy we study some philosophical works of Chairman Mao Tseung and also some of the philosophical works of Marx and Lenin. The aim in studying philosophy is to come to know the world and to transform the world. And in transforming the world there are two aspects: to transform society and also to transform one's own ideas. Whether you call it "brain-washing" or the transformation of one's world outlook, what we are talking about is about the same, whatever



Premier of People's China Chou En-lai and North Vietnam's Premier Pham Van Dong in 1965.

you want to call it. That is, the transformation of one's own ideology.

For instance, Chairman Mao Tseung put forward a thesis of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is in itself also a very important philosophical problem. That is to say, in a socialist society there still exist classes, there still exist class contradictions, and there still exists class struggle. There exists the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and also the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road. And personally it has taken me a gradual process to come to understand this question. Throughout the whole process in the beginning of the cultural revolution and in the present stage of struggle-criticism-transformation, this process of understanding Chairman Mao's thesis of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat has never ceased. To take part in the class struggle, to have some practice, to go back to study Chairman Mao Tseung's works, to summarize one's positive and negative experience in this practice, to transform one's world outlook and then to come into contact with new problems, then to solve them through practice again, then to study Chairman Mao Tseung's works again—this is a continuous process of understanding, this is a process of cognition. Throughout the whole process of the cultural revolution there is the struggle between the two lines—the struggle between Chairman Mao Tseung's revolutionary line and the revisionist line advocated by Liu Shao-ch'i—the struggle between Marxism and revisionism.

There also is the struggle between the correct proletarian views and various erroneous views, various right or "leftist" tendencies. All this in the final analysis is a question of one's world outlook, a question of philosophy. And if one does not study dialectical and historical materialism in the gradual process, then one would not be able to make clear distinctions between genuine and fake Marxism, between Marxism and revisionism. This is what we call "to study with problems in mind."

In my practice in the revolution the problems that I have come up against most are questions like the ones that I have just now stated, that is ideological ones. My study in this field has not been as good as the advanced elements of the workers, peasants and People's Liberation Army. I should continue to learn from them. To study philosophy one must study the present situation, history, theory, and make the correct analysis and draw out the correct conclusions, and be able to find the laws guiding the development. . . .

[A question was asked on Chinese-American exchange visits.]

Chou En-lai: The foremost thing is that the Chinese and American people wish to exchange visits with each other and this strong desire has broken through the barriers. During the Pacific War, there were a lot of opportunities for the Chinese and American people to contact each other. Taking myself as an example, I know a lot of old friends from your country of an older generation. Isn't there one point in your country of an older generation. Isn't believe the older generation of Asian scholars has gotten mixed up with the government? Or they have become silent?

Group: That's right.

Chou En-lai: First, I agree with your idea. But secondly, I must say some words of sympathy for them. They happened to be oppressed in the 1950's, during the

McCarthy period, and this was a great harm for them. So I recall what I said at the Bandung Conference in 1955. I said that the peoples of China and the United States wish to have contact with each other, friendly contact. It cannot be said that there was no response to my words. There were some. I believe a few progressive correspondents wished to come to China, but the Secretary of State at that time, John Foster Dulles, denied them that right. I believe that this issue could be found in the files of the State Department. And I don't think that they should be classified documents. (laughter) And in this way we were separated.

But now we have passed through the 1960's and entered the 1970s. It's your generation, your era, and you have broken through the barriers. So with one sentence of Chairman Mao's we invited the U.S. table tennis team that wanted to come to visit China. And so they came! And the barriers were broken through. And so for this we must thank the new forces of your era. Isn't that so? And these new and friendly contacts are bound to continue. . . .

Your CCAS, the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars (this he himself said in English) has also invited us, and since you are so kind, I think that our young Chinese friends should also return the visit. There are a lot of young friends in Shanghai; they should take the lead. There are a lot of people who would like to go. Of course I believe that you will welcome not only men, but also women (laughter).

Yao Wen-yuan: And complete equality in numbers. I believe that the main thing should be the content.

Chou En-lai: It also would be a good thing to make it equal in numbers. Even though we are a socialist country, a country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, yet, still, male chauvinism comes up now and then. Of course subconsciously.

In relation to the question of Japan, you are a Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars so you are probably also very familiar with the Japanese question. Have you seen their movies advocating militarism? We should have Comrade Yao Wen-yuan tell you about them.

Yao Wen-yuan: Under the present regime of Sato, the Japanese government personally looked into this matter and put forward a number of films which were on the topic of Japanese militarism. They laid special emphasis on making propaganda about the Japanese navy because in the Japanese aggression against other countries they relied upon the navy in the past. Because during the wars of aggression the air force took off from their carriers.

One film is called "Great Sea Battle in the Sea of Japan" and another film was called "Yamamoto." And another was called "Our Navy." Another film was called "Warlords." Another film was called "War and Man," but we haven't completed the translation of that film yet. It is specialized on the war of aggression against China.

In the films "Yamamoto" and "Our Navy" they emphasize the Japanese war in the Pacific. They describe the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor. The common aim of all these films is to distort history. In actual point of fact it was the Japanese militarists who launched aggression against China, against Korea and the Asian peoples. But they turn all these facts up-side down and make out as if this war of aggression launched by the Japanese militarists was forced upon them because Japan, they said, lacked resources. They made out as if what they called

ASIA

VIETNAM-CAMBODIA

All 220,000 GIs in South Vietnam were put on a so-called yellow alert Aug. 24, following Nguyen Cao Ky's refusal to run for President in the Oct. 3 elections. Only incumbent president Nguyen Van Thieu was left on the ballot. U.S. displeasure was great and there were rumors of the possibility of a coup d'etat. . . . Liberation forces last week continued to attack U.S.-Saigon bases in the northern half of the country. Thirteen hours of explosions ripped through an ammunition dump Aug. 25 at Camrath Bay, a large base 190 miles northeast of Saigon. Bases below the demilitarized zone were heavily shelled. In one case, in Huonghoa District, north of Firebase Sarge, National Liberation Front fighters penetrated 200 yards from an American compound. "The people in the village didn't even tell us or warn us," an American sergeant complained. . . . B-52s and the U.S. Seventh Fleet, stationed in the Gulf of Tonkin, continued to shell the southern half of the demilitarized zone. U.S. planes several times struck inside North Vietnam in "retaliation" for antiaircraft fire. . . . Australia and New Zealand announced last week that nearly their entire forces in South Vietnam would be home by

GI TOLL: 357,926

The following casualty figures for Indochina are based on U.S. government statistics. They are lower than U.S. casualties reported by the liberation forces. Figures are from Jan. 1, 1961 to Aug. 21, 1971. Figures in parentheses are for the week Aug. 14 to Aug. 21. Killed: 45,452 (10); "Non-combat" deaths: 9639 (14); Wounded: 301,359 (78); Missing, captured: 1476.

Christmas. Some 6000 Australian and 264 New Zealand soldiers are in the country. Thailand is withdrawing half of a 12,000-man force and plans to pull out the other half early next year. The Philippines withdrew about 2000 troops about three years ago. . . . In Cambodia, several infantry battalions were airlifted last week to the provincial capital of Kompong Thom. The area north of the capital has been held by liberation forces for over a year. . . . The U.S. embassy staff in Phnom Penh now numbers about 120, compared with six at the time of the ouster of head of state Norodom Sihanouk in March, 1970. . . . The northwest African state of Senegal last week ordered its embassy in Phnom Penh shut down. President Leopold Sedar Senghor recognized instead the government of national union under Sihanouk.

SOUTH KOREA

Over 50,000 poor peasants and other citizens of Kyonggi province in South Korea stormed a district real estate office last month in protest against the seizure of their land and its redistribution at a rate 100 times the expropriation price. The peasants destroyed the land operator's office and burned all documents there. . . . On the same day in Seoul, patriots attacked a U.S. ammunition depot, making off with many handgrenades. . . .



WORLD IN REVOLUTION

Over 6000 peasants in Kangwon province were kicked off their land when a civil engineering project of the Seoul regime submerged about 3000 square miles of their farm and home land under water.

PEOPLE'S CHINA

China last month established diplomatic relations with Iran, Turkey and Peru. At the same time the Reuters news agency said it would reopen its bureau in Peking which has been closed for the last two years. . . . President Nixon said he would suspend U.S. spy flights over People's China, but that he would maintain spy satellites and continue to approve provocative flights over China's airspace by Taipei pilots. The People's China government has registered nearly 500 formal protests against such flights.

AFRICA

TANZANIA-UGANDA

Border clashes erupted Aug. 24 between Tanzania and Uganda. Tanzania accused Uganda of sending tanks and troops across the border and denounced as a "blatant lie" Ugandan usurper Idi Amin's claim that a Chinese instructor accompanied Tanzanian troops across the border. Amin, who threw over the progressive government of Milton Obote in January, claimed Tanzanian forces had crossed into Uganda.

CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)

Over 50,000 people rallied in Brazzaville, capital of the People's Republic of the Congo, Aug. 15 in celebration of the eighth anniversary of the "August revolution." President Marien Ngouabi told the enthusiastic people "Every time we commemorate the days of Aug. 13, 14 and 15, 1963, it is a new victory for our people and a defeat for imperialism and its lackeys, the traitors of Africa." The country has been on alert since the beginning of August, when it was revealed there was a plot underway to invade the republic. Claude-Ernest N'Dalla, first secretary of the political bureau of the Congolese Labor party said mercenaries trained in Israel, Portugal and in "the anti-guerrilla camps of U.S. imperialism" had been trained for the job. The Voice of the Congolese Revolution radio station said, "It goes without saying that after Guinea, imperialism would turn to the Congo." (Portugal staged an abortive invasion of Guinea last November.)

LATIN AMERICA

ARGENTINA

The military is increasingly taking over the job of the police in seeking and repressing leftists in Argentina, Prensa Latina reported. The Cuban news agency said the army stepped in after over 50 bombs were exploded in three cities in July and after the shooting of Cordoba's police chief, Cordoba and Tucuman have been "the scene of spectacular operations aimed at arresting suspicious persons," Prensa Latina said. In addition a "death commando" was set up there which is believed to be comprised of police. "It has made threats against lawyers, union leaders and popular political leaders and even took responsibility for terror attacks in reprisal for the execution of the former police chief."

CUBA

At the last UNESCO meeting in Geneva, Cuba said it planned "to progressively move all junior high schools to the country." Two such schools were reviewed recently in Prensa Latina. Ceiba junior high number one is named after the martyrs of Kent State U., is near a huge banana grove. The "schools in the countryside" are attended by students who work in the fields three hours a day from Monday through Friday and who attend classes the rest of the day. The schools were contrasted with those in urban centers such as Havana, which lack "integral education." That is, while the schools represent an epic jump by revolutionary Cuba, they remain divorced from the productive life of the rest of the people.

Compiled by Renee Blakkan

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Fall offensive

A number of important antiwar actions have been scheduled during the next three months, principally by the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. The main events take place Oct. 13 and Nov. 6 (See page 5.). It goes without saying that Guardian readers should participate to the maximum in all the scheduled activities.

Antiwar forces have a number of favorable factors which can lead to a large turnout in addition to the fact that both coalitions have agreed to support actions on the above dates, including:

—The impact of the Pentagon papers, which occurred after the spring offensive, has the potential of activating vast numbers to join the mass demonstrations.

—Nixon's new economic plan. This assault on the living standards of the working class—stemming from the inflation, caused by the war economy and aggravated by the continuation of the war—has the potential of creating wide support for the antiwar movement among rank-and-file workers, who have yet to join antiwar protests in large numbers even though surveys have shown antiwar sentiment to be higher among workers than the shown antiwar sentiment to be higher among workers than the general population.

—The Saigon elections. The charade of President Thieu's running against himself in a rigged election and the obvious machinations of the U.S. embassy' have stripped the last vestige of "democracy" from U.S. despotism in Indochina before the eyes of the American people. This could lead to a new upsurge in Congressional and popular opposition to the war.

On the other hand, there are a few factors that the antiwar forces will have to overcome if the projected turnout is to exceed the spring offensive.

—The Nixon China trip. There are illusions, fostered by the Nixon administration, that the war will be settled in Peking behind the backs of the Vietnamese. This has taken the spotlight off the U.S. intransigence in Paris, given the liberal opposition in Congress an excuse to capitulate and led to a passive "wait-and-see" attitude among a section of the antiwar masses themselves.

—The disarray of the white section of the independent youth movement, as expressed in one aspect by inability of the forces around Mayday to develop a firm national focus for struggle against the war. This may be mitigated by the efforts of the Student Mobilization Committee and the National Student Association.

—The still existing relative isolation of the organized antiwar movement from the masses of the working people, particularly from the black population.

Nevertheless, these are problems that the antiwar movement has the ability to overcome. The contradictions facing Nixon's war policy are of a different sort, which can only lead to a U.S. defeat.

Motive for murder

The more that's said by San Quentin prison officials about the death of George Jackson, the less that's really known.

The latest contradiction—changing the calibre of the gun from a 9 mm Astra 600 to a "smaller" size, presumably an Astra 400—can only be characterized as bizarre. (Astra 600s have the model number plainly visible on the barrel; there is no opportunity for a mistake unless one doesn't know how to read.)

But the story had to change because the Astra 600 prison officials said was involved is simply too large to fit under the "wig" the black revolutionary is alleged to have worn to conceal the nearly 8½-inch pistol.

Coupled with the vicious beating of Jackson's command inmates and the brutal behavior of the San Francisco police in the courtroom during the remaining Soledad Brothers' hearing, it seems evident that the authorities are seeking to prove by intimidation and lies what may be without foundation in fact.

More important, perhaps, is the question of motive. Jackson had little motive to attempt an escape at this time, especially suicidal escape. The trial of the Soledad Brothers for alleged killing a white prison guard was scheduled in a few weeks and there was a good chance the three accused convicts may have been found not guilty.

Motive on the other side, however, clearly exists. To quote from Karen Wald, who wrote the Guardian's page 1 article this week: "It was in the interest of the prison authorities at the highest level that they silence Jackson before he could take the witness stand at the Soledad trial. George Jackson was a very sharp thorn in their side. Not only because he so effectively educated and organized the prisoners in every California prison they sent him to, Jackson was also an eloquent and articulate spokesman who had been able to reach out and gain the attention of the outside world at a time when prison officials were being plagued by calls for prison reform from those they consider 'bleeding heart liberals.'"

"A number of investigating commissions have toured various California prisons in the last year, without exception they have come out with scathingly unfavorable reports. Killing George Jackson not only silenced the voice that was causing them much discomfort, it also served as a pretext in the work warden Park, 'to go back to the old-fashioned prison method Park announced after the killing and in defiance of California that certain revolutionary newspapers will now be banned from prison. Also, tape recorders, a key instrument not only reporters but of defense attorneys and legal workers, will be banned."

"Even more, as Angela Davis pointed out, it means the return to raw terror in the prisons."

A good motive alone, of course, does not establish a murder.

Options for 1972

Leon Blum, New York City:
The Guardian Aug. 25 begins with an article by Jack A. Smith, interpreting and editorializing on Nixon's "New Prosperity" measures. I have no quarrels with the opinions expressed, nor the ironic wit therein, but with

the language, even just in the introductory paragraphs. Is the Guardian published for professors of economy? Will the American revolution be made by students of political economy? Can no one in the Guardian speak English as it should be written?

And while I welcome this concluding paragraph calling on the left and the labor movement to unite in a struggle of resistance against the attempt of Nixon and the capitalist class to put the burden on those least able to survive, I object, most strongly, to the warn-

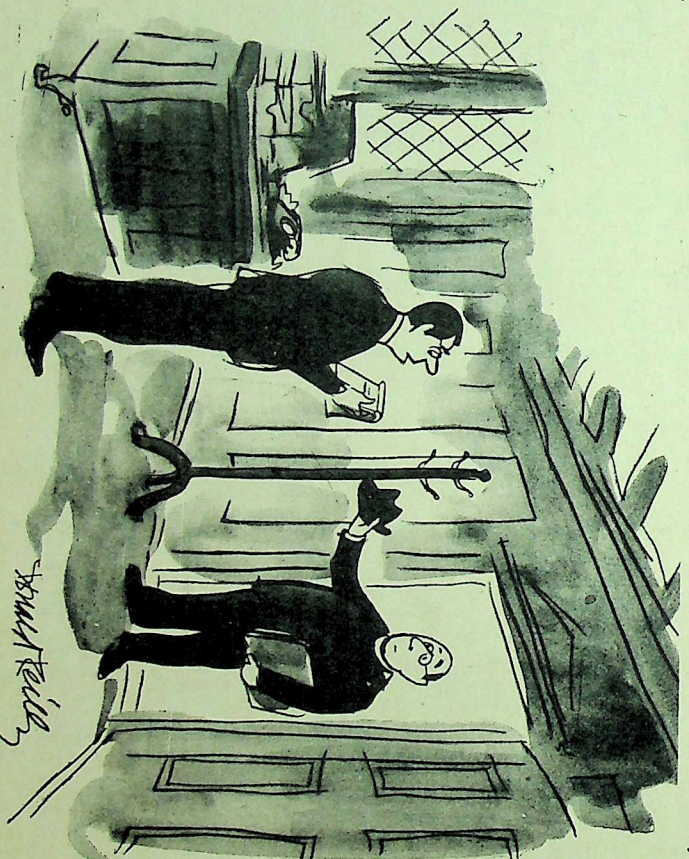
ing that the campaign must not develop into a "Democratic fiasco in 1972". In this one line sentence the Guardian, presumably decided an issue that should call for reams of paper discussion. Just what are the options for 1972? What does the Guardian propose no joint action by law the left and some Democrats possible? Should the Guardian first open the pages for discussion of the subject?

Mayday misrepresented

John Trinkle, Chicago:
I think your article on the Atlanta Mayday gathering (Aug. 25) seriously misrepresents what went on there. At the Needs of Ind., Mayday conference late May, gays, women and many of the straight men had felt that sexism was an important enough problem to devote some time to it at the Atlanta meeting, especially considering the many manifestations of sexism in Washington. The problem arose when people arrived in Atlanta without the expectation of discussing sexism, not because the meeting was "dominated" by gays. People in the gay caucus stated that they wanted to

LETTERS

New Yorker



"Two messages, Father—the Bishop is quitting to get married and Sister Celeste needs \$10,000 bail money."

and Indochina with Americans

Manchuria of China was one of their life-lines. South Asia too was a life-line. This precisely conforms to the propaganda now spread by the Japanese militarists; that is that expansionism and aggression is reasonable. The Japanese militarists are now saying that the Malacca Strait is their life-line. This place is a life-line; that place is a life-line. So on and so forth. . . .

Chou En-lai: It is a fact that Japanese militarism is being revived because the Japanese economy is developing in a top-sided way. They lack resources, they must import their natural resources and for markets too they depend on foreign countries. After the war they were not burdened by paying reparations. Also for quite some time they spent very little on armaments.

How was the Japanese economy developed? There is one characteristic of the development of their economy, that is, they made a fortune on wars fought by others, that is, the war of aggression against Korea and the war of aggression against Vietnam. After the conclusion of the Second World War, the Chinese civil war broke out. . . .

After the conclusion of the Pacific War the American Air Force shifted Chiang Kai-shek's troops from the rear areas to the places which were occupied by Japan to accept the surrender of the Japanese authorities, and did not allow the People's Liberation Army led by the Chinese Communist Party to accept the Japanese surrender in those places. So after the surrender of the Japanese war-troops all the Japanese weapons were handed over to Chiang Kai-shek. . . .

American forces also guarded many of the air bases and naval ports. As for the transportation base in the rear, the U.S. mainly went through Japan. So even back at that time Japan already was making a fortune through this war. And then with the Korean war and the Vietnam war and now this war throughout Indochina. Although Japan does not directly take part in these wars and Japan is a defeated power, Japan makes fortunes through these wars. For instance, the United States estimates that within the past 10 years, 120 billion American dollars was used on the Indochina war. I believe that out of this Japan made quite a lot of money

from the military repairs and transportation costs and costs for vacationing of the U.S. troops and also some means of communication. So 25 years after the Second World War, Japan, a defeated power, now has become the number two economic power in the Western countries. President Nixon praises Japan as his biggest partner. . . . Where did Japan get such resources? Where did Japan get these markets?

Paul Levine: Some resources come from Australia.

Chou En-lai: And not only Australia, also Latin America, India, the African countries and also Indonesia. This lopsided development of Japan, what will issue from it? She needs to carry out an economic expansion abroad. Otherwise, she cannot maintain her economy. And so, being in a capitalist system, following this economic expansion, there is bound to come with it, military expansion. Isn't that so? . . .

Now Japan is already cooperating with the U.S. and Australia in building a nuclear reactor and nuclear power, and Japan is already able to manufacture guided missiles, ground-to-air and ground-to-ground guided missiles without a nuclear warhead. So the only problem remaining is how to manufacture a nuclear warhead to put on these missiles. So there does exist this danger.

But of course, the Japanese people of the present are not the Japanese people of the 1930s, or the 1940s. They have awakened to a certain extent. What is more, the Far East are no longer the peoples of the 1930s or the 1940s. For instance the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of China, and the three Indochinese countries. And even those countries where there are now still stationed Chinese troops, such as the Philippines and Thailand. Or Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore, they still have a fairly good memory of the disaster of the Second World War.

I think the American people too remember the Pacific War. And first of all the Japanese people are aware of the fact that if Japanese militarism is revived, it will not be of benefit to Japan. It will be harmful to themselves. . . . None of these Asian problems can be separated from one another, nor can they be separated from the United States either, nor from the world. You have 5000 in your organization?

Group: That's all. More or less.

Chou En-lai: Are all of them college graduates?

Group: The majority are.

Chou En-lai: Then in our country, you would be considered high intellectuals, and you have a heavy responsibility. It is your responsibility to link the truth,

the general truth, with actual practice. That must be put into implementation through you. Some of your friends have said that foreign experience cannot be mechanically brought over to your country. That's right. And Chairman Mao tells us that one must rely on one's own efforts. We cannot impose on you, nor can you just mechanically copy from us. You can see the American youth is gradually raising their political consciousness. According to our experience, it is always intellectuals who start out, because it is easier for them to accept revolutionary theory, and revolutionary experience from books. But for the movement to succeed, you must go among the workers, because in the U.S. the working class is the great majority of the people and the peasantry is quite small. To do that, you must go into them deeply. We have only our experience, but we are not at all well acquainted with your situation. So that must depend upon your own efforts.

Paul Levine: Self-reliance.

Chou En-lai: Self-reliance proceeds from independence and taking the initiative in your own hands. Yes, one must go through some arduous process. When you go back to your homes you may read over our article commemorating the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Communist party. That's only a preliminary, a simple summary of our fifty years. . . .

Ann Krize: I would like our Chinese friends to know one thing: while we have shortcomings, and that is a serious consideration to us, but we are also aware of our strengths: we do exist as a group. We are aware. We are making progress. We are forming alliances. We are starting to do something. We will not be moved away from this aim. . . .

Chou En-lai: You have addressed yourselves to various problems throughout the world. Yes, indeed, your American friends should have a broad perspective and have a broad range of knowledge because as you know the United States has extended itself everywhere in the world. (Laughter) After the Second World War, it stretched its hands out everywhere in the world. As Chairman Mao said, they look into other people's affairs everywhere in the world. And as a result, they were merely putting nooses about their own necks.

There is a saying in China, that that is like trying to catch ten fleas with ten fingers. When you are trying to catch one flea, another one jumps out. And the result is that all of them escape. And at the most, you can only catch one flea by freeing one of your hands and letting go five fleas instead.

That is the predicament that President Nixon is now facing. But it would be fairer to say that it is not only of his own making but also something created by the system itself. Because after the Second World War, monopoly capitalism developed to such a tremendous extent. And in some of these things, not only did your president not conceive it, not even you could preconceive it. As for us, we could even less preconceive of these aspects. . . .

Just citing a single figure would be quite surprising which is relevant to every single one of you. The internal debt in the U.S. now is approaching 400 billion American dollars. The interest being paid this year alone is already 19 billion American dollars. That is the figure of the annual budget prior to the Second World War during the Roosevelt regime, that is, about 20 billion. So how was that conceivable at that time? That was just at the conclusion of the Second World War. At that time U.S. imperialists appeared to be almighty. The world is changing, undergoing tremendous changes. But the American people, you, should not feel any discouragement. There is great hope for the American people. . . . We are a country just in the process of development.

If we compare with you, in accordance with the population ratio, then we are far behind you. Although we are a socialist country, we must be vigilant against ourselves. Since Chairman Mao constantly teaches us that we must at all times be on the alert against committing the mistake of big-power chauvinism both at home and abroad. Because in the world there is another country which is learning from you and sending its hand out everywhere and competing with you. Economic competition is bound to bring with it military competition. Economic development combined with military expansion is bound to occupy various places throughout the world. Having carved up the various continental areas and now wanting to carve up the oceans. . . .

And so if, after you go back to your country, you are harassed, you should not become discouraged. Now you will also encounter such things. In our revolution, many of our comrades sacrificed their lives. And Chairman Mao often says that we are those left over from the revolutionary wars. What should we do then? Continue the revolution. Only so can we stand up to our martyrs, to our people. You have the spirit of pioneers. . . .

You have, as I have learned, liked to compare your present situation with the May 4th Movement in China.

Five years after the Chinese May 4th Movement great changes had taken place, the great revolution had already begun. . . .

Although the time may not be so long, but if one puts in efforts and struggles hard, great results will take place. For instance, when the Chinese Communist party was founded in 1921 there were only twelve deputies to the First Party Congress, and the total number of Communist Party members at that time did not exceed 70. But only about three years later in 1924, it had changed tremendously. . . . By 1926 our forces were already above fifty thousand. What is more, your era is totally different from the era of those days. History will not reenact itself, and while we can make the comparison, it will not completely reenact itself. Since we can always say that times are advancing, and time will not turn back, so we hope to see you again in 5 years (laughter and applause). . . .

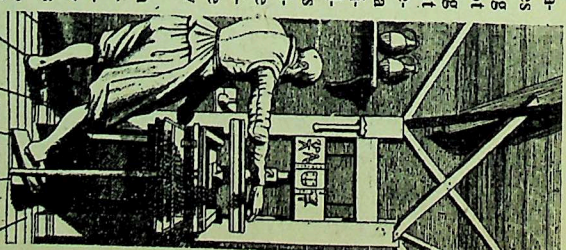
Paul Pickowicz: We believe that this visit to China and this meeting tonight has been a big step in the direction of uniting closer with the Chinese people. On the question of unity, we also know that it is very important for us that people who are in the antiwar movement in the U.S. will unite even closer within our own ranks, for we have many problems and many shortcomings. And we want to say that, yes, we are representatives of the antiwar movement in the U.S., and, yes, we have done some work in the U.S., but we firmly believe again that the real heroes of the anti-imperialist struggle in Asia are in fact the Asian people—the Indochinese people, the Korean people, and the Chinese people.

Chou En-lai: But if you make efforts, you will become world heroes.

Tyrant's Foe Peoples' Friend

The Guardian's dedication to people's struggles and opposition to ruling class exploitation is not exactly a money-making proposition. To counteract the impoverishing consequences of publishing a socialist newspaper in capitalist America the Guardian has organized what is known as Guardian Sustainers, a group of people who support the Guardian's struggle to continue printing a radical weekly newspaper.

These people receive a subscription for themselves; a 10-week trial subscription for people they choose each month; copies of all new Guardian books, pamphlets and a monthly newsletter on internal Guardian developments. Fill out the coupon and join those who are willing to give a little to sustain the Guardian and help it grow.



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Electoral farce in Saigon

By Richard E. Ward

Only six months after the unexpectedly brief run of their last show staged in Laos, another joint U.S.-Saigon operation is underway. The present production was intended to cloak the Saigon puppet regime with legitimacy through showcase democratic elections. However, the general consensus of Vietnamese and American opinion is that the star-crossed producers have another fiasco, an electoral farce, on their hands. One might say that it is a farce in three acts which may be summarized as follows:

The first act of the Saigon electoral drama has several scenes extending over several months during which the final preparations for the elections occur: a rigged presidential electoral law is passed, individual political figures are bribed, intimidated or imprisoned, as deemed necessary; and the CIA and President Nguyen Van Thieu's agents set up clandestine electoral machinery which will produce a majority for Thieu for President and in the National Assembly regardless of the actual vote. In a tumultuous improvised final scene of the act, Gen. Duong Van Minh and Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky both refuse to run in the presidential elections which they denounce as a fraud, rejecting all the entreaties of U.S. ambassador Ellsworth Bunker.

Act two in general follows the prepared script and takes place during the course of a single day, Aug. 29, when millions of South Vietnamese are said to have voted, electing a substantial majority of pro-war, pro-Thieu candidates, as everyone expects, even though the Thieu regime is despised and the populace overwhelmingly desires peace. The preliminary election results indicate why Thieu took such pains to control the outcome. In the cities where outright fraud was difficult, anti-Thieu candidates fared well, taking for example eight of 13 Saigon seats and all three from Danang. In the countryside, reports of ballot-box stuffing, barring of anti-Thieu electoral observers and other chicanery was commonplace.

Script improvised

Because of the premature withdrawal of Gen. Duong Van Minh and Vice President Ky in the first act, it has been necessary for the U.S. to improvise the script for the last act of the presidential campaign which is still in progress. According to the Aug. 30 Baltimore Sun, "diplomatic sources" who "refused to allow use of their names or embassy" told Western newsmen in Saigon that the U.S. "now feels that it had expected too much in asking fair, contested elections in an undeveloped country." What that means is that the U.S. is still backing Thieu even though the electoral farce was unmasked.

This sketch barely hints at the extent of the electoral fraud of which Thomas W. Ottenad, Washington correspondent of the

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, on Aug. 28 wrote: "When the public eventually gets hold of Pentagon Papers' dealing with the current situation in Vietnam, the disclosures may be just as startling as those that shocked the country two months ago."

Actually there is more information on the recent events in Vietnam than Ottenad suggests. Furthermore, secret documents are unnecessary to understand that although a certain number of authorized opposition candidates were permitted to win seats in the assembly, Thieu's henchmen could only have been elected in a South Vietnam under U.S. occupation.

In the July 22 New York Times, in a report on electoral manipulation, Felix Bellet wrote that two former employees of the Agency for International Development told a House Government Operations subcommittee "that U.S. officials in Saigon were seeking to influence next October's national election in favor of President Nguyen Van Thieu and the balloting would be a 'mockery' of the democratic process...."

Agencies named

"The witnesses, Theodore R. Jaquency and Richard S. Winslow Jr., identified the Central Intelligence Agency, the United States Information Agency and the American-financed Civil Operations and Rural Development Support (CORDS) program as sources of funds, equipment and personnel that were contributing to the election effort.

"The men denounced United States financing of the South Vietnamese police, intelligence and prison systems, which they said were being used by the Saigon Government to silence its political opposition and non-Communist advocates of peace and neutrality...."

"Mr. Jaquency also said that political persecution resulted in an estimated 20,000 to 100,000 political prisoners."

Of course this U.S.-advised repression affects the assembly elections as well as the presidential election.

When Gen. Minh withdrew from the presidential race on Aug. 20 he released a document which contained Thieu's instructions on how local officials should intimidate the opposition or rig the elections.

As summarized in the Aug. 21 Washington Post, "the document...orders the establishment of a covert countrywide campaign apparatus to use 'schemes, ruses and maneuvers directed at voter blocs such as political parties, religions, associations, ethnic minorities, the armed forces, administration...in order to persuade wavering people and to manipulate and paralyze opposition blocs."

"The document directs agents to 'infiltrate opposition blocs to sow confusion, to buy off their leadership...to tail key cadre of the opposition...."

"In essence, the plan as outlined in the document was for two entirely separate campaign apparatuses, one operating open-



Saigon Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky.

ly and legally, the other operating in secret, starting at the lowest level of the country, the hamlet. Both were to be organized by the province chief, colonels and lieutenant colonels selected by Thieu.

"The covert workers, the document said, were to be drawn principally from civil servants and soldiers...."

U.S. bribe offer

The document produced by Minh had a "top secret" classification and was said to have been drawn up in either May or June. Minh had it in his possession for a certain period, showing it to U.S. embassy personnel in an apparent effort to get the U.S. to repudiate Thieu's intrigues, which was impossible since the U.S. was closely allied in them, too deeply to disguise from Minh. Aides of the general reported that he especially resented U.S. officials referring to him as leader of the opposition, defeated before he decided to enter the race. According to several press reports, Minh decided not to run immediately after angrily rejecting a bribe offered by ambassador Bunker in the form of U.S. campaign financing.

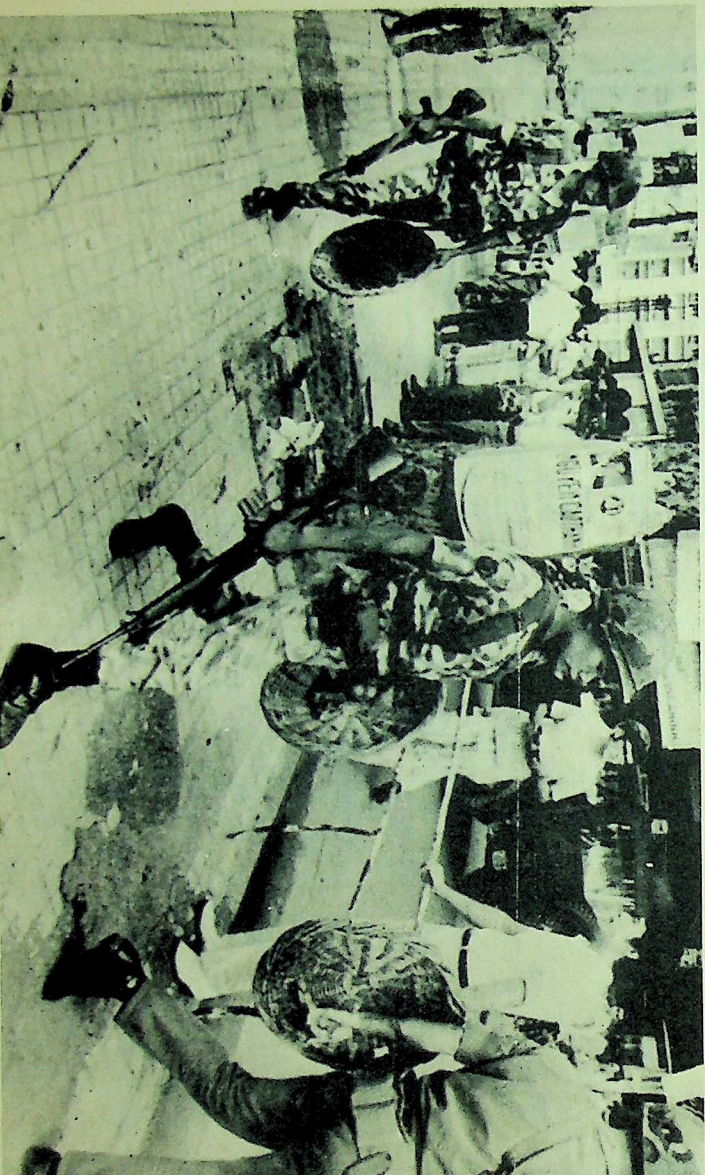
Minh's withdrawal was followed by frenzied activity by Bunker to resurrect Ky's candidacy. The U.S. ambassador was able to get Thieu have the supreme court reverse its earlier decision rejecting Ky's candidacy, but that was all. U.S. funds were also offered by Bunker to Ky, who reportedly was not indignant, considering it normal campaign assistance. However, Ky, who barely disguises his desire for power, was no more willing than Minh to run merely to pretend that Thieu was running a clean race.

Ky continues to encourage opposition to Thieu, especially among the army and veterans. To that extent he plays a positive role by encouraging instability of the regime, but in reality Ky leans toward the U.S. Whatever the immediate outcome of his maneuvers, his basic reliance on U.S. support will ultimately remove him from political life.

U.S. hasn't changed

The U.S. has revealed recently to American journalists in Saigon that it still intends to maintain an anti-Communist regime in Saigon and that Thieu remains its chosen instrument. If Thieu maintains its power after Oct. 3, as seems likely at this time, both his and the U.S. position will be seriously diminished. Neither Thieu nor the U.S. can suppress the popular opposition indefinitely, especially since Nixon will be forced to maintain U.S. troop withdrawal demands for a complete renewed domestic aggression antiwar feeling has been strongly stimulated by the unsavory Saigon elections, which was precisely the opposite of what the White House intended when it launched its plan for democratic elections in South Vietnam. Prominent Congressional leaders like Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) have renewed their demands for a full U.S. withdrawal in response to the Saigon election fiasco. The issue that Nixon keeps saying he has removed from American politics remains alive.

If Nixon continues to ignore U.S. opinion and refuses to respond positively to the new peace proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government put forward by Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh which provide for an orderly withdrawal of U.S. forces, he may well face the task of evacuating U.S. troops under fire. That is predictable as the final fate of his "Vietnamization" strategy.



Combat-ready Saigon police break up rally last week called by opposition candidate for National Assembly Tran Tuan Nham. His campaign slogan was "Oppose the U.S. and save the country."

Malaysia guerrillas stage new actions

By Mark Cook
Pacific News Service

Singapore
Revolutionary insurgency in Malaysia, dormant since it was smothered by the British in the 1950s, is on the rise again.

The guerrillas seem this time to have moved beyond their predominantly overseas-Chinese and urban base of support to organize the much more conservative Islamic Malay peasants. Operating in the North, near the Thai border, the guerrillas have forged a fraternal alliance with the Thai revolutionary movement on the other side of the border, an alliance which neither government has been able to break and which constitutes a major reason for the Malaysian guerrillas' recent successes.

For one thing, Malaysian army operations have been made far more difficult by events on the Thai side of the border. Aides in the office of Thai Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn have privately admitted that the rebels in the south have overwhelming support among the local population. In classic guerrilla fashion the Thai army has now been forced to give up effective control of the area to the rebels after suffering demoralizing losses in battles that were never more than inconclusive. Several villages were destroyed by the army, which only intensified popular hostility.

But far more important to the Malaysian rebels is the Islamic character of the Thai revolt. The Thai guerrilla movement is operating in an Islamic area of an otherwise Buddhist country. Anti-government sentiment inevitably runs over the casually defined border. Since villages on both sides feel considerably closer to each other than to their respective national governments, for the first time these sentiments are also flowing freely into the Malaysian communities near the border. Though the

substantial Chinese population—long predominantly left-wing—in Malaysia's tin-mining north is supporting the guerrillas, it is these new developments among the Malaysian rural peasantry which are worrying officials in Kuala Lumpur.

The Malaysian intelligence network has deteriorated over the years to the point where the government, army and police are reduced to sifting through whatever is left behind at abandoned guerrilla camps to find out what is going on. What they have found is surprising. In a discovery last June, they stumbled onto an exceptionally well-constructed guerrilla camp near Ipoh, so well camouflaged down a 600-yard long jungle path that the guerrillas could be certain of being the first to shoot.

That was exactly what happened. One government soldier was killed. There were no losses on the guerrilla side and the guerrillas used another exit to escape into the jungle. Observers invited by the government to inspect the camp returned to the capital astonished at the quality of its design. Close to populated areas but well protected and allowing for quick dispersal, the camp is built along classic Southeast Asian guerrilla lines. It is surrounded on the east and west by sheer cliffs. On the north and south there are long shoulder-deep trenches and light machine gun nests. Smoke from the kitchen is dispersed along a tunnel leading to a pit where it eventually spreads out along the ground.

Evidence for Muslim-Malay support for the guerrilla movement in Malaysia was provided when, on several occasions, Malaysian police and army elements stumbled on jungle camps with two kitchens—one for Chinese cuisine, utilizing pork and the other for Malays adhering to Muslim dietary laws.

Evidence has also been found at the camps of the large-scale involvement of women in the guerrilla movement, many of whom fight on the front lines. If these women are not only Chinese but Malay, as the government fears, then the guerrillas have made an even more striking break through the stifling Malay social structure than previously suspected.

While Malaysia's population is about equally divided between Chinese and Malays, the Chinese have previously tended to make up the urban proletariat while the Malays were overwhelmingly rural peasants. The reason for this is clear. The 19th century British colonialists, charmed by Malay feudalism, decided to isolate it from the modern world. So they imported Chinese and Indians to work on the rubber plantations and tin mines while they encouraged Malay traditionalism and allegiance to a feudal Sultanate. As a result, Northern mainland Malaysia, in and around Ipoh—a big tin-mining center—is substantially Chinese. Here, the Malaysian government has long anticipated renewed trouble with the Chinese workers who are denied any real political power by the regime.

The composition of Malaysia's "Chinese" cities is changing. Their population is now being swollen by peasants who have exchanged the misery of the countryside for wretched, swelling Malaysian urban ghettos, a process that has been going on for years in other Southeast Asian countries.

In those cities during his recent state visit, Prime Minister Thanom was greeted by ugly demonstrations from Malay students who charged him with extreme savagery in his own guerrilla-suppression drives. The equally right-wing Malaysian government could do little but charge that the demonstrators were communist-influenced.

For both governments such demonstrations mean that what was previously a no-holds-barred suppression campaign against "communist terrorists" has become a struggle against people's war.

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent
Last of a series on Japan

The Japanese people are waging a fight against the government's remilitarization program, especially where it encroaches on their daily lives. The struggle will likely sharpen as the arms buildup increases its tempo next year when the fourth defense plan goes into effect. However, many of those active in this movement, particularly younger people, say that neither the opposition parties nor the trade unions give enough support to fighting remilitarization.

The arms buildup means land being preempted for military bases. About 20 miles from the industrial port of Osaka the army wants to take some land but it is being resisted by the local populace. In the district of Nose, I heard about the feelings of the people from a woman living on the slopes of Mount Miyama, whose cottage contained a placard saying, "We Don't Want Missiles." Across the road a two-story dwelling contained a large sign which read, "Struggle Center Against Missile Base." Nearby, women were planting rice seedlings in flooded ricefields.

When I came to Mrs. Sakone, the woman in the first dwelling, she was in front placing fresh-picked tea leaves to dry on straw mats. When asked about the placards, Mrs. Sakone replied:

"We don't want to live under their missiles... It's our neighbors over at Tenno village, higher up the mountain, that will be most hurt. The army wants to grab 700,000 square meters of meadowland for their base. The Tenno farmers are against it. So we're supporting them. All 40 hamlets in our district of Nose are supporting them. Why do we need missiles anyhow? Nobody threatens us... No good can come of it."

Integrated bases

At that point Mrs. Sokane's son and his friend Ohta, a university graduate, took me to the "struggle" hut and continued the story, explaining that the local missile base was intended to be part of an integrated chain of bases from northern Japan to Okinawa which in turn would be linked to South Korea and Taiwan. In different stages of construction, the Japanese bases are a project of the third defense plan.

"The Self-Defense Agency [Japan's Defense Ministry]," said Ohta, "is in trouble because of the opposition to the Nose base. A few of us organized a struggle committee. We visited every family in the district and showed them films of the Vietnam war and what happened to Hiroshima with the A-bomb. We explained about the missile network... which can easily be adapted to nuclear warheads. People here really started to take notice and protest. Students came out from Osaka and helped the farmers in the field so that their work should not suffer from their spending time on demonstrations against missile bases."

"People in Osaka itself started to get worked up against missile bases anywhere in the area. The Nose district council, mainly conservative, was also influenced and passed a resolution opposing the base. Then the Osaka prefecture council passed a similar resolution. Elections were due in April, so the governor of Osaka, a Liberal Democrat, pleaded with the Self-Defense Agency not to start work on the base until after the elections, as it might reduce his vote. The SDA went ahead trying to buy up land... The elections came and to the great surprise of the LDP and the SDA, the Osaka governor was defeated... This was a real

blow for [Premier] Sato... For the moment we are winning and there are very good relations between farmers and the students who supported them. The SDA is sending its agents to try to bribe off the opposition by offering high prices for the land without success. The students help through the farmers' land by day and at night show them movies, including those showing struggles on other bases..."

These struggles elsewhere are not confined to political action, as I saw when visiting the Kitajui firing range on the slopes of Mount Fujiyama, used by Japanese and occasionally by U.S. forces. There, a courageous group of women, who have formed the Shinbokuza Mothers' Group for Peace, enter the target area while firing is scheduled to prevent use of the range.

During my visit to the target area, U.S. Marines were scheduled to have target practice. About 20 women, including my guides, formed a circle on the target area and Japanese riot police tried to dislodge them by pouring gasoline on the knee-high grass and setting it on fire. But the women managed to escape the flames, regroup and cause the target practice to be called off.

An active struggle has been maintained since 1955 against these installations. After World War II, the Americans cut down mulberry trees used for raising silkworms and took rice and buckwheat land. During the Korean war, my guides said, the U.S. forces built a model Korean village on the land and used it to practice attacks. It was this activity that led to protests to the government, and when that got nowhere, to direct action.

Resistance

In the northernmost island of Hokkaido at Naganuma, near the island's capital, a projected missile base had to be abandoned because of the determined resistance of the local peasantry who were assisted by students and workers. The president of the League Against Missile Installations, Kanaiwa, explained that "because we have had student and worker support we've been able to carry on for three years."

"It was in 1968," he continued, "just at rice-planting time, that the Self-Defense Agency announced they were setting up a missile base here... Troops came and started cutting down trees. I immediately started organizing opposition. The forests here are very necessary to prevent flooding... Everybody could see the danger right away. But the second danger is that missile bases mean militarism again and none of us want that."

"Who are to be the targets of these missiles? Our Chinese and Korean friends? The Soviet Union? Why should our country become a miniature of the U.S...?"

After firsthand observation of these popular struggles against military installations which started spontaneously, one would assume that they would have gained the support of the opposition parties, especially the Socialist and Communist parties. In many cases this has occurred at the local level, but at the national level the opposition parties appear not to be fully aware of the potential dangers of the Sato government's remilitarization policies and of the tremendous potential for organizing a mass popular struggle against militarism.

Throughout Japan where I travelled extensively I found that there was a deep opposition among the masses, especially among youth, towards remilitarization. But these sentiments are not being reflected in programs of the opposition, including the Socialist and Communist parties, which are not leading mass campaigns against the rearmament drive.

Japanese oppose militarism

Filmmakers discover 'new' native American

In search of art and profits, American filmmakers and the American film industry have recently turned to "Indian" movies that attempt to reverse the traditional Hollywood view of Indians as evil, cunning savages who treacherously refused the generous and disinterested help offered by white civilization. Clearly the industry has recognized the appeal of this reversal to the white middle-class movie-going audience. Movies like "Little Big Man," "A Man Called Horse," and "Tell Them Willy Boy Is Here" are obviously an improvement over such traditional American films as "Stagecoach" or "The Lone Ranger."

However, the search for honesty and historical accuracy is blunted by the inability of the industry to confront America's mythologies. The new Indian movies play to the same liberal sentiments that oppose the war, oppose racism and support the ecology movement. But making the Indians into heroes does not necessarily clarify the true nature of the conflict between the two cultures. In a way, these movies appease the audiences' guilt by reversing the traditional good guy-bad guy roles. Their role is as a pacifier (and as entertainment) which neither permanently affects the viewer nor leads to social change.

The way the movies portray the past is as an inevitable tragedy which reinforces the viewer's passivity. The function of moral concern (coming from guilt) in American history has never gone beyond a drivel of demoralized reformism which has always been too late and too little. Guilt has never been a very efficacious motivation for social change (there have always been "Indian lovers" in American history such as George Catlin and Helen Hunt Jackson, or more famous historical figures like Hawthorne or Melville). Settlers never felt guilty because they assumed themselves to be at war with murdering savages. Guilt springs from an understanding of moral failure without being able to turn into a cleansing anger directed against the source of this moral failure. (Of course it is the film industry's fault, not the audience's, that movies are made in such a manner.)

Good guys

There has always been an undercurrent of evidence of some sympathy towards Indians in American films. Movies like "Broken Arrow" (1950), "Apache, Attack!" (1953) through "Cheyenne Autumn" (John Ford 1964) show Indians as good guys betrayed by conniving bureaucrats and greedy miners and cattlemen. These movies have a lot in common with movies like "Tell Them Willy Boy Is Here"—but also with any Western. Most Westerns rely on a pattern of moral simplicity of the good guy (guys) fighting forces which are stacked against him (them).

Indians as good guys become the same kind of existential heroes as Alan Ladd in "Shane" or Gary Cooper in "High Noon." They become stars; the dramatic formula is the same (like Geronimo in "Apache, Attack" or "Willy Boy"). The star system is necessary for good box office. The existential hero makes it impossible to deal with cultures in conflict, like the Indian people in conflict with a civilization which is stealing their land and their lives. Individualism obscures history. Geronimo represents his people against the whites. He comes

from a collectivity—he's not an individual trying to find his identity, cut off from his tribe and its history. The star system reinforces an American ideology of individualism which cannot portray groups in conflict, be they races, classes or sexes.

All the movies under consideration here are examples of the star system. "A Man Called Horse" has Richard Harris as the existential hero. In a movie trying to show Indians accurately and sympathetically, it's the white man who is most important, who is the focus of our emotional sympathy. In the end the movie glorifies the white man's mind. The white man not only survives but becomes the best Indian in the tribe, finally leaving with the adulation of his former captors. The movie billed as the first Hollywood movie to portray Indians accurately (down to the last ethnographic detail) ends as a homage to Western intellect.

In "Willy Boy" Robert Blake (the Indian) is the hero, but he exists in a white man's world exemplifying white man's values. You might as well be watching "Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid" (and in fact you have the same stars, Katharine Ross and Robert Redford).

Little Big Man

The ambition of "Little Big Man" is to be more than a remake of the stereotyped Hollywood western. The director, Arthur Penn, sets out in an attempt to come to grips with the American history and mythology of the Battle of the Little Big Horn, Custer's last stand. The history is accurate in as much as it depicts Custer as an egotistical fool whose racism led him to discount totally the fighting ability of the Sioux. The movie attempts to replace the good guy-bad guy mythology with a picture of Indian life and culture that shows Indians coming from a distinct culture and yet one that can be understood.

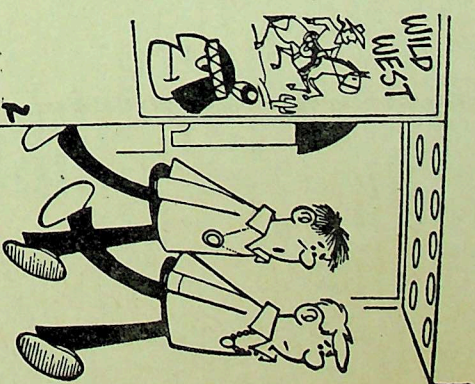
Penn's direction of Chief Dan George as a Cheyenne chief is a serious attempt to make Indian values and wisdom accessible. In this sense "Little Big Man" represents a qualitative improvement over most movies about Indians. The movie treats cultures in conflict more seriously than previous movies. Penn tries to make a movie about genocide. However, the tone of the movie is surreal; history is too insane to be depicted with documentary realism.

In Penn's earlier movies, "Bonnie and Clyde" and "Alice's Restaurant," he dealt successfully with outlaws, hippies, and others on the fringe of the American mainstream. His ability to demythologize in these movies springs from a working understanding of our cultural myths. He is able to find the real people behind the media, the ballads and the popular press. But in dealing with another culture, Penn is unable to manipulate the mainstream cultural images in a way that can destroy them. Ultimately the Indians are fantasies. The historical facts by themselves rather than Penn's essay in absurdity would be more valuable. The luxury of portraying Custer as merely crazy rather than an extreme agent of an imperial policy is that of the oppressor. Penn fails to represent the Battle of the Little Big Horn as the people's war it was, where the largest number of Plains Indians ever gathered fought patriotically in defense of their land and way of life.

The difference

What is the difference between films by the oppressed and films by the oppressor? What could a movie about or by native Americans (and not myths about Indians) be like? Hollywood films—that is to say, the more sophisticated ones which don't glorify the past like John Wayne movies, teach us that the past is an unavoidable tragedy, necessary for progress and a better standard of living. Life in the future becomes restricted to the patterns of the past. Films by the oppressed tell us that the present is bound by the past and shows how the future can be different.

Films of the oppressor applaud individual heroes cut off from their culture and their history, whereas films of the oppressed show the possibilities and necessity of collective struggle. Films of the oppressor are ultimately pessimistic, showing people caught by forces they can't understand, unable to take effective social action. (Films of the oppressed are ultimately optimistic, e.g., people breaking into rebellion once again, despite the destruction of the previous revolutionary organization, as in the final scenes of the "Battle of Algiers" or "Burn" by Pontecorvo.



It is clear that as of yet no movies accurately reflect Indian history or culture, and it is therefore hard even to imagine what such a movie would be like. Obviously it would have to reconstruct the actual historical facts without any aesthetic embellishment which might take the edge off their bluntness. But further, the tone and style of such a movie would have to reflect Indian values. This seems almost inconceivable given the present film industry and distribution, which alternates between the establishment big studios and the poorly distributed underground films of Warne Braklage, Vanderbeck, etc.—radical films like Newsteel are an exception since they reflect political social struggles rather than "art."

The possibilities of moving from art tradition into film, without a long period of written culture, are enormous. It is clear that we have not even begun to move in that direction; the current crop of "Indian" movies is not even a beginning, but only helps to more clearly point out the problem. We do not yet have movies coming from white culture which even approach the honesty and historical accuracy that is apparent in some white written say Mari Sandoz's biography of Crazy Horse. We are even further away from movies made by native Americans themselves, which must be the ultimate goal in trying to change the film media.

Kyle Steenland and John Trimbur
The authors of this article, reprinted from *Akwesasa Notes*, are with the American Studies Dept., University of Buffalo, N.Y.

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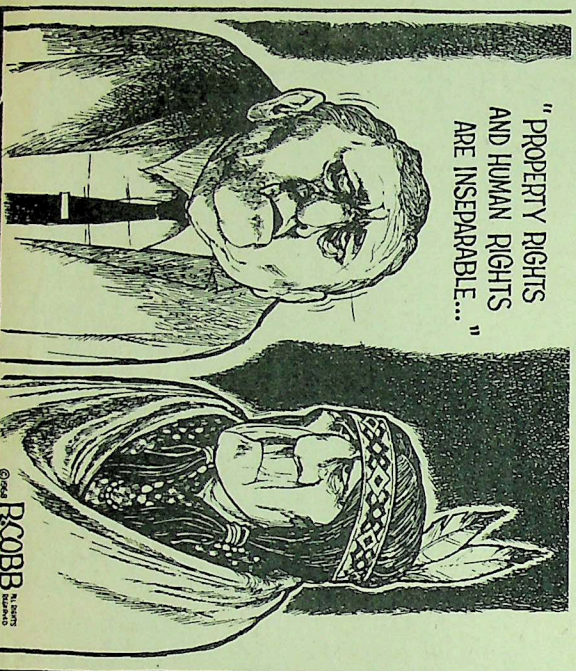
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FILMS: "Mother" (based on Gorky, directed by Pudovkin) and "Prestigious Images," Center for Marxist Education, 29 West 15 Street, 7:30 p.m. and 9:30 p.m. (\$1.50).

SATURDAY, SEPT. 11

FILMS—Same as Friday (See Above).

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THE HARD SELL. You folks without the benefit(?) of color TV might have missed it, but some heads are gonna roll up in the higher echelons of the Ex-Lax Corporation. A series of recent TV ads for the laxative has one of those typical "bathing beauty" shots, only problem being that the woman was wearing a red and blue bathing suit with a yellow star in the middle. Unlike wearing the American flag, there's probably no law against it, but the Ex-Lax people don't want to give the impression that the way to be regular is to wear the NLF flag. Who was it that said that "rock is the revolution?" Ask the joker how come rock group Canned Heat was playing an official Army-sponsored gig at Fort Ord recently and why group spokesman Bear advised the Vietnam-bound trainees not to worry because that's where the best grass is. . . Turn-Ons Unlimited of L.A. is trying to prove that there's no contradiction between being hip and profit-hungry. They specialize in selling you recipes for "making reality more real" through home-synthesized drugs and gases. All merchandise sent in the perennial "plain envelope" and they guarantee "ecstasy or refund." A tough act to follow. . . .

AC/DC

PUBLISHING REPORT: "Daniel Ellsberg on the Pentagon and Vietnam Policy" will be published shortly by Simon & Schuster. It will contain writings by the man who leaked the Pentagon papers, plus a special introduction in which he explains why he took his action. Beacon Press (25 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02108) is bringing out a four-volume edition of the key Pentagon papers as taken from Sen. Mike Gravel's (D-Alaska) reading of the documents into the Congressional Record. The 2½ million word set will run 3000 pages and sell for \$45 in cloth, \$20 in paper. . . . "Cultivating Revolution," the study by James F. Petras and Robert Laborie, Jr. of land reform in Chile, Peru

...Labor modifies opposition

(Continued from page 6)

own inability to sustain growth by maintaining sufficient rates of profit.

The tendency of the average rate of profit to fall means, in Marxist terms, that in the development of capitalism constant capital (plant, machinery, etc.) goes up while variable capital (wages) goes down, in a set proportion. Hence the appropriation of surplus value (the difference between the wage a worker is paid and the value he actually produces for the capitalist, realized as profit) decreases in magnitude. In order to get ahead, the capitalist must always increase the rate of surplus value. This can be done by increasing the productivity of workers in various ways, speedups, the introduction of more efficient machinery, etc.

The great boom in technology, however, means that the rate of profit continues to fall because the costs of machinery make up an increasingly greater percentage of total production cost, taking up yet more capital which produces no profit. More and more machinery results in more and more unemployment and relatively lower demand for commodities.

Wholesale government intervention in the economy has not solved the problem, only postponed it. Massive government spending takes large amounts of money away from capitalists by taxation, government bonds and loans. And since the government is not a profit-producing enterprise on any appreciable scale, most of the money gotten from capitalists (by expropriating part of their overall profits) results only in the production of goods and not an increase in the total amount of profits needed by capitalism to expand. Capitalism must continually expand, or it is not capitalism, by definition. The distortion created in the economy by more and more

and Cuba, will be published by Random House. . . . Imprisoned "White Panther" John Sinclair's "Guitar Army: Street Writings/Prison Writings" is being published as a \$2.95 paperback by Douglas Books. . . . First two books in the Univ. of Illinois Press series on Music in American Life will be "Only a Miner: Studies in Recorded Coal-Mining Songs" by Archie Green and "Great Day Coming: Folk Music and the American Left" by R. Serge Denisoff. . . . A catalog of Soviet magazines published in English, with information on how to subscribe, is available from Four Continent Book Corp., 156 5th Ave., NYC 10010. . . . Interested in the thoughtful world overview of an East Tennessee radical? 75c gets you a copy of Ernest Seman's "What's Next?" from Appalachian Movement Press, PO Box 8074, Huntington, West Va. 25705. . . . "On the Liberation of Women in Albania" contains the full text of two speeches, one by Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the Albanian Communist party, the other by Ramiz Alla, member of the party's political bureau. Available for 30c from Gamma Publications, PO Box 206, NYC 10008. . . . John Stuart Mill's "On the Subjection of Women" is coming out as a 75c Fawcett paperback. . . . You can subscribe to the new U.S.-China Friendship Newsletter, published by the U.S.-China Friendship Assn., PO Box 40738, San Francisco 94140, for \$3 a year. . . .

INTERNATIONAL NOTEBOOK.

American journalists, stunned by the achievements of the Cuban team at the recent Pan-American games, have been scraping the bottom of their imaginations in an attempt to "explain" Cuba's success. Neil Amdur of the N.Y. Times "discovered" some "Russian coaches" attached to the Cuban team, the old American game of point-shaving, fictitious incentives for Cuban athletes and just about everything except athletic ability. Amdur, who had never been to Cuba prior to the current visit by the U.S. volleyball team, wrote from Colombia that "A Pan-Am gold medal by a Cuban athlete is tantamount to a Superbowl Championship ring in this country and the material benefits available to athletes of such stature are comparable." From product endorsements in TV commercials, no doubt. . . . The man

defense spending drives most capitalists to boost prices, cut back on production and divert investments to other areas where higher rates of profit are obtainable, most often foreign countries where labor is cheap and taxes are lower.

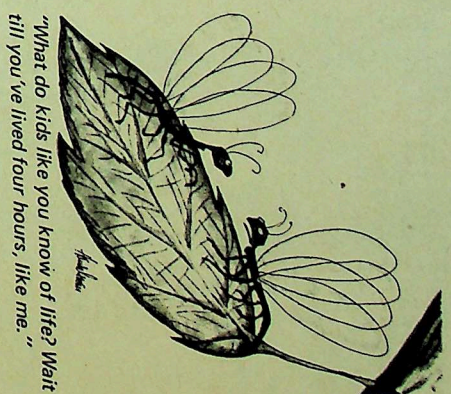
Prices up, output down

Even with the high rate of defense spending, U.S. industrial output is operating only at 72% capacity. Going along with the "marginal utility" theory capitalists have jacked up prices while lowering the actual output of goods in an attempt to keep rates of profit up even though the demand for those goods is less.

This is one of the main causes of the "cost-push" inflation plaguing the U.S. economy. The decrease in the real buying power of workers goes down still more as income taxes go up. Any appreciable gain in wages gotten by workers in strikes is simply passed along by the capitalists in the form of still higher prices.

When the Nixon administration attempted to ward off recession by making money more readily available, the price spiral shot off to new heights. Nixon then tried to cut back on defense spending, but this move only resulted in more unemployment.

The main Nixon strategy contained in his NEP seems to be an attempt to slow the rate of inflation and stop economic chaos by making U.S. commodities more competitive on the world market. The extravagant tax credit on investments is designed to result in more, not less, export of capital to foreign countries where conditions can provide the highest rates of profit. This will tend to offset the fall in the relative rate of profit lost due to defense spending.



"What do kids like you know of life? Wait till you've lived four hours, like me."

from Variety came closer to the political significance of it all. He wrote: "The large U.S. team has been fairly well received although the collective Colombian heart is with the Cuban athletes. . . ."

PICNICS: An "All Peoples' Picnic" for the benefit of the Daily World takes place Sunday, Sept. 12 at Arrow Park in Monroe, N.Y., featuring international food dishes, entertainment, dancing, athletics, etc. \$2 tickets from Daily World, 11 W. 17 St., NYC 924-0552. . . . A week later, Saturday, Sept. 18, is the annual Guardian Picnic at the same place. While harder souls may pitch a tent on the 12th and just camp out all week to be at both events, the rest of us can make the brief trip twice for a good time and to support the radical press in this country. . . .

From the Lewis-McChord Free Press, a GI paper published for Fort Lewis and McChord AFB GIs: "Long ago a well-armed British army fought our barefooted farmers for seven bloody years. A monument at Concord Bridge in memory of the British soldiers who died fighting the American rebels bears this inscription: **THEY CAME THREE THOUSAND MILES TO KEEP THE PAST UPON ITS THRONE AND DIED.** What will be inscribed in memory of the American soldiers who die fighting the Vietnamese?" Checking it all out.

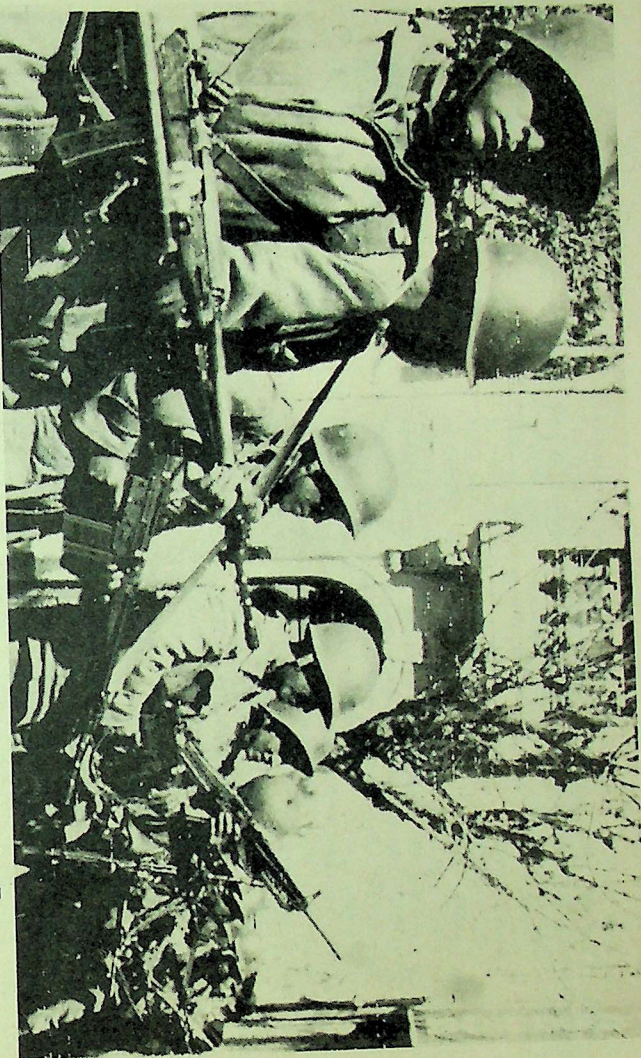
Redeye

Inflation may be slowed down to "allowable" levels by controls on prices and accordingly stricter controls on wages. A wage-price review board would serve this function. But as long as the productivity of labor increases (as it has at over 2% annually), the difference between prices and wages, i.e., real buying power, will become greater.

Finance capitalists, the most powerful section of the capitalist class, are hurt the greatest when the rate of inflation becomes too high, despite the super-profits that come from financing the war machine. Interest rates are raised to compensate for the inflation which eats up the profit percentage of previous interest rates. The recent demand for a government guarantee before even a modest loan was made to Lockheed clearly demonstrates finance capitalists' refusal to sacrifice an additional penny of profit.

And due to higher interest rates, money, of course, is harder to get. Investments and long-term consumer spending drop proportionately. Business further slumps and prices go up again.

The move by Nixon to put a lid on inflation can only be seen as an attempt to smooth over its effects while trying to rationalize its causes. The cost in human terms will be the working class' right to collectively withhold its labor in order to secure what is a portion of the wealth it produces. While "phase II" (mandatory controls on wages and prices) might secure "equity" between relative wages in given industries, there is no chance anything remotely described as being within the realm of a wage-price review board can bring equity between what workers produce and what they eventually get title to.



Right-wing Bolivian troops guard road to university after overthrow of left-wing President Juan Jose Torres.

Behind the coup in Bolivia

Pressa Latina

La Paz, Bolivia

Seven well-preserved World War II tanks have perhaps decided Bolivia's political destiny—at least for now. Gen. Juan Jose Torres, whose government had been pushed leftward by Bolivian popular forces, was overthrown by a rightist military coup Aug. 21. The tanks may have made the immediate difference.

During his 10 months in office rightist maneuverers were a potential threat to his regime, but for months he resisted the popular demands for weapons to create a people's military force to combat the increasing threat of fascism. This mattered more than tanks, of course.

The armed forces opposed the creation of a popular military force. Torres believed his chiefs of staff who said their loyalty was assured if he didn't give arms to the people. To the workers who wanted arms he warned that they should not push him, or the military would be frightened. Perhaps the mistake of the left was to have waited on Torres.

When Torres finally decided to give some arms to people of La Paz at noon Saturday, Aug. 21, it was too late. The workers and students who gathered in Miraflores stadium who received weapons obtained 10, 20 or at most 30 cartridges.

24-hour "loyalty"

On Saturday morning, the army commander, Gen. Luis Reque Teran, visited Torres to ask for his resignation. Only 24 hours earlier the army commander had come to the presidential palace to proclaim his absolute loyalty. On Saturday, Gen. Teran was answered by Maj. Reuben Sanchez, commander of the "Red" battalion, who said that it was they who were giving an ultimatum to the fascists.

But already virtually the entire country had been taken. The loyal forces of the capital which had held for 48 hours were beginning to crack. At that moment only the "Red" battalion could fight. The people barely had any arms and blood started to flow in La Paz that afternoon. The Castriño regiment and cadets were holding for the fascists the small but strategic Lakacota hill which was above the Miraflores stadium. But meter by meter, the popular forces began to recover the hill,

despite strafing on three or four occasions by the air force and by 8 p.m. it was held by the revolutionaries after much blood had been shed.

The Castriño regiment began to retreat and urgently requested reinforcements. For a moment it appeared that the army headquarters would be gained by the revolutionaries. Torres then made a radio broadcast, saying that a revolutionary victory was near and that it would be achieved more certainly with the participation of all the people.

But a short time later, the Tarapaca regiment which had remained inactive during the afternoon went over to the side of the fascists. Seven of their tanks cleared the way straight to the presidential palace. Something strange had happened. Either the maneuver with the armor had taken everyone by surprise or the revolutionary forces had not been prepared to stop the tanks as they passed through the neighborhoods where the 1952 popular victory had been won. For reasons still not known, the roads had not been blown up, there were no barricades and there had been no Molotov cocktails thrown against the tanks. Thus they passed unharmed without firing a single shot directly into the city where they started using their powerful cannons.

Tanks arrive

Fifteen minutes before the arrival of the tanks, Torres had abandoned the presidential palace for an unknown destination, leaving a lieutenant and six soldiers behind. When the tanks arrived at 9 p.m. they met with no resistance. Except for the arrival of the seven tanks, the dawn might have brought a victory to the revolutionary forces who had improved their positions during the night.

Another element important to the fascist victory was the taking of Oruro. Naively, a demonstration of miners was announced there on Aug. 20. But the 2nd division and the rangers jumped ahead of the miners, occupied the city and all access roads from the mines. Oruro had great strategic importance because it prevented the miners from advancing toward La Paz, 200 miles away. On Aug. 21 the miners managed to recover a portion of the city in a bloody battle with the Andean regiment, but the decisive events were taking place in La Paz and the miners couldn't reach it.

Col. Higo Banzer, who led the rightists and assumed control of the government, has been an adherent of the policies of Rene Barrientos. When a person of this outlook announces that it will be no longer possible to talk about the right or left in Bolivia but only nationalism, then it is clear that he is placing himself on a powderkeg.

There is evidence that the hand of the CIA was involved in Banzer's putsch. Forty-eight hours before the Santa Cruz uprising, where Banzer's forces began their coup, the U.S. embassy in La Paz instructed its personnel and all American citizens residing in Bolivia to store food and not to leave their homes for the next few days. The conclusion is obvious unless one is a believer in clairvoyance.

Another indication of U.S. involvement was reported in the Aug. 29 Washington Post in a dispatch from Santa Cruz by Lewis H. Diuguid. According to the report, a U.S. Air Force Major, Robert J. Lundin, supplied Banzer's forces with his own radio system after their communications lines to the capital broke down. Nominally, Lundin's assignment is that of a pilot trainer, although he is said to have been in touch with the

plotters for the past six months. The report also states that Banzer, soon after he had been exiled to Argentina, crossed the border back into Bolivia and met with Lundin in Santa Cruz.

The U.S. had already openly threatened Bolivia. During the last meeting of foreign ministers of the OAS in Costa Rica, Secretary of State William P. Rogers told his Bolivian counterpart: "You have overstepped the mark. I must tell you that we intend to overthrow Torres." The Bolivian minister replied, saying that Roger's calendar was behind the times, that the American embassy no longer ruled in Bolivia.

CIA maintained apparatus

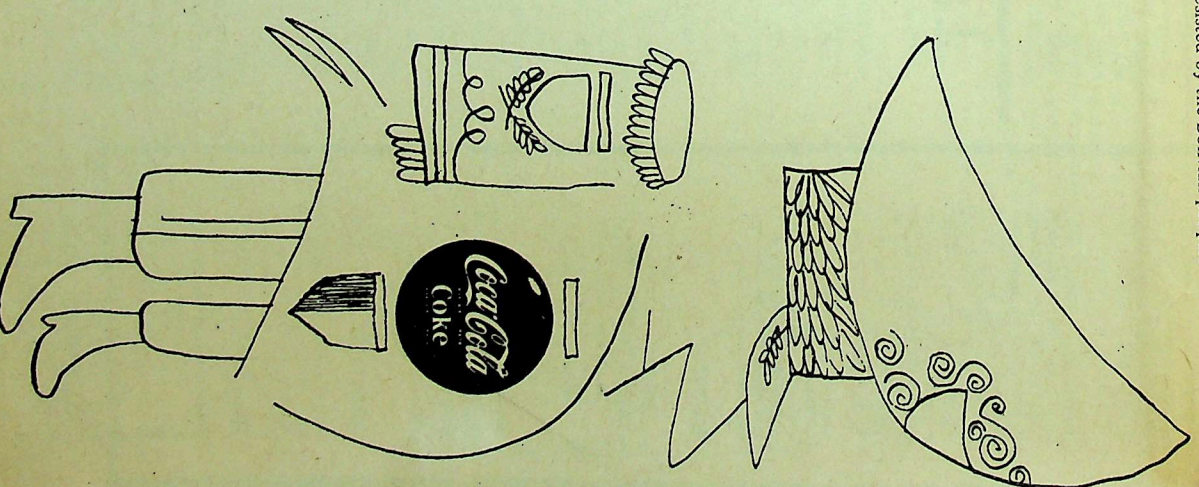
Unfortunately that was not true, for the CIA had maintained an apparatus intact within the Bolivian administration. In May agents of the Interior Ministry surprised American diplomats involved in a conspiracy with top leaders of the National Revolutionary Movement (NRM), but the incident did not go beyond a ride exchange of letters between Torres and the U.S. ambassador.

The Americans had good friends on the frontier in Brazil and Paraguay. In July a former Bolivian Interior minister told Pressa Latina he expected a little Bay of Pigs invasion or incursions from Brazil and Paraguay by adherents of the MNR, the Falange and exiled military men like Banzer, who would start a coup possibly in Santa Cruz. A careful man, the former minister only mentioned exiled military officers who were conspiring. He did not mention those on active duty although he must have known who they were.

Two plotters are known to have entered Bolivia several times from Paraguay and Brazil to make contact with Col. Andres Selich, commander of the Santa Cruz rangers and Gen. Jaime Mendieta, commander of the Cochabamba 5th division and other anti-communist officers. Also, in July Gen. Luis Teran, army commander, met with Victor Paz Estenssoro in Lima, Selich, Mendieta and Paz all sided with rightists.

Undoubtedly the Nixon administration and its camp followers in Brazil and Paraguay felt increasingly discomforted by the developing Bolivian revolutionary forces. Confronted by three independent nations, Chile, Peru and Bolivia and with Uruguay potentially moving out of the U.S. orbit, perhaps the Nixon administration felt that the tide was turning toward national liberation which the U.S. regards as a dangerous virus. On Aug. 21 the U.S. gained a victory in Bolivia comparable to an earlier one in Guatemala. But Banzer has no support other than he can obtain by repression and this will be resisted by the Bolivian people.

Nuez, Havana



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independent
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What you should know about abortion

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Drypoint and aquatint by Edvard Munch



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on ABM**

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& revolution**

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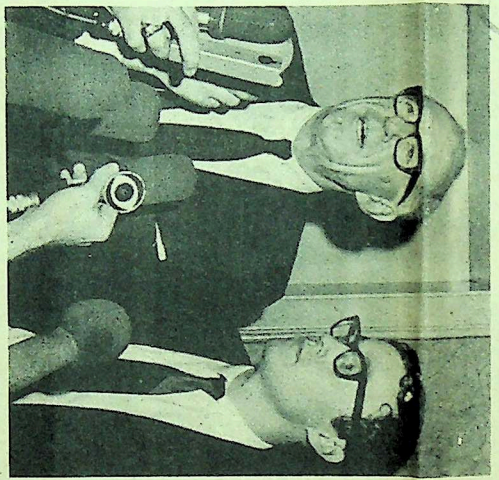
THE MOVEMENT

Spock conviction upset

A U.S. Court of Appeals in Boston has reversed the convictions of Dr. Benjamin Spock and three codefendants convicted last year for counseling men to evade the draft.

Spock and Michael Ferber, a Harvard graduate student, were cleared. The Rev. William Sloan Coffin, a chaplain at Yale University, and Mitchell Goodman, a teacher, were ordered returned to the Federal District Court to stand trial a second time because Boston Judge Francis J.W. Ford had made an "error" in submitting 10 questions to a jury last July.

The decision of the Federal appeals panel was split 2-1 on the issue of retrial. In a dissenting opinion, Judge Frank M. Coffin (no relation to the chaplain) wrote that all four defendants should have been freed since there was no conspiracy in his view but merely the exercising of First Amendment rights. The majority of the appeals court held that while there was insufficient evidence to convict Spock and Ferber, the activities of Coffin and Goodman could have led "a properly instructed jury" to find the two men guilty. On Oct. 16, 1967 Ferber and Coffin participated in a ceremony at the Arlington Street Church in Boston where draft cards were burned. Spock and Goodman were not present. Spock and Coffin signed "A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority." The government produced a document by Mitchell Goodman on "civil disobedience to the war," written in August 1967. Also placed on the court record by the government was a sit-in outside New York's Whitehall Induction Center in December 1967, a news conference and a draft card turn-in.



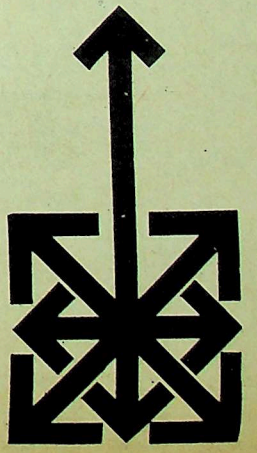
Dr. Benjamin Spock (left) and Michael Ferber were cleared of conspiracy charges by a federal appeals court last week.

Two SDS leaders seized

Henry Gehman, 20, and Lewis Cole, 23, had just finished serving 30-day jail sentences for criminal contempt in connection with Columbia disruptions in the spring. But as they left the Civil Jail in New York City July 9 along with six other SDS members, they were taken into custody and arraigned on another charge, harassment, menacing, acting in "a violent and disruptive manner" and acting in violation of the court. The new set of charges, brought by two Columbia professors, accused Cole and Gehman of disrupting a disciplinary hearing.

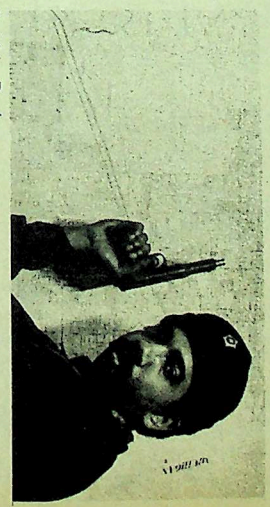
FBI asking questions

During the last several weeks FBI agents have contacted people in Washington, D.C. and New York City to secure information on participants in the countercultural demonstrations Jan. 19-20 in the capital city, according to Henry Di Survero of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. It appears the FBI is interested in prosecuting under the antiriot provisions of the Civil Rights Act. The G-Men have been showing photos of participants to the people they have visited. The ECLC, based in New York, would like to hear as soon as possible from anyone contacted by the FBI. Phone them at 212-683-8120 or visit the office, 25 E. 26 St.



Bobbie Rush gets 6 months

Bobbie Rush, minister of defense for the Illinois Black Panther party, may be headed for the Illinois state prison farm in Vandalia. He was convicted of unlawful use of weapons, fined \$500 and sentenced to six months by a circuit court in Chicago. Rush was arrested April 2 after he walked into a Chicago police station to inquire about a Black Panther member.



Bobbie Rush

Red Rolfe dies at 60

He played third base for the New York Yankees in the 1930s, managed the Detroit Tigers and was named in 1950 "Manager of the Year." In a poll of Yankee fans, Rolfe was recently voted the greatest Yankee third baseman of all time. He also covered the 1937 and 1938 World Series for the Daily Worker, the Communist party newspaper, and called the workers' sport section "one swell sports page." Last week, July 9, he died of a chronic kidney illness in Laconia, N.H. He was 60 years old.

Campus cops convene

Tear gas and riot police are becoming as common as the sorority ball on U.S. campuses these days. The chaos is particularly disturbing to campus police who are often the front line defenders for universities and colleges riddled with student unrest. Two weeks ago, campus police chiefs from around the country gathered at the University of Georgia to compare notes, talk strategy and police weaponry. A special noise device called the "curdler" was one of the most popular weapons on display. The "curdler" has four loudspeakers and produces 350 watts of continual shrieks. "At close range, the brochure put out by the company, "get close range, the penetrating dissonant sound of the 'curdler' forces would-be rioters, advancing on the sound source to turn away and discard their weapons, banners, signs, etc., in order to free their hands to cover and protect their ears." Cost of the device: \$2400.

News from the anti-war zone

The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam plans a mass nationwide student strike Nov. 14, the day before an antiwar march on Washington, D.C. At a press conference July 9 SMC officials estimated some one million high school and college students would strike. A march in Washington has been called by 30 antiwar leaders for Nov. 15. SDS interorganizational secretary Jeff Jones, writing in New Left Notes, said, "The SWP-YSA forces have been trying to get the MOB to call for a one-slogan, peaceful demonstration in Washington.... This is a classical anticommunist move, putting up their demonstration as a peaceful alternative to the bloodthirsty SDS action in Chicago, that only confuses the people with all this talk about imperialism." Jones was referring to SDS's Chicago march called for Sept. 27 and postponed until Oct. 11 so that it does not conflict with the opening of schools on the quarter system.

Contributors to this week's movement include: Marilyn Webb, Washington, D.C.; Southern Christian Educational Fund, Louisville, Ky.; American Servicemen's Union, New York City. Edited by Randy Furst.

Liberals may save Nixon's ABM

"research and evaluation of components."

According to a recent poll of the Senate by the New York Times, there were 48 votes against the ABM, and 48 in support. Several were uncommitted. Senate sentiment against the ABM has been building in the last weeks in reply to Nixon's move rightwards on domestic issues such as school desegregation and health care.

Much Senate opposition to the ABM was in response to an ad hoc liberal coalition similar to the one mobilized in the early 1960s for civil rights legislation. Most active in the lobbying campaign were national church organizations as well as labor unions. Turning their backs on AFL-CIO support of the ABM, the United Auto Workers, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union, Amalgamated Meatpackers and Butcher Workmen and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers assigned staff members to the anti-ABM lobbying effort.

Popular disenchantment

Less important to the lobbying but more important to the broad public educational campaign was the battle waged by local churches, labor groups, student groups and citizen groups against the ABM. These efforts are source and product of growing popular disenchantment with the military. Since most of the people active in these groups are new to political action, they put their faith in the liberal Senate group to stop the ABM.

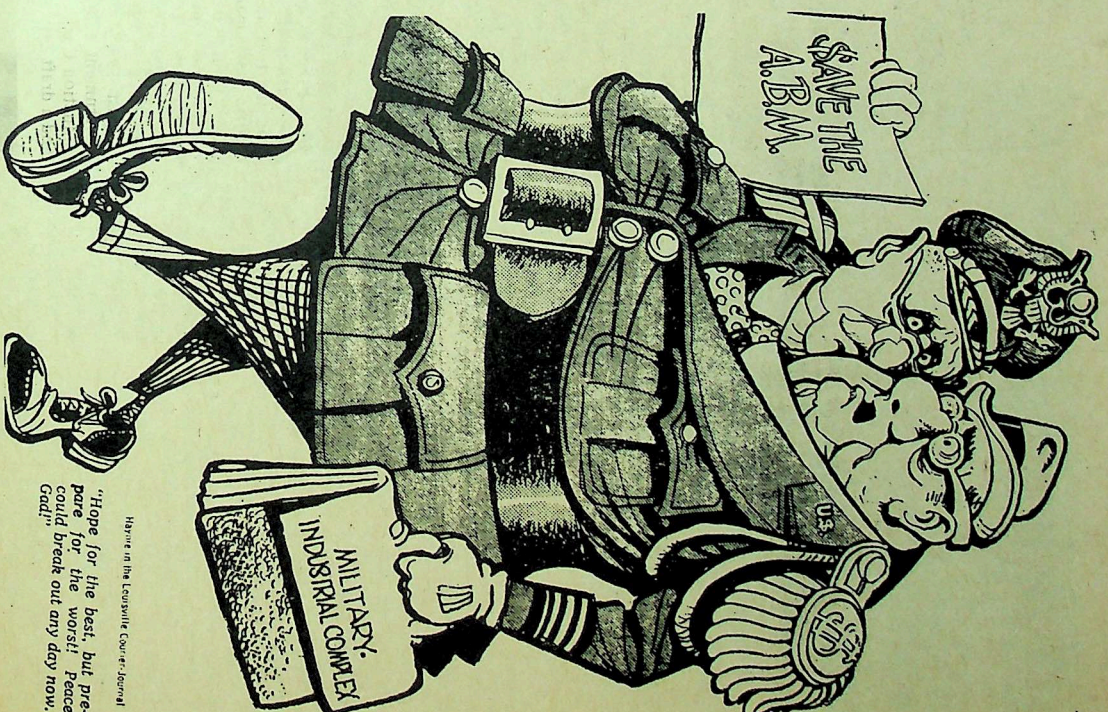
On the first day of Senate debate, however, the two leaders of the anti-ABM Senate group announced they would not try to defeat the ABM authorization—the initial purpose of the opposition—but instead would try to amend the bill.

The amendment played right into Nixon's hands. As introduced by Sens. Hart (D-Mich.) and Cooper (R-Ky.) it would permit the entire \$757 million appropriation for the ABM but restrict use to "research, development, testing, evaluation and normal procurement." The money could not be used for the acquisition or construction of sites or the deployment of missiles.

Most "dove" Senators' support this compromise amendment. None of them demanded that the \$757 million of research and development appropriations be dropped.

The Hart-Cooper amendment may win a majority—and the liberal bloc could then celebrate a "victory," since "deployment" of the ABM had been stopped.

The Nixon strategy since inheriting the old Safeguard System from President Johnson has not been to win a victory but avoid a defeat (Guardian Feb. 22). The administration expects that military appropriations for the expensive weapons systems in the future will be easier to get, thanks to the better public "understanding" of the Soviet and Chinese "threat." Nixon intends to create in the coming years. Chinese plans for testing an ICBM next year will provide an excellent backdrop to a stronger Nixon



Hope for the best, but prepare for the worst: Peace could break out any day now.

effort on the ABM, possibly including deployment of missiles.

Though Nixon has barred compromises on the ABM in his public statements, he has been keeping himself open. On June 19 the President told a news conference that "it will not be necessary to compromise" to win the Senate battle. "I don't mean by that that every section of the bill as presented to the Armed Services Committee has to be kept as it is," he said. And a few days later he said: "I don't expect Congress to dot every 'i' and cross every 't' of my proposal."

The administration has in fact been giving tacit approval to the efforts of Sen. McIntyre (D-N.H.) to work out a compromise. His suggestion is similar to the Hart-Cooper bill in that it grants all requested funds. It also authorizes installation of radar and electronic equipment at the two sites in Montana and North Dakota, but rules out any deployment of missiles at this time.

The long awaited Congressional battle on the ABM opened on Capitol Hill last week. The specific issue is the \$757 million appropriation for the Safeguard ABM endorsed by the Senate Armed Services Committee at the suggestion of President Nixon and the Pentagon.

\$20 billion bill

The appropriation, part of a \$20 billion military research and procurement bill, includes \$345 million for "military procurement," \$400 million for research, development, test and evaluation, and \$12 million for "construction" at the Pacific Missile Range at Kwajalein. Included in these items is authorization to construct two missile sites at Grand Forks, N.D. and Malmstrom, Mont. for

Eldridge Cleaver, writing from the third world, discusses education and revolution.

President Nixon was told to go fly a kite by a high flying aviation executive.

A Federal Court of Appeals ordered a second trial for Rev. William Sloane Coffin—codefendant in a draft conspiracy case.

President Nguyen Van Thieu offered a fake election plan in hopes of propping up his tottering regime.

This week in the Guardian

The ABM debate (to build or not to build) opened on Capitol Hill—with the liberals having sold out early.

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SDS debating political differences

By Chris Robinson

Political fallout from last month's explosion in Chicago when Students for a Democratic Society expelled the Progressive Labor party is beginning to drift throughout the country.

The most dramatic result took place in New York July 7 when SDS members fought a group from PL and the Worker Student Alliance faction—which was ousted along with PL—in the halls of New York University.

In other instances, different groups within SDS clashed, albeit peacefully, over a number of issues stemming from the convention, including the methods by which PL was ousted, charges of leadership manipulation and just plain political differences, which have been heightened by the explosion.

The confusion was compounded by the fact that PL and its WSA associate continue to claim to be the "real" SDS and have formed a parallel "national office" in Boston. The ousted group is also publishing its own—and very similar looking—version of the SDS organ, *New Left Notes*. The PL version is known in the movement as the "New Left Scab."

In the New York clash, 200 SDS members were just beginning a regional assembly in NYU's Eisner-Lubin Auditorium when 70 supporters of PL tried to push their way into the meeting. The invaders smashed furniture in the lobby, using the pieces to attack 50 SDSers guarding the door. Remaining members of the regional assembly stayed in the auditorium.

In the unsuccessful attempt to gain entry, PL smashed a plateglass wall and injured several SDS members who were taken to the hospital for stitches.

The assembly resumed after police—summoned by the university—cleared PL from the lobby. However, 75 late-arriving SDSers were not permitted to pass a police cordon around the building.

SDS charged that PL, which "consistently avoids militant action against the ruling class," designed this action with the intention of injuring people, making it impossible for NYU's SDS chapter to gain access to university facilities and smearing SDS in the bourgeois press.

Dave Gilbert, regional office staff member, presented the ideological differences between SDS and PL, centering on PL's opposition to the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front program and their opposition to the nationalist struggle of blacks in the U.S. Organizers from Brooklyn College, Columbia University, City College and Queensborough Community College described the ways in which PL members had opposed and obstructed their attempts to work with black student groups on campus.

When the meeting was opened for general discussion it became apparent that many chapter members remained unfamiliar with the intricate ideological arguments used to justify the ouster. While some differed on interpretation of the arguments, others were convinced that the expulsion had more to do with tactical differences between PL and the SDS leadership than with burning ideological questions.

Two RYM caucuses

Some members wanted to discuss their political objections to the two Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) caucuses which make up an organizational majority in SDS. The RYM supporters are themselves divided between the Weatherman caucus, which controls the SDS national office and the New York regional office and the RYM-2 caucus, which is in the minority. A major difference between the two groups is their analysis of the working class: Weatherman tends to deny the working class a leading role in the revolutionary struggle, seeing the primary struggle to be that of the third-world supported by armed revolutionaries (blacks and white youths) in the U.S.; RYM-2, on the other hand, sees the proletariat as the revolution's main force, holding the liberation struggle of blacks, youth and women as vanguard struggles which will raise the consciousness of the working class.

These two positions were consistently stated for the first time at the June convention. A debate is taking place as members of these two caucuses try to make their positions clear to the SDS membership. Large numbers of SDS members, including whole chapters on some campuses, have refused to support either caucus. In some cases this is due to a lack of understanding of the issues, while in others the cause has been a principled political opposition to both RYM caucuses.

At the University of Wisconsin, the SDS chapter decided by a vote of 66 to 35 that "Madison SDS, for the duration of the summer, declares that it neither recognizes nor endorses either of the two national 'leaderships' [that is, Weatherman in Chicago

Panthers sue N.Y.

The Black Panther 21, accused of conspiring to blow up several department stores, a section of railroad tracks, the Bronx Botanical Gardens, and several police stations, had a motion for bail reduction denied July 3 by the New York State Court of Appeals. Eleven of the Panthers are being held on \$100,000 bail, two on \$50,000 and one on \$25,000. Only one of the Panthers, Lonnie Epps, has been released on \$10,000 bail.

Gerald Lefcourt, the Panthers' lawyer, said, "Pure fascism exists for the Panthers, as well as for other groups; illegal searches, mass arrests, trumped up charges, lack of bail and concentration-type jail conditions are their reality."

The members of the Panther 21 are being held in 7 separate New York prisons. They are kept under maximum security, which means they have their cells lit 24 hours a day, their linen changed once every 2 weeks and their mailing privileges refused. Six of the Panthers were denied permission to read the court motions that their lawyers had filed on their behalf.

For the first three months of their imprisonment, the Panthers were not allowed to meet as a group with their lawyers to plan their defense. Their first such meeting was held July 3.

Lefcourt said that the bail reduction could not be carried to the New York State Supreme Court because it is not in session until the fall. The Panthers now plan to take the issue to the federal courts. They also plan to sue in federal court for \$1.3 million in damages on the basis of the conditions under which they are being held.

and PL in Boston) purporting to represent the rank and file of the organization . . . and that Madison SDS, in cooperation with other grassroots chapters across the country, [will] utilize the summer to formulate and define a coherent program and strategy as a basis for both local activity and national unity."

Similar groupings of independents can be found in such areas as Boston, San Francisco and Stanford, Calif. In New York City the independents began meeting before the national convention and have composed a tentative formulation of their position: "Towards a New Perspective—A Rank and File Upsurge." This paper was written prior to the clarification of the differences between the two RYM caucuses, but in some points it comes close to RYM-2.

The paper states that there are class differences within SDS between the petit bourgeois members from the large, private universities and the working class members from the city colleges, state colleges, community colleges and high schools. Specifically, it states: "The radicals from the elite schools are the elite of the radical movement. The elite . . . has little or no experience in the day-to-day oppression and exploitation of the community and workplace. . . . Its whole life experience having been an apprenticeship for leadership and management, it leads and manages the movement."

New York's rank and file upsurge located primarily at Brooklyn and City Colleges, has principled differences with PL and the RYM caucuses. On the issue of racism they attack PL's refusal to support black struggles on campus, while they also believe that RYM is wrong in insisting that white workers must give up "privileges." They believe that white workers have only "false privileges" and the battle must be waged against the bourgeoisie to gain more for black workers, but not at the expense of the white workers.

Blacks as working class vanguard

The rank and filers also attack the identification of the black struggle in the U.S. with the struggle of the colonized peoples against imperialism because they see a difference between the struggle for national liberation in the third world and the struggle for self-determination in the U.S. This leads them to criticize the downgrading of the white working class, and to posit instead "that black and brown workers in response to their even greater exploitation and oppression will assume a vanguard role in a total working class revolution." This position is close to RYM-2.

The New York independents are critical of two other tendencies they see in the RYM caucuses. On the one hand they criticize the idealization of armed struggle and the use of it as a strategy, believing that armed struggle is a tactic to be used at the proper time, as in the Black Panther party's use of armed self-defense. On the other hand, they are critical of what they see as Stalinist tendencies in the bureaucracy, arguing that national chauvinism, the growth of bureaucracy and the stifling of democracy within the party all occurred due to Stalin's rule.

What the rank and file group proposes is "community based collectives consisting of cadres whose organizing takes place first in the work place, secondly in the schools, and thirdly in the community." The organizing would take place around a transitional program that would have a dual function. It would push consciousness beyond immediate issues and it would prepare the basis for the eventual seizure of power.

SDS faces a difficult period in which the political positions of the different caucuses must be clarified. The Weatherman caucus, currently in control of the national office, faces the dual task of clarifying its own position while allowing the free interchange of other views and democratic decision on tactics and strategy. This process must take place in the face of barbs from PL and harassment from the government.

Panther meeting bars PL

Guardian West Coast Bureau

Black Panther party chairman Bobby Seale announced July 13 that the Progressive Labor party had been excluded from participating in the United Front Against Fascism conference.

"They act like provocateurs," Seale said, "so we're going to treat them like provocateurs." PL thus joins Ron Karenga's "US" organization as the only groups barred from attending, besides the FBI and the CIA.

"This conference has been called to implement a program," Seale said, "not to fight over ideology." He said he expects between 100 and 300 local Committees to Combat Fascism to emerge from the conference, which takes place July 18-21 in Oakland.

The program begins in Oakland Auditorium Friday at 7 p.m., with greetings from imprisoned Panther leader Huey P. Newton. Historian Herbert Aptheker will deliver introductory remarks followed by a keynote speech by Bobby Seale. A two-hour session on "Women versus fascism" will follow.

Resistance to Selassie mounting

By Marilyn Salzman Webb
Guardian Washington Bureau

Washington

On the day Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie was being accorded a greeting by President Nixon reserved for the highest dignitaries, a group of Ethiopian students tore apart their nation's embassy here to remind Americans that the man being honored by the U.S. government was an oppressive dictator.

About 50 members of the Ethiopian Students Association in North America stormed the embassy July 7, near the time Selassie was arriving at the White House to demand additional U.S. money and arms to reinforce his despotic rule. Nixon quite likely will approve Selassie's request, since the largest U.S. military base in Africa is on Ethiopian soil—a base viewed by the Pentagon as strategic for "communications" (i.e., espionage) in Africa and the Middle East.

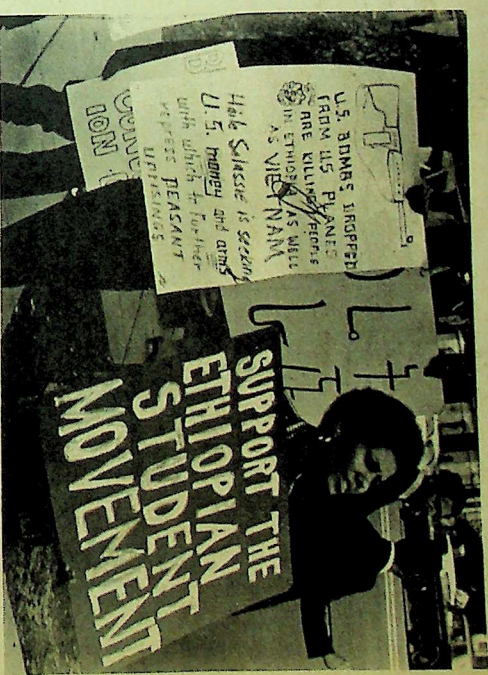
Using surprise tactics, the students approached the embassy in two groups—one openly, one through the bushes. As the first contingent approached, holding flags and signs, police said they couldn't demonstrate within 500 feet of the building. Police relented when the students said they were not demonstrating but merely attempting to enter "their" embassy.

The student group rang the bell of the locked embassy, but when the ring went unheeded, they kicked in the glass door, broke windows, entered the building and began to destroy pictures, correspondence and furniture.

Police arrived in moments with guns drawn, although they are not legally allowed to enter embassy grounds unless requested to do so by an official of the government in question. They battled with the students, eventually arresting 14 of them.

Those who escaped went to Blair House, the White House guest home, in time to "greet" Selassie as he arrived. "Down with Haile Selassie!" they chanted, while signs challenged, "U.S. bombs from U.S. planes are killing people in Ethiopia as well as Vietnam," and "End oppression of students, workers, peasants."

photo by Neil Miller



Ethiopian students attending American schools march near the White House last week, protesting Haile Selassie's visit to President Nixon.

Their leaflets asked the support of American citizens in demanding that Washington evacuate "U.S. military and paramilitary bases and personnel from Ethiopia; terminate aid programs, including the Military Assistance Advisory Group, the U.S. Mapping Institute and the Peace Corps; and put an end to any material and moral support, including so-called economic aid, which is... used to maintain Selassie's fascist dictatorship."

The protest continued the next day, until most of the students were arrested. They were being held in lieu of \$2000 bail on charges of disorderly conduct, assault, destruction of property and other "crimes." The trial is scheduled for July 15. (Contributions are urgently needed for bail funds. Send money to Andrew Eshebe, 388 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 06511. A free copy of a 10-page pamphlet, "Repression in Ethiopia," is also available.)

The students said they hoped that the U.S. anti-imperialist movement would speak out in support of the Ethiopian struggle. "Ethiopia is the next Vietnam," one student said.

The Ethiopian Student Movement of North America is just one segment of the World Wide Association of Ethiopian

'Bringing it all back home'

Following Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's return from his last "fact-finding" mission to Latin America, there were demonstrations in New York in solidarity with the Latin American struggle against U.S. imperialism.

About 800 demonstrators picketed Rockefeller's Fifth Ave. home July 9, shouting such slogans as "Cuba, sil Rocky, noi!" Tactical police units with clubs dispersed the protestors after several hours. Earlier several hundred persons demonstrated and skirmished with the police when Rockefeller arrived at Kennedy International airport July 6.



Photo by Howard Harrison

An Ethiopian peasant is required by law to surrender 75% of his produce to the feudal landlord. In addition he has become the victim of rising taxes levied by force and coercion. The health situation is alarming, to say the least. Syphilis, leprosy, malaria, smallpox, typhus and dysentery are endemic to the country.

Illiteracy is close to 98%, a figure unequalled by any other country. Ethiopia has the potential for economic development and wealth for the people. It possesses extremely fertile soil. The reason for the poverty is the strict hierarchical control exercised by the emperor and his entourage.

No political parties are allowed. Parliament is a parody of democracy. Members of the upper house are personally appointed by Selassie—and he is free to overrule any decisions of the lower house.

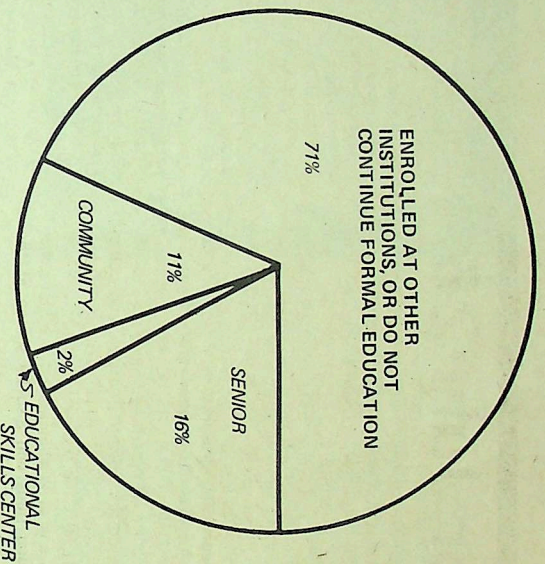
The Selassie dictatorship is facing increasing opposition from the masses. Strikes in key areas such as transportation, printing, sugar factories and other industries, have met with repression. Peasant rioting has led to military retaliation, including air bombardment. Whole villages have been wiped out.

The student movement confronted Selassie's regime with a set of demands last March, including an end to the waste of public funds through lavish entertainment of foreign guests and visits abroad by the Ethiopian court. Other demands included reduction of school fees, removal of school officials and the trial of officials responsible for the killing or injury of students and citizens.

In reply to the students, Selassie closed all schools and colleges throughout Ethiopia. Nineteen students have been killed and more than 2000 imprisoned in labor camps. Scores have been sentenced to prison terms ranging from six months to five years.

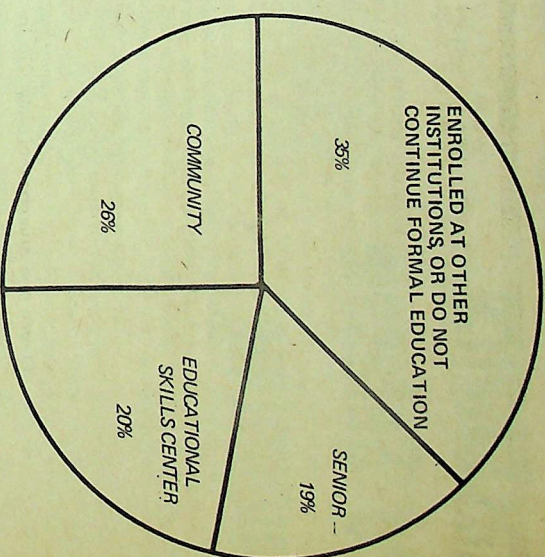
As the power-hungry nobility becomes more uneasy with the prospect of growing popular anger, it looks to foreign nations—especially the U.S.—for support against the people. As usual, the U.S. is rising to the occasion.

CUNY offers pacification program



1967

While CUNY plans to offer higher education to all New York high school graduates by 1970, they expect to enroll 65%.



1970

By Margie Stamberg

In an effort to head off another round of militant demonstrations which paralyzed many campuses of the City University of New York and shut down City College last spring, New York's Board of Higher Education moved July 9 to speed up implementation of CUNY's "master plan" for "open admissions" to all high school graduates here.

The new plan is supposed to insure that all graduates who wanted a higher education would be admitted to the city colleges, regardless of high school standing. Under the present system, black, brown and poor students are virtually excluded from colleges.

The Board set September 1970 as the target date for implementation, originally planned for 1975. But New Yorkers across the political spectrum were cynical. The plan is unlikely to receive legislative funding—"trying to buy campus peace with a rubber stamp," said the New York Times. And even if CUNY could come up with the funds, the students would hardly be satisfied. For the "master plan" is intended to extend the vicious tracking system already at work in the lower schools—a scheme which denies education to black, Puerto Rican and working-class

A law banning "professional" strikebreakers in Massachusetts has been signed by Gov. Francis W. Sargent. The new law states that "no person shall knowingly employ any professional strikebreaker in the place of an employee involved in a strike or lockout. No professional strikebreaker shall take or offer to take the place in employment of an employee who is involved in a strike or lockout." A professional strikebreaker is defined as a "person who regularly earns a major portion of his livelihood by entering into employment where a lockout or strike exists to take the place of an employee whose work has ceased as a direct consequence of such lockout or strike."

Massachusetts now joins Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine, Michigan and Hawaii which already have such laws.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 710 in Chicago has offered eight law and order scholarships of \$1500 a year for four years. The scholarships will be awarded only to students who pledge not to take part in or even condone "any act that is disruptive." Under this heading the Teamsters include peaceful demonstrations.

According to Lindsay Van Gelder writing in the New York Post, one of the scholarship winners told her, "Quite frankly, I was a little apprehensive, a little taken aback when I heard about the stipulations. I mean, the Teamsters themselves came to power through protests, and not all of it was legal."

In Milwaukee, Brewery Workers Local 9 is continuing its strike of 4500 members against Joseph Schlitz Brewing Co., Miller Brewing Co. and Pabst Brewing Co.'s division which makes Blatz beer. The strike began June 9 when the union accused the companies of making no real effort to bargain. According to the AFL-CIO News, the picketing was peaceful until a mass of police were used on June 23 to break the picket line and slip beer produced by strikebreakers out of the Schlitz brewery. Kenneth Mueller, president of the local, said that 31 workers had been arrested in the incident on charges of disorderly conduct. The strike is the first in the industry since 1953, when workers stayed out 76 days to get an acceptable contract.

Pennsylvania telephone workers are seeking to affiliate with the recently formed Alliance for Labor Action set up by the United Auto Workers and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. The 12,000-member Federation of Telephone Workers of Pennsylvania, an independent union, became the first to apply for affiliation. The ALA is expected to accept the application at its July 16 meeting.

white kids, and channels them into jobs to fit the demands of industry.

The Board's decision, which could mean the admission of up to 50,000 students in 1970, would require an extra \$50 million for that year alone. The city and the state now equally share the operating costs of the university's nine senior colleges, and the state pays a third of the cost of the six community colleges. Mayor Lindsay said government officials at all levels should "make every effort" to find the "resources" for implementation, but members of the legislature doubted the program could be funded.

One of the major establishment objections is that open admissions would "lower academic standards."

Also on July 9, the Board rejected a demand that City College establish a separate degree-granting "School of Urban and Third World Studies."

City University now offers admissions to 45% of the city's high school graduates, and the "master plan," if implemented, would raise the number to 100%. But the number of students allowed to receive four-year academic degrees will not increase greatly.

CUNY's admissions' regulations, now and in the "master plan," divides students into 3 tracks—Senior College, Community College, and Educational Skills Center. Each track offers "special programs"—"SSEK" for the senior colleges and "College Discovery" for community colleges—which allow a small number of students a chance to transfer into a higher program.

Sixteen percent of high school graduates are now enrolled in Senior College; the "master plan" would raise this number to 19%. Eleven percent attend Community College—this number would be raised to 26%. Two percent are now enrolled in Educational Skills Centers, a figure which would increase to 20%.

The intention of expanding the two lower tracks is two-edged. On one hand it attempts to co-opt the demands of blacks and Puerto Ricans for education which would meet their needs, and on the other, is designed to meet increasingly specialized job specifications and manpower needs of urban white and blue-collar industry.

Although there will be special programs within the community college, the "master plan" allows only a fraction to go on to senior college. Most students here will be confined to two-year programs with "new curricula at community colleges" planned to be "relevant to manpower needs," with a stress on health and business fields, education and secretarial skills.

What will happen is that jobs which in the past required only a high school diploma will now require a community college certificate. The "master plan" estimates that jobs requiring some formal post-high school education will increase by 280,000 in New York City with a "dramatic decline in the number requiring no formal training." Of the estimated 1,250,000 job vacancies that are expected during the 1965-1975 period, 808,000 will require some formal post-high school education, and 21% will require a baccalaureate or graduate degree.

The largest number of job vacancies requiring baccalaureate degrees will be teaching with 117,000 vacancies and health, 40,000. The plan listed, under requirements for two-year training, a need for 40,000 new secretaries, and 250,000 people in the "clerical fields."

The Educational Skills Centers were described by activist Michael Novick of Brooklyn College as "educational concentration camps being readied for the black and Puerto Rican proletariat. Potsdam of the city public schools who are not 'fit' for even the pretense of college work, but who fit perfectly into the new niche of low-pay, low-skill jobs"—primarily hospital and teaching-aides, and clerical workers.

The full-scale expansion of tracking which begins in the second grade in New York City when children are separated according to reading ability, may not go into effect at the City University this year. But it is clearly the wave of the future for "higher education" in urban areas. High School students here have been organizing on a massive scale against tracking for the last few years; SBEK students at City College shut down that campus last spring over the same issue. As these programs are put into effect, administrators and captains of industry can probably expect more of the same.

WORKWEEK

New Cuban films for July 26

Radicals in eight U.S. cities will join with Cuba in holding July 26 celebrations next week. The theme will be "Americans in solidarity with Cuba against U.S. imperialism."

The meetings are being coordinated by the Newsreel group—a radical film cooperative—in conjunction with local movement organizations.

A feature of the meetings will be the showing of new films from the Cuban Film Institute, including: "LBJ," "For the First Time," "Laos, the Forgotten War," "Bolivia," "The Year of the Decisive Effort" and "The Death of J.J. Jones." Parties and discussions are also planned.

Cities which will have celebrations include New York, Washington, D.C., Atlanta, Boston, Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles. (Information from Newsreel, 212.565-4930.)

The New York July 26 celebration will take place at Alternate University, 69 W. 14th St. The program begins at 3 p.m. with a talk by author Edward Boorstein and Cuban films. A Cuban meal will be served at 6 p.m. (free beer). At 8 p.m. a "Cuban revolutionary party" will begin. Contribution is \$1.50. Film showing in New York will also take place at Tompkins Square Park July 26 and at Washington Square Methodist Church the afternoon of July 27. In the evening films will also be shown at the Washington Square Park.



Students being dragged from the path of a Georgia school bus.

By Allen David
Special to the Guardian

Philadelphia
What do 8,000 U.S. teachers talk about when they get together for a week-long conference?

Do they discuss Vietnam and its implications for U.S. education? Do they plan teacher-parent-student alliances to work for community control of the schools? Is eradicating racism on their agenda?

While it might be expected that teachers at a national meeting would devote considerable time to these matters, delegates to the 107th annual convention of the National Education Association (NEA), which ended here July 6, dribbled through a week of carefully planned irrelevances.

NEA includes more than half of all U.S. teachers ("the largest professional organization in the world."). In many school districts, teachers must join as a matter of course, paying their dues when they get a contract. With its filly "code of ethics" and its demands that it be given the power to certify new teachers, NEA eventually hopes to control the teaching profession in the same way that the AMA runs the medical world and the Bar Association controls the legal profession.

Most of its 112 years has been spent in polishing up this "professionalism," and, for all of its one million members and its \$16 million annual budget, NEA has been remarkably impotent in trying to analyze and solve the problems of American education. Part of the reason is that its establishment—in the hands of a Washington, D.C. staff which operates in league with conservative white Southerners and rural Midwesterners—spends all the money on lobbying for educational bills, printing fancy literature, and maintaining a 1000-member staff in a block-square building in Washington, D.C. Worried by wildcat strikes by its own members and by the inroads of the AFL-CIO teachers' union in the cities, NEA has, in recent years, begun talking about "responsible militancy" and has even given tacit approval to some stoppages by teachers. But, like any other group tied to a reformist policy, it extinguishes dissent that it fears may alienate Congress or the school administrators who still control much of NEA's apparatus. Any attempt by rank-and-file teachers to use their new militancy to fight racism or social oppression under the NEA banner is either coopted, modified, or called "unprofessional" and quickly snuffed out.

This year's convention, which included a small group of political activists among the delegates, provided some examples:

—When a California teacher proposed a resolution urging Nixon "to bring about total military disengagement in Vietnam," he drew a healthy share of applause. But the powerful resolution committee, chaired by an assistant state school superintendent, "received and filed" the proposed statement and the antiwar teachers could not muster the two-thirds floor vote necessary to bring the issue to general discussion. The author of the resolution did get a chance to berate the delegates for taking "the position of the ostrich—both vulgar and vulnerable," and another delegate, from New York, asked, "Is it any wonder that the youth of this country is disillusioned when we teachers refuse to even discuss this vital issue?"

—Delegates from Michigan tried to get NEA to take a strong

antiracism stand: support for psychological testing of prospective teachers to weed out racists and authoritarian types, and hiring of more blacks on the NEA staff. ("We have an image in the inner city of being a racist institution which is based, in part, on reality," one speaker said.) The psychological test plan was shouted down, and the second proposal was withdrawn after the NEA executive secretary shuffled some statistics to try to prove that 38 black staff members out of 400 managerial, technical, and professional employees represented a "fair hiring policy."

—Black delegates from the South, who tried to get NEA to strengthen support for black teachers and principals who are being fired by white authorities whenever school desegregation takes place, left the convention in disgust. "At the rate that blacks are being fired, in 30 days we won't have any black educators left in Louisiana," C.A. Hanes, executive secretary of the Louisiana Education Association said. "Please do not send us back home to say that the NEA is not interested in black educators." NEA officials permitted a perfunctory declaration of support for the teachers, but refused to adopt the militant defense program that Hanes and others said was needed.

—At the same time, NEA put off any action to expel racially segregated affiliated associations in the South. Dozens of white-only associations still exist, and in those cases where mergers of black and white NEA affiliates have taken place, the whites have maintained power. At this year's convention, Southern blacks and their few white allies unsuccessfully tried to get new guidelines adopted that would have guaranteed 50-50 representation for blacks and whites on the governing bodies of merged associations.

On two other critical issues—the campus revolution and the urban crisis—NEA's actions betrayed any moral commitment that U.S. teachers may have to blacks and students. Executive secretary Samuel Lambert drew a huge ovation when he thundered, "In the high schools, we are not going to tolerate the type of thing now prevalent on the college campus. We are not about to turn the secondary schools over to the students to do or not do as they see fit."

Urban problems drew scant attention. Within a \$16 million budget, only 2½% was earmarked for NEA departments concerned with big-city school problems. A resolution on decentralization, passed by the NEA's classroom-teacher department, rhetorized about "community involvement" but insisted that community boards be "accountable to the central board and the administration."

One NEA staff member became so angry during the convention that he told a convention workshop of his "chagrin" that only \$400,000 was allocated to deal with urban problems. Fr. Joseph Devlin, a consultant to the Task Force on Urban Education, reminded the NEA that "85% of kids in Harlem leave schools neither equipped for work or further schooling. Schools are functionally ineffective. . . . We have a serious difficulty with personnel: some of the teachers who have credentials aren't effective because of overt or latent prejudice. What kinds of teachers do we need in urban areas? Competent, sensitive, decisive teachers who know and respect the values, customs, and backgrounds of their students."

NEA is unlikely to take up this challenge to rid schools of racist teachers. Its policies, reaffirmed at the convention, are heading it in the direction of the establishment, professional, AMA-style organization. Black teachers from the South and a few urban whites, as they left the convention, were talking about quitting NEA and working on the outside for their programs. Most teachers with a radical perspective can take some comfort from the fact that NEA, despite its giant staff and budget, has little power in urban schools, where most of the important student-teacher-community organizing is now taking place. The outcropping of "new schools" and "freedom schools" and the small but growing corps of politicized teachers—while still reaching only a fraction of urban students—are having an increasing influence. And NEA is not equipped or powerful enough to put the screws to that kind of influence in the same way that it has been able to stifle dissent within its own ranks.

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GUARDIAN / JULY 19, 1969 / 7

NEA: like an ostrich

Facts about abortion in America

By Marilyn Salzman Webb
Guardian Washington Bureau

Washington

Every year in the U.S. there are 8000 legal abortions performed in hospitals and more than one million illegal abortions performed in doctors' offices, hotels or elsewhere. It is estimated that in New York City alone, 50% of deaths associated with pregnancy and birth are caused by illegal abortions, 85% of which involve married women.

Legal abortions are expensive. Obstetricians' bills range from \$200 to \$250 (as much as a full-term delivery including prenatal care), hospital fees are about \$300 and psychiatrists' fees are usually \$75 per letter. Two letters certifying psychiatric need for abortion are usually necessary. The total bill comes to about \$650 or \$700. Only wealthy or middle class women can afford this luxury, leaving the working class and poor to settle for the hotel back room where most abortion-connected deaths occur. If they die or not, poor and working women pay for their illegal abortions. If the fee is not high, the procedure is often so bad that they wind up in a hospital. Then they have to pay hospital fees to repair the damage they paid some butcher to inflict on them.

Legalization of abortion would be little help to most women if the prices stayed the same and the procedure was limited to hospitals. Abortions are covered by very few health insurance policies, and then only under high option family plans. Single women haven't got a chance. With Medicaid shrinking the way it is, even poor people may not be covered. With the shortage of hospital beds (perpetrated by the American Hospital Association) there may not be enough room in hospitals to do abortions. And with the doctor shortage (fostered by the AMA to limit the number of doctors so that fees remain high), there may not be enough doctors to perform abortions. Thus, for any dent to be made, legal abortions would have to come hand in hand with a whole new medical care system—that was free and organized differently. Otherwise, working and poor women will keep on being murdered.

An abortion is a simple operation, simpler than a tonsillectomy. European statistics show about as many abortions as live births there each year, and practically no deaths. Because abortions in many European countries are done on demand, women come in earlier and therefore have fewer complications.

There are five common methods of abortion. Three—D and C, suction and hysterotomy—are medically safe, if performed under the proper conditions. Two other methods are medically unsafe, even if performed under the best conditions.

The D and C (dilatation and curettage) is still the most common method of abortion performed in hospitals in this country. It is usually performed under anesthesia in an operating room and takes no longer than 15 minutes. The procedure involves first dilating the cervix (the neck of the uterus) with blunt instruments called dilators. This does not involve any cutting. When the cervix has been dilated sufficiently, a curette may be passed into the uterus. A curette is a special type of knife, which is shaped like a loop. It is used to scrape the inside of the uterus and thereby separate the fetus from the uterine wall. If not performed correctly a D and C can be dangerous. If scraping is

too shallow hemorrhage can occur from the remaining tissue on the uterine wall. If scraping is too deep hemorrhage can result from cutting into the muscle of the uterine wall. If the uterine wall is very thin, a curette can puncture it, resulting in hemorrhage. Finally, if conditions aren't sterile infection may set in. In a hospital a D and C may be performed up to 15 weeks after conception. Outside a hospital, a D and C should never be performed after 13 weeks.

The second most common method of abortion is the suction method. This has been used legally in Eastern Europe and Japan for several years and most often is performed as an office procedure. Doctors do not use this method in this country because they have not been trained in it. However, several hospitals are beginning to use suction methods instead of D and Cs, so that in the future more illegal office abortions may also be performed by suction. The technique is simple. The cervix (neck of the uterus) must be dilated as is done in a D and C, so that a plastic suction tube can be inserted into the uterus. Rather than scraping the lining of the uterus, the suction tube sucks out the fetal material. The complications are the same as the D and C, hemorrhage and infection. They should be dealt with similarly by going immediately to the nearest emergency room. The bleeding which follows an abortion by suction is about the same as that resulting from a D and C. This method should not be used after 10 weeks of pregnancy.

Hysterotomy

The third most common method of safe abortion is hysterotomy. Hysterotomy means making an incision in the wall of the uterus, and should be distinguished from hysterectomy which means removing the entire uterus. A hysterotomy is performed when it is too dangerous to perform a D and C—after 15 weeks up to 24 weeks of pregnancy. A hysterotomy must be performed within a hospital because it is a major operation. Most hysterotomies are performed like cesarean sections, by making an incision in the lower abdomen and then through the wall of the uterus. The fetus can then be removed under the direct vision of the surgeon and bleeding can be controlled by stitches and drugs. The complications of this procedure are those attending any form of major surgery—the risk of anesthesia, blood loss requiring blood replacement, etc.

The fourth and fifth methods of abortion are medically unsafe, and are only mentioned here for the sake of completeness. Saline injection, the fourth method, is used after 15 weeks of pregnancy. The last method of abortion by catheter is frankly dangerous and usually not used by doctors, but by midwives or nurses. It is performed by introducing a plastic tube into the uterus through the cervix, thereby stimulating a "spontaneous" abortion.

If an abortion is performed under the proper circumstances, the major consequences are primarily psychological. However, these factors are usually the result of the traumatic experience of trying to get an abortion in this country, legal or illegal, and the circumstances under which illegal abortions are usually performed (secrecy, without full information, and with unsympathetic doctors). In other countries where abortion is more common, psychological problems are not a frequent result of abortion.

Legal abortions carry with them the risk of anesthesia and the possibility that spontaneous abortion may be more frequent subsequently. This is most likely due to excess scarring caused by scraping (curettage) too deeply during a D and C.

Illegal abortions carry the risk of death from hemorrhage and infection. They also may result in a higher incidence of infertility usually as a consequence of the complications they may entail. Infection may cause a blockage of the uterine tubes which bring the egg from the ovary to the uterus. Hemorrhage may be the sign of deep scraping or puncture that may scar the uterine wall. Ordinarily, if there are no complications illegal abortions will not affect fertility.

Abortion laws vary in each state. The minimum law states that abortions may be performed only when the physical health of the mother is threatened. As abortion reform has gained momentum three general directions have been taken: (1) extension of current laws to allow abortion if the mother's mental health as well as physical health is threatened by continued pregnancy; (2) permitting abortion in sex offenses, such as rape or incest, which is sometimes stretched to include "felonious intercourse" (defined in some states as carnal knowledge of a girl under 16 years of age); (3) allowing abortion to prevent the birth of a defective child, as in cases of mothers with German measles (rubella) during the first months of pregnancy.

Eight Southern and Western states—Colorado, California, Arkansas, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, New Mexico and Kansas—have enacted laws based on these three principles since 1967. However there has been little increase in the number of abortions in these states, largely because the reforms have been inadequate. No states have extended their abortion laws to include a fourth direction—socioeconomic factors, such as mothers with families that are too large, mothers who are narcotics addicts or mothers who are unwed. Since no abortion reform proposals include these factors, progressive advocates have adopted a new slogan: Repeal All Abortion Laws. Rather than reform the law, which under present conditions would not include the largest number of those needing abortions (and if it did might only do so punitively, requiring sterilization after four children, etc.), state legislatures should be compelled to repeal abortion laws. After all, what is government doing meddling with a question that should be solely the decision of a woman in consultation with her physician. There should just be no laws about abortion.

Women's liberation groups across the country should become familiar with the process for obtaining a legal abortion, for both rich and poor, in their localities. This information may help in designing a strategy to open up hospitals and doctors to performing more abortions. For instance, two of the private District of Columbia hospitals have medical boards on abortion,



Schmidt-Rorturf

Eldridge Cleaver on revolution and education

By Eldridge Cleaver
Second of two articles

The schools

Today, as always, the struggle of the exploited people in the U.S. is taking place on all fronts; the most sensational and explosive clashes are being centered and focused more and more on the college campuses and on the high school campuses.

We understand that those who control the mind can control the body. Those who are interested in keeping people in oppressed positions and then dominating their perspective and their outlook on life understand that it's necessary for them to control the learning process in order to brainwash people, in order to camouflage the true nature of this society.

So they sanctify their system, teach the exploited people and the oppressed people to virtually love the system that's exploiting and oppressing them. So they have an interest in seeing to it that the content of the curriculum is to their liking, and that it does not expose the true nature of the decadent and racist society that we live in.

exploitation. On the one hand it's designed to keep the masses of white students in harmony with this system, to keep them supporting the system, to indoctrinate them to fight the wars that protect the system, and that extend the influence and the power of the system.

We're all becoming conscious of the evil of the system, conscious of the fact that this system can no longer survive. We have a historic opportunity for attacking the system and destroying it at its root. So that all of the manipulations that the capitalists and the watchdogs of the capitalists go through are designed to destroy the thrust of the movement. It designates as criminals those who are in the forefront of the struggle, and those who are guiding the struggle.

Historically, the struggle in the educational arena in terms of black people has been waged from, on the one hand, the slavemaster not even wanting black people to learn how to read and write, to black people, on the other hand, learning how to read and write; and then the struggle transposed itself over into what black people were allowed to read and write until today black people have reached a point where they want to control totally what they read and write.

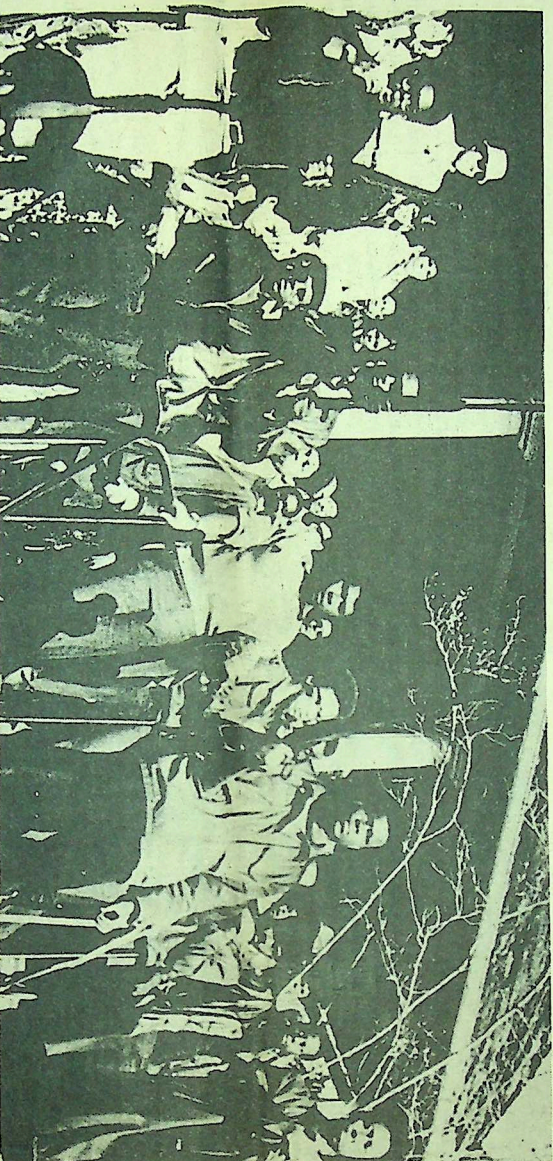


photo by Cornell Daily Sun

CORNELL: Black students armed for self defense

On the other hand, the exploited and oppressed people have the opposite interest. They have an interest in exposing the true nature of the society and in educating themselves and their children on the nature of the struggle and in transferring to them the means for waging the struggle so they can be aware of the level of the struggle, of the progress and the history of the struggle and the nature of the enemy and the true vulnerability of the enemy.

In other words we want to be able to teach ourselves and our children the necessity for struggling against this ruling class.

What we have to realize above all else is that our enemy, and that which we in fact are struggling against, is not an individual college president or high school principal, or a board of regents or the board of education, but it's the entire social structure. We're struggling against the capitalist system, which organized itself in a way that purchases our lives, that exploits us, and forces us into positions where we have to wage a struggle against the social organization in order to survive.

Black studies

Our struggle to gain black studies departments on college campuses, our struggles to have black studies added to the curriculum across the nation, this is a struggle that the enemy sees as a grave danger. The enemy also recognizes the struggle of young white people on the college campuses and high schools as a grave danger; and he is right, it is a grave danger, because what we realize is that the education that is being given out is designed to perpetuate a system of

This has been a steady struggle against the opposition of the slavemaster, it's been defeat after defeat for the slavemaster, until now we have burst into consciousness, until now we have realized the necessity of taking control over our education. And when you see this long line of progression from the struggle to become literate to the struggle today to control totally the education, you can see the true nature of the opposition that we face.

All of these racists and liberals who are opposing our moves today, to gain control of our education, they are nothing but the descendants of the outright racist slavemaster who opposed us in our attempts to learn how to read and write on the plantation during the days of slavery.

So that all of their rhetoric, all of their arguments, all of the changes that they go through in the last analysis are a continuation of the desire and the necessity of the slavemaster of keeping us ignorant and unable to manipulate ideas. Because in order to organize a revolutionary struggle, we must be able to do this. We must have knowledge of ourselves and our enemy, and of the situations that we find ourselves in, in order to organize a true revolution to move against them.

College and community

One of the great weaknesses in the movement at this particular time is in the campus focus of the attack on the ruling class and the power of the ruling class. And this has to do with the compartmentalized thinking of the traditional American society in which the college community and the college campus is viewed as something separate and

distinct from the rest of the community.

The college is not really looked upon as a part of the community. People who are not concerned with themselves going to college or who have no children in college feel that what's going on, on the campus, is none of their business. But nothing could be farther from the truth, because in reality, your colleges and institutions have been set aside to perpetuate the human heritage, and to pass on human wisdom, the knowledge and technical skills for the further development of society and civilization. And every single individual living in a given society has a stake in what is going on, on the college campuses, they have a stake in seeing to it that what happens on the campus is proper, and that the best interest of all the community is being served.

The attacks focused on the college campuses serve to expose the nature of power in the U.S. Because when we look at the composition of the board of regents and administrations and councils that control the colleges, we find them replete with military men, retired generals, foundation personnel and big business men.

So we could say that the boards that administer the universities are a good barometer, or a clear barometer of the stratification of power in the society as a whole. We don't see poor people represented on the boards of administration of the institutions of learning; this is because in the society beyond the college campus, poor people do not exercise or possess any power. If they did have the power, they would be in a position to see to it that some of their members were appointed to these boards. But those who control the economy, those who control the various sources and levels of power in the community and around it, are able to have their lackeys and their flunkies appointed to administer these institutions of learning.

Defense is initiative

It's a mistake to think that the ruling class cannot be successful if a proper response is not made from the movement. This is a mistake that's been made time and time again in the various revolutionary struggles around the world. There have been cases of the revolutionary movement being very highly advanced, very well organized, much more organized than we are in the U.S., with a higher theoretical understanding and with very good party machinery, etc.—and they have been crushed because the power structure would resort to unlimited means of brutality. They would kill, they would imprison, and they had the mass media in their control, and they could use the mass media to justify this, and to brainwash other people who were not organized to do anything about it.

So it's a question of time. The movement is always behind. The movement has the initiative. The power structure, by overreacting, seeks to buy time for itself, and the pressure that the movement puts on the power structure determines the amount of time that is left. Because if things develop and progress at such a pace that allows the ruling class to devise means of coping with the movement, then all is lost and the movement itself is doomed to failure. So that a broadening of those involved, or those concerned, and those whose support is now latent, is what is required.

Poor black people and poor white people and other middle-class people who are not themselves directly involved in the college situation need to be made to understand that something of their own precious liberty, though either they never had or which they thought they had, is being decisively determined in the struggles that are going down on the campuses today.

This society has failed

Because it is the duty of any society to see to it that every individual in that society is invested with the human heritage and

(continued on page 10)

Airlines reject \$7.5 billion grant; demand more

Guardian Washington Bureau

Washington

Stuart G. Tipton told President Nixon last week to go fly a kite, Tipton is president of the Air Transport Association (ATA), the powerful trade association and lobbyist for the airline industry. He was rejecting the Nixon administration's proposed 10-year \$7.5 billion program to modernize the nation's airports.

No one, however, could characterize the administration's plan as being anti-industry. Far from it. The \$7.5 billion plan is in the tradition of providing federal subsidies and assistance that have guaranteed airline growth and profitability in the past. The administration's objective is to head off growing airport congestion by building new airports and expanding existing facilities. Present overcrowding will be nothing compared to hordes of people dropped into airports from the new "jumbo jets" and the supersonic transport.

New sources of revenue must be found to pay for this program. Tipton is not angry at Nixon on this score, because the plan suggests that all the costs be borne by airline passengers. They will be forced to pay an 8% tax on airline tickets, up from 5%, and a flat \$3 fee on every international ticket. An existing tax of 4¢ a gallon on aviation fuel, one of the few burdens on the airlines, will be dropped entirely.

Payoff not enough

The construction of new airport facilities has long been one of the top legislative goals of the ATA. They had been demanding that the federal government either pay the entire cost or else extract the costs from passengers. No one in the industry ever suggested that the airlines pay the bill for their own airports and supporting facilities.

However, Tipton and the ATA will not support Nixon's plan because it doesn't include all they want.

NLF given shredded draft files

Special to the Guardian

Montreal

Shredded draft board files from the U.S. were presented July 5 to a delegation of women representing the National Liberation Front.

The Vietnamese women met here last week with women from the North American antiwar movement to exchange experiences and report on political developments.

The draft files were presented by Maggie Geddies, the only one of five women who had raided a New York City Selective Service office July 2 who was not arrested at a Rockefeller Center rally the following day.

In delivering the files, Miss Geddies also brought a message from the five women who disrupted the SS office, which said in part: "To our Vietnamese sisters: We wish to affirm the solidarity of our searches for justice and humanness. I have come then, out of respect for your struggle and responsibility for our own. In accepting these file pieces, please share with us the hope that such things as bombers, guns, conscription and oppression will cease to exist for both our peoples."

The three Vietnamese representatives each spoke of the solidarity they felt toward the American antiwar fighters. Embraces and presents were exchanged.

...on revolution and education

(continued from page 9)

provided with the technology, the skills and the knowledge that will enable him to cope with his environment, to survive and to live a good life. This is the duty of the society to provide that, just as it is the duty of the society to provide the highest level of medical assistance, housing and also employment, every benefit that exists in society, it's the duty of the government to provide that.

As long as the government is not providing that, it is not worthy of existing. And under our form of government, which is called representative democracy, it is not possible to provide this. It is not possible for a capitalist economy to provide a universal education for the people. What it has been providing is universal brainwashing that masquerades as universal education; the quality of the universal education is contemptible, it's inhumane, and it's only geared to provide a level of intelligence or a level of competence that will enable the product of the educational system to become war material to be exploited by the capitalist economic entities in the U.S.

Specifically, they demand the federal government also pay the costs of terminal facilities, baggage handling equipment, restaurants and parking lots. Until now, the federal government has only subsidized runways, navigational and other facilities aimed at guaranteeing that aircraft land and depart safely. Nixon's proposal would continue this practice.

According to the ATA, airlines will be faced with paying for new terminal facilities, about \$2.5 billion in the next ten years. Tipton wants to force the government to pick up this tab for the airlines as well.

Subsidy seen as 'right'

Whether the Nixon administration caves in to the pressure of the airlines can't be foreseen. But the airlines' demands and tough bargaining position is some indication of how accustomed they are to enormous federal subsidy and assistance. Indeed, some airline officials see such public assistance as a "right."

The airline industry is a perfect example of government-industry "cooperation." Besides the enormous contracts for military equipment in World War I that got the industry started, overt subsidy began with the Air Mail Act of 1925. To provide a financial base for airline investors, the Post Office paid airline companies three to four times above actual costs to fly air mail. Its importance as a subsidy can be seen by the fact that in 1932 nearly 80% of airline revenues came from air mail contracts.

But that was only the beginning of subsidies. Between 1938 and 1968 over \$1.5 billion in operating subsidies was paid into the coffers of the airlines.

Another important form of federal subsidy began in 1926. With the passage of the Air Commerce Act of 1925, the federal government assumed all of the overhead costs of air transportation. The government paid for the weather forecasts, light beacons, radio navigational facilities, rescue equipment, landing facilities and so on. This assistance started slowly, totaling about \$200 million between 1925 and 1938. Now this assistance totals over \$1 billion a year—the budget of the Federal Aviation Agency.

In 1946, under pressure from the airlines, the federal government also took over responsibility for building airports. The Federal Airport Act of 1946 appropriated about \$75 million a year for that purpose. Between 1946 and 1968, nearly \$1.1 billion of federal money has been spent on airports.

If federal expenditures were treated as capital investments, the U.S. government would be the largest stockholder and hold a controlling interest in all the airlines. Total paid in capital in the airline corporations is about \$1.4 billion in 1968 while the federal government's total investments in facilities, services, etc., is probably over \$10 billion.

Public investment—private profit

The rate of growth of the airline industry has been tightly linked since its birth with the pace and size of public spending. Though nearly ten times more capital has been invested by the American people than by private investors, the private corporations both control the industry and receive gratuitous profits from the massive public investments.

With this history of success behind him in getting the federal government to pay most of the real costs of air transportation, no wonder Stuart Tipton expects Nixon to give the airline industry everything it wants.

We're not reformists, we're not in the movement to reform the curriculum of a given university or a given college or to have a black student's union recognized at a given school. We are revolutionaries, and as revolutionaries our goal is the transformation of the American social order.

In order to transform the American social order, we have to destroy the present structure of power in the U.S., we have to overthrow the government—it has to be understood as being nothing but the instrument of the ruling class.

It is not the task of revolutionaries to keep their heads up in the sky, wondering about what they would do when they're in power; what they have to do at the present time is to have their mind centered on destruction. We're out to destroy the present machinery of the ruling class, that is our task and that's what we must be about. And we say that we will do this by any means necessary.

We must do this by the only means possible, and the only means possible is the violent overthrow of the machinery of the oppressive ruling class. That means that we

will not allow the ruling class to use brutality and force on us, without using the same force and brutality on them.

We must destroy their institutions from which they derive their power. A given college president may have his power as a result of being involved in a corporation. We must attack him on the campus but we must also pursue him off campus and attack him in his lair, the lair of his power, in his corporations.

This could be through boycotts of the products of that corporation, or through the physical destruction of that corporation, or the physical alienation of him as an individual.

We must not get into a bag of thinking that we're involved in a game. A revolution is not a game; it's a war. We're involved in a war—a people's war against those who oppress the people, and this is the war in the clearest sense of the word. It is only that our resistance is underdeveloped, the repression is overdeveloped, because the ruling class has arsenals of the materials of war to unleash on us. They're only using the timid materials at this particular time, because our resistance to their aggression has heretofore been timid.

THE WAR GAME

MIKE KLARE

Senators vote slash in CBW appropriations

ANTI-CBW CAMPAIGN MOUNTING: The Senate Armed Services Committee announced July 3 that it had voted to cut all funds for chemical and biological warfare (CBW) research from the fiscal 1970 defense budget. The Senate action applies to "offensive" CBW systems only, and not to defensive measures like gas masks and antidotes.

When measured in dollars, the cut in CBW funds is not very significant—\$16 million out of a proposed military research budget of \$8.3 billion. However, the Senate action is of symbolic importance, since it represents the first curb imposed on the Pentagon's CBW agencies in recent years. (Ordinarily, Congress has voted funds without even discussing the highly secret CBW program.) Furthermore, the action was taken by a group of conservatives including Harry F. Byrd Jr. (D-Va.) and George Murphy (R-Cal.), who are usually counted on to defend the Pentagon's budget requests.

Meanwhile, opposition to CBW research has been mounting in the world press and at the United Nations, where Secretary General U Thant last week released a report urging all member nations to liquidate their stockpiles of CBW munitions. Thant proposed that the U.S. and the Soviet Union discuss CBW disarmament at their forthcoming arms limitation talks.

ARMING THE MIRV: Without any public announcement, the Air Force in June ordered warheads for the controversial Minuteman III MIRV (multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicle) missile. The Air Force awarded a \$87-million contract to the General Electric Company for production of 68 MIRVs. This initial order is expected to be followed by others until the Air Force has armed 500 Minuteman IIIs with MIRV warheads.

The Air Force action was taken at the same time that 41 Senators introduced a resolution calling upon the administration to enter into a mutual moratorium with the Soviet Union on the testing of MIRV warheads. President Nixon stated in reply that no such moratorium is possible until after the U.S.-USSR strategic arms talks have begun later this summer. In the opinion of many Senators, the U.S. will already have an operational MIRV capability by that time, and discussion of a research moratorium would be academic.

Rep. William S. Moorhead (D-Pa.), who disclosed the Air Force contract June 26, accused the Pentagon of "willful concealment" about a "crucial development that could escalate the arms race and endanger hopes for serious arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union."

Guardian readers who seek more information on the

Purged of the Progressive Labor party, SDS remains in great jeopardy. The Guardian Viewpoint of July 5 lists the symptoms: elitist leadership; sectarianism, dogmatism, obscure rhetoric, empty sloganeering; the resurrection of "comrade Stalin"; "tendencies leading to the application-by-rote of important and intricate concepts such as the dictatorship of the proletariat and vanguard party."

But grave as they are, these are only symptoms. There is something else at work, something still more ominous (if understandable) for its roots in real conditions. At bottom all the symptoms are consequences of the organized white movement's incredible isolation from the American people—and that is not simply physical isolation on campuses. The worst thing is that this isolation is imposed/reinforced by the pole-apart tension between the class base and revolutionary consciousness of those who align with the international third-world revolution, and the backwardness of American consciousness at most levels of the society.

The class base of SDS, despite a healthy broadening toward working-class colleges in the past year, is precious narrow: the children of the most privileged. SDS begins in the strength of this stratum—its ability to see past capitalist scarcity and its consequences. But the other side of that identity is that we are trained as managers, and are forced to create our own consciousness as internationalist revolutionaries. Faced with the comparative conservatism of most Americans (in large part because of privilege and lack of revolutionary tradition), it is easy for us to doubt they really have the capacity to overcome skin privilege, labor-aristocracy privilege—class privilege on the international scale. SDS, by contrast, has the luxury of proletarian internationalism.

The great irony is that slowly, but with seeming inevitability, revolutionary conditions are in the making in the heartland of the metropolis. (This is not to say the breakdown is imminent, or that privilege is easily stripped.) Increasingly many in the white working class (who are more talked-about than encountered) become aware of their own victimization. Everyone knows by now that real per capita wages have declined since 1965 (the first wartime stagnation since 1812), that families keep up with their mounting consumer debt through the expedient of the wife's going to work at curtail wages. (Interconnection between class exploitation and women's oppression, anyone?) The starvation of public services impacts most cruelly on urban blacks and other colonized people, of course, but it also squeezes white workers and middle levels forced (through the corporate-imposed regressive tax structure) to subsidize the failure of the welfare state, Etc., etc.

The point is that imperialism in its seemingly helpless agonies is creating the material conditions of a mass revolutionary movement.

The revolutionary principle must be that the majority of the American people can be won to the revolution—not suddenly, but if they can be brought to see an alternative to their layers of privilege. That principle must not be obscured by a smug and incredibly elitist assumption that the movement is already the

significance and operation of the MIRV program should obtain a copy of "MIRV," an excellent pamphlet prepared by the Union of Concerned Scientists at MIT (send 25¢ to the Union at PO Box 289, MIT Branch Office, Cambridge, Mass. 02139).

ONE COLONY IS AS GOOD AS ANOTHER: The U.S. Army Engineer Waterway Experiment Station is building an underground tunnel system in Puerto Rico to develop techniques for hunting guerrillas. According to Army Research and Development Newsmagazine, the "tunnel complex will be built according to Viet Cong specifications and construction techniques."

Once the tunnel system is completed, Army scientists will test various detection systems (infrared, acoustic, seismic, magnetic) to determine if they can be used to locate NLF strongholds in Vietnam. These experiments were originally to have been conducted in Vietnam, but apparently the 1968 Tet offensive messed up the Army's plans. Accordingly, Puerto Rico was selected as a suitable substitute for the tests.

PROFITS FROM REPRESSION: Most corporation annual reports talk about profits and losses in an impersonal way that is only of interest to stockholders and investors. The 1968 report of the Bangor Punta Corporation, however, is an exception to this rule. The large conglomerate reports that in the past year, 30% of its profits, or \$6.6 million, has come from its "Public Security" division, which in 1968 sold goods worth a total of \$23.2 million. Bangor Punta's public security division is composed of some of the country's leading manufacturers of police equipment, including the Smith and Wesson Co. (manufacturers of pistols and handcuffs), the Lake Erie Chemical Co. (a major supplier of tear gas and related "riot control equipment"), and the General Ordnance Equipment Corp. (exclusive producer of chemical Mace).

The annual report concludes: "Bangor Punta feels that public security needs will continue to increase rapidly—not only within the United States but also throughout the world. As a result, the Corporation has stepped up its export marketing efforts and looks for considerable growth in this area." (Rocketteller's trip to Latin America was probably an especial source of glee to Bangor Punta's executives!)

The War Game will not appear in the remainder of July and in August, while Mike Klare is traveling abroad for the Guardian.

revolution—an assumption which contains contempt for the people who are presumably to fight a people's war.

That assumption has proceeded much too far already. To cite one example of many (and this is a painful one because it erupts in the middle of an often impressive analysis of class forces and organizing possibilities):

"The point of the revolutionary youth movement strategy is to move from a predominant student elite base to more oppressed (less privileged) working-class youth. . . . This is part of a strategy to reach the entire working class to engage in the struggle against imperialism. . . . But this should not be taken to mean that there is a magic moment, after we reach a certain percentage of the working class, when all of a sudden we become a working-class movement. *We are already that if we put forward internationalist proletarian politics.*" (From the position paper of the "weatherman" group of SDS, New Left Notes, June 18. Italics added.)

And the workers, young or old, are supposed to accept this? If SDS leadership really feels this way about the workers, no wonder it is estranged from large segments of its own base.

No wonder there is obscure rhetoric and book-worship—there is little feedback between theoretician and masses.

No wonder there are identifications with "comrade Stalin," who terrorized the proletariat in its own name, whose "internationalism" made mockery of that noble word.

No wonder haranguing replaces explanation and steady work with people to help them connect their separate oppressions and to break out of their class prisons.

There is precious little practice for such an awful lot of theory. But then, that is the origin of much sectarianism—overemphasis on the difference between rarefied Positions. In some Hegelian/idealist way, has the idea substituted for reality?

"Weatherman" in particular is a call to organizing, and that is all to the good. It comprehends the need for exemplary actions, and that is all to the good, for the principle of a mass revolutionary movement should not be distorted into a call to sit tight until the majority moves.

But neither does anticipation of the necessity for armed struggle substitute for being among the people, learning from them as well as teaching. It is easy to pay lip-service to all that, and to the dialectic of theory and practice; practice is something else again.

Contempt for the concreteness of our people—or inability to relate to them, which is a practical form of the same thing—is the major obstacle at this juncture. That love for them in all their misery, in which Cuban *comparteros* have counseled us, must be concrete. Likewise our assessment of social reality is nowhere near concrete enough, nor our understanding that contradictions and consciousness while related, are not the same; "raising consciousness" is not accomplished with a parade of slogans. And the vision of a new society, our piece of a world society, must become more concrete; capitalism knows more than one negation, as an inspection of the international revolution should make clear.

We shall see. We shall see what we make of ourselves. Repression is no excuse for self-repression.

CONTESTED
AREAS
TODD GITLIN

SDS seen
'isolated'
from people

Antiwar upsurge and unity

The U.S. is at the beginning of the season of retreat and total withdrawal from Vietnam.

The paltry political concessions being made of late by the Washington-Saigon axis, while basically insignificant, are perhaps most important for the demonstration they give that the initiative in the war of national liberation is with the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government—in politics as in war.

The PRG program is a valid point of departure around which South Vietnam will be reorganized with a new government. The Thieu regime has become isolated from virtually all segments of the population. In the U.S., despite official lies, and a policy made of a mountain of deceit and a grain of truth, public opposition to the war grows unabated while the conscious antiwar forces are planning to begin the most sustained series of protest actions in the history of the movement. The PRG and DRV—in the war, in South Vietnamese political circles and in Paris—are doing their utmost to terminate the war at the earliest possible moment. The duration of this struggle depends, in some measure, on the antiwar and anti-imperialist movements in the U.S.

Not so long ago some left-wing circles argued that radicals had to struggle against imperialism and capitalism, not just one of their manifestations—the struggle against the war. This the liberals could do. As a result these elements became isolated from the largest and fastest growing movement of social protest in the country. They played a far smaller role than they should have in determining policy and program for the antiwar movement.

SDS, PL, Stalin

Robert Cush, Houston, Texas.

While agreeing basically with Jack A. Smith's analysis of the recent SDS convention (June 28), I feel that his article is marred by two critical errors.

The first is the characterization of the Progressive Labor party as being "based along Leninist lines." As the political struggle at the convention made quite clear, PL is not a Leninist grouping, but a group whose practice is consistently reactionary, whose ideology is increasingly Trotskyite-left opportunist, and whose organizational principles are closer to those of the Catholic Church than to democratic centralism. If any of those characteristics are Leninist, I'll eat my Red Book.

Secondly, in the closing paragraph brother Smith speaks of the convention being "spared comradesly references to Stalin."

The question of Stalin is of too much importance to be dismissed in such an off-handed and negative manner. The imperialists, Trotskyists, and revisionists also attack Stalin, so Smith is in bad company when he does so. Many sincere revolutionaries make the same mistake.

I think that after honest study, people will see that Stalin was a great revolutionary, theorist, and leader. The errors he made were for the most part very bad ones, but they are secondary to the accomplishments of the Soviet Union under his leadership. Stalin's writings are great contributions in the development of Marxism-Leninism, especially on the crucial national question.

SDS—dead end?

Jay Kinney, Naperville, Ill.: I offer my congratulations on your July 5 Viewpoint, "Expansion." The Guardian has consistently been

It is a measure of political growth that SDS, for example, now recognizes that the movement to end U.S. intervention in Vietnam is a focus in the fight against imperialism and that anti-imperialists in the U.S. have a special obligation to aid and support the liberation movement in Vietnam. This should remove one obstacle to the widest possible unity among forces demanding that all U.S. troops be brought home now.

The anti-imperialist left has a special contribution to make by strengthening the growing understanding that the war in Vietnam is an integral part of U.S. capitalist and imperialist policy. The struggle against the war must not be isolated from that against racism and poverty. To achieve maximum involvement of the mass of people in the U.S. who oppose the war, the Vietnam war and its consequences must be related to problems they confront in their lives. The left can lift the perspectives of the movement further by exposing the role of the corporate monopolies in the war and initiating actions against them—both inside and outside the plants, laboratories and offices.

The antiwar conference in Cleveland on July 4-5 projected two major national demonstrations, in Chicago and Washington, this fall. These have the potential, mainly because of the frame of mind of most Americans today, of enrolling the largest number ever in the struggle against the U.S. role in the war and of developing a higher level of consciousness and participation.

Provided, that is, that we unite around these programs in support of Vietnam's right to self-determination and opposition to U.S. imperialism's plans to dominate and control Southeast Asia. Some at the Cleveland conference, however, advocated one national mass demonstration around the single issue of "Bring the Troops Home," to be

a paper marked by near-objectivity and insight in a field where factional propaganda and obscurity have predominated.

I particularly appreciated the editorial announcement that "The new left as it has been known during this decade disappeared during the Chicago SDS convention... [and that]... it is being replaced by Marxism-Leninism."

I call upon and invite every conscientious new leftist to drop out of SDS and of Marxism-Leninism. The revolutionary movement no longer has room for nor regard for the pacifist, the yuppie, the hippie, those in love, and those opposed to totalitarianism. The new left has intellectually copped-out in accepting the tight and compact tenets of Marxism-Leninism. Being either too lazy or too unorganized to establish a vision of the future to fit present reality, the "new left" has had this void filled by the bankrupt philosophy of the old left.

SDS and the new left I once supported are no more. Marxism-Leninism is indeed an "important turn in the road." A dead end.

No more politics

Peter Yates, Ann Arbor, Mich.:

If you continue to print such bullshit as the Viewpoint of July 5 you will suffocate in your own outmoded and unworkable thinking. Haven't you realized that Marxism-Leninism doesn't work? Any revolution we make will depend on acid, grass, Indians, buffaloes, trees and stars, not on some political and economic theory developed to cope with 19th Century reality. It's not imperialism we have to fight but the consumer society, large cities, mass industrialization, the murder of the planet.

You talk about a "national

education program designed to eliminate gaps in political consciousness." That education comes in the streets, no other way.

I've met 14-year old kids who smoke dope and throw Molotov cocktails and have never read a word either by Marx or about Marx and they have all the "political consciousness" they'll ever need. They know who they're fighting and why they're fighting. NO MORE POLITICS. Politics obscures the simplicity of what we want.

A rebuke

Alan Stein, Madison, Wis. SDS:

We are politically opposed to the tactics used at the convention to expel PL. Many members feel that to submit to the choice of allegiance to the two principles put forth by the national collective—or face expulsion—is both an insult to their intelligence and political naive. At this point in movement history, no group can claim definitive theoretical certainty. We need more practice and are busy organizing several constituencies. Refusal to accept national leadership is a public rebuke to the national collective's tactics, an expression of organized rank-and-file resistance to their power and a call to other chapters to follow this action.

Bookish Leninism

Paul Buhle, Madison, Wis.: Carl Davidson's "Why PLP Was Expelled" (July 5) was a great disappointment for someone who expected an elaboration of some of the problems Jack Smith touched upon in his convention report, rather than essentially repetitive polemic. Davidson writes not like a Marxist analyst seeking the political roots of the split in the organization, but like a lawyer bringing in a verdict of personal venality; we are offered not an explanation for PLP's contradictory

held in Washington and opposed a 1 Chicago. Though a minority among fought hard for their position and y which essentially embodied the m very last moments. The danger reside some will still attempt to pose "Chicago," setting the Chicago secondary position.

This would be a grave mistake Chicago action (postponed from Se Chicago aspects a united project of the Black Panthers, the Young Lords prospect of bringing the well-known within the black and Latin commun unity with the organized anti predominantly made up of whites. August that the police riot exploded the nation and made millions aware the nature, of the repression facin and others concerned with civil lib the symbol of courageous protest heavily armed troops and police ar swell the ranks of the movement.

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tolerance SDS and why its aims became increasingly disparate from the rest of the organization, but a heavy-handed attack reminiscent of any old left factional sheet.

As Marx and Lenin knew, but Davidson has apparently forgotten, what lies behind political differences is a difference in methodology, if the differences are principled in nature. Davidson picks one of the poorest possible examples for PLP-SDS differences by quoting with approval Bob Avakan, a self-avowed Stalinist whose organizational aim is further expulsions from SDS and whose method in analyzing current American revolutionary perspectives is, like Stalin's was, characterized by a crude formalism which utilizes Marxian tools for justification rather than analysis. Furthermore, the point upon which Avakan is quoted is the correct interpretation of Chairman Mao's statements, a technique again reminiscent of the old left in its implication that any difference from Chairman Mao is counterrevolutionary heresy. But seriously dedicated Marxists in the advanced capitalist countries do not honor a great revolutionary leader by mechanical application of all his views; rather, by paying such obeisance they call into question their ability to apply Marxism creatively to their own national situation. If our revolutionary analysis is correct, we need the sanction of no authority, not even that of Chairman Mao.

Finally, while I do not seek to condemn Davidson's arguments ad hominem, I think his uncritical and bookish Leninism is an interesting irony in view of his attitude at the time of the "Student Syndicalism" paper he wrote for the SDS Convention of 1966. We are, I believe, entitled to wonder if such a transformation is not a flipping-over, rather than a growth

held in Washington and opposed a major national action in Chicago. Though a minority among the delegates, they fought hard for their position and yielded to a compromise which essentially embodied the majority view only at the very last moments. The danger resides in the possibility that some will still attempt to pose "Washington" against "Chicago," setting the Chicago demonstration in a secondary position.

This would be a grave mistake for many reasons. The Chicago action (postponed from Sept. 27 to Oct. 11) is in a larger aspect a united project of the antiwar movement, the Black Panthers, the Young Lords and SDS. It opens the prospect of bringing the well-known opposition to the streets in unity with the organized antiwar movement, now predominantly made up of whites. It was from Chicago last August that the police riot exploded onto the TV screens of a nation and made millions aware of the danger, if not the nature, of the repression facing the country. Liberals and others concerned with civil liberty will see in Chicago a symbol of courageous protest and opposition faced by early armed troops and police and their support will help swell the ranks of the movement.

Most of the delegates to the Cleveland conference knew their bones that the movement presence must be made evident in Chicago around the trial of the Conspiracy, which includes some of the principal leaders of the antiwar movement. They refused to permit the movement to be divided between the "respectables" who only demonstrate peacefully in nonconfrontation situations and the "reputables" who were on the streets of Chicago last August. They called for a united movement against the war, just the repression, against racism and poverty. We agree.

SDS and why its aims increasingly disparate from the organization, but a undated attack reminiscent of left factional sheet.

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into an enriched Marxism. Nearly everyone, from Bob Avakian and Bill Ayers (and of course including the writer) has undergone sweeping changes in the last several years; but many of us are more humble about snatching up the Leninist mantle for ourselves so simply and easily.

No poor whites

Carl Michael Vrooman, Pasadena Calif.: I wish to offer the following as a critique of the so-called "Unity Principles of SDS" proposed by the "Revolutionary Youth Movement-2" faction of SDS.

In "principle 5," SDS declares itself a "socialist movement" and correctly acknowledges that "socialism can only come through the leading role of the proletariat." This principle is laudably progressive. But SDS's revolutionary stance is blatantly contradicted by its reactionary, racist position taken in "principle 1," advocating a national independence and the "right to establish an independent state" for blacks and chicanos. This principle would please the most rabid racists and arch segregationists.

SDS also calls for "the U.S. oppressor nation to make reparations in land and other forms to the Indians, Asian-Americans, Eskimos, Polynesians and all other oppressed peoples in the U.S." Aren't the white workers in America oppressed? Are there no poor whites in the U.S.? Not one word about the oppression of the working class in this principle, only of nationalism. Why not, then, add Italian-Americans, German-Americans, Jewish-Americans since we are turning the clock back? Let us not leave any special interest groups out of this nationality grab-bag. SDS has many lessons to learn before it grows out of its child-like, narcissistic, "I want" stage.

ON THE LINE

STANLEY ARONOWITZ

Last of a series

Our brief review of the main features of fascism in Europe and the tendencies towards the use of repressive violence by American corporate capital show that fascism becomes a system of political rule under specific conditions. Capitalism always uses methods of political repression against opposition forces as a means to enforce its rule over the social system. But jailings and harassment of revolutionaries and radicals, breaking strikes and clubbing demonstrators and passing laws to restrict the rights of popular movements to organize do not in themselves constitute fascism.

The main question we must ask today is whether the conditions for a fascist dictatorship are appearing or have matured in this country. Is the increasing tendency of the government to use repressive violence to silence opposition a central feature of capitalist rule? In order to answer these questions it is important to outline the basic political and economic movement over the past decade since the McCarthy period.

Major developments in the 1960s have changed the face of the American political and economic system.

New contradictions

First, the long postwar period of capitalist stabilization on both the world and domestic scene began to come to an end. The 1960s were characterized by the emergence of new contradictions in the U.S. capitalist system: the contradiction between the American corporate drive for world domination and the movement for colonial liberation as manifest in wars for national liberation. These struggles raised the spectre of the permanent withdrawal of Latin America and Asia from the U.S. imperialist orbit. At home, military expenditures were dramatically increased in order to maintain economic buoyancy.

Without the massive intervention of the government to consume the surplus which the large corporations cannot dispose of in the open market, the system could not function. The government as consumer, especially of waste in the form of arms, is now so essential that its subordination to the needs of the corporations is an absolute condition for capitalist survival. The autonomy of the state even in minor ways has been thoroughly undermined. The corporate system has appropriated the public sector of the economy to meet its own needs. At the same time, the permanent war economy comes into conflict with the provision of public needs such as schools, health and housing. These needs have remained chronically unmet. The so-called "urban crisis" is the total form of the crisis of public needs.

One of the important features of the corporate state has been the changing character of the university to meet the requirements of military production, especially in the areas of basic research and development for military hardware and software, the training of technical and scientific personnel to occupy key positions in the production apparatus and to produce teachers and ideologists to preserve the myths of popular democracy and bourgeois freedom.

Second, the disintegration of elements of corporate capitalist stability has produced a new wave of radicalism in America. The new

left, consisting primarily of white students and faculty, developed side by side with the breakup of the old Stalinist left after 1957 and the growing gap between the bourgeois myths of political and social freedom and the reality of racism and violence as central features of capitalist rule both at home and abroad. At the same time, the crisis was sharpened by the rise of the black movement against the systematic denial of elementary democratic rights and the urban crisis resulting both from the systematic neglect of the cities and the mass migrations of black people from the countryside.

The student and black liberation movements have presented the corporate bourgeoisie with a challenge. They cannot extend basic economic and political rights to the black people without endangering their fundamental requirement for the use of public resources to guarantee profits. One reason for the crunch is that most government expenditures are financed out of workers wages. The tax burden has reached a point where the workers cannot be taxed without risking losing their support for the war and the whole system. A strong element of the ability of the system to ride out its growing contradictions has been the successful integration of the industrial working class into the corporate system. But the decline of real wages over the past three years due to inflation, international competition and the crushing tax burden has thrown this integration into jeopardy. Although racism has been successfully employed to redirect working class frustration from the corporate system to the black people and the poor, this ideological diversion cannot be maintained without solving the problems which give rise to the discontent. It appears that solutions are not forthcoming.

The confluence of black, student and working class discontent and the new contradictions manifesting themselves in the corporate system has produced an impasse for the capitalists. On one hand, liberal reforms become more dubious as a means to ally discontent. More important, popular movements are less prone to accept "corporate liberal" concessions which do not radically alter the control over public and private resources. There has developed widespread distrust of government bureaucracies which seek to meet mass demands with crumbs scraped from the corporate table. Nor is central government control and administration acceptable.

The old methods for achieving acquiescence for the policies of the corporations and the government are failing. As the problems of stability pile up and elements of the government itself begin to disintegrate, the old "democratic" solutions of pressure group politics begin to become archaic. It is under these conditions that repressive violence replaces repressive tolerance as a system of capitalist rule. Fascism may come to power in America when the demands of popular masses for elementary economic and political justice threaten the rule of finance capital. Fascist conditions may mature before the emergence of a conscious revolutionary class or its vanguard. The mass neurosis of the "petty bourgeoisie" which was a condition for developing a mass base for the fascists in Germany, may be in reality the rise of racism in America—an irrational ideology to

INCENDIARIES

Abbreviations:
 Army R&D=Army Research and Development Newsmagazine
 R&DD=Research and Development Directory (Government Data Publications, Washington, D. C.)
 TAB=Technical Abstract Bulletin (Defense Documentation Center)

Company and location of work	Product	Contract number	Amount
A.J. INDUSTRIES, INC., Sargent-Fletcher Div., El Monte, Calif.	BLU-1C/B 750-lb. firebomb	F42600-68-C-3087	\$625,003
ACF INDUSTRIES, INC., Carter Carburetor Div., St. Louis, Mo.	M52 fuse body assembly for M302A1 60mm white phosphorus projectile and M49-A2E1 60mm high explosive projectile	DAAA09-69-C-0145	\$1,386,930
AEROMET-GENERAL CORP., Downey, Calif.	Development of supersonic firebomb	AF08-635-5996	\$352,830
ALCAN ALUMINUM CORP., Riverside, Calif.	Mk67 white phosphorus warhead parts for 2.75-in. rocket	DAAA09-69-C-0236	\$178,425
AMERICAN ELECTRIC, INC., La Mirada, Calif.	BLU-27/B 750-lb. firebomb CBU-54/B incendiary cluster munition	F42600-69-C-2205 F33657-68-C-1198	\$25,854,760 \$1,761,263
AMERICAN OIL CO., Whiting, Ind.	Study of combustion optimization of hydrocarbon flame thrower fuels	DA18-035-AMC-264A	(Unavailable)
AMERICAN TECHNICAL MANUFACTURING CORP., Mount Vernon, N.Y.	M5 casing burster assembly metal parts for M60 105mm white phosphorus projectile	DAAA09-69-C-0228	\$449,484
ATLANTIC RESEARCH CORP., Flare-Northern Div., Saugus, Calif.	Development of incendiary fuels Establishment of feasibility and development of vertical flame projector	N609-21-7209 DA04-495-AMC-828	\$91,000 (R&DD 1967) \$75,022 (R&DD 1967)
BULOVA WATCH CO., American Standard Div., Providence, R.I.	Head assembly for M525 and M527 fuses for M302A1 60mm white phosphorus projectile and M49A2 60mm high explosive projectile	DAAA09-68-C-0077	\$1,609,789
CHAMBERLAIN MFG. CORP., Waterloo, Iowa	M156 white phosphorus warhead metal parts for 2.75-in. rocket	DAAA09-69-C-0234	\$3,667,144
CHAMBERLAIN MFG. CORP., Elmhurst, Ill.	M60 105mm white phosphorus projectile metal parts	DAAA09-68-C-0489	\$3,666,915
CHAMBERLAIN MFG. CO., New Bedford, Mass.	M110 155mm white phosphorus projectile metal parts	DAAA09-68-C-0321	\$4,910,415
CINCINNATI UNIVERSITY, Kettering Laboratory, Ohio	Investigation of the effectiveness of two incendiary mixes, Napalm B and Westogel	DA18-001-AMC-991(X)	(Unavailable)
CLARKE CAN CO., INC., Philadelphia, Pa.	Container assembly, M14 thermate hand grenade and M34 white phosphorus hand grenade	DAAA15-69-C-0020	\$45,530
COLUMBUS MILPAR MFG. CO., Columbus, Ohio	M524A5 point detonating fuse metal parts for M375 81mm white phosphorus projectile and M374 81mm high explosive projectile	DAAA09-68-C-0300	\$3,720,000
CONCO, INC., Mendota, Ill.	Mk77 Mod 2 firebombs	N00104-69-C-0127	\$1,768,068
CORNELL AERONAUTICAL LABORATORY, Buffalo, N.Y.	Assessment of flame and incendiary munition effects (Project Heatwave)	DA-18-035-AMC-719A (TAB, Nov. 15, 1966)	(Unavailable)
DAY & ZIMMERMAN, INC., Philadelphia, Pa.	Loading and packing of M48A3 fuse metal parts for 90mm and 120mm white phosphorus projectiles and loading and packing of other ammunition	DA-11-173-AMC-00104	\$99,219,021
DOW CHEMICAL CO., Midland, Mich.	28,614,240 lbs. of Napalm B for the BLU-32/B firebomb	F42600-69-C-0191	\$1,502,248
EISEN BROTHERS, Lodi, N.J.	M8 casing burster for M302 60 mm white phosphorus projectile	DAAA09-69-C-0042	\$87,116
ENGINEERING RESEARCH, INC., Indianapolis, Ind.	M5 casing burster assembly metal parts for M60 105 mm white phosphorus projectile	DAAA09-69-C-0162	\$465,835
FMC CORP., Middleport, N.Y.	M4 incendiary oil thickener	DAAA15-68-C-0594	\$37,290
FMC CORP., Defense Technology Laboratories, Santa Clara, Calif.	Development of supersonic firebomb CBU-53/B incendiary dispenser munitions	AF08-635-5997 F33657-68-C-1199	\$345,076 \$1,371,193
G.I.E. CORP., Buffalo, N.Y.	Casing burster metal parts for M156 white phosphorus warhead for 2.75-in. rocket	DAAA09-69-C-0221	\$192,060
GALLON AMCO, INC., Gallon, Ohio	M505A3 point detonating fuse for 20mm high explosive incendiary projectiles	DAAA25-69-C-0165	\$2,159,700

PRODUCERS AND DEVELOPERS OF INCENDIARY WEAPONS

For the past four years, Dow Chemical Co.—the principal manufacturer of napalm—has been the target of numerous antiwar demonstrations. Student opposition to the on-campus recruiting activities of Dow representatives has provoked hundreds of rallies, sit-ins and confrontations at colleges and universities throughout the U.S.

In the eyes of many Americans, Dow has become the personification of all that is ugly and monstrous in Washington's conduct of the Vietnam war. This identification—while it has helped to galvanize antiwar sentiment—has also obscured the fact that many other prominent U.S. corporations are engaged in the manufacture of incendiary weapons for the Vietnam war. In order to identify these corporations, and hopefully inspire more widespread opposition to the Vietnam profiteers, the Guardian is publishing this list of incendiary weapons producers.

Chart listings include producers of bombs, shells and grenades composed of napalm, magnesium, (continued on following page)

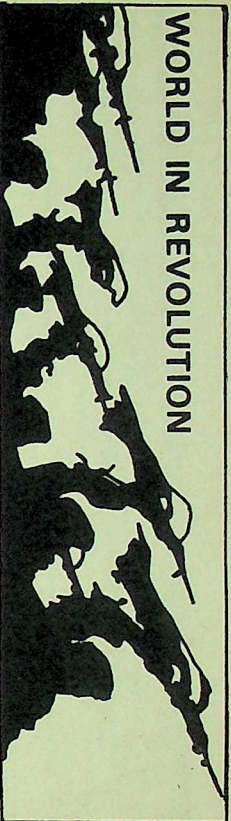
Company and location of work	Product	Contract number	Amount
HARVEY ALUMINUM, INC., Torrance, Calif.	M56A3 20mm high explosive incendiary projectiles	DAAA25-69-C-0183	\$2,490,024
INDEPENDENT LOCK CO., Defense Products Div., Fitchburg, Mass.	M52 point detonating fuse body assembly for M302A1 60mm white phosphorus projectile and M49A2 60mm high explosive projectile	DAAA09-68-C-0272	\$889,950
KENNEDY VAN SAUN CORP., Danville, Pa.	M302 60mm white phosphorus projectile metal parts	DAAA09-68-C-0351	\$670,440
KEYSTONE MFG. CO., Boston, Mass.	M48A3 point detonating fuse parts for 90mm and 120mm white phosphorus projectiles	DAAA09-69-C-0154	\$4,468,600
WALTER KIDDE & CO., Inc., Belleville, N.J.	M48A3 point detonating fuse parts for 90mm and 120mm white phosphorus projectiles	DAAA09-69-C-0163	\$4,707,415
LEAR SIEGLER, INC., Anaheim, Calif.	M48A3 point detonating fuse metal parts for 90mm and 120mm white phosphorus projectiles	DAAA09-69-C-0169	\$8,287,625
MATTATUCK MFG. Co., Waterbury, Conn.	M52 fuse for M302A1 60mm white phosphorus projectile and M49A2 60mm high explosive projectile	DAAA09-68-C-0369	\$162,060
MAXSON ELECTRONICS CORPS., Maxson-Macon Div., Macon, Ga.	MK77 Mod 2 firebomb	N00104-69-C-0127	\$1,768,068
NORTHROP CORP., Northrop Div., Anaheim, Calif.	Design, test and develop a multi-shot portable flame weapon	DAAA15-67-C-0343	\$353,3000 (R&DD 1968)
NORTHROP CAROLINA, Asheville, N.C.	A study of potential pyrotechnic fuel mixtures	DA-18-035-AMC-958A	\$59,250 (R&DD 1968)
OKLAHOMA UNIV. RESEARCH INSTITUTE, Norman, Okla.	Susceptibility of potential target components to defeat by thermal action	DAAA15-67-C-0074	\$134,500 (R&DD 1968)
ORDNANCE PRODUCTS, INC., North East, Md.	M206A2 mechanical time fuse for M34 white phosphorus hand grenade and M26A1 fragmentation hand grenade	DAAA09-69-C-0063	\$888,785
REMINGTON ARMS CO., INC., Bridgeport, Conn.	Parts for M526 fuse for M375 81mm white phosphorus projectile and M374 81mm high explosive projectile	DAAA21-69-C-0240	\$120,936
REVLON, INC., New York, N.Y.	Arming device for BLU-7A/B firebomb	DA11-173-AMC-652A	(Unavailable)
ROYAL INDUSTRIES, Alhambra, Calif.	Firebomb modification	AF09-635-5940	\$102,754
RULON CO., Chicago, Ill.	M48A3 point detonating fuse for 90mm and 120mm white phosphorus projectiles	DAAA09-67-C-0296	\$4,353,501
SECURITY SIGNALS, INC., Cordova, Tenn.	M66E1 ignition cartridge for M375 81mm white phosphorus projectile and M374 81mm high explosive projectiles	DAAA09-69-C-0192	\$610,955
SHOCK HYDRODYNAMICS, INC., Sherman Oaks, Calif.	Evaluation techniques for flame and incendiary agents	DAAA15-67-C-0172	\$79,880 (R&DD 1968)
SOUTHWEST RESEARCH INSTITUTE, San Antonio, Tex.	Development of rapid liquid gelation system for hydrocarbon flame thrower fuels	DA18-035-AMC-708A	\$49,100 (R&DD 1967)
SUPREME PRODUCTS CORP., Chicago, Ill.	M505A3 point detonating fuse for 20mm high explosive incendiary projectiles	DAAA25-69-C-0164A	\$1,877,720
TALLEY INDUSTRIES, INC., West, Ariz.	AN-M14 thermate hand grenades	DAAA15-69-C-0183	\$698,522
TECHNIDYNE, INC., West Chester, Pa.	Chemical fireball munition concept	AF08-635-3554	(Unavailable)
TECHNIDYNE, INC., Bellmore, N.Y.	M5 casing burster assembly for M60 105mm white phosphorus projectile	DAAA09-69-C-0019	\$451,095
TEPPER AND SONS, INC., Suffolk, N.Y.	Body and cap assembly and wall burster assembly for M34 white phosphorus grenades	DAAA15-69-C-0065	\$254,737
TEPPER AND SONS, Deer Park, N.Y.	M30 cluster and M14 fin assembly for M36 incendiary bomb	DAAA15-69-C-0160	\$1,815,643
TRO MFG. CO., Franklin Park, Ill.	M15 fin assembly for M36 incendiary bomb	DAAA15-69-C-0172	\$2,241,674
WHITTAKER CORP., Bernite Div., Saugus, Calif.	M48A3 fuse for 90mm and 120mm white phosphorus projectiles	N00419-69-C-0001	\$352,800
Z D PRODUCTS, El Segundo, Calif.	Loading and packing of M505A3 fuse for 20mm high explosive incendiary projectiles	DAAA25-69-C-0177A	\$2,376,000
ZELLER CORP., Fort Wayne, Ind.	M48 fuse metal parts for 90mm and 120mm white phosphorus projectiles	(Contract no. unavailable)	\$1,065,000 (Army R&D Sept. 1968)
	M56A3 20mm high explosive incendiary projectiles	DAAA25-69-C-0184A	\$2,516,603

thermite, thermate, and white phosphorus.

The napalm used in Vietnam, Napalm B, is a jellied gasoline composed of 25% gasoline, 25% benzene, and 50% polystyrene. Polystyrene is a white powder that causes the burning mixture to stick to whatever it touches. Magnesium is a soft metal which burns at extremely high temperatures when ignited, causing the metal to melt and flow, igniting all combustible metal in its path. Thermite (TH1) is a mixture of powdered aluminum and iron oxide; thermate (TH3) is a mixture of TH1, barium nitrate and sulphur. White phosphorus is a material that ignites spontaneously upon contact with the air; it is used for smoke bombs, flares and for incendiary munitions. Information on these weapons is contained in U.S. Army Technical Manual TM-9-1325-200, "Bombs and Bomb Components."

The list of contracts compiled by Eric Prokosh is based on entries in the U. S. Commerce Department's Commerce Business Daily during the period March-November, 1968 unless noted otherwise. In most cases, the amounts listed represent renewals of much larger production contracts awarded during the first U.S. build-up in Vietnam. Contracts preceded by the letters DA represent Army contracts; by N, Navy contracts, and by AF or F, Air Force contracts.

WORLD IN REVOLUTION



Laotian offensive

American planes and helicopters were used June 29 to evacuate Laotian government forces from their stronghold at Muong Soui after a four-day siege by the Pathet Lao. Muong Soui was an important government base, described by the New York Times as "Laotian-American-Thai base for operations in northeast Laos." A Pathet Lao radio broadcast stated that the move against Muong Soui was a retaliation for the government attacks on liberated Pathet Lao territory.

Early in May the government forces with American air support had taken Xieng Khouang, a Pathet Lao stronghold east of Muong Soui. Xieng Khouang was retaken May 15 in an offensive that carried the Pathet Lao to victories in other provinces as well. In Luang Prabang province 70 government troops were wiped out May 18 in attacks on several government bases, reports Hsinhua, the Chinese news agency. The Pathet Lao killed 207 government troops in Udomsay province during May, wrecking four government posts and recovering the town of Pak Beng.

Greek resistance

The Greek resistance movement against the military junta stepped up its activities during April and May, according to reports in the June issue of *Demokratia*. There were slowdowns and illegal strikes in many factories, and the Greek Patriotic Front leafleted in Athens, Salonika, Patras, Crete and surrounding areas—one set of leaflets commemorated the anniversary of EPON, the youth resistance organization founded during the Nazi occupation of World War II.

VIETNAM NEWS



According to Robert J. Donovan in the July 8 Los Angeles Times, Nixon on June 30 revealed to a group of Republican Senators that he was "considering" a nearly total withdrawal of U.S. troops within 18 months in order to avoid a Republican electoral disaster in 1970. Meanwhile the administration has not committed itself to anything definitive beyond the removal of 25,000 men by the end of August.

A U.S. "expert" in Saigon "estimates that as many as half the nation's 17 million people pay taxes to the VC," writes Peter R. Kann in the July 9 Wall Street Journal. In an article on the "Vietcong" tax system, Kann reveals that economic activity of the resistance pervades the entire country and that persons and businesses pay their taxes even in U.S.-Saigon-controlled regions. About three-fourths of the total NLF budget, which includes supporting its troops, is met by taxes, according to unnamed sources quoted by Kann.

"The 1968 Vietcong budget showed anticipated revenues of more than \$800,000 from the eight largest companies in Saigon," states Kann. "Analysts here [Saigon] say that subsidiaries of several American companies also pay 'taxes' to the VC."

"The prevailing view" within the U.S. command in Vietnam, is that, if the U.S. were to announce largescale troop withdrawals, it "would destroy the South Vietnamese army's confidence, shatter its morale and set off a rush of desertions." Terence Smith wrote in the July 7 N.Y. Times.

The following U.S. casualty figures are based on government statistics. They are lower than casualties claimed by the NLF. The first figures cover the war from Jan. 1, 1961 to July 5, 1969. The figures in parentheses show increases from June 28 to July 5, 1969.

Killed: 37,019 (153) "Non-combat" deaths: 6177 (35) Wounded: 238,147 (1584) Missing, captured: 1337.

There were clashes between junta forces and demonstrators in Kavala, Volos, Thessalonika, Halkis and Venas. Numbers of wounded and arrested were placed in the hundreds.

During the week of May 19, eight "psychological warfare" bombs exploded at American Express, the Hilton Hotel, the National Bank of Greece, the Ministry of Finance, the American PX and in two American cars. The bombs were carefully placed to create damage, confusion and fear without loss of life, and they were planned as a response to the trials of resistance fighters taking place in Athens at the time.

4th of July demos

Demonstrators in several countries used America's Independence Day to protest the war in Vietnam. In Melbourne, Australia, 3000 linked arms and chanted a police cordon around the U.S. consulate. About 2000 people in Sydney participated in the burning of an American flag and effigies of President Nixon and Australia's Prime Minister John Gordon. Thirty of Melbourne's demonstrators were arrested and 10 injured, while in Sidney there were 27 arrests.

Fifty demonstrators disrupted Hubert H. Humphrey's July 4th speech at Rebid National Park in Aalborg, Denmark. While chanting antiwar slogans the demonstrators threw a smoke bomb at the speaker. Eight persons were arrested.

In Copenhagen demonstrators gathered outside the U.S. Embassy to read the names of 31,379 Vietnam war dead in a peaceful protest. A similar protest was held in Stockholm's Sergels Square by the Swedish Committee for Peace in Vietnam.

Ground fighting through the week ending July 12 was at the lowest level since the beginning of the year. At the end of the week there were reports, still unconfirmed officially, that the Nixon administration had altered the policy of applying maximum military pressure. During the combat lull, Washington has sought to reap maximum propaganda from the token troop withdrawal by ballyhooing the departure from Vietnam of each separate U.S. unit.

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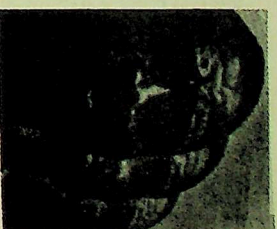
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AFRICA

Two emperors confer

Haile Selassie became the first major African leader to visit with President Nixon last week. While outside the White House, radical Ethiopian students protested the dictator's brutal repression of student movements and his reactionary social policies, the Emperor-in-name and the Emperor-in-fact exchanged views about Selassie's unsuccessful efforts to end the war in Nigeria and his increasing problems in controlling the Ethiopian Empire. The 76-year-old Selassie is respected by some of his countrymen for his maroon Rolfs Royce and his longevity in politics. Washington officials appreciate more his hospitality to U.S. military needs and, particularly, to a major U.S. "communications facility" (intelligence base) at Asmara. In return, the U.S. with the help of some friendly Israelis, assists him in suppressing demands for change among his subjects, notably the revolutionary Eritrean Liberation Front.

Tom Mboya

In the wake of Tom Mboya's assassination in Nairobi, Kenya, July 5, President Jomo Kenyatta has met antigovernment protesters with brutality. Along with Nigeria, neocolonialist Kenya has received high praise from U.S. Africa experts for its "democratic potential," which means cooperation with the West and suppression of demands for radical social change. While Mboya lay in state, protesters stoned Kenyatta, shouting "dume," Swahili for "bull." Kenya's high-powered British-trained riot force, the General Services Unit, answered with tear gas.

As always, the African "experts are attempting to portray the growing conflict in tribal terms with the usual racist imitations that Africans have no principles stronger than tribal loyalties. Kenyatta is a Kikuyu while Mboya was a member of the Luo tribe. But Mboya was a "detrified" leader; his political base was in Nairobi, where he was supported by many Asians and Kikuyus. Furthermore he was actively fought by Luo leader Oginga Odinga and his radical opposition party, the KPU. The KPU, although powerful among the Luo people, has attacked Mboya and the Kenyatta government not for anti-Luo behavior but for betraying the Kenyan people and selling out to imperialism. Throughout Kenya, Mboya was identified as front man for direct and indirect U.S. manipulation of Kenyan development policy.

The discontent Mboya worked to contain has now, ironically, burst out with his death. On May 11 the KPU won a surprise landslide victory in one constituency, swamping the ruling KANU party 14,193 to 1,526. With elections planned to choose Kenyatta's successor for 1970, political tension is mounting and the country is beginning to polarize. The Center is disappearing, and the prospects for Kenya include possible victories for the Left but also likelihood of greatly increased repression from the Right.

Texas for apartheid

Portugal has granted a diamond concession in Western Angola to an affiliate of Diversa, Inc., of Dallas. Not only a concession, but a monopoly: by decree of the Portuguese government, Diversa has been awarded exclusive diamond prospecting and exploration rights over more than 10,000 square miles for an initial period of 35 years. Diversa will own 98% of the new Angolan enterprise. . . . When Gerald C. Mann, president of Diversa, flew to Lisbon a year ago to file the application he asked for oil exploration rights as well; no word yet on that.

Power to the people

Mozambican guerrillas shelled and sank a barge on the Zambezi River carrying 150 Portuguese troops and 30 military vehicles. . . . Guerrillas of PALGC, liberation movement of Portugal's West African colony Guinea-Bissau, now claim to have liberated two-thirds of their country and seized 19 fortified Portuguese camps.

GI TOLL: 282,680

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Compiled by Africa Research Group



Dictator Park's "well-oiled . . . police force" battles students in Seoul.

Occupied

Korea: not peoples' Park

By Allen Young
Liberation News Service

When someone is talking about U.S. imperialism or "occupied territories," several countries immediately come to mind: South Vietnam, Panama, Puerto Rico, perhaps Okinawa.

People tend to forget about South Korea, even though it has 30 million people—making it the most populous country to suffer the direct influence of U.S. military oppression along with a backward puppet regime.

Korea is, of course, a divided country. The People's Democratic Republic of Korea in the north, with 13 million people, is generally considered one of the most principled internationalist socialist countries—along with Cuba and Vietnam. Its leader, Marshall Kim Il Sung, who led a guerrilla struggle against the Japanese and had to fight U.S. soldiers in the Korean War, had predicted the reunification of his country by 1970. The prediction probably won't come true.

The fact is that South Korean revolutionaries, loyal to Kim Il Sung and the regime in the North, are not very well organized and have been unable to coalesce a mass-based movement anything like the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

Thus far, their action has been limited to sporadic forays against U.S. and puppet military installations. Then there is the problem of Park Chung Hee, successor to

dictator Syngman Rhee and Lyndon Johnson's most loyal ally. Park's South Korean regime, under CIA tutelage, has organized a well-oiled repressive police force and army. As if to flaunt its puppet status, the South Koreans have sent 50,000 men to fight against the NLF in South Vietnam.

South Korean cops, soldiers and secret agents are constantly on the watch for anti-government activity.

In May, the leader of the South Korean United Revolutionary Party, Kim Jong Tai, was captured and condemned to death. His wife, Rim Nyung Sook, also a revolutionary, is expected to go on trial soon. Twenty-nine other members of the party have been sentenced to long jail terms.

The repression is only one indicator of the great social illness that infects South Korea.

Racism of U.S. troops

The presence of tens of thousands of U.S. occupying soldiers has a dynamic of its own. There are constant signs of growing resentment against the U.S. soldiers, who frequently are perpetrators of robbery, murder, rape and other crimes against the Korean people. The racism of the American troops, summed up in the epithet "gook," exacerbates this situation. The puppet police rarely take action against U.S. criminals. And, as happened recently after some American soldiers shotgunned four children to death for sport, the men are simply hustled out of the country.

The local citizenry, when it manages to hear of such incidents, hold spontaneous demonstrations, but usually to no avail. Occasionally, vigilante actions are carried out successfully, and U.S. and puppet soldiers are beaten up and their weapons stolen.

U.S. military installations are frequent targets of sabotage. On April 29, an ammunition dump at the U.S. Air Base in Osan, Hyonggi Province, was severely damaged by fire. According to the Korean Central News Agency, headquartered in Pyongyang, North Korea, the flames "enveloped the air base of the scoundrels in a flash."

The North Koreans engage in constant propaganda attacks on South Korea, but communications are very difficult. Ordinary letters are not permitted between the two halves of the country. Occasionally, word gets through. In late May, thousands of leaflets extolling Kim Il Sung were distributed in Seoul. The leaflets also talked about the economic accomplishments in North Korea, which has a heavily industrialized economy featuring full employment and a growing agricultural sector.

The works of Kim Il Sung are prohibited in South Korea. Contraband editions of his work do appear, however, often through the efforts of such groups as the revolutionary party that got busted in May. That group, according to the news agency, was formed in Imja Island, South Cholla Province, and involved workers, peasants, fishermen, journalists, teachers and "fair-minded capitalists."

Violent action occurs only occasionally. Some 2500 South Koreans battled 300 cops recently over plans to build a high security railroad line in South Cholla Province. The demonstrators sat down on the right of way and used spears, stones and red pepper to defend themselves against the police. The government is tearing down poor people's houses near the tracks in the name of "security."

Unemployment staggering

The South Korean economy has many of the earmarks of neocolonialism and underdevelopment. Unemployment is staggering. Thousands of South Korean workers are encouraged to emigrate each year to such varied places as Brazil and West Germany. These arrangements are made through government agencies. The North Koreans, who have a shortage of manpower, angrily describe these work plans as "slave labor."

Taxes are constantly on the rise. Many workers must pay a quarter of their wages to Park's coffers. Commodity prices in South Korea have tripled since 1961. There are 700,000 children who don't go to school because they can't afford the fees. The typical classroom has 120 to 160 students, and many schools operate four or five shifts. Some students sell their blood so they can pay their tuition.

Agriculture is in bad shape, too, according to the Korean News Agency. Famine has struck South Cholla Province, known as a rice bowl, and there are reportedly 1.5 million hungry people in that province alone.

Fishermen are special victims of oppression, perhaps because their boats offer them certain freedom. Several fishermen were recently sentenced to three to five years in jail under a "anticommunist law," because their boats drifted into North Korean waters.

On Yokji Island, South Kyungang Province, some 15,000 fishermen are engaged in a struggle against the Fisheries Association, which seeks to embroil the independent fishermen in "amalgamation" and "readjustments."

Intellectuals are not exempt from the dysfunctions in this sick country. In Seoul, 20% of the university graduates are unemployed. Many live in miserable hostels and survive on nothing but noodles.

Meanwhile, the U.S. military seems to feel it has the run of the land. Park, responding to anti-U.S. feeling in Japan and the Ryukyus, has said that any U.S. military installations now on Okinawa would be welcome in "his" country. Park says nuclear weapons are OK, too.

Joint mobile exercises involving U.S. and South Korean forces frequently take place—nothing more than old fashioned saber-rattling at the North Koreans, who have shown no sign of timidity. The capturing of the USS Pueblo and the shooting down of a reconnaissance plane indicate that the North Koreans won't tolerate U.S. imperialism.

The strongarm tactics of Park and his U.S. mentors have thus far prevented an effective revolutionary movement from emerging in South Korea. But given the economic and social conditions there, it may not be the case for long.

New BOSS in South Africa

By Africa Research Group

Sweeping new security legislation introduced by the South African government has shocked even the most seasoned observers of that country's moves to fascism. The legislation creates the Bureau of State Security ("BOSS"), a new department under the powerful head of the Security Police.

For the first year, BOSS will have a budget of \$5.7 million, a staggering amount for a country the size of South Africa. In addition, BOSS will be completely free from Treasury control or from discipline from the Public Service sector, to which all other departments are subject. BOSS is directly responsible to the Prime Minister, B.J. Vorster, the man who armed the South African government with the legislation to "deal with subversion," including the infamous detention without trial laws.

The cloak of secrecy surrounding the operations of the Bureau was completed by the introduction of a further amendment making it illegal to publish or communicate in any way matters dealing with the operations of BOSS. This clause is intended to stop people who are interrogated or in some way harassed by the security police from making this public.

In one final gesture, the government removed BOSS from the jurisdiction of the courts. Clause 29 makes it possible for the Prime Minister or any other minister to prohibit evidence in court if they feel that it is "detrimental to the security of the State."

Peru junta takes back land

By NACLA*

The Peruvian military junta has recently announced a sweeping land reform which will involve the seizure of U.S. corporate property. The reform entails strict limitations on the size of landholdings and opens the way for conversion of large holdings into cooperatives.

Land will be taken from the Cerro Corporation, W.R. Grace and Co. and other U.S.-owned firms. Grace has lands and sugar mills valued at \$25 million and a chemical complex valued at \$80 million in Peru. The Peruvian government has taken over Grace's bank accounts and has begun assuming control of company operations.

A Grace spokesman said he was resigned to the expropriation of the company's 25,000 acres of sugar plantations and even the sugar mills. But there is also the possibility that Peru will seize Grace's gin and vodka distilleries and its chemical complex which makes alcohol, paper and plastics among other products.

Peruvian land distribution has been a pressing political issue for decades. Approximately one-tenth of one percent of the landowners possess about 60% of the total cultivated land while about 83% of the landowners have only 5.8% of total cultivated area. By its land reform, the junta seems to be attempting to

consolidate peasant support at the expense of the landed oligarchy.

U.S. reaction unclear

The U.S. reaction to the land reform is still unclear. The Peruvians have promised monetary compensation for the expropriated land, and the U.S. seems to be officially ignoring the reforms, pending resolution of other matters with the Peruvian government. Negotiations on the expropriated International Petroleum Co. are in progress and talks on Peru's claim to a 200-mile territorial sea limit are about to begin. The latter issue has prompted several naval attacks by Peru on U.S. fishing boats. Argentina has given diplomatic support to Peru's 200-mile sea limit, and, more importantly, a promise of \$10 million in credit.

After the Peruvian government announced new price controls on agricultural commodities, General Jose Benavides, minister of agriculture was forced out of the cabinet. Benavides, supporter of the landed oligarchy's interests, the son of a former president and from a wealthy family, was one of the last remaining conservatives in the military cabinet.

*North American Congress on Latin America

U.S. military policy in Latin America /4

By Roger Councill

Fourth of a series

The civic action concept, as it is presently understood, was first practiced in the Philippine Islands during President Magsaysay's counter guerrilla campaign against the HUK movement (Hukbong Magpalaya Nang Bayan, or People's Liberation Army). In order to undercut the HUK's popular support, Magsaysay put an end to indiscriminate military terrorism and put much of the army to work on social projects—building schools and markets, repairing roads and bridges—while training small counter guerrilla units that farmed out into the countryside. The Philippine army called this program "civic action," and the term was subsequently picked up by U.S. strategists.

The United States first conducted civic action projects during the Korean War, under the Armed Forces Assistance to Korea Program (AFAK).

Pentagon approves 'civic action'

The Pentagon's interest in civic action was revived in the late 1950's, when the nation's military strategists began to focus on the problem of defeating national liberation movements in third world areas. In 1958 the President's Committee to Study the United States Military Assistance Program (known as the Draper Committee) was appointed to study military aid and to make recommendations for its modification. Military officers and civilians appearing before the committee suggested that indigenous military forces receiving U.S. aid be encouraged to contribute to the socioeconomic development of their country. This suggestion was contained in the committee's final report, and subsequently incorporated into foreign aid legislation.

The Act for International Development of 1961, which governs current economic and military assistance programs, provides that "to the extent feasible . . . the use of military forces in less developed, friendly countries in the construction of public works, and other activities helpful to economic development shall be encouraged."

President Kennedy, and other high-ranking members of his administration, eagerly embraced the civic action concept and incorporated it into their early policy statements. Kennedy's leading military adviser, Gen. Maxwell Taylor, had launched the AFAK program while commanding the Eighth Army in Korea, and had become a strong proponent of civic action projects in underdeveloped areas. Taylor had seen many years of service in the Army Corps of Engineers, and his influence can be detected in Kennedy's many references to the Engineers as a model for the civic action program. Thus in his "Urgent National Needs" message to Congress on May 25, 1961, Kennedy stated: ". . . Military assistance can, in addition to its military purposes, make a contribution to economic progress. The domestic works of our own Army Engineers are

an example of the role which military forces in the emerging countries can play in village development, sanitation, and road building."

The Defense Department had already, in May 1960, approved the civic action program in principle—but on the basis that any expenses incurred by the program (other than training and advisory activities performed by U.S. personnel) would be borne by the host country. However the first Civic Action Mobile Training Teams sent to Latin America (i.e., to Guatemala in 1960 and Ecuador in 1962) reported that in many countries no funds would be available for civic action projects. Consequently, on Feb. 12, 1962, the President approved a funding formula which would release Department of Defense and Agency for International Development (AID) funds for civic action programs. This funding formula, still in effect, provides that:

"(1) The Military Assistance Program (MAP) is authorized to program and fund for equipment and its maintenance which is used by military and paramilitary units for civic action and for any training connected therewith. (2) AID is authorized to fund material costs [such as lumber, cement and other construction items] and consumable items [such as gasoline and lubricants] utilized by the military while actually engaged in civic action or training therefor."

In fiscal year 1962, the first year funds were available for this purpose, the Defense Department allocated \$5.7 million to civic action projects in Latin America, and AID another \$3.3 million; most of this money went to Bolivia (\$1.7 million), Brazil (\$2.5 million), Ecuador (\$1.8 million) and Peru (\$1.2 million). In Fiscal 1968, the Pentagon requested \$3.9 million for civic action in Latin America, or nine percent of the total grant program. The present tendency is for civic action funds to be distributed in smaller grants to a greater number of countries: all but one of the Latin countries which receive U.S. military assistance maintains a civic action program.

In addition to providing monetary assistance, the U.S. helps initiate civic action projects by dispatching Civic Action Mobile Training Teams (CAMTTTs) to the host country. Each team is composed of specialists in governmental administration, engineering, public health, sanitation, agriculture and education. These teams tour the countryside in order to select target areas for civic action, and then draw up a country program that is within the capacity of the local armed forces. By 1965, such teams had visited most countries in Latin America. The U.S. also provides civic action training to foreign military personnel at the U.S. Army Civil Affairs School, Fort Gordon, Ga., and at the U.S. Army School of the Americas at Fort Gulick in the Panama Canal Zone.

U.S. military manuals describe the kinds of projects that ordinarily fall within the scope of civic action. Examples are: road construction, insect and rodent control, erection of school

buildings, construction of simple irrigation and drainage systems. Some suggested projects, such as the construction of airstrips and radio communication facilities, would appear to be of greater advantage to the military itself than to the rural peasantry. Military bands and parade units are advised to initiate projects designed to "inspire confidence in and enthusiasm for the government the Army represents."

In organizing these projects, U.S. military personnel are pledged to observe certain "operational guidelines," designed to disguise the fact that the civic action program is planned and financed by the Pentagon. A typical guideline warns: "Every effort should be made to make the basic ideas which the team wants to teach appear locally generated. This will help develop enthusiasm and increase self-confidence among the local military."

A CAMTTI member's effort to implement these guidelines, however, is hampered by the complicated authorization procedure for most civic action funding. Ordinarily, the chain of approval for any civic action project in a given country runs from the U.S. Ambassador and his "country team"—i.e., representatives of AID, the U.S. Information Agency, the CIA, and of course the military missions and Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG)—and then on to the regional unified command headquarters (for Latin America this is the Southern Command, located in the Panama Canal Zone). The proposal is then forwarded to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (ASD/ISA), who coordinates the Military Assistance Program, and then ultimately to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who must give final approval to the project. At the same time, the

DEFENDING THE EMPIRE

Ambassador and the country team must persuade the host country authorities to implement the project.

A survey of civic action programs in Latin America by two North Americans associated with Ohio State University's Mershon Center for Education in National Security, Willard F. Barber and C. Neale Ronning, disclosed that in most countries the military favored "high-impact" projects intended to secure a rapid improvement in the public's opinion of the armed forces—rather than less visible projects which might have a long-range effect on the rural economy.

From what is known of the civic action program, it is not surprising that Barber and Ronning found that local populations did not express a sense of participation in the program. They describe one study in which "it was found that the program in Bolivia had engineered no particular gratitude on the part of the civilian beneficiaries. Most of the civilians interviewed expressed suspicion as to the army's motives in engaging in civic-action projects, especially when it was working under contract."

To be continued

Committee formed to fight Burchett passport case



Wilfred Burchett at the Vietnam-Cambodia border — 1966.

Internationally known persons have joined Australian-born journalist Wilfred Burchett in his fight for constitutional rights from the Australian government.

Simone de Beauvoir, Norman Mailer, Mary McCarthy, Arthur Miller, Linus Pauling, Edgar Snow, Otto Nathan, Jean-Paul Sartre and Bertrand Russell, among others, have signed a petition to the Australian parliament requesting that Burchett be granted a passport—and that any reason for the government refusing to do so be made public. The Burchett Passport Committee petition will be presented late in July, climaxing months of controversy in the Australian press.

Guardian correspondent Burchett lost his British passport—at a time when Australians had dual rights to Australian or British passports—in 1955, and attempted to get a replacement immediately. He was informed that only the Australian government could

grant him a passport. Then began 14 years of fruitless attempts to get a passport and to register his children as Australian citizens if they were born abroad.

The Australian government has continually refused to grant Burchett a passport or a judicial airing of possible charges against him which would prevent his getting a passport. It maintains that because Burchett has been abroad for much of the last 15 years, he has "severed all ties" to Australia, and thus should be denied a passport.

A constitutional issue

Extensive coverage in the Australian press has stressed that Burchett wishes to visit his aged father; some journals have urged that he be granted entry on compassionate grounds. The Burchett Passport Committee and Burchett himself point out that they are fighting a constitutional issue—not asking for special

dispensations, but for full restoration of Burchett's constitutional rights, which have been violated.

Burchett has been able to pursue his work as a journalist by travelling on special documents from various countries. Besides writing regularly for the Guardian, he has written in recent years for Le Monde (the French daily), the Manchester Guardian, various papers connected with the Associated Press and several other papers and journals, as well as authoring numerous books on revolutionary Asia. Burchett is also frequently invited to international conferences and seminars on Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

Supporters of Burchett's passport rights also include leaders of the International Federation of Journalists with headquarters in Prague; the International Organization of Journalists whose seat is in Prague and national journalist associations in Australia, Britain and France.

Cambodian-PRG solidarity affirmed

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

Phnom Penh, Cambodia (by cable, July 6) Since the South Vietnam National Liberation Front's founding the U.S. has desperately but unsuccessfully tried to undermine the close relations between Cambodia and the Vietnamese resistance.

This U.S. failure was underscored by an historic official visit to Cambodia, June 30-July 5, by members of South Vietnam's Provisional Revolutionary Government, with PRG Prime Minister Huynh Tan Phat heading the delegation. The PRG's first official "friendship visit" was a tribute to the role of Cambodia and chief of state Prince Norodom Sihanouk since the earliest days of the Vietnamese conflict—unswerving support of the national liberation struggle and defending Cambodian neutrality, thereby barring U.S. use of Cambodian territory for bases or outflanking maneuvers against the resistance forces.

The PRG visit was a blow to U.S. diplomacy and it has done much to neutralize the intensive efforts in recent months by Western embassies and their agents in Phnom Penh who have been trying to reverse the friendly Cambodian policy toward the liberation forces and the new PRG.

At a moving farewell ceremony on July 5 at the Phnom Penh

airport, Sihanouk embraced Huynh Tan Phat before the latter boarded the prince's private aircraft for the first stage of the homeward journey.

In his farewell remarks Phat said that the PRG supported Cambodia's efforts to defend her independence and neutrality. Phat referred to Sihanouk as "a great friend of the Vietnamese people and a promoter of solidarity among the Indo-Chinese peoples," and he expressed the hope that "during the struggle waged by each of us for our own national rights, we have many occasions to meet. We understand each other and can give mutual aid to each other," he added.

In a conversation with this reporter, Huynh Tan Phat said that the formation of the new government was a logical development in the process which began during the 1968 Tet offensive and continued with the subsequent formation of revolutionary committees at the local and provincial levels.

Describing the "Advisory Council" headed by Nguyen Huu Tho, Phat explained that it was a body parallel to the PRG, established at the same time as the government and vitally important for formulation of both internal and foreign policy. Thus Phat dismissed speculation in the West that Nguyen Huu Tho had been downgraded because he has no government post.

The present tasks of the PRG, continued Phat, are to lead the resistance force to total victory and to overthrow the belligerent, corrupt and dictatorial regime in Saigon.

Speaking of the Paris talks, Phat denounced the U.S. position and pointed out the contrast between American deceptions and the serious attitude of the PRG and its NLF predecessor at the talks. He noted the contradiction between American statements in Paris and U.S. intensification of the war in South Vietnam and its attempt to build up the Saigon armed forces to enable them to continue fighting for Washington.

... on the line

(continued from page 13)

divert frustrations and forestall a positive response to white oppression.

The call for a United Front Against Fascism by the Black Panthers is an appropriate slogan for this period. The ruling class is not merely employing repressive means to secure assent for its policies. It is attempting to smash the opposition, and beginning with its leading forces, the black and white revolutionaries. There is evidence that the Nixon administration will not stop there. The trade unions, because of their objective challenge to the system, may face increasing repression in the form of antistrike laws and wage regulation.

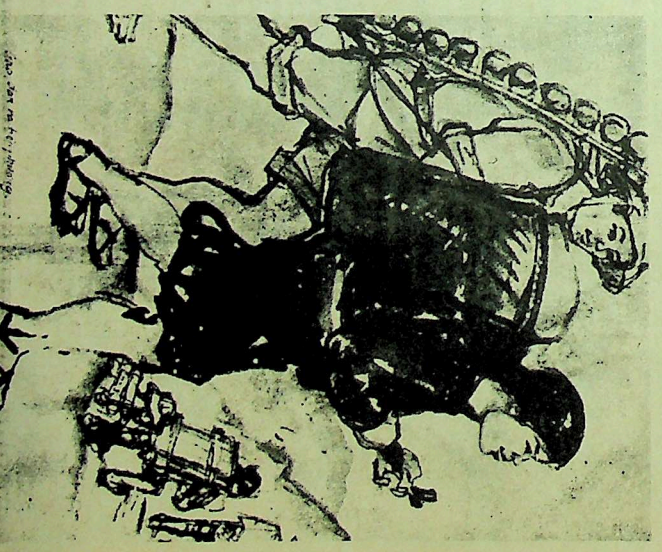
Offensive against capital

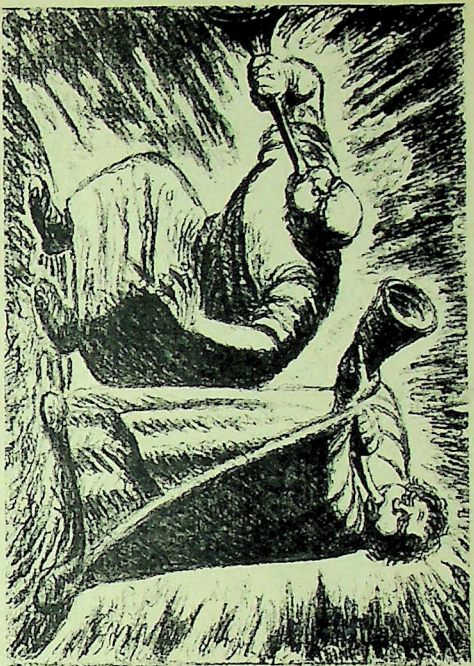
But the united front cannot be primarily a defensive front. It must be organized around a program of offensive struggle to challenge the rule of capital. This means, in the first place, identification of the weak links of the system and developing struggles to break them. Concretely, against imperialism, the struggle for a massive shift of public spending away from the large corporations, placing all social welfare under popular control, the struggle for popular control of the police, especially in black

communities and for student and faculty power over the policies and curriculum of the schools (not necessarily their offensive program).

At the same time as the left attempts to develop resistance among workers to the use of repressive legislative and police methods against strikes and living standards, it must raise the demand for workers' control over production and investment. The revolution will never come unless the forms of revolutionary power are created within the womb of existing society.

Who constitutes the front? All those who accept its program for the creation of peoples power (democracy from below) and who oppose the tendency towards fascism. Since there is no articulate working-class radical force in America, the united front cannot be built on the classical model. But neither should it succumb to a diluted popular front politics. Alliances can be built between those who accept the program of the front and others willing to defend the right of radicals and revolutionaries to advocate their positions. In no case, however, should the left subordinate its ideology or independent political action to the lowest common denominator.





Barlach

FILM

TRUE GRIT, a film with John Wayne and Kim Darby, produced by Hal Wallis, directed by Henry Hathaway, based on the novel by Charles Portis; a Paramount picture.

TWO varieties of lies

SLAVES, produced by Philip Langner, directed by Herbert J. Biberman; screenplay by Biberman, John O. Killens and Alida Sherman; with Ossie Davis, Stephen Boyd and Dionne Warwick; a Continental release.

John Wayne is still playing Green Beret. Only this time he's bringing law and order to the criminal riffraff of Indian Territory in the 1880s instead of the Vietnamese.

Wayne's version of law and order, as you might expect, is heavy on enforcement and light on both law and order. As a bounty-hunting marshal who casually admits to having killed 23 men in the course of trying to bring them to justice, Wayne finds that it's usually simpler to take care of trial and execution himself than to trust to the uncertain vagaries of the courts.

I think "True Grit" is supposed to be one of those "wholesome" pictures the movie industry keeps talking about. It's playing in that citadel of "family entertainment," Radio City Music Hall—which should tell you what kind of trade they're after. And they've got themselves a "G," too. No sex in "True Grit." Fifteen deaths, all of them violent, and a man's fingers chopped off before your eyes. But no sex.

"True Grit" is one of those films the Hollywood movie industry is capable of producing most any time it sets its mind to it. The story is not only told well, it's something of a tour de force, subtly shifting back and forth from classical Western to gentle self-parody.

In the character of Matie Ross, played to finger-licking perfection by Kim Darby, they've come up with one of the most attractive screen personalities of the year. Just imagine Nancy Drew out on the plains mixed in with a spicy dash of Mark Twain, and you'll get some idea of the subtlety of both the role and the acting.

The Colorado landscape (Arkansas always looks better in Colorado) is almost as breathtaking on the screen as the real goods. The dialogue is crisp and clever and the long pursuit is Hollywood doing its best at the trade it knows best. Director Henry Hathaway is a tested pro in the genre—and that John Wayne is no slouch either.

And there it is. As neatly packaged as the system knows how, it's got the feel of outdoors America and honest, rugged values held by honest, rugged men. It's Christian goodness and protect the women and children and it was a lot easier to tell good from bad back in the old days when girls went out to avenge their fathers' deaths and hard-drinking, rough-riding, loud-mouthed lawmen could be touched by the purity of a good woman's love. And for those who want a little more, it's even prepared to laugh ever so gently at its own excessive stereotypes.

Are you ready for the job of telling the American people it's all a lie?

FOR THE PRESIDENT OF CHILE BUT ESPECIALLY FOR THE PEOPLE

what is that i asked the painter from chile
it is, he said, a machine for producing autumn
this was
before, of course, i personally invented eskimo
power after reading the proverbs of solomon

what is a proverb, asked the painter from chile
it is a verb, replied i that they used in the olden days
in the bible and suchlike
a'fore
maharisini freakpuke and the beagles
& the time mice were taught to blow trumpets to warn of
approaching kats

Tom McNamara

"Slaves" is a different kind of lie. It is one of those political/aesthetic lies trying so self-consciously to be "meaningful" that it violates every semblance of artistic truth. In the abstract, it says all the "right" things: that slavery was atrocious, that black militancy existed and was the only morally sanctionable position for a slave to take, that slavery imprisoned the Southern white woman, that slavery was good business and big business, that "well-meaning" masters were themselves prisoners of the system, etc.

But it's one thing to analyze an epoch with historical perspective and quite another to create a believable film about it. And "Slaves" is simply not believable. The plot is contrived, sort of an updated "Uncle Tom's Cabin" with Tom finally breaking out and organizing a slave revolt.

The dialogue is abysmal. Hardly anyone ever talks to anyone else in this movie. They make speeches at each other. The characters and their inner contradictions are so totally two-dimensional that it is impossible to

work up any enthusiasm for their undertakings. There is hardly a moment in which we are not aware that these are not slaves at all, but simply black actors reciting lines written for them by someone with an idea.

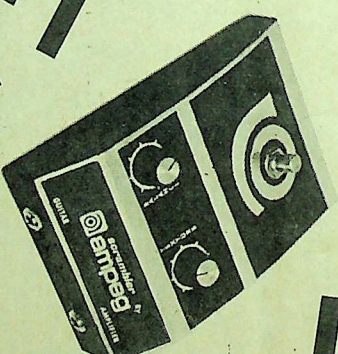
That someone seems to have been mostly Herbert Biberman, one of the Hollywood Ten who defied the witchhunters of an earlier generation and served time in jail for his stand. Biberman directed the movie and, with John Killens and Alida Sherman, wrote the screenplay. Ossie Davis as the neo-Tom and Stephen Boyd as the cruel master struggle manfully to make something out of their roles, but plot and dialogue prove insuperable obstacles. Dionne Warwick plays at being a slave mistress to Young Massa.

If there's a moral in this, it is that political truth and individual truth comprise the interacting dialectic essential to aesthetic truth. Violate one and you violate the other. And I'm afraid that's what Biberman, with the best of intentions, has done.

Irwin Silber

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BOOKS

Free Gene Marine

THE BLACK PANTHERS, by Gene Marine. Signet, New York, 1969. 224 pages, 95¢

Gene Marine is out to sell the Black Panther party (as well as his book) to a white, middle-class, middle-aged audience by discussing the Panthers in elitist, nonpolitical terms that his readers will probably easily grasp. The first few chapters give the impression that Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, Panther founders, are good guys because they were good students at Merritt College; since they are black and live in racist America, they were driven to organize the Panthers as a reaction to their social environment.

The thing consistently overlooked is that if the Panthers are good guys, it is not because the founders had some



characteristics whites can identify with—but because the Panther program attacks essential aspects of white racism and because it gives a direction to the black revolutionary struggle. The Panther 10-point political program, "What We Want," is mentioned once in abbreviated form (not the 10-points used by the Panthers) and their 10-point explanation, "What We Believe," is not discussed at all. The importance of this program (its impact and consequences) for both blacks and whites is never dealt with, because Marine is more concerned with violence and the Panther/pig confrontation.

Marine quotes Huey's summary of the program (point No. 10): "We want land, we want bread, we want housing, we want clothing, we want education, we want justice, and we want peace." And then he entitles the chapter, "... And We Want Peace."

For Marine, the Panthers are no more than a response to police brutality in the ghettos of this country. He spends most of the book sketching a picture of Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Hutton, and dealing in endless detail with the police confrontation that brought each of them to court or to death. The police attack on the original Black Panther chapter is seen as the response of the usually brutal Oakland Police Department to a black organization whose members insist on their manhood.

Since we are never given a picture of the Panthers as a revolutionary political party with a revolutionary program, the police brutality remains "police psychology"—never political suppression.

Other contradictions

Marine's liberalism leads him to other contradictions. In a chapter dealing with distortions about the Panthers in the establishment press, he does say the Oakland Tribune "knew everything about the Panthers that the police knew, since they both, in effect, have the same owner." But several paragraphs later, in reference to the same Tribune story, he says, "Like most white reporting about the Panthers, the story *probably* reflects the attitude of the police" (emphasis added). This is consistent with the rest of Marine's treatment of the press. Reporters and editors, he writes, slander the Panthers and misreport the news because of their white-racist psychology. It never occurs to him that the politics of black liberation are a threat to the owners of the police and the press.

Marine also spends a whole chapter trying to work out his hangup over the demand, "Free Huey!" This demand has self-evident validity for blacks, and for white radicals who understand the politics of the police attack on the Panthers. But for Marine it signifies "a strange attitude toward a man who, whatever his provocation, was accused of shooting down a policeman." To accept this demand, says Marine, one must accept the idea that the white mother country is oppressing a black American colony, "but to most of us who are white, whether 'radical' or not, this is not an easy concept."

In his next-to-last chapter, Marine's story of the Panthers "fragments." He tries to summarize important incidents, but doesn't deal with any of them fully. He touches on Cleaver's struggle to teach at the University of California, Panther George Murray's firing by San Francisco State College, the Oakland shootout of November 19, 1968 and the conflict with Ron Karenga's US organization. He relegates the New York Panther 21 to a footnote.

Marine's story falls apart because he hasn't been writing about the Panthers, but about the founders of the Oakland chapter, leaving out the Panthers' politics and their service to the black community (the free breakfast and free medical programs are scarcely mentioned).

Marine ends his book: "I am, indeed, afraid of the Black Panther party. I hope you are, too." It sounds like he knows he has constructed a political horror and is warning other establishment journalists.

Chris Robinson

BOOKS

Return of the Native

EARTH HOUSE HOLD, by Gary Snyder. New Directions, San Francisco, 1969. 143 pages, \$1.95.

"Earth House Hold" is a book you can have a conversation with; it should have been published loose-leaf. The bulk is diary jottings from Snyder's 1950s wanderings on mountains and ships; there are also short and pointed essays (extended jottings) on Indian legends, poetry, the family (an argument for matrilineal family which women's liberation groups as well as male counterparts should take up), Buddhism, commune-tribes, perception.

To me, the whole amounts to a fresh reminder of the transcendent stakes of a socialist revolution: flashes of integrated ways of living. Snyder does not pose; this and the openness of his perception save him from the flimsy if attractive politics of self-indulgence. Unlike some flower people, he is taken with the reality of the world outside himself, so he is not putting us on when he calls himself a revolutionary, and he doesn't mean "you've got to change your mind instead."

Of course he misses much, which a poet cannot afford to, let alone a

revolutionary poet. The people in his world are marginal people—forest rangers, islanders, sailors—and he does not contact the textures of ordinary desperate life as ordinary people live it.

He is wholly Yankee in his doubts: he is convinced in his experience of the claims of the earth, and thinks no nation in the world has heeded them. I don't know about China, but I think he's wrong about Cuba, and certainly the Vietnamese are paying the best of tributes to their soil by ridding it of the U.S. Army. Sure, let's argue with Gary Snyder, fill what he leaves empty—but inside the family.

Snyder can help us do one thing we've scented, which is to understand how American capitalism rips up *everything* of value, to taste the concreteness of the loss and to broadcast visions of a new civilization which knows coexistence with the earth. The class struggle, remember, must point toward a prize, a happy ending. And in the struggle for a higher plane of human life, "Earth House Hold" is a green arsenal.

Todd Gitlin

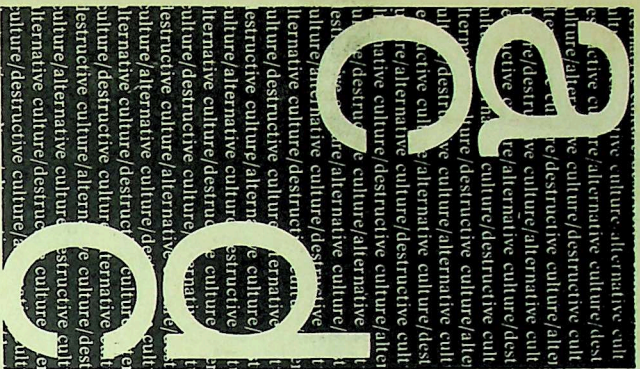
Student power in China

The Cultural Revolution began at Peking University. Why? How did it start and how did it develop? In one of the most detailed accounts yet to appear, Victor Nee describes China's educational system and the student campaign to revolutionize it. Prior to book publication, "The Cultural Revolution at Peking University" appears in full as this summer's double issue. Send for your sample copy now.

MONTHLY REVIEW

Edited by Paul M. Sweezy
and Harry Magdoff

Dept. 4 116 West 14 St. N.Y., N.Y. 10011
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WHAT PRICE REVOLUTION? Columbia Records has pulled the rug out from under the "revolution." CBS President Frank Stanton, reportedly at the suggestion of even higher authority (is that possible?), has cancelled all Columbia Records advertising in the underground press. For some papers, loss of Columbia's ad revenue may prove an irreparable financial disaster. Many papers paid for the cost of an entire issue with the proceeds from one ad. Columbia says it's a simple matter of business. They're not getting the sales to justify the expense. Some think it's political, stemming from "law and order" ideology ushered in with the Nixon election. Columbia was the company with those "groovy" ads about "The Revolutionaries" and "The Man Can't Bust Our Music." Think Columbia Records has sold out?... MGM took so long to produce "The Piano Sport," a flick on San Francisco Hippies, that they've had to drop it because there ain't no scene left....

AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL. The people over at VISTA, one of those dog-dood alternate service organizations trying to help the man save his system (and get potential rebels off the streets and into something "useful") now has a recruiting poster which proclaims: "If you're not part of the solution, you're part of the problem." Through some oversight (no doubt), they neglected to credit Eldridge Cleaver as the source... Have you dug those yellow stars conveniently painted on the red and blue mailboxes. Makes a neat NLF flag. The Post Office has been busy painting the boxes all blue ever since.... Dept. of Contemporary Trivia: Remember Bobby Darin, the poor man's Sinatra? Well, he's changed—again! He now sports a moustache, travels in dungarees, and has swapped his old "slick" singing style for a "sincere" bag. And he's changed his name, too. He's known as "Bob"... Thought after reading a list of

campaign supporters for John F. Lindsay: only in America would someone's identification be as a "philanthropist"....

WORDS FOR THE WISE. Vietnam Viewpoints is a great source book of quotes and facts on every aspect of the war. Useful for writers, lecturers, theater groups who need one handy document to get pertinent material, \$1.50 from compiler Margaret Hoffman, 610 Cardinal Lane, Austin, Texas 78704.... Fellowship of Reconciliation (Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.) has published a pamphlet which gives a fine documentary run-down on "Imprisonment and Torture in South Vietnam." 50¢ a copy.... Underdogs vs. Uppercruds is the autobiography of nonviolent activist Jim Peck, who has participated in most of the historic radical struggles of the past two decades. Peck was one of the first freedom riders and has been arrested more than 30 times for various confrontations with authority, including one run-in with LBJ directly in the Waldorf Astoria) which cost him 60 days. \$1.50 from the War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St., NYC.... Proceedings from "The Founding Convention of the IWW" make up the content of a fascinating new book coming from Merit Publishers (873 Bway, NYC). Includes speeches by Eugene Debs, Big Bill Haywood, Daniel De Leon, Luby Parsons, Mother Jones, resolutions (passed and defeated), committee reports, roll-call votes, etc. 616 pages, \$15. Available up to Oct. 1 at pre-pub price of \$9.50.... Over 30? You might remember "The Investigator," the historic radio play of the mid-fifties which helped desanctify the McCarthy witchhunts. Originally a one-hour broadcast on CBS, it was pirated into the states on a bootleg LP and became something of a cultural phenomenon of its day, selling several hundred thousand copies strictly below the counter. The

original script has now been issued as a book in novel form and while some of its libertarian viewpoints now sound terribly naive, it still makes fascinating reading and is an interesting heirloom of another era. Sells for \$3.50 from Oriole Editions, PO Box 2680, Grand Central Sta., NYC.... Johnny Cash is writing his autobiography, to be published by Dial Press in the fall of 1970....

AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL, PART 2: "Come as you are—pray in your car" is the slogan of the new "Tri-State Drive-In Church in Lookout Heights, Ky. Idea is to "meet the religious needs of the modern day" by catching worshippers on their way to the golf course or the lake.... Kentucky is where horse breeders are exempt from the new state sales tax while purchasers of crutches and wheel chairs have to pay the additional levy.... Something intriguing about a NY Times headline that says: "Health Units Urged to Focus On Sick." Report of a speech by new Asti. Secy. of Health, Education and Welfare, Roger O. Eberberg, telling professional health workers to concentrate more on patients and less on "golds"....

CHECK IT OUT: SDS radio program over WBAL in NYC has been reactivated, Thursdays at 7:15 p.m. and Fridays at 11 a.m. Subject for 7/17-18 is "The Revolutionary Youth Movement and the Working Class"... Odyssey House, a therapeutic drug community in NYC is running an "everything" sale all day July 19 on East 6th Street between 1st and 2nd Avenues. The block will be closed off for the event which will have antiques, furniture, kitchen wares, jewelry, etc. for sale....

From her box,

Pandora

... facts about abortion in America

(continued from page 8)

usually consisting of three doctors. These boards rule on abortion requests by patients and obstetricians. One psychiatrist, who practices in the District, is needed to recommend abortion, and although only one member of the board could override this recommendation, this is rare. Perhaps, women's liberation groups could find ways of influencing these boards if they were in the way. At one of the university hospitals, where psychiatrists are on staff, there is no board. A woman can have an abortion if it is recommended by two of the staff psychiatrists. This number is not written into the law for the District (although it is in some states). It is merely hospital custom and might be changed with a little pressure. At DC General, the hospital for those without money, therapeutic abortions may be performed without charge, if indigency is proven and if a recommendation is obtained from a public health psychiatrist. Public institutions like DC General have resisted performing therapeutic abortions because of publicity that they felt might compromise their funding sources. Again, a little public pressure in the other direction might cause them to liberalize their policies.

Probably the most reliable help can be obtained from someone who has had a successful abortion. But these people are often difficult to find. A new service has been started in several cities by clergy interested in helping women desiring abortions. These groups are called Clergy Consultation Centers for Abortion and usually have free information about legal, illegal and foreign abortions. Groups are presently operating in Washington, New York, Cleveland, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Iowa City and suburban New Jersey. Also, your local chapter of the Medical Committee for Human Rights might be helpful. Sometimes Planned Parenthood has additional information—but they are in the birth control business, not the abortion field and should be tested out for their receptiveness.

Although getting an abortion is a real problem now, not all women could afford it if it were legal. While women's liberation and other groups build their information about how to get abortions, and fight for freeing up legal hassles, they must also attack the medical system that serves the rich and murders the poor. Without a complete upheaval in current medical practices, a fight for abortion law repeal alone is missing the boat for the majority of American women.

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—Susan Sontag

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This article was based on the work and study of the D.C. Women's Liberation, Birth Alternatives Group. It is taken from a compilation of notes on abortion by Reggie Sigal.

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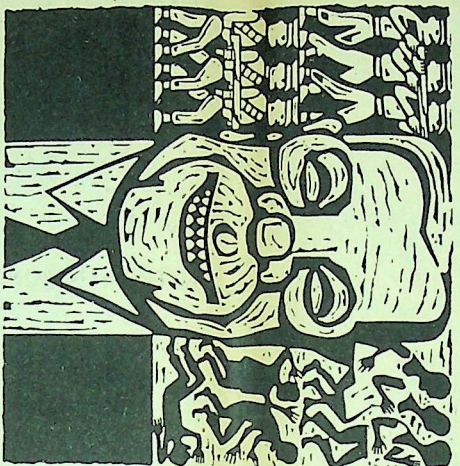
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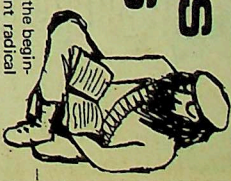
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Guardian

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

Paris (by cable, July 13)

Fifteen years after Vietnamese independence was recognized in the Geneva Agreements, the Saigon regime says that it will allow the people of South Vietnam to choose their own government in an election.

However, Nguyen Van Thieu's July 11 offer to participate in elections with the NLF is nothing but an old scheme in a new disguise—a pretended concession to buy off public opinion in order to perpetuate the puppet regime and prolong the war as long as possible.

Spokesmen for the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam immediately denounced the Thieu plan to hold "free elections" as a fraud. Saigon's foreign minister Tran Chanh Thanh has admitted as much. Speaking the day after Thieu unveiled the Saigon scheme, Thanh stated that Communists could never participate in the elections "as Communists." The NLF could take part, so long as it did not call itself Communist; but, he added, "if during the campaigning they make Communist propaganda they will be violating the law of the land."

"Virtually every sentence [of Thieu's proposal] had the blessing of U.S. Ambassador Elsworth Bunker," reveals David Hoffman of the Washington Post. Hoffman also reports that U.S. officials in Saigon are hoping that the expected PRG rejection will "dramatize Communist intransigence at the Paris peace talks and recapture the diplomatic initiative for Saigon." "For weeks," continues Hoffman, "cynics here [Saigon] have predicted that the proposal would serve to buy time for Thieu and . . . his government but not to break the impasse in Paris."

In reality the election offer is simply the latest effort by Nixon to claim falsely that "progress" toward peace is being made where none has been and none can be achieved, as long as the present Saigon regime exists. Both the NLF and PRG have repeatedly stated that they will never agree to elections under the present regime or its constitution. Even the most competent Washington phrasemongers are not capable of producing any formula which the PRG would buy as long as the present Saigon government is the agent executing the plan. What the Vietnamese have endured since Geneva has been too bitter for the resistance forces ever again to put their heads in a noose with Washington holding the strings.

The statement issued July 12 by the DRV Foreign Ministry points out "that the U.S. is doing everything it can to maintain in power a belliose, corrupt puppet administration and to stifle the hopes of the South Vietnamese people who want to overthrow them. The Americans are organizing fake elections as they have already done in the past.

"If the U.S. wants to respect the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination through really free democratic elections, it should not oppose the formation of a broadbased coalition government aimed at holding elections as outlined in the NLF's 10-point program."

A PRG spokesman in Paris described the Thieu scheme as a "perfidious swindle" aimed at keeping in power in Saigon an "administration which is a lackey of the U.S."

Meanwhile the NLF's deadly rocket and mortar bombardments continued during the night of July 11-12 with attacks on 22 more U.S. bases and installations.

In an exclusive Guardian interview given during a visit to Cambodia earlier this month, PRG Prime Minister Huynh Tan Phat, a former Saigon architect, gave the following summary of the military situation: "After shattering generalized offensives and people's uprisings, beginning in the spring of 1968, the U.S. was forced into the defensive in all ground operations and it had to carry out one retreat after another, of great strategic significance.

"Its defensive strategy is becoming more and more passive. And despite their having strongly fortified defensive positions, we can still attack them in their remotest lairs and in their best-defended bases and cities.

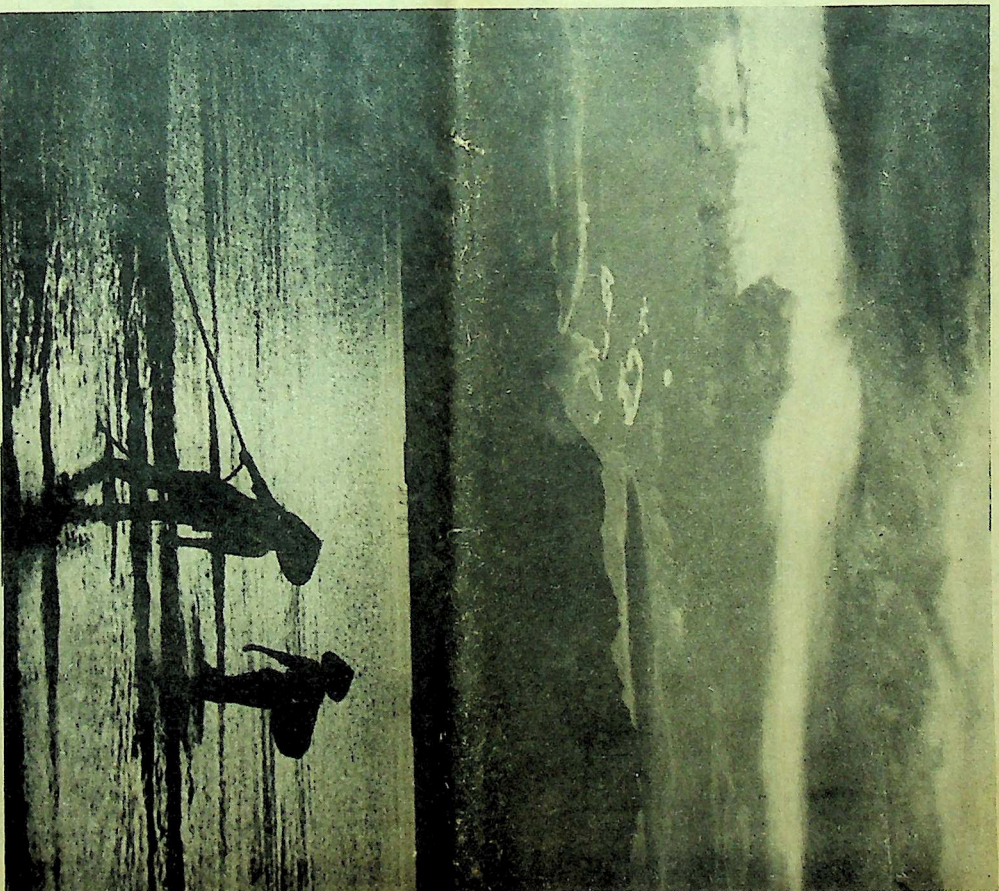
"Our forces have not ceased growing in combat strength and we hold the initiative in our hands more firmly than ever in all fields: in both strategic and tactical operations, and in the political and diplomatic arenas, as well as on the battlefield.

"We have now demonstrated to the enemy that not only have we the capability of striking hard and repeated blows, but we can fight prolonged battles without respite, displaying greater powers

of endurance than their forces. The efficiency of our armed forces, and our tactics, in which we have made considerable progress, enable us to inflict heavy losses on the enemy while ours remain insignificant.

"The Americans, however, remain very stubborn. They are intensifying their war of aggression in South Vietnam, seeking a position of strength and attempting to strengthen the Saigon army and administration, in the hope of maintaining their neo-colonialist regime in South Vietnam. But this attempt will certainly fail, in the face of our determination to defeat it, and also because it is mired in insoluble contradictions. How can they succeed in rewiring the cadavers of Thieu, Ky, Huong and their armed forces, when the latter are already in an advanced stage of decomposition, and when the Americans themselves are already weakened and in an irreversible impasse without any way out? The policy of de-Americanization or Vietnamization of the war in South Vietnam is nothing other than a pure illusion."

**Reduction
of U.S. role
'pure illusion'**



A rare moment of peace: their village lies close by the U.S. fortress at Da Nang.

In last Thursday's session of the Paris talks, PRG Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh, castigated the U.S. for trying to deceive public opinion with its clamor about the withdrawal of 25,000 troops whose first contingents, as the press had noted, were due to leave anyway under the normal rotation procedure. Mme. Binh pointed out that B-52s dropped 46,000 tons of bombs in June, fighter-bombers made over 9,500 sorties, and transport planes shifted 400,000 troops among various military zones in 30,000 flights, and while engaged in these operations the U.S. was pretending that military deescalation was underway.

Mme. Binh also stated that "we are ready to discuss the unconditional withdrawal from South Vietnam of all United States troops and those of the other countries in the American camp. We are ready to talk with the different political groups who are for peace, independence and neutrality, on the basis of equality, democracy and mutual respect. . . the formation of a coalition government. . . ."

To summarize the U.S. stand, it is evident that Nixon is still in the position of a man wanting to eat his cake and keep it too. He wants to withdraw troops because of public, financial and political pressures, but at the same time, he wants to preserve a Saigon regime obedient to Washington. This is impossible. No regime obedient to the U.S. could be kept in power for 24 hours without the protection of American forces. The only regime that could survive without U.S. troops is a really independent, national, democratic and neutral government to which the U.S. military presence would be totally unacceptable and unthinkable. Only when Nixon grasps this reality will the American delegates in Paris be able to sit down with Mme. Binh and discuss the procedures and timetable for withdrawal.