

CARTON 2:3

THE GUARDIAN

THE LIBERATED GUARDIAN,
WORKER'S STRIKE

1970

2017/193

c

December 6, 1970

Dear Mark,

Thanks for your note and the Business and Society newsletter which was indeed interesting.

I am pretty much tied up with teaching and some research I am doing on the history of racism so that I'm not in as close touch with current movement developments as I should be. However, I have forwarded your request to a friend of mine -- Earl Ofari. Earl is author of the MR Press book, The Myth of Black Capitalism, and at my request he wrote a couple of articles for the old Guardian. He's a capable writer, and he has a good sense of the significance of current developments. You should be hearing from him shortly.

Best wishes with your efforts,

Bob Allen

LIBERATED GUARDIAN COLLECTIVE
14 COOPER SQUARE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003
phone (212) 673-6630

LIBERATED *Guardian*



24 November 1970

Robert Allen
San Fransisco

Dear Bob Allen-

Greetings. The enclosed publication recently came into our hands and we decided to pass a copy on to you in case you might find it interesting. Business and Socceity is on of those high-priced newsletters sent out to concerned corporate liberal executives. The ~~xxx~~ purpose of it is clear. If you are interested in this we can probably send more of this material.

Also, we are interested in articles concerning recent developments in the relationship between the power structure and black liberation movements and the direction in which these movements are heading. If you would be interested in writing such an article or if you can suggest anyone who might be interested, we would appreciate your help. Basically we want to expand our coverage beyond the highly visible events - such as Panther trials- to include aspects of the black liberation movement and the strategies for cooptation which receive relatively little coverage.

Any suggestions you may have will be appreciated.

Thanks.

yours for the LG-

Mark Powelson

Mark Powelson

April 21, 1970

Dear Bob and Pam,

Enclosed is some material to bring you up to date on the latest developments in the Great Guardian Farce. The situation at present is that both sides are locked out of the 4th St. building. The Liberated Guardian is operating out of the Liberation offices, while Jack is "clandestinely" putting his paper out from an unknown location. He wrote an extensive editorial (three pages long) attacking the strikers as "anarchist provocateurs." I wish I could send it to you, but I don't have a copy. What happened is that his luck finally ran out and I think he'll soon be out of business. I hope so, because it might open the way for a real national radical newspaper. Even if it doesn't, it will mean one less shit publication. The Liberated Guardian has one real problem—money. Not having a Fred Harte to subsidize it, it doesn't have the visibility on newsstands and with subscribers that the other one has, and that's a decisive element in this battle. Time will tell.

We got your book, and Madeline and I and our numerous friends who have read it all agree that it's the finest study that has appeared yet on any aspect of the movement. I'm pushing it at the place where I'm teaching part-time (the Talent Cops, a college for paraprofessionals subsidized by the OEO). I've ordered it for the library and many of the students, all working adults, either black or Puerto Rican, are buying it. The trouble is that it's hard to find at the local bookstores, and I'm very curious as to why that is. Do you think they're finding it too hot to handle? Or is the publisher going to start pushing it this summer? I think it's one of the most important political books in print, and I'm going to do everything I can to push it.

Write when you have time and let us know what you're doing. I've heard you've moved to Vancouver, but I trust this will be forwarded to you. By the way, I just wrote a chapter for a book on Cuba that Grossman Publishers will bring out this spring, if the editor ever turns the manuscript in.

Madeline and I send our best to both of you.

Bill (Rose)

The magazine Madeline's collective has been working on, "Up From Under", will be out by May 1.

The majority of the workers at the Guardian, "Independent Radical, News Weekly" went out on strike April 8.

We the striking workers have declared ourselves the Guardian workers collective and we demand that the Guardian be reorganized in a collective manner, all work and decisions shared and decided collectively, each worker having one equal vote. The present structure breeds alienation, exploitation, paternalism, white supremacy, and male supremacy; it operates to keep the workers from getting together. A history of purges demonstrates the Guardian's failure to live by the communist ideal it claims to uphold.

The Guardian claims to serve the American left but in fact its coverage of the movement is highly selective. Few articles deal with problems American people face on a day to day basis. Guardian workers, always loyal to the radical left, are accused of disloyalty and subversion when they seek changes in the paper.

The cause of our grievances can only be eliminated by revolutionary change. Under the guise of "Marxism, Leninism" the present structure is actually bourgeois, self-perpetuating and elitist. In particular, Jack A. Smith, managing editor and Irving Beinin, general manager maintain the structure and exploit the workers to serve their own personal interests. The Guardian perpetuates sexist roles by hiring men as political theorists and women as shit workers. Workers are channeled according to rigid job definitions and are intimidated by paternalistic supervision. Financial operations are kept secret for unstated reasons.

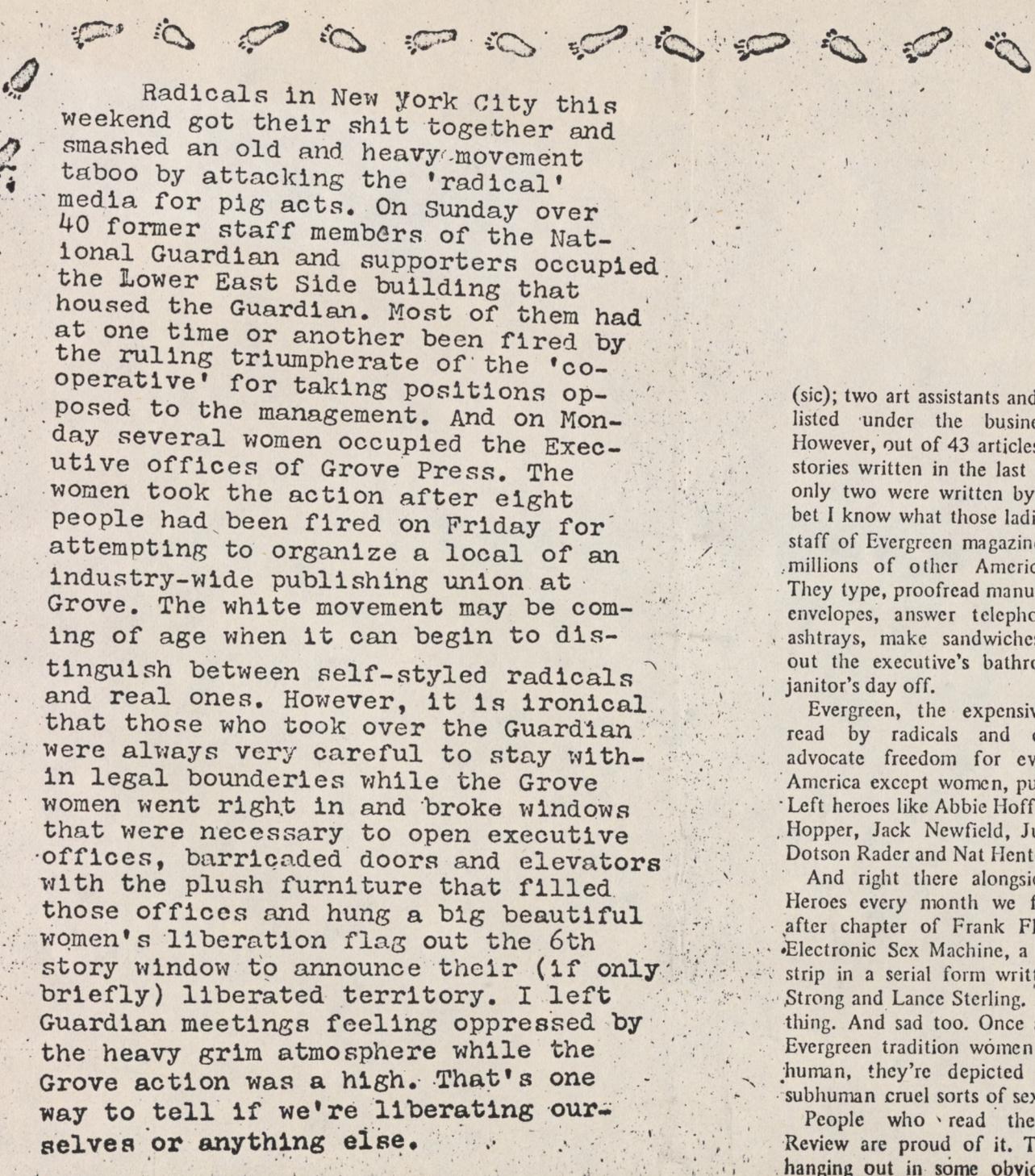
We urge people to support our struggle to create a new Guardian that represents the movement and serves the people.

Contributions to the Guardian Strike Fund may be sent c/o Jill Boskey, 533 East 12th Street, N.Y.C. N.Y. 10009. Make checks payable to Jill Boskey for the strike fund.

Join our picket line at 197 East 4th Street between Ave A and Ave B.

Contact Strike Central at 228-0977.

LABOR AND MATERIALS DONATED



Radicals in New York City this weekend got their shit together and smashed an old and heavy movement taboo by attacking the 'radical' media for pig acts. On Sunday over 40 former staff members of the National Guardian and supporters occupied the Lower East Side building that housed the Guardian. Most of them had at one time or another been fired by the ruling triumpherate of the 'co-operative' for taking positions opposed to the management. And on Monday several women occupied the Executive offices of Grove Press. The women took the action after eight people had been fired on Friday for attempting to organize a local of an industry-wide publishing union at Grove. The white movement may be coming of age when it can begin to distinguish between self-styled radicals and real ones. However, it is ironical that those who took over the Guardian were always very careful to stay within legal boundaries while the Grove women went right in and broke windows that were necessary to open executive offices, barricaded doors and elevators with the plush furniture that filled those offices and hung a big beautiful women's liberation flag out the 6th story window to announce their (if only briefly) liberated territory. I left Guardian meetings feeling oppressed by the heavy grim atmosphere while the Grove action was a high. That's one way to tell if we're liberating ourselves or anything else.

movin' in on

GROVE

(sic); two art assistants and one woman listed under the business heading. However, out of 43 articles, poems and stories written in the last four months only two were written by women. I'll bet I know what those ladies do on the staff of Evergreen magazine and so do millions of other American women. They type, proofread manuscripts, stuff envelopes, answer telephones, empty ashtrays, make sandwiches and clean out the executive's bathroom on the janitor's day off.

Evergreen, the expensive magazine read by radicals and others who advocate freedom for everybody in America except women, publishes New Left heroes like Abbie Hoffman, Dennis Hopper, Jack Newfield, Julius Lester, Dotson Rader and Nat Hentoff.

And right there alongside all those Heroes every month we find chapter after chapter of Frank Fleet and his Electronic Sex Machine, a dirty comic strip in a serial form written by Dick Strong and Lance Sterling. It's an awful thing. And sad too. Once again in the Evergreen tradition women aren't even human, they're depicted as debased subhuman cruel sorts of sexual objects.

People who read the Evergreen Review are proud of it. They have it hanging out in some obvious place in their living room like an

same room with a person like the ladies, look him straight in the eye and tell him you prefer—Reader's Digest?

No more business-as-usual for Grove Press and Evergreen Magazine!

No more using of women's bodies as filth-objects (both black and white) to sell a phoney radicalism-for-profit to the middle-Amerikan-white-male!

No more using of women's bodies to rip off enormous profits for a few wealthy capitalist dirty old straight white men such as Barney Rosset!

No more using of women as shit-workers to produce material that degrades them; no more underpaid demeaning, degrading work for anyone

No more scapegoating of women for daring to demand the rights and respect that are—for any human being—inalienable!

No more wearing of a radical mask by these exploiters to cover the sexist leer, the racist smirk, the boss-man's frown!

No more union busting by rich-man Rosset!

Fact: One woman worker was denied the health insurance coverage for her child that is automatically given to male workers who have children. The

Approximately 60 people liberated the GUARDIAN, Independent Radical Newsweekly, Sunday morning, April 12, by gaining entry to the tenement building on East 4th Street of the Lower East Side and by forcing out GUARDIAN management (namely, Carl Davidson and Irving Beinin; Jack Smith, busy in an unknown place churning out the paper, had seen too many worker confrontations to bother with this one—Marion Munsell, over 65, was there in his place). The action was in support of 18 GUARDIAN workers who struck for certain demands last Thursday.

Circular picketing began while several people lowered the street-side fire escape and began to clamber upward to the fifth (top) floor and several others tried unsuccessfully to enter the barricaded front doors. Bewildered cops accumulated on the sidelines. Deciding that we might be arrested for continued attempts to ram the front door, we started up the fire escape too. We were stopped by a cop who questioned, "What are you going to do?"

"We are going to work. Management has locked us out."

"Do all of you work here?"

"YES!"

"Do you intend to hurt persons or property in any way?"

"No."

"Well, I don't see why you can't go in to work then."

We proceeded upwards, a vertical zigzag of ecstatic people: striker people, ex-GUARDIAN people, media project people, Puerto Rican street people, RAT people, GLF people, friends-of-the-family people ("the scum of the movement," Carl Davidson later said). In the bright cool April sun we climbed up and up singing "Solidarity Forever", up and up and into the fifth floor window.

We were greeted on the stairway inside the building between the 4th

and 5th floors by Carl Davidson with a broomstick handle and Steve Torgoff with a crowbar, both bravely standing behind Marion Munsell. After a long, bitter verbal confrontation, we made repeated entreaties to Marion to move. The women moved down the staircase to try to move Marion and Steve began to strike at them with his crowbar, hitting Marion instead. "Look out, you guys are hurting her!" Carl kept screaming at us. Finally, one of the strikers dropped a rug from the staircase leading to the roof and knocked the crowbar out of Steve's hand. Two women strikers held Marion while others behind them on the staircase rushed and pinned Carl and Steve. The management team agreed to leave the building.

This was the first 'action' in protest of GUARDIAN editorial content and internal GUARDIAN organization, a protest which is at least a year-and-a-half old. "The GUARDIAN is a cooperative owned by its staff," is the hypocritical statement which appears on the masthead. The statement is hypocritical in that it is misleading to those who do not directly work on the paper and creates false expectations for those who are being hired to work on the staff. The statement is a blatant lie in that Weekly Guardian Associates is incorporated under capitalist law; there are a certain number of stocks and those stocks are held by individuals. Some of the stock is normally held by the general manager who is supposed to be accountable to the staff. The legal complications of this set-up have not been explained to new staff members since Bill Rose, former general manager, was fired from the GUARDIAN in April, 1969. All of this is of no consequence in operation unless the capitalist law of ownership is used against the strikers. If possible, it will not be used because it will expose the capitalist mentality of the management.

This mentality is evident in the management's total concern with the

survival of the GUARDIAN as an institution rather than as a tool for education, discussion and propaganda for the radical left. This misplacement of priorities not only isolates the GUARDIAN from the movement, but also prevents the GUARDIAN from keeping ahead of the political situation in the national or the international scene. The GUARDIAN viewpoints tend to be pontifications rather than serious political analyses and persuasions, leaving aside the question of whether or not the GUARDIAN should have editorials à la NEW YORK TIMES, especially since the writers of those editorials are not speaking from even the smallest political base, i.e., a staff which can contribute politically. One of the current strikers suggested last week that the viewpoint be written far enough ahead of deadline for staff members to read and criticize it. Irving Beinin responded to this by considering it an attack on the political expertise of the writer. (Peon shit-workers should know their place and not get such delusions.) Carl Davidson sort of came to Irving's rescue by saying that the suggestion was impractical and inefficient.

The structural organization of the GUARDIAN is hierarchical and rigid. New workers are not allowed to become formal members of the voting staff until they have worked for four months, the requirement was three months not too long ago, to prove their loyalty and to become acquainted with the processes of the GUARDIAN, and, of course, to prove their political worthiness and revolutionary dedication. This sounds 'objective' and 'fair' enough, but is only a cover-up for the actual process which takes place. Jack Smith, as personnel manipulator (playing on individual weaknesses), Irving Beinin as financial manipulator, and Carl Davidson as political rhetoric manipulator work beautifully as a team to isolate and intimidate every new worker and prevent him from talking to his fellow-workers, playing one off

against another, and mystifying the financial condition of the newspaper, and obstructing attempts to contribute to the politics of the paper. The job categorization prevents sharing and learning of different tasks and is used to hopefully instill a sense of professionalism and high regard for expertise. Dissension from the established order is dealt with in many ways: creating a financial crisis so that people must be fired (as was the case in August when 12 staff members walked out supporting seven who had been fired); accusing people of disloyalty to comrades by staging rehearsed personal attacks on style or mistakes which have no relevance to the power issue at hand (such as the firing of the business staff last April); and by making a person's job undefinable—usually by not giving out pertinent information or enough money to operate a program (almost all people who were supposed to manage circulation, promotion and the library fall into this category).

The atmosphere of the GUARDIAN is so isolating and intimidating that the current strikers did not know each other or begin to talk to one another until last week when a typesetter resigned and said that he thought the paper did not provide enough material to help the movement. An informal discussion was held by three people after that meeting and they criticized certain aspects of the paper. Thereafter, these people felt more responsibility to speak up at staff meetings, and in doing so were discredited and threatened by Carl, Jack and Irving. (Carl said, "You knew what this place was like before you came, if you don't like it you can leave.") The resignation of all the typesetters and the hiring of four new typesetters over a few weeks time did not allow enough time for individual manipulation by management before they began talking among themselves. Last week during the layout period for the April 15 issue, the art department threatened to cease production because of poor planning

guardian

cont. from p. 7

by the writing staff for production and the hiring of a part-time professional from MADAMOISELLE as department head. "She's not much into politics," Jack explained to Susy and Cindy of the Art Department, "but she's heavy into women's lib." They finished laying out the paper and agreed to a production meeting on Thursday. Meanwhile, Sid Lines had been told that he was being fired from typesetting for incompetence. Both typesetters and art workers agreed to stop production if Sid was offed. At that Wednesday's staff meeting, the suggestion about passing around the editorial for comment (cited earlier) was made and discredited. That night all future strikers met together for the first time and by exchanging stories they learned how they were being pitted against each other. A series of demands and grievances was drawn up for presentation for Thursday. At the production meeting the production demands were presented and it was agreed to call a general staff meeting to deal with them. At this meeting, the first demand was that every person receive one vote. Irving, speaking for the management, said that that couldn't possibly be met, and everyone walked out. The strikers and their supporters picketed the GUARDIAN continually until the decision to liberate the GUARDIAN was reached. Sunday, after the GUARDIAN was liberated, the goals of the strikers were read and we began to plan a liberated edition of the GUARDIAN. Mr. Rifici, owner of the building, stated amicably to the strikers, that he considered the liberation an internal disagreement and did not intend to interfere. Two hours later, he came back and told us that he wanted us out by the end of the day. This sudden change of heart may be partially explained in a VILLAGE VOICE reporter slip that Irving had instructed Mr. Rifici to get us out. Legally, of course, we couldn't hold the building and not wanting a confrontation with the pigs in blue we left the building and picketed outside. We also formed an IWW local which, to the amusement of our lawyer, called for filling out a police strike report.

The report will be submitted to the NLRB for arbitration, but since the IWW refused to sign the NLRB's anti-communist agreement, we are quite sure they won't press for negotiations.

Early that evening the cops served us a complaint signed by Irving Beinin, but we didn't get one signed by Mr. Rifici, so we figured Irving was calling our bluff. So we went back into the building. No one bothered us until Monday when Rifici threatened us with eviction if we didn't leave by 3 pm. So we left the premises and moved over to another location to continue working on our statements and having discussions. The phones had been cut off at the old GUARDIAN building and the continued interruptions made working difficult.

The GUARDIAN's regular printer has so far refused to print the management's edition as has Prompt Printing, but it will probably be out soon somehow. Whether or not the management's GUARDIAN will be allowed back on Mr. Rifici's premises is not clear.

Some of the regular contributors who support the liberation of the GUARDIAN and refuse to submit copy to Jack Smith, et.al. are NACLA, Fran Furey (San Francisco Bureau), Lee Webb (Washington Bureau), Africa Research Group, Stanley Aronowitz, Greg Calvert and Carol Neiman, Clark Kissinger, and Todd Gitlin.

We will be printing our statement this week and it will be sent to all GUARDIAN subscribers. The management's GUARDIAN will be continually experiencing these ugly upheavals if they continue to employ dedicated movement people—they will have to employ the "professionals" that they are always hollering about.

Support our strike, support the movement, support yourself—don't work the GUARDIAN or subscribe to it. We want to replace it with a liberated GUARDIAN which will inform the movement about our brothers and sisters around the world, will serve the movements in all countries, and will join those who are struggling to create new structures for workers' control.

Cont from

yes-man flunkies:
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Rat 26

Striking the Guardian

Village Voice

One Man's Marxism

4/16/70

Is Another's Fascism

by Clark Whelton

"... the spirit of holy anarchy was at that moment—breathing down the Guardian's neck."—Richard Goldstein, reporting in the December 12, 1968, Voice on the 20th anniversary benefit for the National Guardian at Fillmore East.

The generation gap between the Old and New Lefts which Richard Goldstein noticed 16 months ago has widened into a chasm. The breath on the Guardian's neck has become a pair of clutching hands. 19 of the Guardian workers, most of them young and holy of spirit, are out on strike. The offices of the patriarch of the American radical press are closed and locked. The issues are not wages, hours, and benefits. It's more basic than that. The strikers want to turn the Guardian into a collective, democratically controlled and

operated by the workers themselves.

The picket lines went up last Thursday and by Friday morning the strikers were making headway. A letter carrier refused to cross their line to deliver mail and the non-striking staff were clearly on the defensive. The door was barricaded from the inside. Strike slogans had been painted across the front of the building. The sign above the door had been altered to read: "National Guard Weakly Ass."

"Off Smith-Beininism!" the pickets demanded. Translations were available.

"Jack Smith and Irving Beinin (the managing editor and general manager of the Guardian) run this paper by themselves," one girl said. "What they call Marxist-Leninism, we call personal fascism."

A man added: "If the Guardian really wants worker control of the

Continued on page 36

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Herbert Barrett, Management

One Man's Marxism

Continued from page 1

means of production, then let it begin right here."

The Guardian is theoretically run by its workers now, with each staff member having one vote in the election of the senior positions and the operational policy of the paper. But there is a four-month trial period for each new employee, during which time his qualifications for a permanent staff job are considered. The strikers feel this probationary, non-voting status results in exploitation of workers. The editors have defended the policy as necessary to screen out FBI informers and other unreliable types before they get the vote, but the strikers don't believe it.

"It's just a way to keep the workers weak and helpless," a woman says. "Only people who agree with Smith and Beinin get

the vote. The others get purged. Or intimidated."

The intimidation charge was repeated by Inez Martinez, a former volunteer proofreader. When she raised the question of an apparent lack of internal democracy at the Guardian, she was belittled by one of the editors, told she lacked "humility," and browbeaten into silence. It is this authoritarian streak in a radical weekly that bothers most of the strikers. They do not complain about the \$60 a week salary all Guardian employees earn, or the hours they put in, but they can't accept the feeling that no one at the top knows or cares what they think. They want to participate. They want a collective.

The picket line remained up all day Friday. The strikers were cheerful and confident of their moral rightness. They sang IWW songs and yelled "scab!" at anyone who tried to enter the building. They knelt in circles on the sidewalk and worked out strategy. As word of the walk-out spread, others came to join them including several former Guardian staffers. Bill Rose, who had represented the Guardian at the Fillmore benefit, was on the line. He had resigned from the staff a year ago, over issues similar to those of the strikers. Reports of several group resignations from the Guardian in the last 18 months were frequent, and the reasons given were uniform: too much control at the top and not enough individuality permitted.

By Saturday afternoon the picket line had grown stronger. The windows of the Guardian had been boarded up overnight by the staff members remaining inside to prevent a take-over of the offices by the strikers. They were a day early. The take-over came Sunday

morning. The strikers marched up the fire escape to the fifth floor, smashed a window, and went in. There was a brief flurry of resistance from the four or five staffers inside, a threat of violence, and it was all over: The staffers left. The strikers had the building. The police arrived a little while later with the landlord, Joseph Rifici, who told the strikers to be out of the building by 5 p. m. or he would press criminal trespass charges against them.

The strikers and several dozen supporters held a caucus on the third floor. Their lawyer informed them that they had no legal right to be there, since even the voting members of the staff who were present were not officers of the Guardian Corporation. It was simply a matter of whether or not they wanted to get busted when the cops returned at 5. They talked it over. There was a general feeling that the Guardian editors had pressured the landlord into calling the police, but there was no proof. Many were willing to be busted if their arrests could be used to discredit the Guardian management. The lack of hard evidence was decisive, however, and the strikers left quietly when the cops arrived. Sergeant Andre Di Marco of the Ninth Precinct then provided the missing indications that the police action was the result of Guardian pressure. Irving Beinin was the only name listed on his information sheet.

Beinin told his side of the story Sunday night. Outwardly calm and betraying little of the emotion he must have felt, Beinin was specific about the causes of the conflict. "The Guardian is a Marxist newspaper, whose purpose is to strengthen and develop Marxist theory and relate it to the people of this country. Their (the strikers) ideology is semi-anarchical terrorism." Beinin admitted that he supported some of the increasingly violent confrontation tactics of the radical New Left, but felt that "they weren't very effective. We share the same objective," Beinin said, "but not the same methods."

On the crucial and, for the strikers, non-negotiable question of worker ownership, Beinin was again specific. "The Guardian is a workers cooperative," he said, "owned and operated by the staff." He confirmed that new employees must go through a four-month, no-vote trial period. "This is essential," Beinin continued, "because of the need for political homogeneity. Not all political views are acceptable, so we screen people carefully to determine their politics and then we make our decision. We must do this or the politics of the paper would change from week to week. We do have weekly meetings to which all workers are invited and we encourage a free exchange of ideas.

"But you can't put out a paper
Continued on page 38

A BALLANTINE
THREE RING
THING



FAIRFIELD
UNIV
SPRING-ROCKS

THE DOORS

One Man's Marxism

Continued from page 36

by committee. Someone has to make the decisions. The people who make decisions at the Guardian are elected by the staff and are subject to recall at any time. But a vote for everybody would make the paper a revolving door on the operational level. There could be no unified point of view. Basically, the strikers' conception of society is not Marxist. By saying 'we are the people' they are in fact substituting themselves for the people."

Beinin said the staff would not attempt to defend the Guardian offices physically. "We want no martyrs, but the Guardian will keep publishing regardless." If the strikers put out their own version of the Guardian, Beinin is confident the staff can win the struggle for the hearts and minds of the readers. Beinin also feels the present take-over attempt was

engineered in advance. Temporary problems in the circulation and typesetting departments had necessitated the hiring of increased numbers of temporary workers, but, Beinin says, large numbers of unauthorized people were in the building. "We had people in the typesetting department who couldn't even type." On the issue of who called the cops, Beinin stated he had phoned the precinct only after he became concerned about the safety of the staffers inside and had asked that no arrests be made. It was the landlord, he said, who was evicting the strikers from the building.

On Sunday night, however, the strikers were back inside, ready to abandon their liberated turf at the first sign of a badge. They wanted no martyrs either. On Monday they were still there and landlord Rifici again gave them to 5 p. m. to leave. He had decided to lock out both sides of the dispute. The strikers were back on the street Monday night. Their morale was high, their mood edgy and unpredictable. The strikers had

Freedom Seder

In keeping with the Passover celebration, a Freedom Seder will be held on Sunday, April 19, at 3 p. m. in Battery Park, "in the shadow cast by the collective edifice of the American pharaohs, at the foot of the pyramids built off the backs, hearts, and lives of people all over the world." The location of Chase Manhattan Plaza was chosen specifically to attack "the Rockefeller interests who control and create racism, poverty, and despair," reads the announcement of the Seder. Speakers will include David Dellinger, Flo Kennedy, Maggie Geddes, Alan Levine, Paul Cowan, and about 10 others, including several rabbis and ministers.

grabbed Voice photographer Fred McDarrah's camera and exposed his film when they felt he wasn't quick enough to identify himself.

The main issue, worker control of the paper with one vote for everybody, is the only one the Guardian staff won't discuss. It's non-negotiable on both sides, and not likely to be quickly resolved. The strikers have formed their own IWW union and seem to be prepared for a long siege. The generation gap is non-negotiable, too. In American society, it is supposed to exist between those who remember the Depression and those who don't. In the Guardian strike, it seems to separate those who remember the years before it was respectable to be a leftist, when the Guardian was fighting the McCarthy reaction, defending the Rosenbergs and Anna Louise Strong and keeping alive the Marxist message, and those who

don't. To the young radicals, the Guardian is irrelevant in its present condition. They are into the kaleidoscopic politics of the Movement. Classical Marxist ideology is only a part of what they believe, but if historical precedent means anything their attempted coup at the Guardian will not easily succeed.

The strikers' press release states that "a history of purges demonstrates the Guardian's failure to live by the communist ideal it claims to uphold." This is incorrect. Communist ideology in this century has repeatedly turned the purge as a basic tool in the cleansing of unacceptable viewpoints. Even if the purge charges against the Guardian management are true, they are not likely to alter the paper's structure. The issue of worker vs. party control of the means of production was settled in Russia in 1921. The workers of Kronstadt went on strike against their intolerable conditions. They formed a true workers commune and gained the enthusiastic support of local military units. But the Bolsheviks and orthodox party ideology would have none of it. Trotsky personally ordered the Red Army to crush the people's collective in Kronstadt. The nascent workers' collective at the Guardian won't have to worry about Trotsky, but chances are they won't get control of the old Guardian organization. What appears more likely at this time is the emergence of two Guardians, and another chapter in the long, slow sub-division of the American left.

Film Festival

The Film Society of Lincoln Center will open its first spring festival at Alice Tully Hall on April 20, continuing on the 21, 23, 30, and May 1, 5, and 7. Performances

Riverside Show

The Riverside Museum, 103rd Street and Riverside Drive is showing selections from its permanent collections. The show includes 25 17th- to 19th-century tankas (banner paintings) from its Tibetan collection, the still photo show from the "America in Crisis" exhibition, and contemporary American art works including a "Space Trip" with film by USCO, and works by Giorio Cavallon, Jeanne Miles, Fritz Bultman, Paul Katz, Joseph Shannon, and Irene Krugman, John Von Wicht, Louise Nevelson, Morris Kantor, and Nell Blaine. Museum admission is 50 cents.

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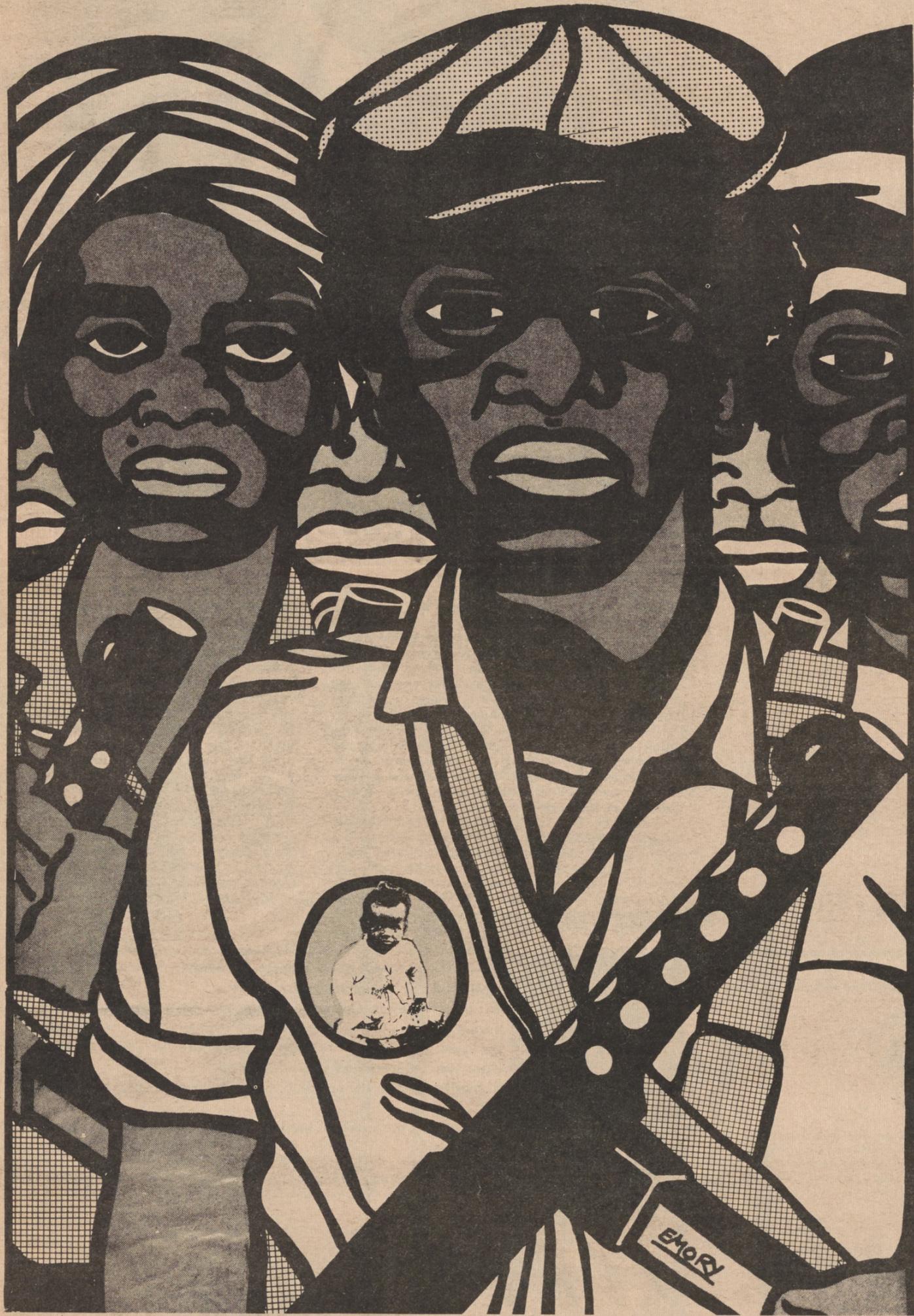
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LIBERATED *Guardian*



“REVOLUTION IN OUR LIFETIME”

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- Chairman Sheldon
- Comrade Striker
- Et Al

Dear Workers' Collective:

As one who has read the Guardian for over six years now, I wish to congratulate you on the publication of the first issue of the Liberated Guardian. I wholeheartedly agree with what you have done and would be more than delighted to peddle your paper at Columbia University where I am a graduate student.

One note however: I must question Peter Henig and Elizabeth Fink's view of Jack A. Smith as a person who "had virtually no understanding of or knowledge of the movement." In the early 1960s, long before most of us were activists, Smith was deeply involved with the Committee for Nonviolent Action, which, despite (or maybe because of) its strict pacifism, was then the cutting edge of the fledgling radical upsurge. In addition, Smith was a victim of political repression—punitive draft reclassification and induction—half a decade before the nation was shocked by General Hershey's infamous memorandum. For resisting this encroachment on his civil liberties, Smith served time in a federal penitentiary; he was a political prisoner when few of us even thought such things existed in America.

Historically, one of the ironies of revolutionary struggle has been the fact that those most involved in it have frequently lost their own humanity in the battle. Such was the case with many of the Russian Bolsheviks, and such was the case with many of the Israeli pioneers. Sadly, such is now the case with Jack A. Smith—and probably many others from the Guardian management. Perhaps the strike and the publication of the Liberated

Guardian will somehow make them see what has happened to them, but, alas, I fear this is a vain hope.

Steve Suffet
 NYC

Dear staff of the Liberated Guardian,

About 5 hours before my Guardian arrived, I was informed of your takeover of the paper and given a copy of the liberated issue. I was stunned by the events of last week, since I had never suspected the internal problems. After reading your liberated issue, I took stock of the Guardian for the first time in over a year and suddenly realized that you were right; the women's liberation issue had been badly neglected, the reporting mainly of "confrontations and public events," and the editorials often echoing the Times. Shortly after this revelation, my Guardian arrived in the mail with its screaming headlines, and I felt as though I was looking at an issue of the Daily News. Complete insanity.

I've been pouring money into the Guardian the past year and a half, money I really couldn't afford to give up but which I felt I had to give to an "independent" paper. Now I'm resentful, I guess. I'm tempted to rip up all the Guardian envelopes I have, but I think instead, I'll send them all empty, one a week, just to waste their postage. As for the Liberated Guardian, may you prosper. Keep working together and don't let the divisions so common in the movement lately tear you apart.

Becky Seward
 Woodside, N.Y.

PANTHERS EXPOSE YALE

For the first time since student disorders became a common occurrence, Kingman Brewster and the Yale Corporation are really being forced up against the wall. The contradiction between liberal rhetoric and corporate interests will become increasingly clear in coming weeks as student and community support for nine Black Panthers, including Black Panther Party Chairman Bobby Seale, on trial for murder and kidnapping in New Haven, forces Yale University to take a public stand on the issues.

Kingman Brewster Jr., the President of Yale University, in an attempt at liberal co-optation, recently declared that he was "skeptical of the ability of black revolutionaries to achieve a fair trial anywhere in the United States." However, his statement should be placed in historical context. It was made after ten out of the twelve undergraduate colleges at Yale were closed down by striking students and as plans for a massive rally on the week-end of May 1 coalesced.

Dormitories of liberated colleges offered housing and medical stations. A small group of white radicals—many of them former Yale students who dropped out to spend full time on the Panther defense—set up literature and information tables at the school post office and drug store. Scores of committees formed to deal with logistics, sound, recruiting, housing, food, medical care, transportation and communication. Yale students have been traveling to other schools and colleges to spread the word, encourage strikes and recruit people to attend the May Day rally.

Community pressure

The Yale Faculty Senate met April 23 and voted to endorse teach-ins on the trial during the week of April 27 - May 1. They also agreed to give students and teachers the choice of suspending normal activities without being penalized.

In the New Haven community around Yale, pressure caused newly elected Mayor Bartholomew Guida to declare: "My responsibility is to maintain, to the extent humanly possible, a climate in this community that is free from repression and violence, for the sake of the citizens of our community, for the sake of those who come to our community to peaceably protest and for the sake of those who are on trial."

Perhaps one of the factors which caused the Mayor to be concerned was that the high school students turned out for the trial en masse. For several weeks, high school kids have been cutting classes and showing up at the courthouse in defiance of a ban against demonstrations within 500 feet of the building. They have been filling the corridors of the courthouse, trying to get into the trial. The week of April 27 they went out on strike and picketed all around the city.

The black community rallied strongly behind the Panthers. The United Front to Defend the Panthers, a black coalition, sponsored a press conference in which they presented a series of demands and announced the participation of Ralph Abernathy of SCLC in the May Day activities. For a long time police and press have tried to give the impression that the Panthers are an isolated group of freaked-out militants who do not relate to the community. Nothing could be further from the truth, and the black community knows it. Breadfast programs around the city feed hungry children hot meals before school, just as Panther programs do in numerous other cities. Contacts have been made with local doctors to begin setting up a free medical clinic.

Intimidating busts

In the all-black Ashmun projects, where Panthers have recently set up another breakfast program, the Party is also talking with people about the black community, encouraging people to set up community discussion groups and invite Panthers to come outline the Panther program, as well as discuss the trial.

The result of this activity has been an increase in harassment busts of the Panthers—and the black community has been hit to this too. It took the presiding judge at the Panther trial only five minutes to put national Panther leaders David Hilliard and Emory Douglas behind bars—and Hilliard and Douglas weren't even on trial. They had come to New Haven to help organize the Panthers' political defense.

Hilliard, the Panther Party Chief of Staff, was one of fifteen spectators in the tiny courtroom where Judge Howard Mulvey is hearing pretrial motions for nine Panthers accused of murdering one of their comrades. New Haven officials have refused to use a much larger courtroom just across the hall, and they have packed Mulvey's courtroom with New Haven policemen and Connecticut state troopers.

Panther attorney Charles Garry walked up to Hilliard in the spectator's section and handed him a message from Bobby Seale. Hilliard was unobtrusively reading the letter when a guard grabbed him from behind and tried to take the papers away from him. Courtroom rules against reading are irregularly enforced.

"Take your hands off me!" demanded Hilliard, and he started to stand up. Five cops and troopers grappled him. Meanwhile, revolutionary artist and Panther

Minister of Culture Emory Douglas had gotten to his feet when Hilliard was grabbed. The cops jumped Emory too.

Hilliard and Douglas were handcuffed on the spot, and pushed up in front of Judge Mulvey.

"What's your name?" the judge asked Hilliard. "David Hilliard."

"Where are you from?"

"Oakland, California."

"You're sentenced to six months for contempt of court."

Then Mulvey asked Douglas the same two questions and gave him the same maximum sentence for "contempt." When Garry asked permission to speak for the two men, Mulvey told him there was nothing to be said. That was it. No further questions. No time for a statement. No reading of the charges. No lawyers. No trial.

Heavy harassment

In addition to open harassment of Panther Party members, someone has systematically been firebombing or starting fires in the black community. If it has not been done by the police themselves, the arson at least has their tacit approval. When a home in the Black Hill district began burning, neighbors ran up to a patrol car sitting at the corner. As they did, the car pulled away. It was half an hour before the fire engines came, and the house was totally destroyed.

Neither the Panthers nor the black community have become intimidated "and their efforts to save the Panther brothers and sisters continue. Panthers from all parts of the country are converging on New Haven. "We're not just here for the trial, we're here to serve the community," explained Big Man, editor of the Black Panther Party newspaper. "That's why the community is so involved in the struggle."

Asked his opinion of the recent activities of the Yale students—including their strike and the demands being made on the university for \$500,000 toward Panther defense—Big Man commented: "We feel it's right on; Yale is a racist, corporate capitalist institution. On the

Board of Trustees sits that great liberal image, John V. Lindsay—the man responsible for the persecution of the Panther 21 and the New York Panthers, the man who wants to run for president, when he can't even straighten out Brownsville, the man who is so devious about getting caught with blood on his hands."

The mayor of New York is not the only Yale trustee whose interests Kingman Brewster must defend while, at the same time, he attempts to avoid confrontation with Yale students and the New Haven community. The Yale Corporation, the University's governing board, is a small tightly-knit group of WASP big businessmen, politicians and lawyers. The class that rules Yale also rules New Haven and America itself. Among those sitting on the Yale board of trustees are William P. Bundy, former employee of the Central Intelligence Agency and former Assistant Secretary of Defense on Internal Security Affairs; Cyrus Vance, past Army Secretary; Caryl Parker Haskins, former trustee of the Rand Corporation; William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board; Joseph Irwin Miller, a trustee of the Ford Foundation and a member of the Board of Directors of AT&T.

Hypocrisy confronted

The demand made by Yale students that their university contribute \$500,000 to the Panther defense fund places the Yale Corporation in a very difficult position. Since Yale University just about owns New Haven "lock, stock and courthouse" and has strong, if not controlling influence over municipal policies, its corporate interests, as well as the personal interests of its trustees, dictate participation in the current campaign of total repression of the anti-capitalist Black Panther Party. On the other hand, the corporate leadership of the University must also head off confrontations with Yale students and the New Haven community. By masking its inaction with liberal rhetoric, Yale University hopes to avoid massive disruption. But the contradiction between the University's capitalist basis and its supposed function as a progressive institution, open to revolutionary ideas, is not easily reconciled.



Members of the I.U. 450 Industrial Workers of the World



Preamble of the IWW

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system....

... It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized not only for the day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old. RIGHT ON!

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the farce exposed

By Robert Dudnick

Robert Dudnick was the labor writer at the Guardian between December 1968 and April 1969. He is the author of the Guardian's special issue on "Black Workers in Revolt" and is presently an editor of The Maverick in San Jose, California.

Since the day I got into the movement, I have been a long and loud fan of centralism, tight discipline, and a reasonable division of labor. But in the matter of the Guardian, I find myself on the side of the "assorted ultra-leftists, anarchists and other self-styled revolutionaries. . . ."

This is what Jack A. Smith, of the well-known firm of Smith, Davidson, Beinin & Co., had to say about the workers who ripped off the "independent radical newsweekly." What William Randolph Smith forgot to say in his April 18 scab edition of the Guardian was that the solution to loose organization is not a tight noose around the necks of the wage-slaves. Any superstructure can be distorted by faulty or evil practice. Liu Shao Chi proved that in China, and Smith, Davidson, Beinin and Co. proved it in New York. Both lost.

The Liberated Guardian has asked me to comment on my stretch on Maggie's Farm. I was labor writer, general reporter, columnist and several other editorial things at the Guardian from Dec. 15, 1968, to April 16, 1969. On Dec. 15 I knew a lot about labor but not much about bosses per se. By April 16 I had a working knowledge of bosses.

In what follows, I will try to tell about the Guardian in as political a way as possible. I want to avoid personalities. But they will figure in this report, because the tragedy of the Guardian was that its personalities became its politics.

No mass base

Of course, this had roots outside whatever evil may consciously lurk in the minds of Smith, Carl Davidson and Irving Beinin. The Guardian had no mass base to which it was organically accountable. Its base was a readership composed mostly of elderly sentimentalists in New York and younger people around the country who were hooked into the ad hoc projects so common in the movement.

In the absence of responsibility to mass practice, the Guardian suffered from a closed system which severely restricted the dialectic that must operate between fist and voice.

A system like this eventually leads to rampant egotism, careerism, and elitism. These attributes of enuch are what's behind the fig leaf of Marxism-Leninism Smith and such rattled on about.

Nowhere was this more evident than in the conduct and line of Vladimir I. Davidson, the Guardian's resident thinker. I do not have the space for a detailed autopsy of Marxism-Leninism-Carl Davidson Thought, but a couple of examples might be instructive.

Davidson and some other figures in the social-pacifist wax museum called RYM-2 came up with the "white skin privilege" theory to explain why the white working class does not behave according to Guardian viewpoints. It could not have occurred to Davidson that the so-called "white skin privilege" was nothing more than the traditional ruling-class device to keep black and white workers divided by (a) keeping down black workers and (b) also keeping down white workers to an economic level now only 30% or so above that of their black brothers.

In Marxism-Leninism-Carl Davidson Thought this becomes a "privilege," although it is parenthetically and hurriedly concede that the "privilege" is, we of course realize, false.

The point is that it was inevitable that the sloppiness of the "white skin privilege" could not occur to Davidson because he has never had any contact with white workers. I believe, from my own observations at 197 E. 4th Street, that Carl Davidson was playing Lenin at the British Museum or on a paper he fantasized as Iskra. Lenin had intimate connections with thousands of workers over the years of struggle and his paper was the organ of a mass movement. Davidson, on the other hand, theorized at the office when he wasn't admiring his fingernails, and, when eventide fell upon New York, the Big Town Sound would go home to Park Slope to memorize some more (selected) Lenin. He never saw a worker coming or going. As far as the interests of the working class are concerned, conduct of this sort is treason by treatise.

Another example, in which Smith also figures, is the entirely unprincipled manner in which the Guardian polemicized first against the Progressive Labor Party and then against the Weathermen. (I am not now nor have I ever been a member of PL, nor will I ever be a member of Weatherman.)

Starting with the 1968 SDS convention, while Davidson was still an officer of that organization and shortly before he came to

the Guardian, the paper began a holy crusade against PL on several grounds, most of them subjective. The "external cadre" claim of the SDS national office was given great play in the Guardian, quite ignoring the fact, which was to become apparent a year later with the emergence of the WSA caucus, that PL had out-organized the national office plain and simple. In his story on the 1968 convention, Smith loosed every firecracker in his arsenal but never quoted anyone from PL faction. It was sad to see this appear in the "independent radical newsweekly."

By the 1969 SDS convention, things were more serious for the RYM faction which was temporarily united in opposition to PL-WSA. This time Smith had to cover, in some measure, the PL line. But the paper's interests were so deeply involved with those of what turned into RYM-2 that Smith and Davidson, with an assist from Randy Furst, became enmeshed in the highly irrelevant legalistic arguments between RYM-1 and 2 and PL-WSA as to which owned SDS.

When RYM-1 turned into Weatherman, Davidson and Smith tried to fight the stormy weather of terrorism without a base by means of automated Lenin without a context. Again, the "news" coverage was heavily slanted. Much was made of Weatherman's stupidities during the Days of Rage in Chicago, but not one word was said about fiascos RYM-2 staged at the Harvester plant and elsewhere in Chicago.

Independence? We must return to the question of base. All this happened not only out of careerism and the like, but because the Guardian had been tailing those sections of the movement that it could latch onto in place of a base.

Much has already been said and written about Beinism, so I need not go into it here except to note in passing that the loneliest people in the world are those who once called Trotsky their daddy. Beinin always tried like hell to influence Guardian politics, but was unable to do more than to minimize the damage to the Mobe.

This is the Guardian many in the movement saw. What those of us inside the Big House saw was worse yet.

It's clear that capitalist production relations existed at the Guardian. And it is ironic that the very same charges Smith, Davidson, Beinin & Co. used to manipulate the centrists on the staff into purging nine of us a year ago have now come on home to climax in the expropriation of the expropriators, as it were, in the current revolt.

The two things which turned my head around about the Guardian's internal structure were the pay differential and the Atlanta bureau issue. Both were examples of what went on at the paper.

I had been writing some stories for the Guardian voluntarily from Los Angeles when Smith invited me to come on the New York staff full time. I went to New York for two days in November 1968 to look, work, and talk.

Unknown to me, Smith had announced to the staff that two people were coming into New York for interviews and a little work. "Todd Simonds is coming in so we can take a look at him. Bob Dudnick's coming to take a look at us," he said. This elitism did not stop with words.

Elitism rampant

At the end of a day at the Guardian, Smith, Susan Suthem, and I went to eat at the little Italian restaurant on Ave. A near Tompkins Square Park. Smith offered me the job and said, "We pay everybody \$65 a week."

Being from a union background, I naturally asked, "Is that gross or takehome?" Smith said it was takehome. I signed on and arrived a month later.

A couple of months after that, I cashed a pay check of a fellow worker who was too busy to go to the bank. I noticed that her net was \$10 less than mine. I went to the business office and looked at the payroll ledger. It showed the Guardian was paying me \$10 more than the rest of the staff. I told Liz Fink to cut me ten dollars and she gladly did.

Now, some other things began to fall into perspective. Smith had the habit of sometimes taking me aside right after some row at the paper and saying, as he ran his fingers through his luxurious hair, "Well, my lad, we know what to do; we're professionals. These other people. . . ."

Jack Smith, formerly of United Press International, the nation's second largest news agency, was impressed with Robert Dudnick, formerly of the Los Angeles Times, the nation's second largest daily. I may as well have been working for the American Newspaper Publishers association.

The Liberated Guardian is correct about what happened to me in regard to the Atlanta bureau business, but some of the details are different. I was the one who informally suggested we set up a southern bureau. I did so because I liked the South and wanted to "catch that Orange Blossom Special" and lose these "New York blues."

Smith picked up on it within minutes. He drafted a strong memo to the coordinating committee and it looked as if I was bound to south of the Smith and Wesson line.

Then comrades Bill Rose and Jodi Randall found out that Smith wanted me out of town. "Reverence for leadership was not Dudnick's bag," so I told Smith I had decided to stay in New York after all, to continue the labor coverage.

Labor was a catch word around the Guardian. Understanding was so low that I was accused by some people of "working class chauvinism" and of being a "PL agent" as if PL had a monopoly over or even a toehold in the working class.

I would like to stress that in a situation such as the Guardian, no one comes out unscathed. We all made mistakes. I was guilty of a narrow minded attitude towards "street people" whom I considered symbols of what I don't like rather than real people with whom I am in the same general movement despite major differences. The distinction between our mistakes and those of Smith, Davidson, Beinin & Co. is that none of us held any real power and all of them did. We could not, therefore, implement systematically the practice which flowed from our errors; they could.

Sisters and brothers, there is a lesson in that for all of us.

WOMEN UNITE

NY Women's Center

In the past year, New York City has seen the upsurge of hundreds of women's liberation groups. They range from small consciousness-raising groups to the graphics collective to child day care center collectives. This great expansion of the women's movement led to the need for one central women's place. Finding this Center has been very difficult. After one landlord learned of the Ladies' Home Journal action, in which a coalition of women occupied the executive offices and presented certain demands, he refused to lease his loft. Other incidents occurred, in which the landlord showed the same kind of prejudice. The Center has finally been leased. Already planned are: an information service on small groups, abortion information, a library and bookstore, meeting rooms, karate classes and movies. The location is 36 West 22nd Street. Any suggestions are welcome.

Coffin Caravan

Ottawa, Canada (LNS)—A caravan of black hearses from across Canada will arrive in Ottawa May 9. Driven by members of Women's Liberation Movement groups from British Columbia to Ontario, the arrival of the Abortion Caravan will culminate a three-month campaign around the right of all women to legalized abortion.

The caravan will bring a coffin symbolizing the women who have died from illegal abortion. This coffin will be placed, and with it the responsibility for the death of our sisters, at some appropriate place in Ottawa (perhaps the Prime Minister's doorstep, or that of the Minister of Health or Justice, or at the House of Commons).

"Women oppress me"

By Susan Holstrum and Elizabeth Fink

Last fall, Leviathan magazine carried Marge Piercy's article, "Grand Coolie Dam," a brilliant analysis of the way men in the movement use power. It turned out to be a totally accurate portrayal of the way Jack Smith, managing editor of the Guardian, manipulated women during the early days of women's liberation at the paper. We want to elaborate on that history now, because we believe the discussion will be helpful to sisters and brothers struggling against male chauvinism.

Until January, 1969, because of isolation, stratification, and the resulting low level of consciousness among the women who worked on the paper, there was no such thing as women's liberation at the Guardian. When the lone woman writer attempted to form a women's caucus, she faced an atmosphere of distrust.

Smith exploited this atmosphere to keep the women apart. Whenever the subject of women's liberation arose, he had to be reassured that this need for unity was not a power play. And thus the initial attempt for a women's caucus failed, and the woman writer fed to the advertising department in an attempt to escape the hostility of the editorial floor.

At this time, several people came on the staff who posed a definite threat to Smith and Irving Beinin, who had recently been fired as business manager yet still retained control of the department. These new people worked closely together in an effort to clean up the hopelessly-mismanaged business side of the paper. Faced with unbelievable pres-



sure caused by the financial crisis, they made serious mistakes in the manner in which they operated.



Concurrent to this, another attempt for a women's caucus was made, but the distrust in the group mitigated any political power they might have had.

Smith used this distrust by spreading rumors which increased competition among the women. The news editor was told that the woman writer was after her job; the woman writer was told that the editorial assistant (Smith's secretary) was after her job, ad infinitum.

After a dispute arose between Smith and John Duffett, the "head" of the business team—Smith realized that Duffett had to go because he was unmanipulatable, and therefore could not be used by Smith for his own purposes.

Smith set about excessing his newly-discovered "enemy" by systematically organizing the individual women against Duffett on the basis of the latter's authoritarian personality. Duffett was the kind of man characterized by Marge Piercy as follows:

"The men who often get the most opposition from movement women and are often publicly called male oppressors, are precisely those men who have the least skill at co-opting the labor of women: men with a bluff style, frontal attack and obvious sense of their own competence, and a tactless assault on what they see as others' lack of it. They often succeed in rapid fashion in uniting some of the women in a caucus against them."

Duffett's "tactless assault" against some of the women was the rallying point used by Smith to organize the women's caucus for his own purposes. The core of the women's caucus was told that they could not have desired work-structure reforms until Duffett was ousted.

So the women set about doing what Smith wanted them to do. In their caucus, they excluded any member of the female staff who was sympathetic to Duffett. Marge Piercy's comment is apropos:

"The ability to dismiss from a collective is as important as the ability to recruit. One effective method is to stir up the workers so they themselves expel the person threatening the masher's power. If the expulsion is carried out in the name of worker's control or women's liberation, and the expulsion is one whereby the entrepreneur's power is strengthened, the irony is complete."

After Duffett and his team were ousted, the remaining staff, chaired by a woman art worker, met to attempt to pick up the pieces. During this entire discussion, Jack remained silent with a sullen expression on his face. After a male subscription worker expressed his desire to work on promotion, Jack rose from his seat, humiliated the staff for bourgeois tendencies, and declared dictatorial powers for thirty days.

There went worker's control and women's liberation for the Guardian. At the same time, Irving Beinin went back to the business department—with Smith's promise to the staff, who felt that Irving

was incompetent, that Beinin would only remain in an advisory business position for 30 days. Worker's control became democratic centralism, and Irving Beinin became general manager, a post he had always coveted, absolute head of the business department. Incompetence has its rewards at the Guardian.

At this same meeting, various women went down to fill business posts. Over the next 3 months, all of the out-spoken members of the women's caucus left the Guardian—one by one—with no explanation to the remaining staff. The realization of their own manipulation made them incapable of working with Jack or Irving. The last of these women to leave the staff was told by Smith at the 1969 SDS Convention that he wanted all the women who participated in firing Duffett off the paper, because, as he said, "Women oppress me."

As a new staff began to be formed, even though there was no women's caucus as such, Jack could not gain the confidence of any of the women: through women's liberation they lost their capacity to be manipulated. Thus, in August, 1969, 12 members of the staff—half of them women—walked off in protest to Smith's oppressive tactics. In April, 1970, 12 of the 16 members of the women's caucus were among the strikers. Jack's first instincts about women's liberation were correct—the role of the revolution is to gain power for the people and women's liberation is a revolutionary movement. Power to the People!

Mary Moylan

A Letter from Mary Moylan to Her Sisters

It is not to escape or to revive the "Catonville 9" that I am not showing up. No, rather the opposite. It is exactly because of Erica and the Kathys that I refuse to turn myself in. Because of the fear that "we" will be the good guys and they the bad. Added to that the incongruity of "surrendering" to an "authority" that is obscene. The only obscenity I know.

It is becoming clearer and clearer in the movement that all decisions that we make are both political and personal, that, in fact, there is no separation. We live the way we live because it is the only human way to live.

I know that I derive sustenance and hope from my sisters here and abroad. The struggle has begun and they are with me and I am with them. Sisterhood is powerful!!!

What can I do for my sisters in Vietnam, Guatemala, Brazil, France, Greece or America. I can say and act out that fact that "Sister, I dig."

Yes, I stand with my sisters. The society towards which we are heading is a human society. Sisters will help, nay, they will set you free to help.

Here in America I can list Erica and the Kathys, not my other sisters. You have yet to discover them.

Because I don't want any of my sisters and brothers to go to jail and or die, I say absolutely NO! There is no question that you have the power; unfortunately your authority is nonexistent! Brothers, understand what I am saying!

To my sisters, I feel no need to say anything. We know what we are about! Freeing people!!! Erica and sisters in New Haven, to you I could write a love letter. It isn't necessary; we're in the same struggle. (Unfortunately, I am a poor sister writer. The sisters will understand.)

Sisters, the reason that I feel free to do this is primarily that I know that you will never do to me what brothers do to brothers (dehumanization, enshrinement, etc.).

Sisters, we will make it only with all our sisters. Power to the people!

Mary



Spring Strikes

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Non-faculty staff workers at New York University's Washington Square campus have been on strike for over a week. They are demanding recognition by university of their union—District 65 of the National Council of Distributive Workers of America (Alliance for Labor Action). The strike began when 300 workers in the library system walked out April 16 over the firing of two workers for union activity and the university's failure to grant an election for the union.

The strike spread quickly to the secretaries and clerks in almost every branch of the university. By Friday morning over 60% of the workers had left their jobs and joined the picket lines.

During the first day of the strike, the Union asked for student support and vowed to back any student, faculty member, or worker fired, suspended or harassed for supporting the strike. Members of the December 4th Movement, SDS, women's liberation groups, and the International Socialists joined the picket lines. Radical students and workers ransacked four cafeterias which had tried to "do business as usual."

Among the demands of the NYU strikers are: recognition of the Union, no reprisals against workers, a day care center, wage increases, pensions, and an open admission policy for employees and their families.

BOSTON COLLEGE

Students at "conservative" Boston College are striking to protest a \$500 tuition hike. By a margin of 3 to 1, students have voted down a series of administration-sponsored compromises and demanded that the strike continue.



Liberation News Service

On April 13 more than 400 dormitory residents held a spontaneous midnight march on the president's house. Picket lines formed at sixteen points on the campus the following morning. All classes, including ROTC, were broken up by striking students.

The college's administration is keeping its own building closed to prevent a takeover. The strike is led by the Student Congress and a popularly elected negotiating committee that gets more radical each time a new slate of members is elected.

OTHER COLLEGES

In a similar struggle at Fordham University, another bastion of conservatism, students have been on strike to support the rehiring of former faculty member, Dr. Ronald Friedland. A

four-day-old boycott has kept a majority of students out of class.

At New York City's Bernard Baruch School of Business, students are striking to protest a planned tuition increase. Classes have been suspended by the school's president, Robert C. Weaver (ex-secretary of HEW under Johnson).

Open enrollment

Hunter College, scene of a three-week-old strike, was recently cleared of students who were sitting in and closed to those without ID. Classes have been suspended. Students are demanding open enrollment for black and Puerto Rican students starting next fall, and increased student control over selection of faculty.

- An end to Armed Forces Day and the glorification of weapons;
- An end to repression of the GI movement;
- The freeing of all political prisoners and abolition of the stockade system;
- An end to the Army's re-inforcement of unnatural and oppressive sexual roles;
- The immediate withdrawal of all U.S. occupation troops from Southeast Asia;
- Self determination for blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, American-Indians and Orientals;
- An end to the use of class oppression which makes poor people fight the rich man's wars.

In a letter the organizers of the coffeehouse explained some of their problems: "The Fort Dix Coffeehouse Project needs money desperately. While the coffeehouse was open, GI's who know the truth about this country worked together to help other GI's realize the power they have. SHAKEDOWN, a paper written by GI's at Fort Dix, was put together and distributed. The Soldier's Liberation

Front and the Black Liberation Army saw Newsreel films and spoke to radicals from different organizations.

"The coffeehouse closed at the end of February. After being harassed by lifers and bombed by right-wingers, we were evicted. Nobody in Wrightstown will rent to us because they are afraid to endanger their position with the Army, the pigs and the Minutemen. In order to reopen, we will have to buy a place.

Movement growing

"The GI movement is growing rapidly. Even Nixon knows that a country can't fight an imperialist war with a drafted army. . . . The GI's who are political are subject to severe repression on base. A place is needed where GI's can feel solidarity with those around them, and work together to radicalize the Army."

Support the GI's in their struggle. Please send money. If it is possible for you to set up a fund-raising rally, contact coffeehouse organizers at the following address and they can provide a GI speaker and films: PO Box 68, Wrightstown, N.J. (609) 298-9716.

Fort Dix Revisited

Five thousand people went to Fort Dix, New Jersey on October 12, 1969, to demand an end to the persecution of the Fort Dix 38 and the harassment of GI's. Now, once again, the organizers of what was the Fort Dix coffeehouse in Wrightstown, N.J. are calling for a demonstration on May 16 at 12 noon.

GI's and their supporters will gather at Fort Dix to demand:



Jailed GI's boycott food

Liberation News Service

Tacoma, Wash.

More than 100 men in the Ft. Lewis stockade boycotted meals in the stockade mess hall here April 15. They released the following statement: "We oppose the use of American youth and resources to suppress the Vietnamese and other Third World peoples.

"We also oppose the use of GI's to suppress the Latin American people in 'ghetto pacification' and to break strikes like the recent postal workers' strike. An army should serve the people, not suppress and abuse them."

At the evening meal, Major Jackson, the stockade commander, ordered the men to eat—anyone who refused was liable to a five-year sentence. One casualty of the demonstration was Pvt. Wade Carson, who was placed in solitary confinement. According to Major Jackson, Carson was put in solitary for two reasons: 1) He swept out a closet instead of mopping it when he was told to "clean" it; and 2) he told a sergeant not to interrupt his conversation with a lieutenant.

However, Carson's lawyer, James Venasch, feels that Carson was suspected of organizing the food boycott. Carson's original arrest was political—he is in the stockade on a five-month sentence for attempting to distribute literature.

As of this writing, Carson has been in solitary confinement for five days, and there are no signs of his imminent release.

LAOS: VIETNAM WAR II

Editor's Note: Jacques DeComoy has travelled extensively throughout Southeast Asia reporting for Le Monde. LNS recently interviewed him in Berkeley.

Liberation News Service

LNS: Are they bombing all over in Laos, or just along the Ho Chi Minh trail?

JDC: I have not been on the Ho Chi Minh trail at all. I was in Sem Neua province, through which there is not such a trail, and when I was there in March of 1968 we were constantly bombed. I remember one day being either attacked or overflown by U.S. planes every 30 minutes. The landscape really looks like the moon. It also looks like the southern part of North Vietnam and some provinces of South Vietnam. Sem Neua is very close to North Vietnam, northeast of the Plain of Jars and Vientiane.

LNS: What was the purpose of the bombing?
JDC: I wish I knew. I personally think (and I wrote it) that the bombing aims not at destroying the North Vietnamese forces in transit through Laos or the forces based in Laos, but aims at destroying the Pathet Lao infrastructure. For instance, I was in what was the city of Sem Neua—it has been entirely destroyed. And I could see—because they had not exploded—lots of anti-personnel bombs. Now it is obvious that those anti-personnel bombs were aimed at killing people and I guess not only Pathet Lao soldiers, but also civilians. And there are civilians that have been killed. All the civilians have had to leave the city. They now live in the woods or in caves a few miles from Sem Neua where absolutely everything has been destroyed. All the villages I saw in the province of Sem Neua except two have been destroyed.

It's very hard to drive in this region, not only because it's dangerous, but because there aren't any roads any more. You have got to drive from crater to crater and it's quite dangerous.

LNS: What about the massive displacement of people? It seems that the U.S. is clearing people out.

JDC: Yes, there is the same process that they do in South Vietnam. Some American right-wing political scientist wrote one day that actually it was not bad because it accelerates the natural process of urbanization. I think Herman Kahn wrote it. Now it is obvious to me that in Laos there are hundreds of thousands of refugees. Those people had to leave their villages and their land because they couldn't cultivate their land any more, because the buffalos had been killed, and because they were too afraid of the bombs. They are now living in camps and they don't join the Royal armed forces. If they were that much anti-communist, and that much anti-North Vietnamese and that much anti-Pathet Lao, I guess they would ask for rifles and go and fight, but they don't. They are just waiting for the end of the war to go back to their land.

LNS: Do you know what the situation is with the CIA-trained Meo tribesmen around the Plain of Jars, and the so-called mercenary army?

JDC: I could see in the province of Sem Neua that lots of Meos are working together with the Pathet Lao and belong to the Pathet Lao. For instance, when you go

to a certain cave that is hidden not too far from Sem Neua you find the school where they train their teachers. Lots of the students are Meo women and men.

It is true that there are Meos with the Royal Laotian forces. For instance, in Pati which is about 30 kilometers west of Sem Neua, there were Meos with U.S. officers and Japanese, Thai and maybe Filipino mercenaries. It was a kind of U.S. and Meo outpost right in the middle of Pathet Lao-controlled territory.

At the beginning of 1968 Pati was taken over by the communist forces. Several Americans and Asian

mercenaries were killed and the helicopters and radar system were destroyed. It was a civil defeat for the U.S. radar network in Southeast Asia because the radars that had been put on the hill in Pati helped the U.S. planes that went to bomb North Vietnam. They missed those radars badly afterwards.

LNS: Why is the U.S. interested in Northern Laos?
JDC: Well, as I said before, I think that they are mostly interested in destroying the Lao left. That's what they are trying to do. I would even say that they are

continued on page 12

CUBA INVADED

Havana (LNS)—A group of mercenary soldiers whose point of departure was the United States and who come equipped with modern U.S.-built automatic weapons, landed near the Yumurie River, 14 miles east of the Cuban city of Baracoa, at dawn on April 14.

Members of the Cuban rural militia, joined by regular soldiers and units of the border patrol, made the first contact with the invasion force, whose exact numbers could not be determined. Three invaders were captured, and two automatic rifles, 200 bullets and numerous packages of plastic explosives were seized.

The Cuban revolutionary forces began an exhaustive hunt for the other invaders, who landed at a wild and almost unpopulated part of the eastern coast of Cuba's eastern-most province, Oriente. The area is important historically. In 1895, Antonio Maceo landed there in an invasion aimed at liberating Cuba from Spain. Later, it became an operating point for part of Fidel's revolutionary forces.

Four members of the Cuban government's forces lost their lives and two were gravely wounded in the invasion, which took place nine years to the day after the abortive, CIA-sponsored, Bay of Pigs invasion. Alpha 66, the Cuban exile organization which was responsible for the Bay of Pigs invasion, has also taken credit for the latest attempt to set back the advances of Cuban communism.

Spokesmen for Alpha 66 in Miami indicate that the organization decided to attempt the invasion based on "information" that the Cuban people were dissatisfied with the revolution and would

rally to the side of the counter-revolutionary invaders.

The area in which the invaders landed was an extremely poor, underdeveloped region prior to the revolution, and has benefited enormously from the Fidelista social program. People who have spent extensive amounts of time in Cuba recently report that the vast majority of Cubans—almost all the young people—are still very much on the side of Fidel and the revolutionary socialism which Cuba is actually building today.

Part of that process is the attainment of the "Ten million Ton Sugar Harvest," the largest ever. Cubans from every part of the country and from every level of society are working perhaps harder than ever before—but definitely with more enthusiasm than ever before—to cut enough cane to make the ten million to break out of economic underdevelopment. Fidel emphasized that the logical goal of the new invasion force would be to sabotage the sugar harvest. That is what the Cubans are worried about—not that the people are going to desert the revolution.

Thus far, two members of the invading force have been killed, and three taken prisoner. Spokesmen for Alpha 66 claim that the rest of the invaders intend to hole up in the barren countryside, waiting for some kind of "opportunity."

In response, Radio Havana stated, "Although the invading band managed to disappear from the scene, they will be wiped out with the minimum of deployment of our forces, and the few who survive will have to answer in full to the justice of the revolution."

AMERICANS RESPOND TO INVASION; SUPPORT CUBA

Cuban press sources have revealed that Fidel Castro himself, along with some other government figures, is leading the campaigning to round up the remaining invaders. The Cuban government feels that this will not be the last of such invasions, that this one was only the first of a whole chain of actions in a plot to sabotage the 10-million ton harvest.

Newspaper urges counterrevolution

The El Tiempo editorial on April 26 urges Cubans living in the United States to "recognize this important historical moment" as the time to "show their patriotism" to mobilize patriotic groups "in all cities in order to cooperate" with the Alpha 66, who has just joined with the MIRR, in preparing more actions against Cuba and more invasions.

In response to the invasion, groups in the United States who are sympathetic to the Cuban Revolution have formulated a statement, which is a pledge of action against the new counterrevolutionary plot. Their statement reads as follows:

On April 17, a small band of Cuban exiles made a futile attempt to establish a counterrevolutionary base inside Cuba. What is not generally known is that for

the mercenaries, this was the second attempt. On January 16, the same group was rescued by U.S. naval vessels from Guantanamo when their boat ran aground off the tip of the province of Oriente.

If this was the end of the incident, it would have been serious enough. At a time when the entire Cuban population, including a good part of its army, is working night and day to harvest 10 million tons of sugar—nearly double past yields—U.S.-supported infiltration attempts appear particularly diabolic. But there is ample evidence that the landing was only a probe.

At this very moment, Cuban ex-General Eugilio Cantillo is recruiting a 5000-man army in four U.S. cities. Cantillo, army chief under the dictator Batista, has made no secret of official U.S. support for his operation. Meanwhile, another Batista strongman, Rolando Masferrer, has sent word that a 3000-man army, which he commands, is already making its approach to Cuba from a base somewhere in Central America. Masferrer too has publicly revealed his indebtedness to the U.S. government.

The time has passed when U.S.-supported aggression against Cuba will go unheeded by the American people. Today, Washington can no longer hide the

truth about Cuba because it can no longer hide Cuba from the U.S. people. By now, thousands of Americans have seen the truth with their own eyes. Despite the Bay of Pigs invasion, despite the economic blockade and the continuing acts of sabotage, Revolutionary Cuba has survived. Through voluntary collective work, and with a high spirit of internationalism, the Cubans are defending themselves against aggression and liberating themselves from underdeveloped world.

Cuban ideals inspire all

When Fidel Castro spoke at the funeral of four Cubans killed in combat with the mercenaries, he said: "Men can fall but the ideals they defend never fall." We say that the Cuban people are fighting for ideals that inspire us all. The attack on Cuba is an attack on all people struggling against aggression, whether inside or outside the U.S.

The Cuban people are responding to U.S. aggression by bringing in the biggest harvest of their history. We too have our responses: WE PLEDGE to publicize by every means available, the history of CIA and Pentagon attempts to wreck the economy, assassinate the leaders, and destroy the revolution. For each act of

aggression by the U.S. government or its mercenaries, we will respond with an act of friendship by the American people. For each Cuban worker who must be mobilized to defend his country, WE PLEDGE to send an American to replace him. For each man-hour lost from production, WE PLEDGE to send a medical book, a scientific journal, or a technical manual.

On the eve of the victorious return of the Second Venceremos Brigade—which cut over 75 million pounds of sugar cane—we are prepared to meet this pledge. A Third Venceremos Brigade is being organized. This brigade will be made up of 500 students from all over the country who will work alongside young Cubans in the month of August in the citrus fields, on the Isle of Youth.

Like the 903 members of the first two brigades, these young Americans will also demonstrate that there is "no blockade" strong enough to keep apart those people who are fighting for a better world.

Venceremos Brigade
Books for Cuba
Nat'l Info Network on Latin America (NINOLA)
Committee of Return Volunteers (CRV)
New University Conference (NUC)
Cuban Health Exchange

corporate confrontations

GE knows!

by Chris Robinson/NARMIC

The Man's been taking stock of the revolution lately!

He's figuring out that we've figured out that the flip side of imperialism abroad (Vietnam, et. al. and its profits) is capitalism at home (stealing from the workers by raking off the "surplus" that workers produce; inflation; taxes, etc.).

Black and white revolutionaries are making it clear that what liberals thought was protest against the military-industrial complex is in reality directed against the cause of the complex—capitalism.

So businessmen are beginning to prepare for an invasion of their private domain (remember they once thought Asia was their private domain, too).

General Electric's response was to set up a Task Force on Confrontations (dig it!) which composed a historical memo to all plant managers. It described the situation and made recommendations for dealing with new waves of demonstrations.

This memo, pilfered from a GE office and forwarded to the Philadelphia Free Press by comrades, claims that "a major campaign is about to be launched against the US corporation and its managers." The objective of the campaign, it said, was "to create a political climate hostile to industry, to continuing good relations between business and government, and to the free enterprise system (capitalism) in general."

The GE Task Force points out that "the device of confrontation is being used less and less frequently by responsible civil rights groups." However, "there is a growing body of evidence, mostly deriving from statements and publications of radical organizations and their leaders, that big business, the archetype of capitalism, will be their prime target in months ahead."

Fear class warfare

In describing the people involved in this movement, the Task Force says that "a majority of campus and minority-interest/black/radicals are neither sincere intellectual dissenters nor responsible civil rights advocates. They are self-admitted revolutionists openly dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism."

The Task Force shows particular fear of "those organizations which are militant, ideological and black." But white revolutionaries are not ignored because they "are easing their emphasis on civil rights considerations in their campaign to destroy American institutions. Emphasis now is on the traditional theme of class warfare."

The memo further points out "The four main components of the New Left draw from students, faculty, the black community and the organized labor movement. Of these, labor is regarded as most important because of its potential for 'qualitatively' altering the balance of power."

So the ruling class knows what's up.

"Avoid being responsive"

But in describing what is to be done to derail the revolution, they fortunately demonstrate that they are incapable of dealing with the problems at either the local or national level.

To the Task Force, a corporation's "vulnerability to local confrontation" is pinned to such irrelevant factors as the company's size, the location of its plants, and the "sociological, economic, and geographic" composition of its work force.

The really important issues such as urban decay, education, housing, racism, and sexism, are written off as being "major civic ills which historically have not been viewed as industry concerns." After giving such an enlightened account of the growth of class warfare, the Task Force ranks the problems of the working class and the black nation as "peripheral factors."

Therefore, the "tentative recommendations" which are suggested in the memo smack decidedly of the company's overworked union-busting tactics, with a touch of the Nixon Strategy: stall and hope the problem will go away.

All the company officials are instructed to "avoid being responsive" and to "avoid confer-

ring legitimacy on a demand." Everything done during a confrontation is to be directed by a PR man toward the public at large, and in line with this the Task Force proposes a series of "digests" to cover GE's positive achievements.

This is, if you recall, precisely the way the GE dealt with the 102-day strike by its 50,000 workers earlier this year. The company stalled and refused to deal with the striking union members' demands (an adequate wage and better working conditions). GE channeled its major activity during the strike into a public relations campaign which cost millions of dollars (in some areas GE spent \$5,000 a day on radio ads).

These same tactics are now to be used against the revolutionaries, and they will be accompanied by those two other devices traditionally used to bust unions: spying and police brutality.

The Task Force calls for "continuous identification and assessment of local civil rights and ideological organizations" through the development of "local information-and-appraisal capabilities," although in an aside, the memo recognizes that "most of you already have such a capability, either formally or informally." This probably refers to the spy network that was originally designed to deal with GE's unions. Now, it's to be reoriented toward identifying the leadership, motivation, and strength of revolutionary organizations. The spying plan also calls for business-wide study "to explore the dimension of the anti-corporation campaign, to identify its supporters, its objectives and its strategy and to recommend appropriate industry action."

With regard to using cops to bust demonstrations (as well as strikes), the memo calls for "effective liaison and rapport with local police," and insists that its local managers "determine in advance the level of police action it deems acceptable and appropriate and should communicate this attitude to the police."

All this is incredibly familiar when viewed from the perspective of GE's history. The company has always sicced spies on its union organizers, and was even able to split the union in two during the McCarthy era (1949) through the use of heavy red-baiting.

And every striking worker knows it. Industry controls the cops; Police Commissioner Mayor Rizzo is just a flunky of the corporate managers.

"It's the workers 'gainst the bosses on this job, Lord, Lord!"

"No-Nox" & napalm

Liberation News Service

As we go to press, plans are being made to introduce some new topics—ending oil exploitation of the Third World, for example—at the annual Gulf Oil Co. stockholders meeting. The Gulf Oil Co. is best known to Americans as "No-Nox" gasoline which makes our cars run happily, and an orange, white and blue sign at gas stations. Gulf is best known to the people of Angola, Venezuela and 68 other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America as napalm,

military dictatorships and economic strangulation.

Angola has been a Portuguese colony for 400 years. Since 1965, it has also been Gulf's colony. Gulf owns the oil concessions for the entire country, profiting more than \$40 million a year. This profit is then split with the Portuguese government so that they can continue their war against Angolan liberation fighters. The Portuguese use the money to buy American airplanes and napalm, which they liberally dump into the liberated regions of the country.

Gulf contributes 2,000 jobs to the Angolan economy, 1,500 of which are held by Americans and other foreigners. Roads have been built to carry troops, and houses have been built for affluent whites. The white minority owns sixty times more land than the Angolan population, including the huge coffee plantations.

Without Gulf, the Portuguese would fall in a week. And without the Portuguese, Gulf would find themselves less 150,000 barrels of oil a day. The Angolan people can do without both of them.

In Venezuela, Gulf Oil is a much older tradition. Since 1922, Gulf and Standard Oil have been milking the country's oil reserves dry. Venezuela is the largest oil exporter in the world and it is estimated that the oil will be dry in 14 years—a turn in business for Gulf, but a tragedy for the Venezuelan people.

Gulf came into Venezuela during a dictatorship, and decided to continue the tradition. By 1936 oil was 99% of the country's exports and the oil companies were solidly in power. One junta followed another from then on. A reform government seized power in 1942. The Accion Democratica of Romulo Gallegos began enforcing the payment of a commission by the oil companies, the first collective bargaining contract was signed with the oil workers and a minimum daily wage with housing and health benefits was set up.

\$240 a year

That government was toppled in 1948 and the next decade was euphoric for the oil companies which got the largest return on investments of any American companies in Latin America. The presence of the American military attaché in the general staff headquarters during the coup is only one indication of U.S. involvement.

As Venezuela moved into the '60's, it showed all the symptoms of "development" by Gulf and Standard Oil. Eighty per cent of its farm families made less than \$240 a year. Although it is an agricultural country, Venezuela had to import nearly \$150 million worth of food annually. Five hundred thousand children had no schools to attend and 300,000 abandoned children roamed the city streets and in the countryside. Meanwhile, Gulf and Standard Oil provided jobs for about 1.1% of the population.

Gulf Oil Co. isn't only into Angola and Venezuela. It also rapes Ecuador, Colombia, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Kuwait, Iran, the Philippines and South Korea, just to name a few. And the State Department, the CIA and the U.S. military follows Gulf wherever it goes.

battle lines bein' drawn ...

Bank of America

Santa Barbara, Calif. (LNS)—Five big garbage dumptrucks, used as police troop-carriers and fitted out with machine guns and tear gas generators, are prowling the streets of Santa Barbara's Isla Vista student ghetto. A total curfew—meaning that no one is permitted on the streets—has been imposed from six in the evening to six the next morning.

The police state atmosphere is part of the still-smoldering aftermath of the violent confrontations between cops and young people in Isla Vista that began on April 16. One man is dead, and four other people were wounded by police buck-shot. And the Bank of America was set on fire for the second time in recent months.

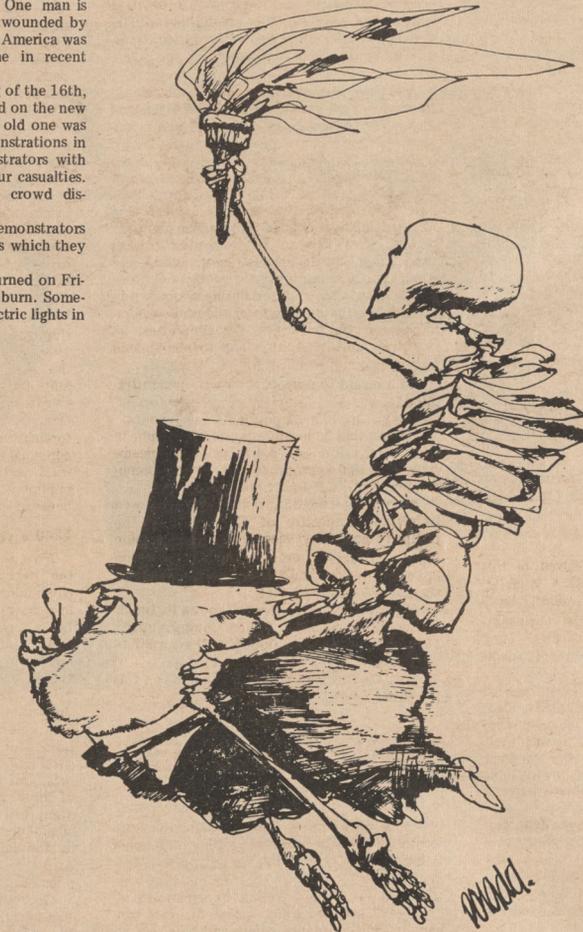
The action began on the evening of the 16th, when several hundred people moved on the new Isla Vista branch of the bank (the old one was totally gutted during TDA demonstrations in February). Police met the demonstrators with tear gas and buckshot, causing four casualties. A window was broken, and the crowd dispersed.

Later that night, some of the demonstrators came back and set fire to trashbins which they placed around the bank.

Hundreds of demonstrators returned on Friday night, and the bank began to burn. Someone with a firearm shot out the electric lights in

with political stickers affixed to them. Policeman have also broken into people's homes, looking for "snipers," often breaking down the doors.

Seventy-five arrests have been made so far. Aside from the local branch of the Bank of America—the world's largest bank, closely tied to American imperialist foreign policy and investment—the demonstrators also attacked the offices of exploitative local real estate firms.



Latin America

Liberation News Service

Washington, D.C.

The general upsurge in urban guerrilla warfare in Latin America, including a recent wave of kidnappings aimed at releasing political prisoners, and the execution of agents of repressive oligarchies and military dictatorships, has prompted the Organization of American States to begin a "study" of the problem.

The OAS, which is responsible for the economic blockade of Cuba and for such actions as the American invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965, is effectively dominated by the United States. Mexico is the only member state which ever demonstrates any independence from U.S. policy; it is the only American state which retains diplomatic relations with Cuba.

The proposal to conduct a study to "seek ways of combating the upsurge of kidnappings and shootings of diplomatic and political figures in Latin America" was made by Argentina. The Argentine dictatorship was the first Latin government to risk the life of a kidnap victim by refusing to meet guerrilla demands to free prisoners. The victim was released unharmed.

The Ambassadorial Council of the OAS (both the West German Ambassador to Guatemala and the American Ambassador to Guatemala have been executed during the past two years) approved the proposal to fight what was called "indiscriminate terrorism."

The most recent "indiscriminate" act was the execution of the chief of Uruguay's gestapo-like police intelligence division, which has been accused in the Uruguayan press of torturing political prisoners.

Revolutionary movements would take exception to the use of the term "indiscriminate." The victims of their actions have been representatives of U.S. imperialism, West German militarism, Japanese imperialism and of the Guatemalan and Paraguayan dictatorships.

US Aids Greek Junta

Liberation News Service

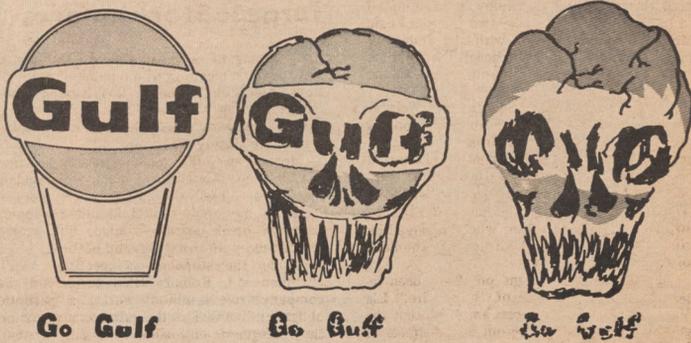
Washington, D.C.

The Greek junta received \$26 million worth of surplus military equipment from the Pentagon, above and beyond the \$37 million already authorized by Congress for fiscal year 1969, it was learned recently in a report leaked to Congressional circles here.

This extra \$26 million was granted in circumvention of the Congressional arms embargo imposed on Greece in 1967 as a response to the coup which overthrew the constitutional government of Prime Minister Papandreu and set up a right-wing military dictatorship in its place. The embargo, against "heavy" military items was never publically defined and the flow of arms and equipment has continued at levels considerably above those approved by Congress under the military assistance program.

The Administration, under pressure from the Defense Department, is considering cancelling the embargo altogether. Claiming that a Soviet build-up in the eastern Mediterranean requires a more "solid" Greek regime, the Defense Department is pushing for total support for the Greek junta. The Defense Department puts Greece in the category of "forward defense countries" along with Taiwan, South Korea and Turkey. All four of these nations share a similar background—they are all controlled by right-wing military regimes which base their shaky existence on DOD aid.

Some congressmen, once again faced by the fact that the Pentagon makes foreign policy without their "help", reacted indignantly to the revelation. Senator Stephen Young of Ohio introduced a resolution requiring the Pentagon to make "complete and prior disclosure of all proposed disposals of surplus weapons." He added that Nationalist China (Taiwan) and Greece were countries where the Pentagon, "through the surplus disposal program, [has] been secretly subsidizing at least two tyrannical dictatorships."



Liberation News Service

Target: Stockholders

It's going to be a bad year for the annual stockholder's meetings of a number of corporations. American Telephone & Telegraph, Gulf Oil, Honeywell, General Motors and Commonwealth Edison are among the targets—and some actions are already off the ground.

More than 3,000 demonstrators gathered outside the April 15 annual stockholders meeting of AT&T, the number one symbol of American monopoly capital. Mounted troopers tried to break up the crowd, but people responded by throwing eggs and bottles.

Inside the stockholders meeting, AT&T chairman H.I. Romnes tried to defend the company's role in military work as a "patriotic obligation." AT&T is the prime contractor on the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system. Among the 2,363 shareholders in the hall were about 100 dissidents, who put up their own candidates for the company's board of directors, in a symbolic challenge in support of the demonstrators.

the bank so that the burning could be done unseen.

During the burning, a contingent of local fraternity members arrived on the scene with a fire extinguisher. Several of them went into the bank through a broken window and attempted to put the fire out. Twenty-two year old Kevin Moran, purported to be with the fraternity men, was shot in the side as he left the building, and was pronounced dead on arrival at the hospital.

Santa Barbara County Sheriff James Webster later reported that a Santa Barbara city policeman had been "relieved from duty" after acknowledging that he "accidentally" discharged his rifle at "approximately the instant" that Moran was shot, according to the *New York Times* report. Police officials have so far refused to identify the policeman, who discharged his rifle while getting out of a truck near the Bank of America building.

Meanwhile, the straight press has been reporting a high incidence of "sniper fire." Isla Vista people say the reports are false—that the gunfire that keeps ringing out in the streets of Isla Vista comes from the guns of the cops. One source said that the cops were doing target practice on things like coke machines and streetlights. Police have also been slashing automobile tires—particularly old VW's, and cars

seattle struggle builds

A series of bombings in Seattle—40 last year and 20 more in the first four months of this year—are the center of a dispute between Seattle Mayor Wes Uhlman and the FBI.

According to the *New York Times* (4-26-70) the FBI has refused to honor the requests by Uhlman and Chief of Police Frank Moore for assistance. The FBI has refused, claiming that it has no jurisdiction, though the city says there is evidence "that some radicals may be crossing state lines to commit illegal acts."

Last February the Mayor turned down a Federal proposal for a raid on the Seattle Black Panther Headquarters. Uhlman had gone so far as to say that government tactics in dealing with the Panthers were "Gestapo-like." The *Times* points out that some city officials believe the FBI and the Justice Department are "getting even" with the Mayor. An organization of moderate black leaders, the Central Area Committee on Civil Rights has called upon the Mayor and the FBI to put aside "petty political differences".

Meanwhile four explosions ripped through Seattle's black community the night of April 19. The bombs hit a drive-in restaurant still under construction, the home of a liberal state legislator, a Japanese Presbyterian church, and a real estate office. Michael Lerner, a faculty member of the University of Washington and a key organizer of the Seattle Liberation Front, said: "There appears to be an effort to link us with the bombs and the bombers so that if they (police agents) blow us up they can say that we did it ourselves."

He guessed that right wing elements were anxious to discredit the radical left. Black leaders condemned the recent bombing as the work of "misguided individuals from outside our community." The Seattle Post Intelligence one of the city's two large daily papers, attributed the bombings to "anarchists, violent revolutionaries."

Police claim to have "little solid evidence", but attribute the latest bombings to radicals. Only six persons have been arrested in connection with the 62 bombings. All six are reportedly connected with radical left groups.

Seattle (LNS)—A strong city-wide radical movement named the Seattle Liberation Front and organized into more than a dozen collectives, has brought the turbulent reality of the 1970's to the Pacific Northwest.

Adopting militant tactics, but always relating to the day-to-day needs of local people, the Seattle Liberation Front has found itself at the front of mass actions involving thousands of people, time after time. Its leaders now find themselves facing trials on serious conspiracy charges.

Among the Seattle Liberation Front's specific accomplishments:

—A series of demonstrations on anti-militarism (this is the home of Boeing), anti-racism, and in support of women's liberation.

—A TDA action on February 17, involving 2,000 young people in an attack on the Federal courthouse, banks and the Federal office building (damage in the tens of thousands of dollars.)

—A student strike including an alliance with the Black Student Union at the University of Washington, focusing on severing ties with Brigham Young University and involving 3,000 students in rallies and demonstrations.

—A free food program, providing meals daily for 80 street people.

—Free hot breakfast for the people (mostly laid off workers from Boeing) who wait on early morning food stamp lines.

—Rock concerts almost every weekend.

REVOLUTIONARY LETTER NO. 20

(for Huey Newton)

I will not rest
till men walk free & fearless on the earth
each doing in the manner of his blood
& tribe, peaceful in the free air

till all can seek, unhindered
the shape of their thought
no black cloud fear or guilt
between them & the sun, no babies burning
young men locked away, no paper world
to come between flesh & flesh in human
encounter

till the young women
come into their own, honored & fearless
birthing strong sons
loving &
dancing

till the young men can at last
lose some of their sternness, return
to young men's thoughts, till laughter
bounces off our hills & fills
our plains

Diane Di Prima

A Federal grand jury came down with an indictment April 16. Eight members of the Front were charged with conspiracy to do damage to Federal property in excess of \$100, a crime carrying a possible 10-year jail term. The defendants are Chip Marshall, Joe Kelly, Jeff Dowd, Michael Abeles, Susan Stern, Michael Lerner, Mike Justenson, and Roger Lippman—most of them experienced SDS activists. Six of the eight were also charged with conspiracy to cross state lines with intent to riot—the same charge that the Conspiracy Seven were acquitted of in Chicago.

The defendants are being released on \$5,000 bail. Legal defense aid and any communications may be sent to Seattle Liberation Front, c/o Chip Marshall, 2815 NE 105 St., Seattle, Washington.



don't
tell us
our
place

Martha Shelley One voice from the GLF.

Straight radicals out there—I'm one of the "oppressed people" you're always theorizing about—but I'm in a category you always forget to mention. I'm a worker, and underpaid, so that ennobles me. I'm a woman, so you pay lip service to women's liberation on International Women's Day.

I'm also a lesbian, a member of the Gay Liberation Front. There are over 100 GLF groups growing in this country—but of course the old Guardian never saw fit to mention our struggles. But we are the "queer" part of the "Commie-pinko-queer." We are the "freaking fag revolution,"—so you better get used to us.

Don't start telling us what our "place in the movement" is. If I'm going to make a revolution, it must be to liberate me, and I will take part in defining the revolution.

When I was on my way over to help liberate the old Guardian, I saw a sign painted on the wall: "Viet Cong women carry guns."

Indeed they do. And some male-chauvinist radical painted that sign to tell me, a woman, how I should comport myself, telling me to be cannon fodder in his revolution.

When Franz Fanon described the rage of colonized people in *The Wretched of the Earth*, he said that the native (always a male) wants the settler's house, his booze, and his women—i.e., women are still considered property.

When black men are lynched for coming on to white women, people are horrified at the vicious consequences of racist attitudes in our society. Few people are aware of the sexism involved—of the fact that men consider women their property to be whistled at, felt up, raped, and fucked over—and that a woman involved in such a situation is being treated as an object by both the black and white men involved.

Last week three men came to a GLF meeting to describe their experience with the Venceremos Brigade. One said he was gay; the others hid behind the label "bisexual." They said they had not had the courage to tell the Cubans about their sexual orientation. But they said that the Cuban experience had given them the courage and commitment to come to GLF and talk—or was it that the existence of a radical homosexual organization had given them a place to come so they could try to co-opt us into their revolution?

They asked us to be patient while they went on and on—about Cuba's economic progress, the drive against illiteracy, and about how mountain peasants who had never seen a movie finally got to see Chaplin's "Modern Times."

Finally they spoke about the homosexuals in Cuba, telling us how our gay brothers and sisters had been rounded up and put in rehabilitation camps. "Modern Times" indeed! But, they reported, after a while the Cubans realized that this was "incorrect" and dismantled the camps.

One of them said the Cubans had shown him a film of such a camp, and it appeared to be a model prison. Sure, Hitler had films of "model prisons" for public consumption too. None of our reporters had seen such a camp in person. We wonder, when they were dismantled, was it truly because the Cubans had realized their error—or because you don't need a camp to house corpses?

One of our reporters related that the Cubans had suspected him of being gay. A woman brigadista, who was married and known to be faithful, suddenly made a date with him and appeared in makeup. She finally got him to admit to his homosexuality. In other words, a woman was used—against her usual principles—as a sexual decoy, in order to entrap

a homosexual.

Haven't we had enough entrapment? Can we expect this despicable practice to continue after the "revolution?" Right now, I am considering going along with the next brigade to find out what happens to a homosexual who admits it.

When GLFers questioned these visiting radicals further, one said that he felt his role was to raise the consciousness of the Cubans and other revolutionaries by being a model Communist and proving that homosexuals can be good Communists, too.

There is a basic fallacy in this. Many American blacks have died in our wars, trying to prove that you can be black and be a good soldier and patriot, too. A lot of good that did. Maybe someone told one of them, as he lay dying, "Gee, you're black outside, but you're white inside, Tom."

People have begun to realize how racist this attitude is. Unfortunately, other categories of human beings are still being asked to prove that they are just as good as white male heterosexuals. And the left wants women and homosexuals to prove that we are just as revolutionary.

I'm not interested in proving my worth as a human being to any movement, state, church, party, or what have you. If the movement doesn't recognize my humanity, it isn't revolutionary. I'm not going to be patient—to wait, die for someone else's freedom, wait, crucify myself on the correct party line, wait—until the tenth generation before I can have my freedom.

You are all the same to us, black, white, communist, capitalist, radical, liberal—you who are convinced that you are intrinsically superior to women, intrinsically healthier or better than gays.

"Marxist," schmarxist—get off our backs!

THE INSIDE TURNED OUT

By Peter Henig, former Guardian staff

My baptism into big-time Guardian journalism came during the summer of 1968 as humidity curled the posters of Lenin and Cohen-Bendit upon the editorial room walls.

Bill Rose, then the regular foreign-desk man, was traveling in Cuba and North Vietnam. And so it came to pass that I was assigned to "keep the Guardian covered" when the Soviet Union was so rude as to invade Czechoslovakia one week after a Jack Smith Viewpoint predicted that it wouldn't.

It was a desperate game. I knew virtually nothing of eastern European politics, yet there I was, quarterbacking the moves periodically announced by the Czechoslovakian presidium from behind closed doors.

To those of you who were fooled, I want to confess right now. It was mostly done with clippings from the *New York Times*. Pictures in *Life*, generalizations from *Newsweek*, and anecdotes from *Time* were combined with them to build up the potpourri of on-the-scene authoritativeness demanded by the Guardian's image.

It was a painful and humiliating hoax to perpetrate, but I did it. As time went on this method of "covering the news" came almost naturally. Massacres in Mexico, student riots in Japan, dictatorship in Singapore, a new Nixon plan for the ghettos, were all handled with little more than a few newspaper clippings and the general knowledge I had acquired as a movement researcher. I was so good at this game that, with the exception of one field of reporting assignment, I "stuck close to my desk and never went to sea" during my whole term at the Guardian.

Establishment priorities

An obvious reason was that "the nation's largest independent radical newsweekly" felt compelled to slug it out headline for headline with the establishment media, yet had virtually no news organization to lend real substance to the undertaking. With the exception of the distinguished revolutionary journalist Wilfred Burchett, who uses the Guardian as the U.S. outlet for his writings on the struggle against imperialism in Asia, the Guardian's contact with the "world in revolution" was tenuous at best. Bill Rose put together the Guardian's coverage of the May uprising in France from his New York desk because the Guardian was in touch with only one correspondent in France—a U.S. citizen who was expelled during the summer of 1968. In general, however, if on-the-spot reportage-analysis of a breaking story came to the foreign desk thanks to some thoughtful traveling graduate student or visiting sociology professor, that was good. If not, it was clip, cut, and re-hash. The product had the appearance of respectability, but was dull and not terribly enlightening. It had to be because the Guardian's grip on revolutionary reality was so marginal.

Why did the Guardian tilt at the windmill of journalistic omnipotence when its sketchy net of out-house contacts and its handful of over-worked staff writers were not up to the task?

The basic reason is that the Guardian did not have the organic connection with revolutionary process that a revolutionary newspaper, and especially an avowedly "Marxist-Leninist" one (see Robert Dudnick's article, page 8) must have. Such a relationship would have meant continuous principled and democratic political struggle among the staff, as well as continuous

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by Jeannie Friedman \$2.00
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accountability to revolutionary comrades who didn't happen to be on the staff, but who relied upon and supported the paper as a tool of the movement. Yet such a relationship would have been incompatible with the control structure relied upon by Guardian management, as described in this issue of the *Liberated Guardian*, and in issue number one. That he helped sustain this non-revolutionary structure in the name of revolution is this writer's regret. That the structure has been allowed to exist so long is the concern of the movement.

Superstars

One of the important devices which the Guardian employed to delay the day of reckoning capitalized on the very human and understandable appetite for theorizing and for revolutionary heroes and personalities common to all revolutionary movements during pre-revolutionary conditions. A substantial portion of available space was routinely held open for the Guardian's galaxy of regular columnists. Frequently colorful and incisive, these out-of-the-house writers supplied the theoretical and atmospheric touchstones of revolutionary legitimacy so sadly lacking in the overall editorial product.

The loss of one of these columnists would trigger a muted crisis on the editorial floor and a circumlocutory explanation for his absence (the only woman ever to rate a column in the Guardian was Carol Neiman Calvert, who shared it with her husband) in the next issue. But the presence of the columnists as a whole served to lower the requirements for political astuteness of the full-time staff and turn the "political discussion" in staff meetings into a charade and a key element in the system of internal manipulation. By perpetuating the notion that a handful of individuals—full-time intellectuals in every case—had something of universal revolutionary value to say week in and week out, the Guardian was betraying its lack of faith in the ability of the movement as a whole to elaborate its ideas and renew its passions in the heat of struggle. Because of this condescending treatment, the Guardian readership was largely apathetic despite the paper's endless exhortations and pleas for financial and distribution help.

In a similar fashion, the Guardian foreclosed on the diversity and depth of struggle in the United States with its tireless siftings of SDS factions and micro-factions. If one were to believe the pages of the Guardian, the entire revolutionary universe in the United States—the most complex society in history, with the most highly elaborated class, technological and ideological structure—is encompassed by Weather-

man, Progressive Labor, RYM II, Black Panthers and Young Lords. And within this Guardian universe, with Weathermen making real sacrifices for their ideas, with PL into its own sectarian thing, and with the Panthers and Lords busy fighting repression and truly serving the people, the likes of Jack Smith, Carl Davidson, and Irving Beinin—big city politicians who own a newspaper—hold sway.

It is fortunate indeed for Davidson and Smith that these movement groups have splits, that Weatherman blood is spilled, that Panthers and Lords are murdered and jailed. If these things didn't happen it is difficult to see what the management of the Guardian would read about in the *Times*, or pontificate about in their columns.

Perhaps no aspect of Guardian management policy was more symptomatic of the paper's distance from the revolutionary process than its failure to coordinate editorial priorities with the need to promote and distribute the paper within the movement. Political line aside, the Guardian of recent years was simply never good enough journalistically to be a marketable item through commercial distribution channels. If it was to get anywhere, movement people had to have an incentive to distribute it. But Jack Smith and Irving Beinin stubbornly resisted every effort by the editorial staff to walk humbly among the people of the Guardian, allowing the people to stir the Guardian into relevance and making it worthwhile for them to send in their dollars and win new readers.

Politicoes vs. shitworkers

It was also no accident that Guardian management fostered the distinction between writers—who were supposed to be "political people"—and circulation, promotion, and advertising people—"shitworkers." Only a true revolutionary organ could have realized that every worker is, and must be, a political worker—fully licensed to think, feel, argue, carry and receive the word. The Guardian was not a revolutionary organ.

In its issue dated April 25, 1970 Guardian management expresses the belief that out of the "crisis" brought on by the office rip-off and the appearance of the *Liberated Guardian* (which it calls "junk mail") the Guardian would emerge "a better newspaper with a more secure office." It is difficult to see how the isolated and hysterical authors of that article will be able to put out a better newspaper, by whatever standard that paper is judged. It is certain that "a more secure office" will do nothing to save them from the judgment of the revolutionary process which they cannot understand. All power to the people!

Women, Children Move-In

By Diane Horwitz

Special to the *Liberated Guardian*

New York

A vacant storefront on New York's upper west side has been occupied by a women's liberation child-care collective and turned into a free day-care center. This occupation is part of Operation Move-In, a large community squatter's movement that began early in April.

Operation Move-In is an expression of opposition to the city's urban renewal plans for the community. Many storefronts and apartments on the upper west side are slated for demolition and are supposed to be replaced by middle and high income high-rises. But squatters, mainly black, brown and poor white, have moved into the apartments which are in good condition, despite the cutoff of essential services.

Community vs. urban renewal

The city has responded by smashing apartments when they learned that squatters planned to occupy them. Thus far, however, they have not moved in on buildings which are already occupied.

The child care center, staffed by the women's liberation collective and members of the community, has cared for 20 children this week. The center needs help from people inside and outside the community. Money is needed and so are all kinds of supplies, including non-perishable food, tools and school materials. These may be brought directly to the storefront, 626 Columbus Ave., between 90 and 91st Streets in Manhattan.

New radical group

The group which spearheaded the formation of the child care center is one of approximately 15 work groups in a new women's organization. It was formed last fall as a result of support for the strike of day care employees working for city-operated centers.

The manifesto for the yet-to-be-named women's organization has as one of its demands, "free education and child-care facilities—open 24 hours-a-day, 7 days-a-week—for all children from birth, run and controlled by the women, men and children directly affected."

The collective is working toward this end by circulating propaganda on the need for child care facilities, helping women and community groups to set up their own centers, planning citywide mass actions to publicize demands and helping to define what a revolutionary child care center should be.

Work collectives form the basis of the new organization. In addition to the child care collectives, there are collectives of health workers, health consumers and of women working in the media. Other groups have been formed to organize women from high schools, community colleges and offices, and temporary work groups will be established as needs define themselves. At present one such group is working on women's actions in New Haven in support of the Panthers.

For more information on general meetings of the new organization and for specifics on the work collectives, call 212-982-2240.

LAOS: VIETNAM II

continued from page 7

trying to physically destroy the Pathet Lao leadership. I met Prince Souphanouvong, the President of the Central Committee of the Pathet Lao in a big cave. This cave is surrounded by craters—everywhere craters. And the Americans must know where the Central Committee meets. It cannot be a secret. And they are trying to kill those people. They didn't succeed yet, but they are obviously trying to destroy the political infrastructure.

And in a way, the U.S. has succeeded, because the Pathet Lao economy has suffered a lot from the bombing. The people are very poor. I was amazed by their lack of books, of drugs, of pencils—they've just got nothing. It's terrible.

LNS: Is it true that there are a lot of North Vietnamese in the area?

JDC: Well it is true that there are North Vietnamese, but I don't know how many there are. A few weeks ago the U.S. embassy said there were 50,000 North Vietnamese troops and suddenly President Nixon said that there were 67,000. I don't know how they got their figures. There is one thing I'm sure of—the more the U.S. bombs the Pathet Lao zones, the more pro-communist peasants are scared of the bombing and are obliged to flee down to the Mekong Valley, the more the Pathet Lao will require military aid from the North Vietnamese—because they need men.

It reminds me of what happened in South Vietnam before the landing of the Marines in Da Nang in July 1965. There were very few North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam. But as the American expeditionary corps grew and grew in South Vietnam to more than a half a million, it was obvious that the NLF needed troops from the north; and the same process might happen for the Pathet Lao. The more the Americans bomb the Pathet Lao zones, the more the Pathet Lao will need foreign troops.

So I think it is not very honest to say that the North Vietnamese have aggressed against Laos. I think it would be more honest to say that the Pathet Lao has had to ask the North Vietnamese for more aid because the American intervention has grown bigger and bigger as time has gone on.

LNS: Could you say what the political structure of the Pathet Lao is like? Do they have a government like the NLF? You mentioned a Central Committee.

JDC: No, they don't have a government like the NLF, and I don't think that they want that now. No, there is just the one organization, the Pathet Lao, with the Central Committee, and actually it works like a government of its own. Of course they said that they want to one day or another come back into a national union government but they won't do it now. They administer their zones just like an independent government. They've got their own ministries.

For instance, they started in 1967 or 1968, I don't remember exactly, a kind of five-year plan to develop their regions.

In my opinion, in Laos there are two movements—there is a reactionary movement backed by the U.S. and there is a communist movement, the Pathet Lao and its friends—that's all. That is, I think, the end of any middle-of-the-road movement. And what's true of Laos is true of South Vietnam. And what's true of South Vietnam I think will be true of Cambodia pretty soon. The people don't have any choice. You are on one side or the other. You can't be in the middle of the road any more. If you want to be—and there are people who wanted to be in Saigon—you are put in jail or you are forced to go into exile in Paris or somewhere else. Look at the student leaders that are being arrested right now in Saigon. Look at the Buddhist monks. You must go to the jungle, abroad, or join the right-wing forces—there is no free middle-of-the-road position any more.

LNS: What does the Pathet Lao structure look like at the village level?

JDC: Well, it's hard to say, because as I said, most of the villages have been destroyed—and so has the organization. But in the few villages in which I lived and which have not been bombed, they've got a People's Committee at the head of the village, and several commissions—one for the battlefields, one for the buffalos, one for health and education, that's all. They've got, of course, their political commissar, one from the Central Committee. When I travelled throughout the country there was one political commissar with me who was fluent in French—he had studied in France—and he was with me not only to help me understand what the people said; he was also with me to indoctrinate the people, and he told me so. Every now and then he left me and said, "Well, now I've got a meeting with such-and-such section of the village, I've got to explain to them what we are doing at the Central Committee," and he left me and he came back an hour later after he talked to the people.

LNS: In the areas where the villages have been bombed, what kind of organization do they have—or have they all been dispersed?

JDC: Yes, they have been dispersed into caves. If they don't live in caves, they live in miserable huts in the woods, and just like in North Vietnam, they've got shelters all around. As soon as they hear the jets they go down into the shelters and wait. It disturbs everything, because when the planes come every 30 minutes or every hour you cannot seriously work. And you never knew, at least in 1968, when you were in the Pathet Lao zones, whether the planes came for you or were just flying over you to go to bomb North Vietnam. You had to go down to the shelter and stop your work. You had to.

LNS: Don't they have a canopy of jungle foliage to protect them?

JDC: Yes, and it's safe as long as the Americans only use anti-personnel bombs, but what can you do against B-52s?

LNS: There were reports recently that the government of Thailand sent troops into Laos to help the Royal Laotians. Has this been going on for a long time?

JDC: Yes. There have been some Thai artillery groups fighting for a long time in Laos, and last year it was reported that Thai soldiers were dressed with Royal Lao uniforms and fought in the southern part of Laos. This wasn't confirmed, but it wasn't denied either. It is true, there are more and more Thai connections between the right-wing military leaders in Vientiane and the military establishment of Bangkok. And if things go on there as they have been going on for two or three years Vientiane will become a kind of suburb of Bangkok and the American bases of Thailand—which lots of Laos don't like, even right-wing people.



I remember, I think it was in 1968, one of the toughest right-wing Lao leaders was seen in Vientiane in the armed forces parade together, not with his wife, but with Miss Thailand. And a few days later young lieutenants and captains, right-wing people, but nationalists, put out a pamphlet against him and this Miss Thailand, saying, "We are Laos and we are in Laos—we don't want to become slaves of this big and wealthy pro-American Thailand." Now those people didn't join the Pathet Lao ranks. Still, for the first time maybe, they understood where this pro-American policy of Vientiane might lead their country. That is, the total destruction not only of their country, but also of the values of their country. That is what they don't want, even if they are right-wing people.

But the general doesn't care. He just wants to make money. Everybody knows, for instance, that the commander-in-chief of the right-wing forces is at the head of the opium trade between Saigon and Vientiane and Bangkok. He never goes to the battlefield. You can usually see him in the afternoon in a Vientiane bar.

LNS: Several returned or ex-U.S. servicemen have said that U.S. military and Air America flights fly gold bricks into Laos which are in turn traded for opium produced by the Meo tribesmen, and that the opium eventually winds up in the United States and France.

JDC: Well, I really don't know much about it. All I know is that there are planes that take off from Vientiane and fly to South Vietnam with opium and gold. I know one thing—it was very funny—I was in Vientiane during the Tet offensive in South Vietnam, and a few people at least were very much annoyed, not because it was a military victory for the

COPS SMASH SIT-IN

Liberation News Service

The Stanford University administration declared an end to the illusion of non-violence on campus just after one a.m. on Friday, April 24.

At the invitation of university authorities, fifty Santa Clara sheriff's deputies blitzed what probably will be one of the last peaceful student sit-ins. Slashing through a network of student look-outs, the cops surprised several hundred people who non-violently seized an administration building in an attempt to force Stanford to eliminate ROTC.

Several hours later, as a result of the fighting which stemmed from the cop invasion, \$40,000 worth of windows had been smashed, and a Ford Foundation-financed think-tank located on Stanford land had been burned down. Among the campus targets were the President's office, the Hoover Institute of War, Revolution and Peace, the Business School, the student union, and the police station. The Center for the Advanced Study of the Behavioral Sciences was also attacked. It is one of the country's major centers for the study of advanced domestic counterrevolutionary techniques and programs.

communists—they didn't care at all—but because the airport at Saigon was closed, and the planes that usually bring gold and opium from Laos to Saigon couldn't land there any more, and they were losing money. I met one of those gold traders, and he told it to me very frankly.

LNS: Can you describe the circumstances around which the Pathet Lao left the coalition government back in 1963? There's been a lot of discussion in the community here that the CIA had something to do with some assassinations.

JDC: I think in 1961 one member of the coalition government was assassinated in front of his house in Vientiane. He was a left-wing nationalist. Other members of the left-wing nationalist movement were killed later on. And then you had the right-wing coups and so on. It was absolutely impossible for the left—whether Marxist left or non-Marxist left, to work in Vientiane any more.

Officially this man was killed by one of his soldiers. Nobody has ever explained why the soldier killed him. What I can say is that he was a left-wing nationalist and his daughter, whom I know, has joined the Pathet Lao. And this is another example of what I have said—you cannot be in the middle of the road. This family tried to be honestly neutralist in Vientiane. The father was killed, and the family joined the Pathet Lao. They had no other choice. Now the daughter, after some studies in France and then in Moscow—she is an engineer—lives in a cave very close to Sem Neua. That's where I met her. And the uncle, the brother of the assassinated minister, as far as I know, is the official doctor for the Central Committee of the Pathet Lao and he also lives in a cave. He is married to a French woman, by the way, who is now back with the children in France because it's very hard to raise young children in caves.

Very few people know how those people live in caves. It's really terrible, especially during the rainy season, because everything is humid. You cannot bring the children out of the cave because of the bombing, so they lack sun, they lack food, they are white, they are very unhealthy. Very few people know even in Vientiane.

There is something I want to say here. In Vientiane I met a very young, a very brilliant American diplomat, graduated from one of the best American universities. He said to me once, "If we want a really strong, free and democratic anti-communist Laos to be built, we must help the Laos to get rid of their traditional cultural values, bring them back to zero, and then build a new nation." And I'm really quoting. And he said, "Before I was in Laos I was in Africa, and their cultural values here are even worse than the cultural values of those Africans."

Vientiane is becoming more and more a small Saigon or a small Bangkok—a mixture of prostitution, or corruption—I mean really, it's in chaos. The young Laos who live there are forgetting their heritage more and more—they speak broken English, they can speak a few words of French—it's really a pity to see them. They don't know where they go. They try to forget about the war, but it's hard, because they have families on the other side. It's not a new Laos that's being built in Vientiane. It's nothing.

LNS: Are the Pathet Lao aware of the antiwar movement here in the U.S.?

JDC: There is something I must tell you, because I think it has not been reported by the American press. For the first time, five or six weeks ago, the Pathet Lao in a communique mentioned the American movement, asking the antiwar movement to put some pressure on the U.S. government so the U.S. government will stop the U.S. intervention against the Pathet Lao. I think it's a kind of sign. And it shows that for the first time (like the North Vietnamese did a few years ago) the Pathet Lao may start to make some contacts with Americans.

CLEAN AIR: PRIVATE PROPERTY?



By Jim O'Connor

Liberation News Service

I want to begin a new struggle against pollution—ideological pollution—the pollution of the mind. I don't want to tell you to do anything except think.

I am a Marxist and strive to help make socialist revolution in America—a revolution in which a person finds his individuality in society and not outside it and against it.

Marxists deal in contradictions in society, just as psychiatrists deal in contradictions in the individual. This building [housing an ecology exhibit] is full of contradictions. It is a Garden of Eden for the dialectician.

For example, I have been asked to buy environmental-safe products and add to the profits of one company or another; and down the hall I am asked to smash the ruling class and destroy capitalism.

Some government exhibits point with pride at the strides made in fighting pollution; other exhibits scream that the government is killing us.

Let's start the battle by naming one exhibit—the Grape Boycott. It is a struggle by labor against capital, formed and led and organized around the needs of working class Chicanos. The Boycott is a political battle, which has located friends and enemies, and one of the issues is the poisoning of people by pesticides.

The Chicago Eight should have an exhibit; they are leaders, and the antiwar and anti-imperialist movements are engaged in political struggle against, among other things, the ruination of a people's environment, the poisoning of their crops, their water systems, their forests, and the murder of their people. What could be more anti-ecology than American imperialism?

And the radical transit workers in New York City should have an exhibit; they are struggling politically for free fares on the subways, to reduce traffic congestion and pollution, among other things.

None of the people in these movements are asking the government for favors, voting in new politicians, picking up cans alongside the highway. And most important they are not asking the experts to come up with solutions. Slowly they are getting the people to come up with collective, cooperative solutions.

Ecology and capitalism

The problem for Marxists and revolutionaries is not what are the specific solutions to the specific problems of man and his relation with other men and women and the environment. The problem is rather: On whose terms will there be solutions? Nixon's terms? In his State of the Union address, he said that the costs of depollutant devices should be included in the price of the commodities. Then in the next breath he said our big problem is fighting inflation. And who will pay for these solutions? The Congress wants wage and salary workers to pay through taxation.

And who will decide who controls these solutions and their implementation? This is the question of power. Anyone who says that the government, corporations, or experts should make the decisions, anyone who wants to hand over the people's power to "someone up there,"

anyone who says that the people should fork over more money through higher prices—these people are asking us to respond out of fear and submissiveness.

Another problem for Marxists is: What are the social consequences of particular solutions to ecological damage? Our answer is: Beware of all technical solutions! Take an example. Rapping with the average student about air pollution, there is a quick jump from pollution to cars and then to mass transit as one answer. This is a technical solution. What would be the social consequences of the extension of the Bay Area Rapid Transit System to San Jose? To reduce costs of transport

right down the line? To open up Salinas Valley to the developers, the tract home builders, the freeway interests, and to branch plants of large corporations? Salinas would quickly become a Santa Clara Valley. And the vegetables grown there by small and middle farmers would be grown in the Central Valley by agri-business. And they would use more pesticides and there would be more poisonings.

In capitalist societies there is a system of production in which all qualitative differences are reduced to quantitative terms—money. There will be no clean air in America until a price tag is put on clean air. Then there will be all the clean air that anyone with money can buy.

Look, the Mellon interests in Pittsburgh are dealing with air pollution. Mellon controls steel mills and owns downtown Pittsburgh real estate. The value of his real estate was falling because of air pollution caused by his steel mills. So he hired some economists to tell him whether it would be profitable to install pollution-control devices in his mills to raise the value of his downtown property. They said it would be. And so he acted. Not because people were breathing foul air but because it was profitable to clean up the air.

The State of Illinois is trying to force the airlines using Chicago's airports to install sound control equipment on their aircraft—a question of property values and a declining tax base.

Cooptation

The ecology issue will serve the ruling class well. Nixon in his inaugural speech said that above all he wanted to unify the country. Ecology just might do it. The ruling class will be happy with a broad united front that will convince people that corporations are able to solve the problems that they themselves have created. And at the same time channel popular agitation and anger at the war in Vietnam into a relatively "safe" issue. And simultaneously protect air, land and water—valuable resources in industries such as real estate, construction, recreation and farming. And finally to strengthen imperialist control over Third World populations by making believe that the first problem to tackle is "overpopulation" when in fact the first problem is to tackle underdevelopment.

Marx predicted that the system of private property in the ownership of the means of production would inhibit the development of the forces of production. His prediction has come true with a vengeance. Private property in the means of production is destroying the productive forces including the most valuable—the people themselves.

Earth Day Action

Committee of Returned Volunteers/N.Y.

About two dozen of us, armed with leaflets and a guerrilla theater skit, tackled the Earth Day crowds on Fifth Avenue. Our intent was to expose DOW and Monsanto, both manufacturers of defoliants, as war profiteers and polluters, and to point out the connection between the war in Vietnam and the destruction of the environment in the mother country.

Earth Day was much like Easter Sunday at Rockefeller Center, where our leafletting and picketing attracted an unusually large crowd of agents, camera bugs and passive onlookers. The crowds were well-dressed. They carried no flags or banners and were clearly not in a "political" mood. As one bystander put it: "Are you trying to be political or something? This isn't a demonstration."

Our NLF flag was torn to shreds by a hostile Earth Week supporter when we moved onto Fifth Avenue to perform guerrilla theater. A huge crowd stared at us for ten minutes even before we began the skit, in which peasants planted rice, were attacked by corporations armed with spray guns, and finally waged a people's war to defeat the imperialists with their own weapons. It was clear from the first that the seriousness of our skit was not understood. Earth Day was a holiday, not a political event. We played out our drama eight times along the length of Fifth Avenue, officially closed to traffic by the city for the day.

When we met informally to evaluate the day's "action," it was clear that we had little impact on Lindsay's Earth Day carnival. At best we made a few radicals feel that there were a few still concerned about Vietnam, and at worst we made the afternoon a little more interesting to ecology enthusiasts. It was clear that to turn Earth Day around, we had either to make a massive appearance or prevent the whole affair from happening.

Earth Day could not have been a success without the cooperation of the Establishment media, which carried out a two-day barrage of TV and radio publicity which was passed off as "news." Not since the city elections last fall have liberal figureheads and politicians received so much publicity. The winter months have been full of news made by radicals or revolutionaries—the Panther 21, the Conspiracy, Revolutionary Force 9, Weatherman, high school and college students. Earth Day represented a liberal revival in New York.

The demise of the Moratorium on April 15, when radicals took over the stage in Bryant Park, symbolized the end of Vietnam as an issue around which liberals could organize a constituency. They have been sitting on the war too long. They have not been able to control it or end it with peace candidates, congressional resolutions, moral appeals, and Moratorium-like protest.

"Environment" is the new liberal issue here. But we feel it is not co-optive. Those who come out for Earth Day are not the same people brought into the streets by the antiwar movement during the last five years. Earth Day supporters have their own issue, their own leaders, and (soon) a whole slate of electoral candidates. The ecology movement is, however, a distraction. We should have been organizing our own anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist version of earth day instead of trying to change the minds of those on Fifth Avenue.

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Toward A People's Art



In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes or art that is detached from or independent of politics.

Mao Tse Tung

By Che

from *Man and Socialism in Cuba*

For a long time man has been trying to free himself from alienation through culture and art. He dies daily in the eight and more hours during which he performs as a commodity, and then attempts to resuscitate in his spiritual creation. But this remedy itself bears the germs of the same disease: he is a solitary being who seeks communion with nature. He defends his environment-oppressed individuality and reacts to esthetic ideas as a unique being whose aspiration is to remain immaculate.

It is only an attempt at flight. The law of value is no longer a mere reflection of production relations; the monopoly capitalists have surrounded it with a complicated scaffolding which makes of it a docile servant, even when the methods used are purely empirical. The artist must be educated in the kind of art imposed by the superstructure. The rebels are overcome by the apparatus, and only exceptional talents are able to create their own work. The others become shame-faced wage-workers, or they are crushed.

Artistic experimentation is invented and is taken as the definition of freedom, but this "experimentation" has limits which are imperceptible until they are clashed with, that is, when the real problems of man and his alienated condition are dealt with. Senseless anguish or vulgar pastimes are comfortable safety valves for human uneasiness; the idea of making art a weapon of denunciation and accusation is combated.

Post revolutionary Cuba

If the rules of the game are respected, all honors are obtained—the honors that might be granted to a pirouette-creating monkey. The condition is not attempting to escape the invisible cage.

When the Revolution took power in Cuba, the exodus of the totally domesticated took place; the others, revolutionaries or not, saw a new road. Artistic experimentation took on new force. However, the routes were more or less traced, and the concept of flight was still the hidden meaning behind the word freedom. This attitude, a reflection in consciousness of bourgeois idealism, was

frequently maintained in the revolutionaries themselves.

In countries that have gone through a similar process, endeavors were made to combat these tendencies with an exaggerated dogmatism. General culture became something like a taboo, and a formally exact representation of nature was proclaimed as the height of cultural aspiration. This later became a mechanical representation of social reality created by wishful thinking: the ideal society, almost without conflict or contradiction, that man was seeking to create.

Content and form

Socialism is young and makes mistakes. We revolutionaries often lack the knowledge and the intellectual audacity to face the task of the development of the new human being by methods different from the conventional ones, and the conventional methods suffer from the influence of the society that created them (once again the topic of the relation between form and content appears). Disorientation is great and the problems of material construction absorb us. There are no artists of great authority who also have great revolutionary authority.

The men of the party must take this upon themselves and seek the achievement of the principal aim: to educate the people.

What is then sought is simplification, that which everyone understands. True artistic experimentation is obliterated and the problem of general culture is reduced to the assimilation of the socialist present and the dead (and therefore not dangerous) past. Socialist realism is thus born on the foundation of the art of the last century.

But the realistic art of the nineteenth century is also class art, perhaps more purely capitalist than the decadent art of the twentieth century where the anguish of alienated man shows through. In culture, capitalism has given all that it had to give and all that remains of it is the foretaste of a bad-smelling corpse; in art, its present decadence. But why endeavor to seek in the frozen divisions of socialist realism the only valid recipe? "Freedom" cannot be set against socialist realism because the former does not yet exist; it will not come into being until the complete development of the new society. But let us not attempt to condemn all post-nineteenth-century art forms from the pontifical throne of realism-at-all-costs. That would mean committing the Prudhonian error of the return to the past, and straitjacketing the artistic ex-

pression of the man who is born and being formed today.

An ideological and cultural mechanism must be developed which will permit experimentation and clear out the weeds that shoot up so easily in the fertilized soil of state subsidization.

The error of mechanical realism has not appeared in Cuba, but rather the contrary. This is so because of the lack of understanding of the need to create a new human being who will represent neither nineteenth-century ideas nor those of our decadent and morbid century. It is the twenty-first-century man whom we must create, although this is still a subjective and unsystematic aspiration. This is precisely one of the basic points of our studies and work; to the extent that we make concrete achievements on a theoretical base or vice versa, that we come to broad theoretical conclusions on the basis of our concrete studies, we will have made a valuable contribution to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, to the cause of all mankind.

The reaction against nineteenth century man has brought a recurrence of twentieth-century decadence. It is not a very serious error, but we must overcome it so as not to leave the doors open to revisionism.

The large multitudes of people are developing themselves, the new ideas are acquiring an adequate impetus within society, the material possibilities of the integral development of each and every one of its members make the task ever more fruitful. The present is one of struggle; the future is ours.

Artists' "original sin"

To sum up, the fault of many of our intellectuals and artists is to be found in their "original sin": They are not authentically revolutionary. We can attempt to graft elm trees so they bear pears, but at the same time we must plant pear trees. The new generations will arrive free of "original sin". The likelihood that exceptional artists will arise will be that much greater because of the enlargement of the cultural field and the possibilities for expression. Our job is to keep the present generation, maladjusted by its conflicts, from becoming perverted and perverting the new generations. We do not want to create salaried workers docile to official thinking or "fellows" who live under the wing of the budget, exercising freedom in quotation marks. Revolutionaries will come to sing the song of the new man with the authentic voice of the people. It is a process that requires time.



The Living Theater doesn't want to perform for the privileged elite anymore, because all privilege is violence to those without privilege.

It was not easy for the Living Theater to divide its community, because the community was living and working together in love. Not dissension, but revolutionary needs have divided us.

Smash art barriers

We must abandon the theaters and create

other circumstances for theater for the man and woman on the street. Create circumstances that will lead to action which is the highest form of theater that we know. Create Action.

We must find new forms. Smash the art barrier. Because art is confined in the jail of the Establishment's mentality, art is made to function to serve the needs of the upper classes. If art can't be used to serve the needs of the people, get rid of it.

Shrinks get their heads together

Living in America today means living with political contradictions, dehumanization, lies, distortions and every possible kind of violence. Psychologists have ignored this for too long, but some are finally coming to grips with it and placing therapy in a radical perspective. The following is a condensation of the Manifesto of Vol. 1 No. 1 of The Radical Therapist, A Journal of Opinion. (Subscriptions \$6 per year to P.O. Box 1215, Minot, North Dakota, 58701.)

In the midst of a society tormented by war, racism and social turmoil, therapy goes on with business as usual. In fact, therapists often look suspiciously at social change and label as "disturbed" those who press towards it. Concerned with maintaining and justifying current practices, therapy avoids moving towards making life more meaningful for all people.

We have been taught notions of therapy which are obsolete: elitist, male-centered and obsessional. Our modes of practice are often racist and exploitive. Clinging to concepts often outmoded and rarely questioned, we insulate ourselves from the society around us and support the status quo. Often the therapist seems unaware of the bias he perpetuates or of the oppression he enacts in the name of "liberation". Expert as he may be at analyzing intrapersonal forces, he is often ignorant about forces controlling the larger society in which he lives. Therapy today has become a commodity, a means of social control. We reject such an approach to people's distress.

Just as all people are potentially patients, so all are potentially therapists. All can attack the roots of emotional distress. We invite support from all concerned people, not just from a professional elite. We repudiate divisions among ourselves on the basis of sex, class, training and status: we are more alike than different.

LIBERATING THERAPY, THERAPISTS AND OTHERS

Therapy is dominated by gradualist models which bolster the status quo. The revolutionary spirit of the founders of therapy—Pinel, Freud, Reich—had been weeded out. Intending to liberate people from their neurosis, therapists today further "adjustment", social control, and the commercialized society.

Therapy today is a class phenomenon: a luxury for the well-to-do. Most others, poor people, receive no such help, or are consigned to hurried, inexperienced therapists who rely mainly on drugs. At home with the affluent, therapy extends itself with suspicion to other social groups, and often tries only to regulate or determine their development. Therapy's insights must be reevaluated and altered, and then made available to people in ways which serve their goals.

Nor is it enough to pursue a medical model and try to develop popular programs to "treat the masses." Therapists must understand their place in the changing social and political reality; thus therapy must become more politically aware. No therapist, no person can claim detachment from his social context. Each human act is a social and moral statement: a political fact. It then becomes important which values we hold and which of them comes first. This awareness must structure all radical therapy today; for liberation from within has to be accompanied by liberation from without.

DEVELOPING NEW TRAINING PROGRAMS

Therapists are groomed for elitist, frequently escapist and exploitive careers. Current training perpetuates outmoded systems. Hierarchical systems obviate change. Artificial barriers are created everywhere: between senior and junior staff, between therapists from various disciplines, between "professionals" and laymen. Training programs keep therapists apart and encourage false professionalism. Psychiatrists lack training in psychology; social workers lack training in simple drug-use; psychologists lack training in sociology. All therapists lack training in politics, art, history and economics which they vitally need today.

We need new training programs with a wholly new approach. Training must be de-mystified and made more open, more responsive and more creative.

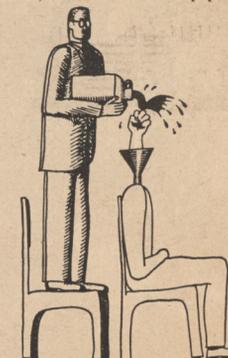
NEW PSYCHOLOGY OF MEN AND WOMEN, AND NEW CONCEPTS OF FAMILY AND COMMUNITY LIFE

The ways we live intimately with one another are changing. We must look into ways in which unquestioned male-dominate ideas have influenced therapy, especially therapy of women. Men and women must both be liberated from rigid sex-stereotypes in order to develop their own potential. Deviance as a social diagnosis must not be confused with neurotic behavior.

The nuclear family, so long revered and unchallenged now appears as simply the most common alternative for achieving needs for intimacy and raising children. We need to evaluate other alternatives. Similarly, we need to investigate the changing notions of men and women, as well as alternate modes of living.

THERAPY PROGRAMS UNDER CLIENT-CONTROL

Despite all the talk about "community mental health", therapists have done little towards considering the real health needs of communities. The community mental health movement is a fraud. It has never been in popular hands. Affording a crucible of power to ambitious professionals, it often offers but another form of oppression to the people. Professionals' need for wealth, prestige and influence are satisfied, while distress in the community goes on as before. Yet the therapists' money comes from the community. More sensible forms of therapy, controlled by and responsive to community needs, must be devised and offered. The community is its people: not the therapists, or the university, or the research team, or big business or the government. Therapists who enter the community may consider themselves part of it; but they cannot claim to know what is best for it. They cannot shape its needs. Radical therapists must expose current practices and create new structures in therapy services: decentralized, democratic, non-institutional and popular.



Wherever it functions as an agent of the system, encouraging conformity, helping people "adjust" to the realities of exploitation, antiquated roles and a dehumanizing ethic, therapy is an instrument of oppression. Such "therapy" institutionalizes and stigmatizes those whom society will not tolerate. We denounce all "therapy" which dehumanizes and violates our brothers and sisters.

ENCOURAGING NEW TECHNIQUES

We encourage the search for self-realization, singly and in groups, with the eventual goal growth within communities. Growth can be individual as well as collective.

New forms of therapy are important in our move toward liberation. Moves toward group and communal experience, as well as individual growth, can help free us from inner as well as outer forms of repression.

At the same time, we are alarmed by the use of insights from therapy fields to extend institutional and governmental control, through required psychological tests for employee-applicants, inappropriate in depth interviews, and the use of therapists as consultant-engineers for third parties such as corporations, the military and universities. Therapy cannot escape responsibility for the over-sexualization of every commodity on the market and for the under-sexualization of sex itself.

CONFRONTING THE WAY OUR SOCIETY FUNCTIONS

We are concerned with the social milieu in which we all live, and with its effect on psychological well-being. Thus we join the crusade against violation of our natural resources: whether through encroachment on our minds by advertising, the mass media, stereotyped education, and outdated cultural myths; or through the blatant destruction of our environment's wholesomeness through air and water pollution, overpopulation, chemical and industrial waste, and unlivable cities.

Just as the rivers and lakes are destroyed by an arrogant, unfeeling technology, so our sense of humaneness is barraged daily by the mass media. Advertising and the consumer-economy make every person a thing. The measure of success becomes accumulated objects, wealth and notoriety; not the well-being of one's family and self, community and world. We must realize that many people called "mentally ill" have been socially traumatized by our society. While we do not pretend that all mental suffering is socially caused, we are alert to the social and political roots of much of it. These roots can no longer be ignored—they must be dealt with in a significant way.

An Invitation From LIBERATION



"When we first published LIBERATION fourteen years ago, the situation for the American left was unbearably bleak. The question we wrestled with was then very simple: not what the movement should be doing, what its priorities might be, but whether there was a movement in the first place. Other publications on the left seemed to be talking in a very stereotyped, sectarian way. From the beginning, we tried to move the movement in a more revolutionary direction, but we tried to combine this with a humanist, nonviolent perspective."

Dave Dellinger

While 7,000 people gathered outside Cook County Jail, Rennie Davis wrote about what was happening inside. His article, "Conspiracy Day in Cook County Jail," will appear in the March LIBERATION. The April issue will include articles by Dave Dellinger, the Chicago Conspiracy staff and others on the political significance of the trial. Susan Sontag recently described LIBERATION as a "shrewd, urgent, brave and humane voice of the movement." We hope you'll want to subscribe.

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Anna Louise Strong

By James Aronson

When Anna Louise Strong died in Peking on March 29 at the age of 84, the obituaries in the American press took the preconditioned and predictable route. Her career was described as one devoted to "ardent apology" for Communism. She "extolled" and "glorified" first Soviet Communism and then Chinese Communism. Her writing was marked by "emotionalism" and lack of critical content and therefore "dubiously regarded."

Anna Louise Strong was in reality one of the truly great and significant journalists of the 20th century, the author of more than 30 books on the development of socialist revolution throughout the world, an indefatigable traveler whose on-the-spot reportage created countless headlines in world crises, and, above all, a humanist who understood that personal and petty differences are among the most insidious barriers to social progress. She was known in China as Shih Teh-long, "the especially brilliant one," and her special brilliance was the knowledge that the search for truth is never-ending. As her friend, editor, and long-time correspondent, I can testify to the validity of this characterization.

Early life

Born in Fremont, Nebraska, in 1885, Miss Strong went to Oberlin College and then to the University of Chicago where she took her doctorate in philosophy in 1908. From there she joined her father, a minister with deep pacifist convictions, in Seattle, where she became expert in organizing exhibitions about child welfare. Her aim was to arouse the consciousness of the cities to the needs of children.

Her disillusion with American democracy was gradual but thorough. Shortly before World War I, she came to the conclusion that all work and enterprises ought to be put under public ownership. "This, I knew, was called socialism," she once wrote, "so I must be a socialist." Then came the war, an experience with deadly bureaucracy in Washington, the campaign to keep America out of the war and its betrayal by President Wilson—"nothing in my whole life so shook the foundations of my soul"—and the great Seattle General Strike of 1919, during which she became an editor of a revolutionary paper, the Seattle Daily Call, which was followed by the Seattle Union Record.

Her education continued as she saw how established power made its inroads by bribery and force, and the "worker's power" of Seattle was eroded by corruption from within the labor councils. She had watched "across the flaming battle lines of Europe, across two seas and continents, the signals from Moscow, when the thunder of the October Revolution awakened the world." So she went to Moscow to find out how the Russians did it: "We had failed, but they had succeeded."

She went first for the American Friends Service, took the first cars of relief to the Volga famine in 1921, then turned to writing, and organized the Moscow News (not the current one) in English to serve the needs of the American workers and engineers who were pouring in to Russia to help the Revolution.

Thus she began a 30-year residence in the Soviet Union, during which she wrote for American news services and publications, traveled to the far corners of that vast country, chronicling the progress of the revolution in numerous articles and books, seeking always to explain to herself, and to her readers, what she believed to be a new hope for mankind.

Her first visit to China came in 1925 when she was 40. It was warlord China, where a new revolutionary government had been set up in the south by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Canton. Two

LIBERATED Guardian

years later she went up the Yangtze River to Wuhan to observe the revolutionary government there. She wrote candidly and lucidly of the betrayals and defeats of the revolutionary struggle, and becoming friends of the leaders of the revolution—General Chu Teh, the great leader of the Eighth Route Army (which was to make the Long March to victory in 1949), Lin Piao, Chou En-lai, and Mao Tse-tung. They took her into their confidence, and she never violated it. When the time was right, she would get a message—as she did in 1941 in New York, after the massacre by Chiang Kai-shek of the rear guard and hospital of the New Fourth Army—saying: "Publish what you know."

"When I left Yenan," she wrote in 1965, "I knew that China, under the Chinese Communists, was what I wanted for the rest of my life. . . . Basically it was because in the discussions in Yenan I had felt my own mind expanding and realized that in recent years I had felt it contracting in Moscow into rigid forms. I said: Russians are concentrating now on building Great Russia, but Russia is not my country. The Chinese still think in terms of the world revolution where I belong. For the world includes and transcends my country."

The journey back to China was not easy for Miss Strong. It was begun in September 1948, but was not completed for 10 years. In 1948, she went to Moscow, with China as her goal, accredited by the National Guardian, of which I was then executive editor, and by Allied Labor News, a small service affiliated with Federated Press, the LNS of another generation.

For five months she waited for permission to cross into Manchuria. In February 1949, she was arrested as a "well-known intelligence agent," held in Lubianka Prison for five days, interrogated by the Security Police, and deported via Poland to Paris, and then back to the United States.

Arrest exploited

The arrest caused a sensation. The press leaped on the story like starving coyotes. The Communist press of the West, including the U.S., dutifully repeated the Moscow characterization of Miss Strong (there were never any charges), which were universally accepted by Communists who had been influenced to socialism by her writings.

At LaGuardia airport the night Miss Strong arrived, the only friendly face was that of Cedric Belfrage, editor of the National Guardian who, ironically, was to be deported from the United States six years later in the aftermath of a hearing before the McCarthy committee. Miss Strong was handed a subpoena to appear before a Grand Jury, interrogated for two hours by the FBI, and hounded mercilessly by the press. International News Service (Hearst) had flown its star red-hunter, Jack Lotto, to Gander, Newfoundland, to fly the last leg of the journey to New York with Miss Strong. Exhausted by her experience, Miss Strong never lost her presence of mind. To the wild questions by reporters, she responded:

"Do not use me to inflame international friction. News today is like an atom bomb. It can explode and destroy worlds. More than your lives or mine . . . more than justice or injustice to any individual is the question of war or peace."

Belfrage whisked her off, more dead than alive, to a hideaway in New York, where we obtained the services of a lawyer, then to the home of her friend Dr. Emily Pierson in Connecticut, who helped nurse her back to activity. Miss Strong rejected offers to "tell her story" which would have made her rich overnight—offers from publications which had turned their back on her a few months earlier when she left for the Soviet Union.

Finally she accepted an offer from the New York Herald Tribune, whose foreign reportage she respected, with the proviso that they would not alter her copy or add material. The Herald Tribune violated the agreement and added introductory matter which seemed to justify charges that Miss Strong had rejected the Soviet Union. She was shunned by old friends, with the notable exception of the Rev. Stephen Fritchman of the First Unitarian Church of Los

Angeles, who welcomed her into his open-minded congregation. The National Guardian, in its issue of March 28, 1949, said editorially:

"Until full and particularized charges are made against Miss Strong, and until she has the opportunity to reply to them, fairness demands that judgment on the question of guilt or innocence be withheld by all. Whatever Miss Strong writes or says must be judged by its contents and its effect . . . on the fight for peace. . . ."

In the same issue, Miss Strong wrote: "You ask first: what do I think now of the U.S.S.R.? I think the U.S.S.R. still carries the great hope of mankind. I say 'carries,' not 'is.' I mean as a mother carries a child toward birth."

Only in personal conversation and letters to a few friends did Miss Strong reveal the internal ravages of the shock that she had suffered. That she held firm to her conviction and her faith in socialism was in itself the greatest tribute to her quality. She retired to California, where she lived in semi-seclusion, publishing a newsletter called Today, lecturing occasionally, and refusing any offer to turn against the U.S.S.R. or socialism.

Meanwhile, Belfrage and I sought persistently to persuade the Soviet authorities to make public any charges, or to concede a gross error. Finally, in 1955, through our intervention with a prominent Eastern European diplomat, and following our expressed determination to revive and publicize the entire case, the Soviet authorities issued a statement, on March 4, 1955, admitting that the charges had been groundless.



I recall the day I phoned her in Los Angeles to tell her the news (Belfrage was in prison on a deportation warrant). But she had already heard—from the International News Service, of all things. She then undertook a long fight to get her passport returned and, in 1958, left for the Soviet Union en route to China.

For 12 years she wrote about China, published new books, wrote and edited a Letter from China, and traveled as her health would permit. In 1960, she became the first American woman to visit Lhasa, Tibet, carried from the plane on a stretcher because of her health and the high altitude. She was revered throughout China, from the highest leadership to the peppery young Red Guards, who made her an honorary member.

She has been described by some as demanding, imperious, and sometimes not the most accurate reporter on pertinent details. Demanding she was, not for herself, but for what she believed in. Imperious she was not. Majestic might be a more accurate word, encompassing in her person the vision of world revolution together with a dignity of womanhood which she equated with humanity. And if she was at times not the most careful reporter on details, she was quick with a correction. Beyond that, as a chronicler of her times, she had a scope and sweep in her writing that was hard to surpass.

She rarely made a decision without discussing it with many friends beforehand. Yet even after a decision had been made, her mind and spirit were of such flexibility, and her intelligence so searching, that she would be willing to change, revise, and rethink a position entirely. This, I believe, was the secret of her youth and the sense of excitement her presence created. And for all her experience, she retained a humility which was remarkable. In her 79th year, she wrote:

"When I applied to my Chinese friends to stay in Peking, I put it: 'I think the Chinese know better than anyone else the way for man. I want to learn and write.' I am still learning and writing and expect to keep on."

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LIBERATED

Guardian

Workers seize control

Guardian Workers' Collective

On Sunday morning, April 12,* we seized control of the Guardian national headquarters at 197 E. 4th St. in New York City. We were about 60 strong—19 workers who had been on strike since Thursday, together with a number of discontented Guardian ex-workers and Movement supporters from such organizations as Rat, Newsreel, Venceremos Brigade, Urban Underground, New York Media Project, Gay Liberation Front, Liberation Magazine, American Revolutionary Media (ARM), and Women's Liberation. We had banded together to overthrow an archaic, undemocratic, elitist structure and to make the Guardian serve the new left movement it claimed to represent. It was unanimously agreed that the Guardian "Independent Radical Newsweekly" had to be changed in a radical direction or a new national radical newspaper established to take its place.

LIBERATION ISSUE

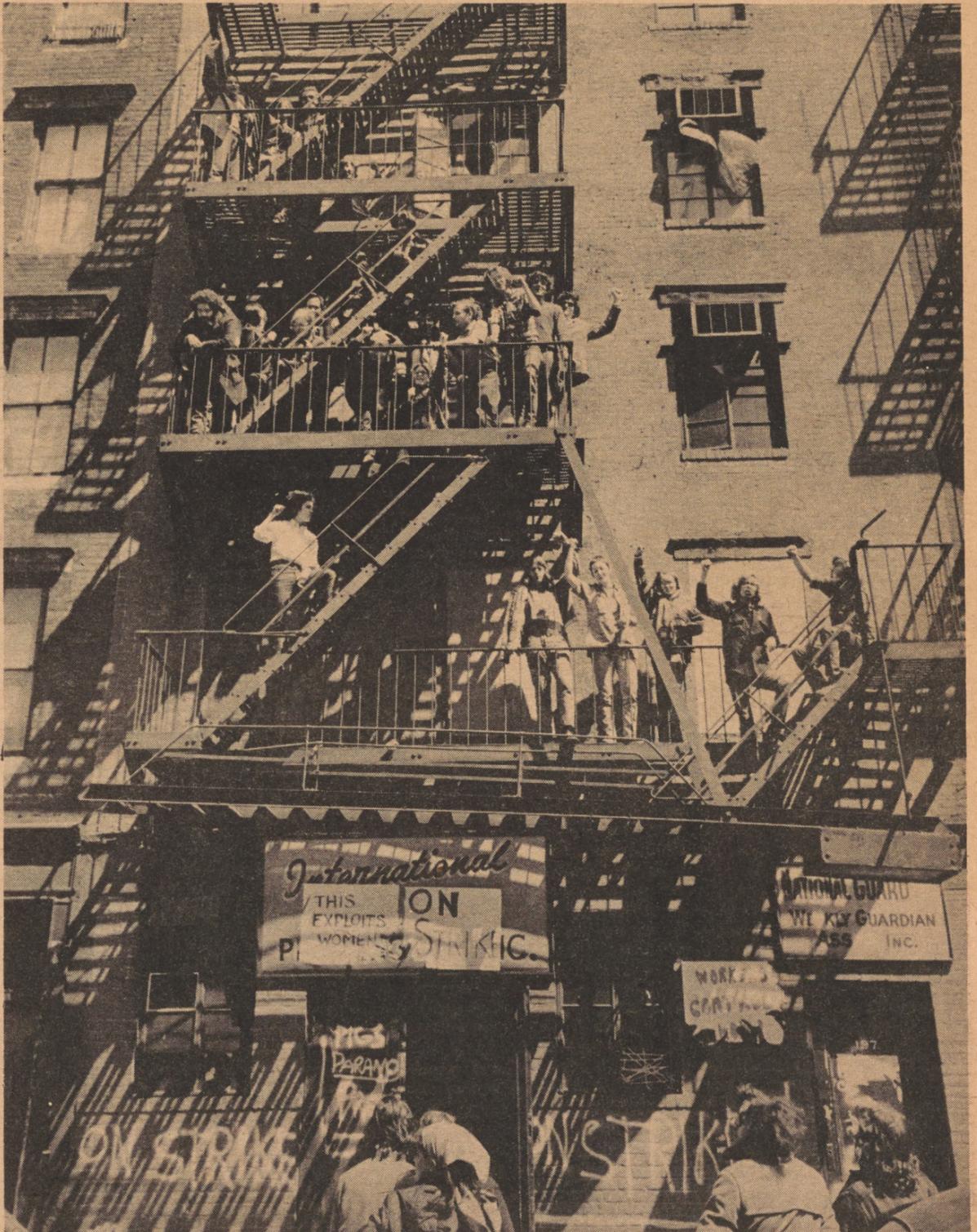
To most observers, the Guardian appeared to be owned and operated cooperatively by a staff which functioned in a politically homogeneous manner, facilitating the flow of information and analysis to all members of the factionalized new left movement. In reality, the Guardian was never truly "independent" and was beset by internal disagreements with respect to its internal structure and political content. Despite the fact that the Guardian was neither a political party nor a political organization, the management of the newspaper demanded a commitment to "Marxism-Leninism" when it was convenient for them to do so, and claimed that the voting staff was generally unified in their political position. This was untrue. Many ex-Guardian staff members have said that after their experience at the Guardian they felt they no longer even knew what was meant by Marxism-Leninism. They realized that they had been hired because the Guardian needed their labor power, and strung along because they were "hard workers." The phrase "Marxism-Leninism" had been used as a mask for elitist control.

Bourgeois job definitions

Managing Editor Jack Smith, General Manager Irving Beinin and their few staff supporters—in general, people in positions of privilege on the Guardian—have accused the 19 strikers of being "part-time, temporary and short-term workers." This position inadvertently reveals something very important about the practice of the Guardian. The newspaper hires part-time and temporary workers as a mechanism to maintain political power in the hands of the few people who control decision-making. The more important questions are why a so-called Marxist-Leninist newspaper perpetuated these types of bourgeois role classifications and why a few political ideologues refused to develop the politics of the newspaper as a collective process involving all the workers. The answers to these questions help to explain why the Guardian has become remote to many people actually involved in revolutionary struggle.

Our walk-out was the third in the short span of a year, and numerous workers have quit individually out of personal frustration and anger. Having spoken with many ex-workers and from our own experiences working at the paper, we are convinced that the turnover reflects both a bourgeois, elitist and manipulative method of management control and alienating and exploitative working conditions.

Workers were shoved into rigid job categories like typesetter, advertising solicitor, proofreader, writer and subscription clerk. Writers were hired according to bourgeois standards of professionalism.



When the woman's caucus demanded a woman writer, they were told that Jack Smith was writing to journalism schools. A new male reporter had been hired only weeks before. The only woman on the editorial staff was the "editorial assistant" who compiled some of the regular columns, clipped the New York Times on a daily basis, and served as the managing editor's personal secretary. When this woman wrote an editorial for International Woman's Day, it was handed to Carl Davidson—the Guardian's chief political theorist-analyst—so that he could "give it some politics."

The New York Times of the left

We do not believe that the movement's national newspaper must be the New York Times of the left. We do not believe that reportage which centers on confrontations and public events—that perpetuates the media myth of action as spectacle, ignoring hard day-to-day organizing activities—and which is selective in its coverage of radical activity, is revolutionary journalism. The Guardian is out of touch with the movement, has trouble relating to the movement, and cannot serve the movement in a revolutionary manner. The Guardian never hesitates to proclaim solidarity with the NLF, PRG, Cuban Revolution, and North Korea, but when it comes to the American movement, the Guardian

Going to work Sunday morning—people take power. stands aloof—except to point the finger at "opportunism, adventurism, and bourgeois individualism."

We striking workers at the Guardian have had individual complaints and criticisms of the newspaper's internal structure and informational content for some time. We have raised these issues at staff meetings and in personal discussions with members of the "cooperative," but have been intimidated and manipulated by long-winded recitations of distorted Guardian history, references to a misplaced constitution, unkept promises, condescension, threats of firing and other forms of verbal harassment, and charges of "not having the Guardian's best interests at heart."

The tension mounts

On April 7 the newly appointed "director" of typesetting was removed from that department because he was accused of "establishing a clique of friends." Recently hired typesetting trainees discovered they were going to be fired for "incompetence" and replaced by professionals who would have two months to learn Guardian style.

The woman Jack Smith claimed to have hired part-time to help with art work revealed that Smith had appointed her head of the department.

continued on page 2

Workers seize control

continued from page 1

Production workers met to discuss how to deal with management on the basis of what had just transpired. They constructed a list of demands which included a provision for more departmental autonomy and control of hiring and firing. Other workers expressed strong sympathy for the plight of the production workers and joined in a series of meetings. We talked about our frustrations and alienation and came to the conclusion that all our grievances were a direct result of the internal structure of the Guardian.

Strike!
On April 9, two-thirds of the workers at the Guardian, nineteen people united by their common oppression as wage-slaves and sharing a belief in the necessity for revolutionary change both in society and at the Guardian, demanded that all Guardian workers be given an equal voice in decision-making at the newspaper. Our primary demand, read at an unprecedented worker-called staff meeting said: "The Guardian must be reorganized in a collective manner, all work and decisions shared and decided collectively, each worker having one equal vote." To our dismay, not to our surprise, our suggestion that the rest of the staff caucus and reach a decision was summarily rejected. Instead, Irving Beinin, general manager, laughed: "I think I can speak for the whole staff," he said. "We cannot restructure the Guardian."

Within minutes, a picket line had been established in front of the newspaper's headquarters. Within hours, the strikers were made overwhelmingly aware of the extent of support within the Movement for our action. Although we had been able to express our grievances in political terms before the action, we found ourselves involved in a dialectical process. Consciousness of the true significance of our act was progressively expanded as we discussed with other involved movement people the basis for and the content of our future actions. We became increasingly committed to the idea that rejection of bourgeois structures without commitment to creation of new and viable forms was not a revolutionary act.

While we had sensed and verbalized our need, for many of us, collective work was a new experience. The nineteen of us, isolated from each other a week before, developed a bond of love and respect for each other which became a driving, sustaining force in our development. Over the course of 75 hours, with the sympathetic help we received from the movement and, especially, from Rat women and former Guardian workers, we developed an articulated set of goals which became the basis for our decision to liberate the Guardian offices and create a new national radical newspaper.

Sunday morning at 10 o'clock, while police watched in bewilderment from the sidewalk, a coalition of 60 mounted the

fire-escape. After a brief struggle with five non-strikers who brandished CO₂ spray, clubs and a crowbar, we gained control of the Guardian offices and declared the newspaper "liberated."

We held the offices and planned our first issue until the landlord arrived with the police and demanded that we evacuate the building. At that point, we collectively decided that our political purpose would not be served if we were massively arrested. At 5 p.m. we left the building and resumed our picket line.

Our spirits rose as offers for temporary office space were made and two Wobblies among us officially signed up all strikers as members of the I.W.W. When police returned with an informal complaint filed against us by Irving Beinin, a number of us decided to risk arrest and reenter the building. We slept in the Guardian offices and worked on the paper until the next afternoon when the landlord again returned. This time the owner made it clear that he would permit neither strikers nor bosses inside his building. Under these conditions, we agreed to move to donated office space and get on with the real work of putting out a paper.

We are now committed to putting out a liberated Guardian. Our next issue will appear within a week and a half. It will be full-size and will contain articles written by many former Guardian people. Africa Research Group, Stanley Aronowitz, Carol and Greg Calvert, Francis Furey, NACLA, Chris Robinson, Margie Stenberg, and Lee Webb have already promised to write for us.

There are many problems that still have to be solved. We desperately need financing. We need an office from which to work until our position with the landlord is settled. We need access to office equipment and supplies.

But we are convinced that to make the revolution, people must challenge their oppressors wherever they find them. They must collectively create the institutions which will permit them to control their lives.

Liberation of the Guardian doesn't end here!
Next week's full issue will include articles on:
The Venceremos Brigade
Grove Press Women's Takeover
Living Theater Split
Gulf Oil Project
University of Wisconsin Teacher's Strike
Gay Liberation Front Statement
and many others
Have any articles or suggestions? Let us know.

Preface to a walkout



By Peter Henig and Elizabeth Fink (former Guardian workers)

The workers' seizure of the headquarters of the Guardian on the morning of Sunday, April 12 to the accompaniment of breaking glass and cheering pickets, was the largest and most visible example of the instability and struggle for control of the 21 year old weekly since the departure of its second editor, James Aronson, in 1967.

In this two part series we will present an overview of this growing instability and, through an examination of the internal operation of the paper as well as its political responsibilities offer what we hope are useful perspectives on its impending demise. Since the history of the Guardian is complex and many of the key individuals involved could not be reached for information on extremely short notice we are convinced that deeper study will yield further insights.

Pig Guardian financed

Unlike the movement and underground papers of the new left, started during the political upsurge of the sixties with sufficient money to pay for the first printing bill and entirely dependent on the enthusiasm of informal and virtually unpaid staffs, the Guardian was from the outset conceived along traditional newspaper lines. Management control was clearly derived from ownership of shares in a legal corporate entity and implemented through a conventional hierarchy of managers, editors, and business staff. Full time workers essential to the operation of the paper were adequately paid (though modestly by the standards of the day) and held responsible to management for the performance of their duties.

In the absence of a vital movement, indeed at a time when the left was faced with official repression, it is difficult to imagine how this extremely courageous and important journalistic enterprise could have been handled in any other way. It is to the credit of the management and staff of the old Guardian that they did their difficult job with persistence and competence, but without pretensions. Without representing the Guardian as anything more than what it was.

New Left pretensions

The ascendancy of the new left in the nation was first strongly reflected at the Guardian with the ouster by the staff of James Aronson, its editor and one of its three founders. Aronson's departure was the occasion for a great blooming of new left rhetoric and coloration. SDS, the student movement and civil rights began to claim most available column-inches, a cooperative structure was loudly proclaimed and elaborated, and word was spread among movement leaders that a "new left coup" had rendered the Guardian a valuable and accountable agency of the vigorous new forces of the left.

Gifted as we are by hindsight, we can see that the term "coup" was the most favorable one that could have been used to describe what happened at the Guardian. Closer examination shows that the key people involved were not from the new resurgence of the movement—but merely interested parties in past internal struggles. What was termed as a new left victory was in actuality an old left manipulation. Who were these manipulators and what were the conditions that enabled them to prevail?

Smith-Beininism

Jack Smith and Irving Beinin, as managing editor and general manager respectively the chief targets of the April 12 takeover, have had a far stronger grasp on the technical, business and personnel operations of the Guardian than of the politics, priorities and values of the movement their new regime at the paper was supposed to serve.

The establishment press has been led to describe Jack Smith as a twenty-four year old political activist-editor. In reality Smith is 36 years old and is more the product of his years as a UPI writer than of any movement involvement. One of the authors first met Jack Smith—then a Guardian reporter—at the SDS National Convention at Clear Lake, Iowa in August 1966. Quietly personable, with longish hair and a camera bag slung over his shoulders, Smith had virtually no understanding of or knowledge about the movement but went about acquiring it by establishing personal contacts with individuals he considered to be either existing or potential organization leaders. After the coup against Aronson which he helped to engineer, Smith continued this method of operation. Remaining aloof from the give-and-take of ordinary day-to-day movement situations, he ventured outside the Guardian office only to closet himself with top leadership at SDS National Conventions. All his other encounters with movement people were either from behind his editor's desk at the Guardian, with the visitor usually a supplicant; or over the telephone where the transactions were necessarily one to one and therefore not subject to scrutiny by any sizeable gathering of political people. Calls to Smith were invariably screened by a personal secretary (a woman), who also magnified his power by taking dictation and doing the typing that made possible Smith's immense volume of correspondence with movement bigshots around the country.

Political Conformity

Despite his control over a sizeable part of the movement's news budget, Smith never ventured a coherent statement of his own politics. His unerring adherence to the movement status quo was reflected, rather, in the way he chose to write up his major SDS convention stories, and in the way he edited copy, budgeted stories and the general writing priorities of the editorial staff. Thus, through his agility on the personal level and his conformity on the political level, Smith's three-plus years tenure as managing editor was never seriously challenged from without. Isolated individuals could be heard grumbling in private at any given moment, but this disaffection never took meaningful form. The aura of Guardian prestige and the prerogatives of editorship endowed Smith with enormous powers for cancelling out oppositional forces. At the same time, he used his monopoly on communication with the outside world to dominate the paper internally.

What was the nature of the organization that sustained this movement role?

As late as the summer of 1968 when one of the authors was hired on to the Guardian's editorial department, the Guardian was the only self-styled "vanguard" organization in the movement able to pay a stone hard-core activist a weekly salary of \$68. Total annual salary outlays at the Guardian ran to \$80,000.

The privilege of picking the individuals who would receive such good pay for full-time movement work belonged to management in general, and Jack Smith and Irving Beinin in particular.

Fantasies in hiring

In the editorial department, whose hirings Smith attended to zealously, the primary qualification for a writer-editor job was supposed to be professional-level technical competence, creativity, and unflinching revolutionary virtue. That's a tall order and one to which few real human beings can lay claim.

Ironically, actual conditions of editorial work militated against the job security of any person who could demonstrate one or more of these traits with a modicum of consistency.

Consider the case of Robert Dudnick.

Hired in December 1968, 28-year-old Dudnick had ten years in journalism (from the ground up) instead of a lot of formal education. A working-class guy, Dudnick was city-editor for the largest daily in Las Vegas, reporter for the L.A. Times, and brought radical perspective to his enormous knowledge of labor affairs. Even before the expiration of his "probationary period" at the Guardian, Dudnick had single-handedly brought in the Guardian's outstanding special issue on Detroit's "Black Workers in Revolt." When he wasn't doing the big stuff, he fielded routine stories of every kind, edited copy, translated cable jargon, and made up headlines in the middle of the night. Reverence for leadership was not Dudnick's bag. Smith knew that Dudnick had to go.

Offing Dudnick

At a time when seven workers were being "excessed" (a traditional euphemism at the Guardian) because of a "financial crisis", Smith suddenly saw an urgent need for a bureau in Atlanta, Georgia and Dudnick was just the man to run it.

That was fine with Dudnick, who disdained office politics. However, events were moving fast and Dudnick was to resign after five months in solidarity with the subjects of a purge in April of 1969, without going to Atlanta.

Formulation of all major editorial policy at the Guardian was ostensibly a collective responsibility. But the meetings at which this was supposed to happen were designed to weed out the assertive, frustrate the creative and sustain others in their timidity. Smith presided over virtually every meeting and everyone knew deep inside that the suggestion that the chair be routinely rotated would be tantamount to treason.

Left N.Y. Times

At these meetings, Smith would present his proposed copy schedule for the coming week. The atmosphere was such that the schedule would invariably be accepted with only minor changes. This one individual not only established the range of possibilities from which others would choose, but to a disturbing degree culled most of his own selections from the New York Times. Since the Guardian has only about fifteen thousand paying readers, most of them from the paper's earlier years, and since the editorial department functioned in isolation from the movement, the editorial product inevitably resembled the week-late re-hash of the New York Times which many radicals claimed it was. But many critics were cowed by the sprinkling of big name movement columnists.

Frustration and demoralization was the prevailing undercurrent in the Guardian editorial department. Harassed, weary, humiliated, bored, or "incorrect", individuals dropped by the wayside. Some, such as one of the authors, lacked the self-confidence to really fight back. Some, with less political experience, never clearly perceived the fact of their oppression, but felt oppressed nonetheless.

Divisive structure

There was no place you could go with your discontent. Guardian management encouraged the development of little departmental cliques. Writers (mostly men) just never went out to dinner with the art workers (mostly women) who tried to create decent graphics subject to Smith's veto (frequently exercised). Typesetters, circulation, advertising and countless other toilers whose tasks were essential, many of them into important movement work on the outside, hardly rated a nod. Divided, we fell. Again and again and again.

One flight of stairs below the editorial floor, yet a world apart, the business department under the stewardship of Irving Beinin labored to provide what was colorfully styled as "the material base" for the prestigious revolutionary work upstairs. In a back room workers struggled with noisy machinery, recalcitrant with age, to process and reprocess plates and cards for the subscription fulfillment department. Others were charged with the ementation and absorbed blame for the failure of circulation, promotion, and advertising schemes which were invariably self-defeating because management (Smith and Beinin) never acknowledged the relationship between editorial priorities and the need to earn resources (money) from the revolutionary world to which the Guardian was supposed to be accountable. What saleability the Guardian did have was systematically negated by bureaucratic procedures designed by Beinin, and by fantastic give-away programs such as the one which mailed thousands of copies to organizations which let them sit in piles and never paid.

Up until Aronson's departure the Guardian tried to protect itself from legalistic harassment by the FBI, Internal Revenue Service and Post Office by keeping its financial records in apple pie order. Tax pigs would descend on the place often without warning.

When Beinin took control he almost literally put all financial knowledge in his own hip pocket. The books were certified by an uncertified accountant and a personal friend of Beinin. Guardian

continued on page 4

Guardian Exploits Women

NOTES TO MY SISTERS IN WOMEN'S LIBERATION

RE: "MOVEMENT" MEDIA AND THE NEED TO BUILD OUR OWN COMMUNICATIONS

I used to work for the Guardian, a publication that has long been influential in "the Movement," but I recently quit and want to share some thoughts about why I did with my sisters—those who work for other papers and those who don't.

The Guardian began publishing over twenty years ago as an independent left paper, and in the past three years it has come to be known more as an independent paper of the so-called New Left. In recent months it has become more important than formerly because of the general fractionalization of the left—the end of SDS, no new national political organization really capable of giving political direction, the rightward and single issue drift of the Mobe, the entrance of the liberal community to the anti-war movement, etc. For this reason many of us thought it important to build the Guardian politically so it could better serve people by getting out information and general, hopefully non-sectarian but good political analysis.

During this same period Women's Liberation became more and more powerful a force on the political scene. In some cities, it has come to fill the political void created by the shattering of other organizations, and has been giving strong political leadership to a slugging white movement. Women on the staff of the Guardian were swept along in our growing movement, and we tried to assert our politics by giving coverage and analysis in the Guardian's pages.

Male Supremacy pervades the Guardian

We were naive, as are most of us when dealing with "radical" men. Men on the Guardian (those who control the paper) no more wanted independent women's coverage than they wanted recipes for fondue, and in fact, that's how they saw our movement. Last year a strong women's collective was built on the paper. Systematically, and quite destructively to them personally, these women were purged one by one, divided from each other, and thrown off the paper—the stronger ones who

persisted to press for political direction, were treated most destructively. I was not in New York, where the paper's main office is, but in a bureau here in D.C., so the stories I got of internal fighting were only second or third hand, and I responded to confusion by refusing to believe it existed. I wanted the paper to continue, so I ignored the personal and political battles that in fact involved me even though I naively thought they didn't.

The Guardian is probably the same as all other movement and/or underground media in this regard. Women do business, typing, etc. but are not encouraged as writers. Women's liberation coverage is given last priority space-wise and only then because 1) it will sell papers because women are interested, 2) it's politically wise to throw a few women and women's articles in so the male supremacist nature of the paper isn't too obvious, or 3) some women have waged a real struggle—but it's never put in as important and politically necessary news. Sometimes we are allowed to do special supplements, but that too is a rarity, and seen as a one-shot deal to keep us off men's backs.

"House nigger"

By summer I was left as the only woman writer on the Guardian staff. I tried to fill the void by writing exclusively about women's liberation and refusing to do other articles as much as I could. I solicited articles from some of you, only to apologize later for their getting lost, changed, not printed, etc. Mostly, knowing the background of other women's experiences, I responded by sagging morale, and because I was isolated in D.C., by not sending in articles or soliciting them finally, knowing they wouldn't be used. Guardian men used divide and conquer tactics by getting us to act against each other as women. They played on our insecurities, our sexuality, our fears of competence and of incompetence—on our own oppression. I felt myself becoming the "house nigger" and finally quit because I didn't want this position.

Recently I began talking to other women working on underground papers and found their experiences remarkably similar—despite women's supplements and regular articles.

Women's Liberation is not being covered in the Movement press in a way that is adequate, truthful, consistent and important. This, I now realize in disbelief at my own stupidity, is typical of all movement organizations we have been talking about in women's liberation for the past two years, and I can't imagine why I was so dumb as to make an exception for newspapers when I had already learned the hard way about organizations.

We have started Women's Liberation because we cannot work in those organizations—because those organizations do not speak to or fight for our liberation, because we are oppressed in them as well as by the broader society. It is time we began our own media to communicate with each other and to build our movement further, because if we continue to work through the movement press we will continue to have our communications, thoughts, space allotments, whatever, controlled by those same men who have hampered our growth already in their organizations. We need to build our own independent media to serve the needs and interests of our growing movement.

Marilyn Webb

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LIBERATED

Guardian

continued from page 3

Walk out...

file cabinets filled with complaints by staff members about the contradictions in Beinin's financial pronouncements. Fortunately for the Guardian, the tax pigs stopped coming.

The allocation of money is an important political question even in a revolutionary enterprise. It is a useful tool in planning and describing future projects and in measuring the efficiency and general success of essential operations. Without decent accounting and shared knowledge of money matters even a revolutionary organization is one more step removed from reality. Knowledge of reality is the lifeblood of the revolutionary. And his lack of this knowledge can often be used as a weapon against him.

Lucky book-keeping

The only occasions when the workings of "the material base" were allowed to intrude upon the dream world of the rest of the paper almost always coincided with an upsurge of staff discontent with policy and procedures. Without warning, Beinin would stand up at a staff meeting and announce that unless such and such a bill was paid by the following week the paper would close. Smith would run down the possible ways for costs to be cut and gently lead the financially unschooled staff to the conclusion that one of more staff members would have to be "excessed." In the ranks of the "excessed," count the dissidents, the newcomers, the ones not elevated to the coordinating committee, the ones whose by-lines just might be conspicuously absent to somebody.

As a member of the coordinating committee one of the authors personally sanctioned the "excessing" of no less than seven comrades in one fell swoop in response to such a "crisis." Without financial information and "with the survival of the Guardian at stake" it was difficult to resist.

Despite repeated excesses on the part of management, despite editorial policies accountable to nobody, despite business policies that ignored possibilities for making or collecting money (such as Beinin's refusal to administer the typesetting department profitably), or which were simply wasteful of the efforts of the workers, despite growing staff demoralization, the Guardian staggered through 1968 and into 1969.

Early in the new year staff frustration led to the temporary removal of Beinin from financial operations. Bill Rose was moved from the editorial department to the general manager post. One of the authors was made assistant general manager. They were joined by other staff members in an attempt to get at the roots of the mysterious and destructive "financial crisis" crippling the paper.

One of the first lessons learned by the new business workers was that the Guardian suddenly could no longer count on the financial largesse of Fred Harte, a quiet, elderly gentleman who did unpaid full-time work in the subscription fulfillment department. It was Harte, who, with Beinin in command, allowed the Guardian management to escape the consequences of its managerial sins by making sizeable secret contributions at critical moments. Just enough to "save the Guardian" but not quite enough to stop "excessings" or to liquidate the debts that ruled out growth programs. When Beinin, one-time Trotskyist and

part-time Mobe official, momentarily lost his grasp on Guardian money, Harte, reputed heir to a grocery retailing fortune, shut off the tap. When the business reformers were ousted in April of 1969 the tap was opened again.

In a similar fashion, the Amalgamated Bank which floated the Guardian indefinitely on a ten-thousand dollar overdraft merely on Beinin's say-so (an utterly unheard-of banking practice), suddenly reverted to fiscal orthodoxy. Ditto the Guardian's landlord and printer. When the reformers were ousted everything went on as before.

In their few short weeks of tenure the business reformers were able to establish adequate financial records and made them available to the entire staff. Cash intake was strictly accounted and central controls on spending introduced. An attempt was made to implement some of the changes these procedures showed to be needed. It became possible to hope that the Guardian could be made truly viable and independent of secret sole-source contributions, with opportunistic purges ruled out as a method of internal political control.

But the old ways had gone on too long. Most of the staff had been well-schooled in mutual distrust. Tempers were short and when changes were attempted some old-time staff members desperately resisted them. Equally frustrated, some of the reformers became involved in confrontations at which unpleasant things were said. These confrontations were avidly seized upon by Beinin and Smith who, seeing their carefully contrived control mechanisms slipping away, called an emergency meeting to castigate them for abuse of comrades. At this meeting one of the reformer groups was fired and the others virtually forced to resign. All attempts by the business group to force a meaningful staff discussion of the political implications of Guardian administrative practices were thwarted, in part because a detailed scenario of what was to happen was secretly rehearsed in advance under the tutelage of Smith and house ideologist Carl Davidson.

Cyclical "excessing"

After the departure of these staff members and those who quit in solidarity with them, the cycle was repeated again. A new wave of workers became aware of the Guardian system, tried to change it, and on the eve of a large-scale "excessing," walked out en masse. There was little publicity of their action, their places were filled by the unwitting, and the cycle began again.

The next series of arbitrary actions by management triggered meetings and a walkout of the workers. A picket line was maintained outside the Guardian's East 4th Street headquarters for three days. At 7:30 a.m. Sunday April 13 about fifty Guardian people—past and present—and some members of other movement groups got together for a final strategy session. Two hours later they were going in by way of the fire escape.

In the next part of our overview we will discuss the Guardian's creation and use of movement superstars, the position of Guardian women and the role of women's caucuses, and, through examination of the experience of individual Guardian workers, further details of political, personal and administrative manipulation at the paper.

Sisters and Brothers:

In response to your phone call and the statement which appeared in LNS, we would like to go on record as endorsing your demands.

In our own work, we are trying to work in a socialist manner with all work and decisions shared collectively. We think that all organizations in the movement should operate in such a manner and completely support your efforts to reorganize the GUARDIAN accordingly. We hope the paper will emerge from this conflict in a stronger position to serve the movement and the people. We certainly want to continue to do what we can, as Guardian contributors, to improve the paper.

All Power to the People
Guardian Power to Guardian People
Amandla Ngwaethu
In solidarity
AFRICA RESEARCH GROUP

The true revolutionary
is guided by great feelings
of love. *che*

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