

*Black and white, unite and fight for a*

# WORKERS WORLD

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Vol. 11, No. 22

December 5, 1969

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## Stop the Murder of Panther Leaders!



### Fred Hampton

**Black Liberation Fighter**

**Chairman,  
Illinois Black Panther Party**

**Murdered by the  
Nixon-Mitchell-Daley  
racist assassins**

**Dec. 4, 1969**

## Stop the War Against Black America

At five o'clock in the morning on December 4, 1969, racist Chicago police, armed to the teeth, smashed their way into the home of Fred Hampton, Chairman of the Illinois chapter of the Black Panther Party, and shot him to death in his bed. They also murdered Mark Clark, a Panther Party member from Peoria, Illinois. The house was surrounded by cops armed with machine guns and tear gas.

This brutal and totally unprovoked act of fascist terror is part of a ruthless campaign by the Nixon Administration and the racist ruling class to exterminate the leadership of the Black Panther Party and to destroy the Party as a force fighting for the liberation of black people.

The broad masses in the anti-war and progressive movement and particularly the white workers must understand that this pre-dawn assassination raid was an atrocity of the same type that the U.S. committed in My Lai. The murder of Panther leader Fred Hampton was a premeditated act of barbarism carried out at the orders of the master class in a savage war of aggression against Black America. This provocation cannot, must not, go unchallenged. The time to respond to this monstrous violation of human rights is now. The racists must be punished for their deeds. They must feel the wrath of the people.

The country is presently experiencing a wave of revulsion and horror at the revelation of the My Lai massacre. This bestial act has quite correctly been likened to the Nazi crimes at Lidice and Buchenwald. But it will be demagoguery and a criminal shirking of responsibility to vent anger and indignation at the My Lai massacre without, at the same time, mounting

a militant and determined struggle against the atrocities suffered by the black people right here at home. Home is where the decisive struggle will be fought and won!

Fred Hampton, Mark Clark and the dozens of other members of the Panther Party are only the most recent victims in a long and brutal war against Black America. These murders should be classified as war crimes. They should evoke as much indignation and revulsion among progressive humanity as do the crimes against Vietnam. More importantly, the massacre of black leaders should be protested just as strenuously, just as militantly and just as widely as the massacre of our Vietnamese brothers.

The war against Black America is total. Any black community in the U.S. is subject to invasion by U.S. troops, tanks, armored personnel carriers mounted with machine guns, helicopters, tear gas at the slightest sign of mass resistance to racism and police brutality. Every black community in the U.S. is already occupied and patrolled by the police of U.S. imperialism. Every black person in the U.S. is subject to beating, arrest or murder by these occupation forces at any time.

These are the same conditions of enslavement which the Vietnamese are fighting against. Black America, just like Vietnam, is subject to perpetual attack from an imperialist aggressor.

The U.S. billionaires want the black people to man their sweat shops, work their plantations, sweep their floors and serve their meals for slave wages while the profits roll into their coffers. That is why they are at war against Black America.

The black people, just like the Vietnamese, have organizations which fight for them. The Black Panther Party is trying to serve the black people in the same way that the National Liberation Front is trying to serve the Vietnamese people — by fighting for liberation, for self-determination, to get the boot-heel of U.S. imperialism off the peoples' neck. They fight for the same cause; they are up against the same imperialist enemy and they are both being subjected to the murderous atrocities and war crimes by the ruling class.

The murder of the Panther leaders is part and parcel of the same rampant fascism which led to My Lai, which U.S. big business is unleashing against oppressed people everywhere and which the bosses turn against the working class when they begin to resist exploitation — as they are now beginning to do in GE and dozens of other smaller strikes.

It is the most urgent task of the progressive, student and anti-war movement in general to mobilize a broad and militant counter-attack against these domestic atrocities. It is high time to strike back with full force. We must organize protests, demonstrations and set in motion all forms of struggle against the racist war criminals, Nixon, Mitchell, the fascist courts and all the local agents of the ruling class who persecute black liberation fighters. We must show the masses that My Lai and the murder of Fred Hampton are two identical deeds executed by the same guiding hand in Washington.

Stop the war against Black America!  
Long live the black liberation struggle!  
Long live the solidarity of black and white against imperialism!  
Long live the proletarian revolution!



# Editorial

## China and the Helsinki Talks

The talks between the Soviet Union and the U.S. that are now in progress in Helsinki must be regarded by revolutionary Communists not only with the greatest skepticism but also with the greatest mistrust. It is of course no violation of Leninist principles governing the relations between socialist and capitalist states for the Soviet Union to try to reach an agreement with the U.S. on a specific military or diplomatic problem. It is the circumstances surrounding the talks which arouses the greatest concern regarding their value and significance.

It has been several weeks now that the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China have been having talks in Peking for the purpose of settling the border issue between the two countries as well as other related prob-

lems. The initiation of the talks in Peking was one of the most favorable developments in the community of socialist states and a bad omen for the imperialists whose greatest hope lies in seeing a renewal of the border clash between the USSR and China which could gallop into a major war from which imperialism alone can gain.

The Soviet leaders have claimed that they have initiated the talks in Peking and are most interested in a successful conclusion of the talks in the interest of China, the Soviet Union and the whole socialist community. As of this moment there has been no indication that any progress at all has been made in the talks in Peking. One reason may be that the Soviet Union agreed to the so-called arms limitations talks with the U.S. that are going on in Helsinki. The People's Republic of China can justly view the Helsinki talks with the greatest of suspicion.

First of all, China has a treaty with the Soviet Union which is specifically directed against U.S. imperialism. For the Soviet Union to commence unilateral talks with the U.S. without consulting China and without its participation on any important topic is a breach of faith with the People's Republic of China not only from the point of view of socialist solidarity but on a state-to-state level. It is also to be noted that the Soviet leaders have not really consulted any of the other Socialist allies such as Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam, and not even perhaps its closest allies in Eastern Europe.

The world proletariat and the world oppressed have the greatest interest in

seeing a successful solution to the border problem between China and the USSR. The reasons for it are plain to see for everyone. It would enable China, the USSR and all of the other socialist states to concentrate on defense against the main enemy, U.S. imperialism. The talks in Helsinki clearly militate against agreement in Peking. The Chinese leadership cannot possibly close their eyes to what is going on in Helsinki, while they are conferring with the Soviet leaders on the border dispute.

Regarding the value of the arms limitation talks, it must be remembered that the whole history of imperialist diplomacy shows that agreements on any form of disarmament are rarely if ever kept by the imperialists. Right now the progressive and certainly the revolutionary elements in this country don't give a tinker's damn of credibility to any kind of talks that the Nixon Administration engages in whether it be in Helsinki, at the UN or at the Waldorf Astoria and this is justly so because the masses fully understand that the Administration's words are merely a cover and a smokescreen for its vile and predatory deeds. Not only is this true on the question of the arms race, which is supposed to be the subject at Helsinki, but on all phases of life.

In agreeing to the talks with the U.S. and the so-called arms limitation, the Soviet leaders have once more shown that they have abandoned world socialist solidarity in the interests of narrow, purely speculative and dubious momentary gains of a strictly national character at the expense of the world

proletariat and the revolutionary aspirations of all the world's oppressed peoples.

The Helsinki talks come at a time when there is a virtual torrent of world-wide protest and revulsion against U.S. aggression in Vietnam as exemplified by the My Lai massacre. It also coincides with widening aggression by the Pentagon war makers against the revolutionary struggles of the Arab people in the Middle East. And at no time has the U.S. imperialist establishment unleashed a more savage repression against the Black people than as it has now in the case of its effort to exterminate the Black Panther Party. It should also be noted that the Nixon Administration has never been more in need of some success abroad to fool the people at home than it is now. In fact it is virtually desperate to find something which it can offer up to the people as a "favorable sign." It is not to be wondered then, that the Helsinki talks have been the only thing that the Nixon Administration has been able to hold up to public view as a "favorable development." The Nixon Administration could find nothing else on the world arena to bolster its "peaceful image."

The Soviet leaders ought to know that whatever the Nixon Administration boasts of as being favorable, the broad masses of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world and particularly those in America will regard as distinctly unfavorable to them. That perhaps is the most cogent lesson of the Helsinki talks.

## Workers World

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# YAWF Leaders Denounce Indictments of Weatherman

The following is a statement issued by the National Committee of Youth Against War & Fascism condemning the indictment handed down in Chicago against leaders and members of Weatherman for their participation in the events of October 8-11...

We denounce the indictments of the 29 members of Weatherman by the Illinois authorities as another in a mounting series of repressions and frameups ordered by the ruling class against revolutionaries all across the country. The purpose of these repressions is to crush all resistance to imperialist war, to the enslavement of the black people, and to insure that the working class does not become "infected" with revolutionary ideas and methods of struggle against the capitalists who rule this country.

Those who handed down the indictments, represent a government which daily violates, not only international law, but its own laws in order to oppress the people. Such a government,

which is steeped in the blood of the masses all over the world, has no legal, moral or political right to question the activities of any revolutionary, any oppressed person or any worker.

What is needed is a people's court to try the Nixons, the Mitchells, the Daleys and their corporate bosses for their crimes against the people.

How dare these criminals have the audacity to accuse revolutionaries of breaking the law!

We protest these indictments, we demand the immediate withdrawal of all charges against the Weathermen and we call upon all revolutionaries and progressives to join in this demand.

Weatherman came to Chicago to fight on the side of the oppressed and to protest against an imperialist war which has never even been declared; against a draft which is being used to enslave young men into an army of aggression; against a government which has violated every international

law of warfare and every international standard of human conduct in waging a genocidal war against the entire nation of Vietnam; against a government which has been proven to be the perpetrator of war crimes more heinous to mankind than those committed by the Nazis at Lidice....

Weatherman came to Chicago to demonstrate against the denial of the basic human rights of the oppressed nation of 25 million Afro-Americans by a racist ruling class; against a government which meets the demands for redress of grievances from the black masses by sending tanks, machine guns, armed helicopters, tear gas, etc., into black communities to terrorize unarmed civilians; against a government which arms racist police so that they can kill black people while sending black liberation fighters to concentrations camps, called prison, to serve long sentences.

The present indictments were drawn up in the secret chambers of the ruling

class and were handed down to a kangaroo court of trusted reactionaries on the grand jury and rubber stamped at the direction of the state attorney. In handing down these indictments and setting ransom bail as high as \$50,000, the grand jury was merely following the instructions of Nixon, Mitchell, Daley and the rulers of Chicago, like Marshall Field and McCormack who have been screaming for blood since October 8.

Revolutionaries and oppressed people are never bound to honor the legality of war criminals nor are they bound to fight back against oppression according to the rules prescribed by the oppressor.

We say indict the criminals, Nixon, Mitchell, Daley! Free the Weatherman prisoners! Free all political prisoners! Key Martin, National Chairman Maryann Weisman, National Coordinator

For the National Committee of Youth Against War & Fascism

### Don't Forget!

Please send holiday cards to the following political prisoners.

Martin Sostre  
Box G  
Wallkill, N.Y. 12589

Mrs. Geraldine Robinson  
Box D  
Albion, N.Y. 14411

Eddie Oquendo, 36062 SD  
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# Historical and Political Significance of My Lai Massacre

By SAM MARCY

The horrible revelations of the My Lai massacre have justly shocked all of progressive mankind and exposed more clearly than ever the brutal, bestial character of the U.S. war against the Vietnamese people. It has aroused millions of people both abroad and in this country to the necessity of conducting a struggle against the U.S. warmakers.

Nothing, however, will be gained and a great, great deal will be lost if the My Lai revelations are not put in a true historical and political perspective. The unprecedented anger of millions of people who have hitherto been dormant or passive in the anti-war struggle will be dissipated if the discussion around My Lai is confined to the question of "individual responsibility" or more correctly, if the discussion is narrowed and confined to a mere incident to be condemned on a "moral" basis and divorced from the entire chain of historical events from which it flows.

This incident must be seen in the light of other such incidents — like Lidice, like Hiroshima and Nagasaki, like the merciless bombing of the cities of Shanghai, Canton and Mukden by the Japanese and Tokyo by the Americans. If public opinion is not to be misled, as it has so often been during periods of great crisis in American history, we must see these incidents as social phenomena that grow organically from the social system. Every social phenomenon that springs from a social system driven by class antagonisms and dominated by a ruling exploiting class must be viewed from a class point of view.

## Cruelty of the Ruling Class

Since the prevailing ideas at any time are the ideas of the ruling class, even more so are the prevailing customs, practices and conventions imposed on society by the ruling class. And this is even more true in war than in peace.

Cruelty and barbarism are an invariable concomitant to every war waged by the ruling class. In the epoch of imperialism this is a thousand times more true than in the earlier era of capitalist development.

Whenever the ruling class is caught red-handed, after committing a particularly shameful, odious and barbarous deed, it inevitably seeks to divest itself of responsibility as a class and to shift the responsibility for its criminal deed to other shoulders, to its minions and its puppets. And it covers its own retreat with high-sounding phrases about "conscience" and "morality."

We must view the My Lai massacre in the same light as we view the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the destruction of Lidice and other similar acts perpetrated by the monopolist ruling class. To condemn the pilots of the plane which unloosed the A-bomb on Japan without condemning the Truman Administration and the entire U.S. ruling class is to shift the responsibility to the tools of the warmakers, rather than to the masters, themselves. Of course, no one who actively participates in any commanding position in a reactionary war should be excused of responsibility for the crimes which he helps carry out. But it is another thing to entirely condemn the minor officers while absolving the real perpetrators.

## Whitewash at Nuremberg

The Nuremberg trials had one singular progressive effect, in that they made individual responsibility in the participation of a reactionary war a criminal offense, regardless as to whether the individual understood the political consequences of his own action.

But the Nuremberg trials did not go far enough. What the Nuremberg trials actually did was to absolve the ruling classes on whose behalf the Nazi war criminals acted. The actual responsibility for



the imperialist war should have been placed on the ruling classes in whose interest the war was carried out.

But this would have also incriminated the U.S., British and French imperialists, who are no less voracious in their appetite for plunder and predatory wars of imperialist aggression than their Nazi opponents.

The entire era of monopoly capitalism is a history of violence, of cruel and merciless wars carried out against all oppressed people, not only in Asia, Africa and Latin America, but also against the working classes in the Western hemisphere. To divorce the My Lai massacre from its class roots is to do violence to facts, to confuse the masses and make them amenable to a bourgeois solution of the U.S. ruling class problem in Vietnam.

In assessing responsibility in the United States for the My Lai massacre we should not only consider the criminal act of the officers in immediate charge, but of the entire military camarilla that reigns in the Pentagon and its overlords in Wall Street, including all those political leaders of the bourgeoisie who have been openly for the war, or silently acquiesced in its prosecution, or double-talked their way through its seven-year prosecution.

## Rift in Ruling Class

More significant than the revelation itself is the fact that the ruling class was either unable or unwilling to hide the massacre. This unquestionably points up what has been apparent for several years now; namely that there has been a growing division in the ruling circles of the bourgeoisie on the entire course of the war.

No social class in capitalist society is altogether homogeneous. And the ruling class is always torn by innumerable inner contradictions which reflect, in a general way, differing and often irreconcilable economic interests. The factions are almost always united in the struggle against the oppressed and exploited class. But this does not for one moment wipe out the basis for their own internal antagonisms, which more often than not are papered over to put up a strong united front in their struggle against the working class and oppressed at home as well as abroad.

But whenever the ruling class takes a plunge which may seriously endanger its entire existence as a ruling class, their inner antagonisms under the pressure of setbacks and defeats come to the fore, break out on the surface and often lead to acute political struggle. This usually takes the form of one of the factions in the ruling class making a sham appeal to the broad mass of the people on the basis of popular demands which are dear to the hearts of the masses and in their interests. We now have a classical example of this in the persons of the motley crew of Fulbright, McCarthy, Goodell and a great many others of the same variety, who are talking anti-war, appealing to the masses of the people, urging protests, and even participating in demonstrations.

## It's an Old Story

While such a situation may appear entirely novel to a new generation that has not had the opportunity to study the world historical role of monopoly capitalism and its political practitioners, it is not a new or original phenomenon. During the First and Second World Wars and during other periods of social crisis experienced by the capitalist class, similar splits and fissures in their midst have occurred with varying degrees of acuteness. The struggle becomes particularly sharp when the destiny of the ruling class itself and its survival is, or seems to be, at stake.

The continuation of the mad adventure in Vietnam along with all of the other so-called "commitments" to safeguard Wall Street's rights of exploitation around the globe is precisely such a situation.

The longer the war continues, the greater the danger of a complete collapse. It would be utterly unrealistic to expect any ruling class to remain united under these circumstances. In order to get out of its dilemma, a section of the ruling class, perhaps even the more substantial section, has, with hesitation and vacillation, with half-truth and with apologies, sought to directly appeal to the broad masses of the people in order to stop the war halfway, or even pull out altogether.

It is for this reason that the My Lai massacre was brought to light.

## A Sign of Panic

Perhaps it first came out accidentally, but certainly the ruling class media did not try to hide it, and in fact judging by the combustible character of the exposure, must have designed at one point or another to bring this out into the open. It must be viewed as a sign of their near-panic. Vice President Agnew must have known that they were planning it. His speech was calculated to discredit the networks as a small clique of "Eastern establishment manipulators." It was designed to offset the shock that would come as a result of the exposure.

It should be clear that the My Lai exposure by the capitalist media is a measure of the acuteness of the inner struggle in the camp of the bourgeoisie over the course of the war and the fear for the destiny of the entire system of imperialist exploitation.

What attitude should a Marxist take toward this inner struggle within the ruling class? It is first of all necessary to state clearly the relationship between the right wing, ultramilitarist, adventurist section of the bourgeoisie and what passes for the moderate or liberal section.

## Will Rulers Stay Split?

For the liberal bourgeoisie to have a definite, fixed position which would sharply demarcate it from the rabidly pro-war section of the bourgeoisie (much less guarantee a real fight to the finish between the factions!), there would have to be a different economic base for one faction as opposed to another.

A dispassionate appraisal of the liberal bourgeois position clearly indicates that it has no such independent base, as opposed to the other faction. The real basis for the struggle is one faction's fear of defeat for the whole class. This fear arises from the extreme pressure exerted upon this faction by the actual defeats and by the growing revolt of the masses at home and abroad.

## Liberals Will Betray the Masses

At this moment, millions upon millions of people are deeply aroused against the war and the My Lai disclosures can only intensify this. The plight of the black people makes them ever more susceptible to rebellion and to the struggle for liberation. Any serious appeal made to the masses by the liberal bourgeoisie can generate a movement which may easily go beyond the bounds which the Fulbrights, McCarthys and Goodells have set for it.

As soon as the masses begin to move further than the confines set for them, the liberals betray them. This was made plain by the recent March on Washington. These leaders were made more fearful of a show of militancy (let alone violence) than of anything else.

In any serious struggle against the right wing, the liberals will show that their principal political trait is not one of firm struggle or fidelity to political

(Continued on page 5)



NLF fighter dropped from U.S. helicopter.



# Case of the Wilmington '8'

Black Prisoners  
In a Police State

By LARRY NICODEMUS

In April of 1968, Delaware the first state became Delaware the first true police state when state troopers and the National Guard were called in to occupy the black community of Wilmington, owned and controlled by the du Ponts. The occupation lasted for nearly 10 months, and hundreds of black people were arrested during that time. Eight leading defendants were tried for allegedly assaulting two F.B.I. agents and were given staggering sentences ranging from 6 to fifteen years.

WORKERS WORLD wrote in the Feb. 7, 1969 issue concerning the Wilmington occupation, "This ruling class experiment in police state tactics was calculated to further suppress the black community and to destroy the young, militant, grassroots leadership." This fact has been conclusively substantiated by the kangaroo-court trial and the long sentences that these young men received.

## Governor Behind Attacks

Nearly all the men named in the indictment (thirteen altogether) had worked or were still working for WYEAC (Wilmington Youth Emergency Council) at the time of the arrests. WYEAC was a coalition of black youth groups in Wilmington who came together to improve conditions in the black community and to put an end to gang fights which divert the attention of the black youth away from their real enemies. The then Governor Charles Terry was against the coalition right from the start.

Coalition workers and volunteers were subjected to constant harassment by state troopers, National Guardsmen, and the local cops. In one instance WYEAC workers who were riding in a panel truck were stopped and before they could even get out, the cops opened fire on them. In addition there were constant arrests on trumped-up charges ranging from minor traffic violations to more serious charges such as the ones which involve these eight prisoners.

## Youth Liberated from FBI

On October 29, 1968, two F.B.I. agents were supposedly arresting Kwame Wa Hakim, one of the eight prisoners, who was allegedly a deserter from the Army. The two white men were walking to their car with the brother between them. The agents testified that they were approached by 5 or 6 young men; that they were beaten, and their prisoner escaped.

Immediately a dragnet was set up in the black community, and with a list of WYEAC workers and volunteers stolen from the files by the cops, thirteen or more people were arrested and then indicted for aiding the escape of a prisoner, and assaulting two F.B.I. agents with a dangerous weapon, "a shoe." The defendants supposedly kicked the agents, therefore the FBI decided to define the shoes they were wearing as "dangerous weapons."

## "Justice" in DuPont-Land

Six months later in April of 1969 the thirteen men indicted went to trial; seven of the defendants had never been

Help needed —  
For further information:

*Sisters and Brothers of  
Wilmington, Delaware  
Defense Committee for the  
Wilmington '8'*

1321 East 29th Street  
Wilmington, Dela. 19802

FUNDS DESPERATELY NEEDED  
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able to make the bails which ranged from \$5,000 to \$20,000.

In the trial which lasted twenty days, the defendants were forced to be represented by what they call "court paid lawyers" appointed by the judge. The supporters attending the trial, were convinced by the testimony that all the defendants were innocent, but the ruling du Pont dynasty wanted to crush the black liberation struggle in Wilmington. As one of the eight prisoners, Balagun Olatunji states in the letter on this page, "We are not as well known as the Conspiracy 8 or brother Huey Newton, but I know we were 'railroaded' because of our same beliefs."

## The Wilmington '8'

	Age	Time Serving	Federal Prison
Calvin (Nyeusi Wa Manyatta) Loper	27	15yrs	Leavenworth, Kan.
William (Balagun Olatungi) Robinson	25	15 "	Lewisburg, Pa.
Warren (Hakim Farouk Bey) Mowbray	21	15 "	Milan, Michigan
Allen (ElHajj Malik El Shabazz II) Steed	18	12 "	New Castle, Dela.
		(serving State time first)	
James (Onyango Wa Hakim) Barber	20	9 "	Petersburg, Va.
Robert (Weysi Wa Pendeza) Tate	22	8 "	Milan, Mich.
Steven (Jomo Wa Kenyatta) White	19	Youth Act	Petersburg, Va.
Manuel (Kaaba) Brunswick	22	5 yrs. Probation	

## An Appeal From a Wilmington Brother

I am writing you because I have read your paper and I feel it is one of the few papers in this country that really prints the truth. I hope that after you read this letter you will print our story in your paper, so as your many readers, all over the country, can possibly help us publicity and financial wise.

We need nation-wide publicity so as it won't be as easy for the government to railroad us as they did at our first kangaroo trial. We need funds for possible bail and to get some good lawyers for our appeal. I hate to think of going back to court with another court-appointed lawyer. We are not as well known as the Conspiracy 8 or brother Huey Newton, but I know we were "railroaded" because of our same beliefs. If brother Huey didn't have the people behind him, he would have no doubt got life or even death. This shows me the importance of unity and having the people behind you.

All of us young men (average is 21 3/4 years) are from the little city of Wilmington, Dela. (Pop. 90,000). We are in jail for an alleged assault on two FBI agents (both white), and supposedly aiding the escape of brother Robert (Kwame Wa Hakim) Barber, 22 years old, who was supposedly a deserter from the United States Army. He is the blood brother of Onyango and he is serving the Youth Act, also at Petersburg, Va. for escape.

## Black Youths Formed Coalition

I believe it would be best to start from where most of us started to become aware of ourselves. In 1966 or 1967 a black youth, whose name was B.J. Keller and was from the Northeast section of the city, was shot and killed by a rival black gang. After his death the brothers began to dig themselves and formed a coalition and named themselves WYEAC (Wilmington Youth Emergency Action Council).

This group of young blacks were funded by the state, government, and private groups of whites. They had offices in the different sections of the city, one for each alleged gang. The then Governor, Charles Terry, was against the coalition from its beginning, claiming they were all juvenile delinquents and drop-outs getting paid for doing nothing. (Some of the members had paying positions, many more were volunteers.) WYEAC was from the beginning a black awareness group that was out to stop gang fights and to better all of the black communities....

After the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in April of '68 there were a few minor outbreaks in the city. I emphasize minor. Racist Governor Terry called in the

"storm troopers" to patrol the city, specifically the Northeast area and the Westside area. The troopers remained in the city for 9 months, even though there never were any real outbreaks. They were only removed because Terry lost the upcoming election, and they stayed until his last official day as governor.

In August of 1968, six black men were arrested for discharging firearms in the city limits in a dump area called Cherry Island. Cherry Island is an unoccupied dump area, near the pig pistol range, that was frequently used by whites for target practice and shooting rats.

Five of the brothers arrested were or had been employed by WYEAC and lived in the Northeast area. Five of us had black berets on, four of us had weapons, and 1 or 2 had a button on their berets that read, "I Am Already Drafted In The Liberation Army."

## Scapegoats in Governor's Campaign

Governor Terry leaped at this and with the help of the local news media blew it out of proportion for about two months. He was using us as a campaign scapegoat. Terry made a statement something like, we six black men were the only Delaware members of the nationwide Black Liberation Army. We were held in jail for some time with bails ranging from \$6,000 to \$16,000. We were charged with various charges, discharging firearms in the city limits (maximum fine \$100), possession of a weapon by a felon, and possession of a reefer....

On October 29, 1968, two white men were walking to their car on 22nd and Pine streets (Northeast area) with a brother between them. They testified in court that 5 or 6 young men approached them. In about 5 minutes they had been beaten and their alleged prisoner had escaped.

That night and the next morning, with the aid of the local pig force and a list of names, they raided several houses in the Northeast area and arrested 13 or more brothers and set bails ranging from \$5,000 to \$20,000. I was arrested in one of the houses, but my name was not on that list so after two hours they let me go. Of all the men arrested, all had or still worked for WYEAC's Northeast area offices....

Thirteen men were listed in the indictment, 8 of us were found guilty of 4 charges or less and 1 is being sought by the FBI. The others were acquitted.

Our indictment read:  
Counts: 1) Assault on agent (A) with a dangerous weapon, that is a shoe on the foot.  
2) Assault on agent (B).  
3) Conspiracy to help a prisoner escape.  
4) Aiding a prisoner's escape.

## Appealing Frame-Up; Need Funds

We went to trial in April of 1969—seven of the brothers never made bail—the trial lasted 20 days and 8 of us were made guilty. The trial was a complete railroading and the few people who attended, including the White Coalition who had went two of our brothers bail, were convinced that we were all innocent.

We are now awaiting our appeal, if we don't get needed funds and the national public behind us, we will again be given court paid lawyers and that only means we will be railroaded again and no doubt forgotten, except by our specific Queens and our families. Most of us have 1 to 3 children. I hope that you will give your readers a chance to help us in any way they can....

A black thinking man forever,  
Balagun Olatunji



# Bobby Seale Tortured by Frisco Cops

Bobby Seale has been brutally beaten while being held in solitary confinement by the San Francisco prison authorities. The Black Panther Party Chairman is in a strip cell where he has to sleep on the floor in a pool of sewage, even though he has tonsillitis and is on antibiotics.

The news of this barbaric treatment came out in an interview Seale had with his attorney, Charles Garry. The black leader told Garry he had been attacked by six or seven sheriff's men while being taken to the "hole" — a solitary cell with no mattress or bed.

Bobby Seale was first ordered to solitary because he had a copy of the Black Panther newspaper, which he had received from a guard in order to refer to certain statements and articles relevant to his defense in court. However, the paper was later confiscated as "contraband" and Seale was transferred to solitary. When he insisted on his right to take some legal papers with him, the pigs jumped him. Following are excerpts from his interview with the lawyer:

SEALE: (They) threw me to the floor. And at the same time another one grabbed my testicles and penis and yanked at them, while another one viciously choked me. The choking was

so bad, that well, I have a tonsillitis case, bad tonsils and they're swelling up right now, and I can't even half talk.

GARRY: Have you called a doctor? Have you asked for a doctor to see you?

A. Yeah, they came by, and he realizes that I'm totally sick. And he's trying to keep the temperature down by giving me penicillin....

Q. Bobby, you told me that the hole, that the flushing procedure comes back up. Would you tell us more about that.

A. It was broken last night, I guess. But I had to lay in it all day yesterday.

Q. Had to lay in what?

A. Defecation, and crap and piss and what have you. It's not a real toilet, it's only a hole in the floor. It has some kind of a flushing mechanism. But all day yesterday, until they stopped it, I had to lay in the stuff. Because every hour and a half that it would flush, it would not flush down, it would flush up. And flood the floor with water and defecation and urine and everything mixed up together.

Q. Was there a cot or a bed for you to lie on?

A. No, there was no cot, just a flat

square box floor, 4 by 7 cell. Four feet wide and seven feet long, approximately. Anyway you're just there.

Q. What do you lie on?

A. On the floor.

Q. On the cement floor?

A. Well, yes. It's cold. It's kind of like a rubber padded cell, but it's cold. It's right next to the cement....

Q. Did they give you a blanket?

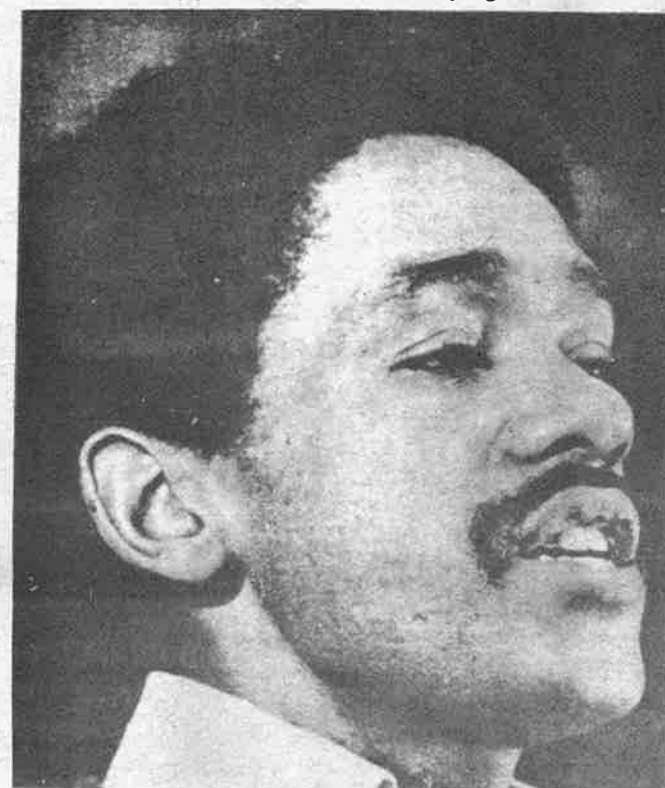
A. No blanket, none whatsoever. I want to see Doctor Fine. Because we have to deal with this tonsil thing. This thing is swollen so bad that I can't even talk.

Q. How about the doctor that you did see? Did he give you some medication for your tonsils?

A. He just looked down at it. And I told him that if he didn't give me anything that I would most likely run a temperature, because I could feel it coming on.

Q. Did you tell him you were sleeping on the cement floor?

A. They knew I was laying on the floor. When they came to the door, I was laying there shivering.



BOBBY SEALE

# Jake Winters: Another Panther Martyr

Illinois Chapter Black Panther Party  
Special News Bulletin  
November 19, 1969

Jake Winters

"The Racist Dog Policeman must withdraw immediately from our communities, cease their wanton murder and brutality and torture of Black People or face the wrath of the Armed People."

Because of this statement made by Huey P. Newton, our minister of defense, and Point 7 of the ten-point program and platform that says: "We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people," we must stand firm on the ten-point program which was canvassed from the Black community by the founders of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale.

JAKE WINTERS, a brother, a much beloved brother, a revolutionary, a Black Panther made of red-hot nigger steel, and the baddest son of slaves that ever came from the womb of woman. I have said these things about JAKE WINTERS, because they are already a fact. It's objective reality, proven by words and actions in defending the Black community.

On November 13, 1969, JAKE WINTERS

stood face to face and toe to toe, his shotgun in his hand, with Pig Daley's murderous task force. He defined political power by blowing away racist pig Frank Rappaport and racist pig John Gilhooley and retired 8 other reactionary racist pigs before he was shot down.

It is also a proven fact and reality that Daley's task force makes daily and weekly raids on the Black community. They murdered little John Soto, 16 years old. They murdered Michael Soto, 20 years old, and shot wildly and unconcerned through every window in one of the buildings in the Henry Honer project, injuring scores of children. They murdered Jimmy Tucker and untold others.

JAKE WINTERS understood that the only way to stop fascist pig forces from invading and slaughtering Black people and people, period, and that is by defending yourself with arms in hand! He didn't talk about Black Capitalism for surviving nor did he talk about teaching "Pork Chop" culture Nationalism for surviving like Ron Karenga's US organization in L.A. JAKE WINTERS was 18 years old and he made a far greater commitment than most men will ever make in their entire life time. This brother was an honor

student, a graduate of Engleworth High School who turned down five scholarships to work for the People. He helped as much as he possibly could at the Free Breakfast for Children Centers, plus he worked 7 days a week at the Post Office to bring in money to keep the Centers operating.

JAKE WINTERS is the highest personification of Huey P. Newton and Malcolm X. The spirit of these revolutionaries is manifested in each member of the Black Panther Party and we will always remember JAKE WINTERS. Because of JAKE WINTERS we will intensify the struggle; because of JAKE

WINTERS we will continue serving the poor oppressed people—the Proletariat.

LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF JAKE WINTERS  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
RIGHT ON, JAKE  
SEIZE THE TIME

Deputy Minister of Information  
R. Chaka Walls  
Illinois Chapter Black Panther Party  
2350 W. Madison, Chicago, Illinois

FUNDS NEEDED FOR BREAKFAST PROGRAM

# My Lai Massacre

(Continued from page 3)

slogans and speeches made in the heat of a campaign, but that of vacillation, fear and inconstancy which ultimately lead to complete capitulation. That's the lesson of classical democratic enlightened liberalism of pre-Nazi Weimar Germany.

Its American counterpart will surely play an even more ignominious role of surrender to racist reaction and unbridled militarism — especially if a real mass struggle should break out against the war. For the first concern of bourgeois liberal leaders, it must be remembered, is to save the system, not to help the masses sweep it away.

A revolutionary Marxist leader who forgets this lesson, especially during a time when the ruling class is undergoing such a profound crisis, forfeits his right to lead the masses. Knowing well that the majority of the people who are opposed to the war are still under the ideological domination of this very grouping of bourgeois liberals, the duty of a revolutionary Marxist leader is first of all to find every means available to dispel the illusion of the masses regarding the capabilities of the liberal bourgeoisie, to warn them of the coming betrayals, as the struggle becomes even more acute, and to systematically explain the class character of imperialist exploitation

and the need for an independent proletarian class line on the war. Without that, the masses will remain a pawn in the hands of one of the factions of the ruling class. The masses must be shown that the bourgeois liberals have exposed the My Lai massacre in an effort to fortify imperialism, not to put an end to imperialist war.

## No "Lesser Evil"

To understand the divergent political attitudes of factions in the ruling class is one thing. To regard one of the factions as a "lesser evil" is another. So deeply imbedded is this latter idea in the consciousness of large sections of the masses that only a herculean effort on the part of all the class-conscious revolutionary elements in the movement against militarism and racism will suffice to end them. Does this then mean that revolutionaries can never enter alliances with the liberal bourgeoisie?

Every Marxist who knows his ABC's knows that joint actions with the liberal bourgeoisie are absolutely unavoidable, especially when it has the ideological hegemony over the broad masses of the people. Marching separately but striking together is the key Leninist tactic in the relation between the working class and other class groupings in the struggle against the capitalist government.

It was correct to march in the same demonstration with the liberals in the November 15 March on Washington. But it was necessary for revolutionaries to have their own independent class slogans, their own speakers, their own banners. And swinging a

mass of people to the Justice Department was a dramatic way for revolutionaries to illustrate their own class view of the imperialist war in Vietnam and the racist war on Black America.

As the crisis deepens and the bourgeoisie shows more and more that it is incapable of disengaging itself from its adventurous, expansionist war policies, the liberal bourgeoisie seeks more and more to frighten the Administration. With dramatic exposures such as the My Lai massacre, it hopes to garner mass support as a lever to bargain with the Administration and to show that it alone knows how to win back loyalty to the imperialist establishment and to refurbish the tarnished image of Wall Street in Western Europe.

## A Revolutionary Coalition

All the more is it necessary for all the political tendencies in this country that are truly anti-imperialist, who are truly opposed to the tactic of being a tail to the liberals' kite and who have fallen in the proletarian as against the bourgeois struggle against the war, to form a revolutionary coalition, the purpose of which would be to act as a counterweight to the false leadership of most of the anti-war movement.

The groups that demonstrated at the Justice Department on November 15 could serve as the core for just such a coalition, begin the work of disabusing the masses of bourgeois pacifist ideology and link them up with the struggle of the workers and more particularly, with the black liberation movement.



By FRED GOLDSTEIN

One political development of singular importance which occurred during the November 15 March on Washington was the clear-cut revolutionary differentiation which took place in the anti-war movement between those forces which follow faithfully in the footsteps of the bourgeois-liberal, pacifist loyal opposition and those which are revolutionary, anti-imperialist and want to struggle militantly on the side of the oppressed and against the ruling class.

The line of demarcation coincides precisely with the separation between those political tendencies which boycotted and worked against the demonstration at the Justice Department and those who organized it and supported it. The circumstances of the demonstration were such that the differentiation took place with perfect clarity.

First of all, the political purpose of the demonstration was well publicized throughout the movement long in advance. It was called as a revolutionary alternative to the predictable moderate, bourgeois main rally. The political theme was for the freedom of political prisoners, black political prisoners especially, and to protest against the frame-up of Bobby Seale and the Conspiracy in particular. It was appropriately called in front of the headquarters of Wall Street's racist chief of the political police.

Secondly, the Justice Department demonstration was scheduled to take place right after the main rally so that it was not necessary for anyone to leave the masses of people to go to a conflicting demonstration. It was held a good hour before the earliest buses were scheduled to leave. Finally, the demonstration was only a short walk from the main rally.

### Revolutionaries vs. Opportunists

In short, there were no political conflicts or mechanical problems in attending the demonstration. Those political tendencies which stayed away did so for no other reason than that they were firmly lined up with the hostile, bourgeois leaders of the main march and staunchly opposed to the anti-imperialist politics and militant defiance by the demonstrators of the capitalist government.

# Lessons of Nov. 15 The Revolutionaries

The core of the 10,000 or so demonstrators, who carried red flags, ran the NLF flag up the flag pole in front of Mitchell, chanted for Bobby Seale and Ho Chi Minh and braved tear gas to do it, were by and large those youths who have fought the hardest in the past three years for the black liberation struggle and for the Vietnamese people. They have fought on the campuses and on the streets and represent the revolutionary best who have come forward in the struggle.

(Few demonstrations of such political importance have been so misrepresented and downright slandered by the radical press. The Daily World and the

Militant practically outdid the capitalist press in censoring out and twisting the political and tactical character of the demonstration. These so-called radicals justified their own renegade role by depicting the demonstration as apolitical and by blaming the demonstrators for the violence of the Nixon Administration. See the accompanying articles on the November 15 demonstration.)

### Awakening Masses Follow Liberals

Between the revolutionary militant forces and the liberal bourgeoisie with its radical camp-followers were the hundreds of thousands of newcomers, representing millions who have streamed into the anti-war movement since the October 15 Moratorium.

In this, the first awakening of the broad masses to the anti-war struggle, there is no question whatsoever that they would follow the bourgeois-liberal leaders, that they would be under the influence of pacifist ideas, that they would listen approvingly to the speeches of the imperialist doves, that they would be fearful of militancy and take for good coin the slanders by the mis-leaders of the movement to the effect that militant anti-imperialism was a "provocation" and that only timid subservience to the capitalist government could insure the success of the march.

Nothing else could be expected. When the broad masses first enter the arena after a long period of political slumber they inevitably fall under the domination of the liberal bourgeoisie, the moderate elements, because they bring with them all their backwardness, all their conservatism and all the illusions with which they have been indoctrinated by the capitalist propaganda machine.

In particular, they are instilled with the illusions fostered by the liberal bourgeoisie which believes that merely, by protesting, merely by gathering large numbers, or by showing united moral outrage it is possible to put an end to an imperialist war. These vain illusions are like a smoke-screen concealing the incontrovertible historical fact that no great issue involving the basic interests of classes has ever been settled in modern-day imperialist society, in the long run, by any other means than by force.

But, of course, revolutionary strug-

gle involves great exertions and great hardships. The broad masses will not discard pacifism and turn to the revolutionary struggle until experience teaches the futility of pacifism, until it becomes clear that the ruling class itself is responsible for oppressive violence, is utterly deaf to moral persuasion and unaffected by numbers alone.

### Civil Rights March of 1963

The Civil Rights March of 1963, led by the late Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., is a case in point whose vital lessons have been conveniently buried by the liberal bourgeoisie and their pacifist, CP and SWP sycophants.

That demonstration was dominated by the liberal bourgeoisie. It was billed as the great manifestation of public outrage against the oppression of black people which would overwhelmingly demonstrate to the establishment the feelings of the people. It would show the ruling class the wisdom and necessity of granting full social and political equality to 25 million Afro-Americans. Hopes were swelled and the march was publicized as the beginning of a new era. Great numbers would turn the tide.

The demonstration was truly impressive in terms of numbers and in the firmness of conviction of the speakers that the time for equality was here and that its achievement was imminent. Over a quarter of a million people turned out to what was, up until then, the largest protest demonstration in Washington's history.

### End of Pacifist Illusions

In truth, as revolutionary Marxists understood at the time, that march was not the beginning of a new era in which the ruling class would peacefully put an end to racism. On the contrary, it was the beginning of the end of pacifist illusions among the black masses and their allies. The ruling class would not give up its super-exploitation of the black people, its harsh racism, its violent brutality against black men, women and children. The worst was yet to come. If anything, the march only sharpened for all to see the contrast between the false hopes of obtaining justice peacefully from a predatory ruling class

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# The Most Important Demonstrators --The GIs



Air Force Base, and Ft. Lewis, Washington marched under banners saying "Free the Ft. Dix 38", "Abolish the Stockades", "Bring the GI's Home Now!". Most of their banners bore the signature of the American Servicemen's Union.

The largest and best organized group from a single base was the Ft. Dix contingent. A bus from the post to Washington brought almost fifty men, many of them belonging to the Special Processing Battalion. (Others who wanted to come were prevented by the military.)

Led by a black soldier, they marched in two rows with arms linked, chant-

ing most of the way, "Free the Ft. Dix 38, Power to the People", and "Left, left, the military left" as they stepped smartly in time with the words.

One chant of "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh the NLF is gonna win" was also heard. But when GI's started saying, "Turn the guns around," pacifists countered with "Throw the guns away."

The men were exhilarated at the mass outpouring of people and their combined strength, but there were also a number of remarks directed against politicians who spoke.

"They're just another kind of brass," was the complaint of one GI. The Sunday demonstration, at the

National Archives was made up of 150 people, almost all active duty servicemen or recent veterans. They marched in patterns on the building's steps with slogans like, "The Brass lives high while GI's die."

While police and MPs were conspicuous by their absence, there were several "plainclothes" men from the army's Criminal Investigation Division (CID), including one disguised as a reporter who seemed to be connected directly to CID headquarters by walkie-talkie radio.

The GI's ended the action with a march to the Military Board of Appeals.

WASHINGTON, D.C. — GI's participated in a big way in the November 15 anti-war march and Justice Dept. rally here. They then went on to organize their own demonstration the next day at the Archives building where the Constitution is preserved (the document, that is).

Although most TV and press coverage of the mass march and rally showed only GI's carrying a symbolic coffin (soldiers got a free breakfast from Sen. McCarthy at a posh D.C. hotel only if they promised to be pall-bearers), several hundred servicemen participated in a more militant way.

GI's from Ft. Benning, Ga., Ft. Jackson, S.C., Ft. Dix, N.J., Selfridge



# Lessons of Nov. 15 The Liberals

By VINCE COPELAND

The November 15 March on Washington, the largest anti-war demonstration in U.S. history, contained a deep contradiction. Although it was directed against a ruling class war, it was led by a section of the ruling class itself.

But the fact that the anti-Vietnam war liberals—the imperialist doves—led it, did not prevent the march from being a colossal manifestation of mass opposition—that is, genuine opposition to the war.

The masses were genuinely against the war and genuinely for an honest peace. The bourgeois liberal leaders are desperately anxious to end the war, or they would not have called upon the masses. But they oppose it for their own imperialist reasons.

The march showed that the anti-war masses are now in motion, however, and are very likely to take stronger and stronger measures against the war in the future, particularly in light of such revelations as the massacre at My Lai. This will offer more and more opportunities for revolutionary leadership.

## The Senators Presided

That is why the liberals like Senators Goodell, McGovern and McCarthy took such a prominent and open part in the Washington rally: in order to soften it, pull its teeth, tame it and keep it safely in the cage of bourgeois respectability. It was not so much that

the liberal Senators distrusted their "radical" allies in the secondary leadership of the affair; it was that they feared the radicalization of the masses, themselves.

That is also why Senator Goodell, one of the main proponents of complete withdrawal of U.S. troops (by the end of 1970), went on TV several days before the event to express his fears about "violence"—the "violence" of the marchers, that is, not the violence of the Washington cops and Nixon's 9,000 U.S. troops specially ordered to confront the marchers.

Goodell refused to speak at the rally until he was assured and reassured that there would be no "violence" from the unarmed marchers, and then he took the occasion of his speech to advocate that there should be no more marches at all!

## They Assisted the Liberals

The actual organizers of the march, as distinct from its bourgeois financiers and ideological leaders—that is, most of those who did the routine work—were not of course the liberal bourgeoisie themselves. The actual workers who physically carry out bourgeois programs seldom are.

The bourgeois-controlled (through Senator Eugene McCarthy and Rep. Allard Lowenstein) Moratorium Committee worked with the pacifist New Mobilization to publicize and organize for the great mass action.

Whatever slight differences there

might have been in abstract ideology between the New Mobilization and the liberal bourgeois sponsors of the event, these differences were far overshadowed by the agreement in action to present a bourgeois-oriented peace front to the Capitol and the country, to create an almost exact replica of the liberal bourgeois Civil Rights March on Washington of 1963.

The New Mobilization, to be sure, had grown out of the old Mobilization which had sponsored the Chicago demonstration of August, 1968 and the Pentagon in October, 1967. But the militancy on those occasions came from a minority of the coalition and in fact was later repudiated by the Mobilization itself.

A small part of the New Mobilization, led by Dave Dellinger, did support the militant march on the Justice Department. But this was in clear opposition to its general line.

## CP—SWP Cry "Cop"!

The CP and SWP not only supported the general bourgeois-pacifist line, but were the most outspoken in condemning the militant line—that is, the action at the Justice Department.

The CP called the whole action at that building itself a provocation and condemned it. The SWP pretended to give it some left-handed support (which did not include having their members or their banners on the scene), but said

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## An Eyewitness Account

# What DID Really Happen at the Justice Department?

By N. KAHN

When Attorney General John Mitchell declared that the demonstration in front of the Justice Department reminded him of the Russian Revolution, he was, of course, trying to redbait the anti-war movement and threaten it with further repressions. But standing in front of the Justice Department November 15, in the twilight, the feeling among the crowd of over 10,000 young militants seemed to be that something truly revolutionary was occurring.

The Department of IN-Justice (as it has been appropriately renamed) wasn't taken, Mitchell wasn't arrested and brought to justice, but a political confrontation between young militants and the criminals who are carrying out the war against black America had suddenly and tumultuously raised the level of the Washington demonstration to an anti-imperialist struggle.

The big question in the minds of all the revolutionaries who went to Washington was how to organize a militant, anti-imperialist action, while at the same time participating in the mass march led by the liberal bourgeoisie.

## Focus for the Militants

The Justice Department demonstration, at first centered on the trial of the Chicago 8, became the focal point for this action. All those who wanted to fight the ruling class and raise the question of the repression against the black liberation struggle went there to demonstrate.

Shortly before 4:00 p.m. on November 15, when the main rally was coming to a close, the organizers of the "Revolutionary Contingent," including many local chapters of SDS, the Mad Dog Collective, Weathermen, RYM II and Youth Against War & Fascism, began circling near the Washington Monument chanting and picking up people for the action. As the group made its way down the slope from the Monument to Constitution Avenue, several thousand people had already joined in.

(This same coalition of groups had, the evening before, organized a demonstration of over 4,000 young people to march on the Saigon Embassy, serve the puppet government an eviction notice and raise an NLF flag on the embassy grounds. The demonstration was halted by a phalanx of police throwing tear gas about one half block from its destination.)



Demonstrators replace imperialist flag with Vietnamese people's flag.

LNS Photo/David Fenton

With NLF flags in the lead, the demonstrators marched on the hated fortress of the Attorney General, his staff of judicial hangmen and the citadel of the secret police (FBI). The crowd circled the building, chanting all the while, "Free Bobby Seale" and "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh, the NLF is gonna win," linking together the war against black America and the one against Vietnam. When the march stopped in front of the building, completely filling Constitution Avenue for several blocks, its ranks had grown to at least 10,000 with thousands of spectators on the sidewalks.

## NLF Flags Drape Doors

There were only a handful of D.C. cops guarding the building so the demonstrators flowed right up the stairs, triumphantly draping NLF flags on the side of the doors. A red YAWF banner bearing a picture of black political prisoner Martin Sostre and reading "Stop the War Against Vietnam and Black America" was placed over the doors. The only opposition that was met came from a group of Mobe marshals (nicknamed pigettes) who vainly tried to keep the demonstrators back and urged that everyone go back to the park.

One of the first actions the crowd took was to pull down the hated U.S. flag and raise the blue, red and yellow colors of the liberation fighters in Vietnam. This was too much for the cops to bear. They waded into the crowd to save the imperialists' flag. But just a little while later, as the demonstration grew in size and confidence, the U.S. flag was again taken down and torn to shreds and the NLF flag raised, this time to stay. It fluttered right in front of the window where Attorney General Mitchell sat watching.

The crowd literally roared with approval as the NLF flag went up and chanted "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh, the NLF is gonna win" with renewed vigor. Then the hollow echo of fists pounding on wood resounded through the air. The people were knocking at the doors of the Justice Department.

## Orderly Retreat in

### Face of Teargas Barrage

It was about at this time that the steady humming sound of the truck which supplies the cops with teargas became intensely noticeable. At first the cops tried to scare off the crowd with a few canisters lobbed at the front ranks. The people fell back a short

distance and then moved up again. This crowd was not going to be scared off by just a few canisters.

Then the barrage began. Dozens of burning canisters arched over the heads of the people and fell, exploding, into their midst. The entire area was saturated with gas as the demonstrators retreated—in a calm and steady motion. There was little panic as the youths, coughing and eyes tearing, covered their faces with handkerchiefs and followed instructions not to run. Those temporarily blinded or overcome by gas were quickly helped to a medical trailer near the Washington Monument.

Some tear gas canisters were thrown back at the police lines as the crowd retreated along Constitution Avenue and into the park around the monument. The militants were only to learn with delight later on that Attorney General Mitchell himself had gotten a dose of the powerful CS gas which had seeped through the windows broken during the demonstration.

Slowly the crowd was broken up into smaller units and dispersed into the night. But the victory was a clear one—thousands of youths had come, almost spontaneously, to the most political and militant demonstration Washington has ever seen.



## Significance of New Haven March for Panther 14

# A Great Step Forward for Women's Liberation

By EMILY TARASOV

The struggle for the liberation of women in the United States took its greatest stride forward in many years with a demonstration organized and led by women in support of the Connecticut Panther political prisoners in New Haven, November 22. The action was called by Women's Liberation who worked in cooperation with the Black Panther Party to bring over 4,000 people — more than half of them women — to New Haven.

The women's demonstration was held in behalf of the six Panther women imprisoned and in particular to expose the barbaric and fascist torture of two of them who are pregnant. (A third recently gave birth under armed guard after 30 hours of labor.) They have been held, along with eight Panther men, in solitary confinement since May 1969, on frame-up charges of conspiracy to commit murder.

The dramatic mobilization of so many women demanding the freeing of their sisters, marked a new stage of development in the women's liberation struggle.

### Their Children Born in Chains

The cases of the three Panther women, one of whom has recently given birth to a boy, adds a new dimension to the treatment of political prisoners. These revolutionary black women have been denied the most elementary human right to pre-natal and maternity care by qualified and sympathetic doctors. Rose Smith, now seven months pregnant, weighed 132 pounds at the start of her pregnancy. After Niantic State Farm's "pre-natal care," she weighs 133 pounds.

In yet another attempt to destroy the will of these heroic women, the ruling class is forcing them to give birth in the presence of dehumanized, brutal, armed guards. And the ruling class, fearful of the revolutionary spirit born into these black children, is threatening to declare the mothers "unfit" and take the children from their mothers.

The women's contingent of well over 2,000, headed by women from the Panthers and Young Lords, as well as welfare mothers, led the march out of Beaver Pond Park. The demonstration marched five abreast through the black community bearing red flags, Women's Liberation flags and banners as well as YAWF banners calling for an end to the war against Vietnam and Black America and for the freeing of the Panthers and all political prisoners. Up front, welfare mothers carried a banner calling for freedom for the Connecticut Panther 14.

Clenched fists and cries of "right on" answered our chants of "Free our sisters! Free the Panthers! Free our sisters! Free ourselves! Power to the People!"

"Free the Panther 14! Free all political prisoners!" we demanded as black youths from the community joined the demonstration.

### Lindsay at Game While Women Burn

Then the demonstration worked its way past Yale. In a football stadium not far away sat many of the elite of the ruling class. This was their big day — the day of the Harvard-Yale game. Appropriately enough, Mayor Lindsay — a major accomplice in the frame-up of the New York Panther 21 — was at the game.

"Off Harvard! Off Yale! Get our sisters out of jail!" was the spontaneous cry of thousands of demonstrators. Many of the townspeople joined us in chanting. The maids, the cooks, the janitors, the dishwashers who do the dirty work for the sons of the ruling class, the families who get thrown out of their homes when Yale wants to expand — they all feel the oppressive nature of this elite university.

Beth Mitchell, Communications Secretary of the Connecticut Black Panther Party, led the march, inspiring the marchers and educating the onlookers with chants and songs demanding an end to fascism, racism, male chauvinism and imperialism. She raised the cry to free the Panther sisters and brothers in Connecticut and all over the country — to free all political prisoners.

"We demand decent housing, food, medical care and an education that teaches us the true history and role of the oppressed!"

"Right on," was the response.

### "Madame Binh! NLF Is Gonna Win!"

As the front of the march reached the courthouse, the militancy of the chants and the discipline of the demonstrators increased. "Madame Binh! Madame Binh! The NLF is gonna win!" chanted some of the women, referring to the leading role played by the women in the Vietnamese liberation struggle.

"Jail Markle! Free our sisters! Power to the People!" chanted the women. Markle is the State D.A. who, upon being questioned about the inhuman treatment of the Panthers, publicly stated that because they had been indicted, as far as he was concerned they were guilty and would be treated as such. So much for any constitutional rights for the enemies of the ruling class!

Few cops were to be seen throughout the demonstration and rally. The impact of the march was such that they were afraid any attempt to stop it would end with more damage to the banks and other buildings representative of capitalist oppression than to the demonstrators.

Despite a city ban on the demonstration coming

within 600 feet of the courthouse, the women took over the courthouse steps. Chants of "Power to the People! Off the Pig!" and "Power to the Sisters! Free Our Sisters! Free Ourselves!" continued to reverberate against these walls of oppression until the rest of the march, stretching for blocks in a breathtaking panorama, red banners flying high, reached the courthouse.

The courthouse was ours! Proclamations were taped to the huge white columns:

#### BUILDING CONDEMNED

Under Article 2, People's Code: All properties used for oppression are to be confiscated and returned to their rightful owners, the People.

### Off Pigs on Courthouse Steps

During the rally that followed, half a dozen plainclothes cops were discovered near the courthouse door. Thirty women surrounded them, chanting "Go! Go!" and "Off the Pig!" After a few silent looks at each other, they scurried away.

Five women spoke during the rally: two Panthers, a sister just released from Niantic, a speaker from Women's Liberation, and a member of the Young Lords. Lucy Liben of Women's Liberation addressed the crowd on the question of women's oppression, explaining why it is that women are forced to become prostitutes and shop lifters. She expressed the solidarity that the whole crowd felt with their imprisoned Panther sisters.

The tone of the rally was one of militancy set by the women leading the march — a militancy demanding an end to racist frame-ups, freedom for all political prisoners and end to the sadistic torture of the imprisoned Panther women and men.

## THE WORD "WOMAN"

According to Webster's dictionary, the word woman is derived from the Anglo-Saxon, Wifmann, or wife-man. Thus the very word comes from the class attitude that she is nothing more than the wife of a man. Just as class society has made the woman a mere appendage of the man, the word itself reflects the same social position of the female.

## Marxism

The unit of class society is the family. As long as classes remain, as long as exploitation, which is the basis for the existence of classes, remains, the family will exist. The family has undergone a great many transformations since the days of primitive communism. There was a family under slave society, feudal society and capitalist society. And in each society the family was based on the ideas of the ruling class.

The call for the abolition of the bourgeois family without calling for the abolition of the capitalist system is empty rhetoric. Of course, in the struggle against all of the institutions of capitalism, genuine communists have always fought for the fullest possible emancipation of women from every kind of oppression, exploitation and discrimination. This includes the struggle against state laws which seek to govern the rights of marriage, divorce, abortion and all of the other elementary democratic rights which are a prerequisite in furthering the struggle for the full emancipation of women. But the total abolition of the bourgeois family, the transformation of bourgeois relations into socialist relations can only fully be achieved with the overthrow of the capitalist system.

Charles Fourier, a 19th Century French utopian socialist, once said, "The degree of emancipation of women is the natural measure of general emancipation." Marx and Engels immediately recognized the truth in the fact that the status of women is an index for the progress of society as a whole and incorporated this idea into the Marxian view of the woman question.

Modern history has fully borne this out. As Lenin wrote in Pravda, November 8, 1919:

"In the bourgeois republic (i.e., where there is private ownership of land, industry, shares, etc.), be it the most democratic republic, women have never had equal rights, nowhere in the world, not in a single one of the more advanced countries. And this



On the steps of New Haven courthouse. Marshal in foreground is Sharon Martin of YAWF.



# Private Property and Oppression of Women



Women's vanguard approaches New Haven courthouse. LNS Photo/Barbara Rothkrug

By NAOMI GOLDSTEIN

The great success of the woman's demonstration in New Haven on November 22 has brought to the fore a renewed interest in the question of liberation for women. The enormous outpouring of women to support the Panther political prisoners, and in particular to defend their imprisoned sisters, came at a time when there has been a general political awakening on a mass scale and a renewed interest, particularly among the youth, in revolutionary ideas and working class movements. But what distinguished this demonstration from any other in the past was that it was mobilized by women around an issue that women particularly responded to.

The defense of the Panther women who are pregnant (one was forced to give birth recently under armed guard) and being held in solitary confinement without medical care, struck to the very marrow of many women who might never have come on a demonstration. It brought thousands of women together on the street, despite their different levels of political development, to take action in defense of their imprisoned black sisters.

## Property Made Women Servants

The New Haven demonstration raised the level of the women's liberation movement to the point of struggling in a mass way to free women of the oppression and super-exploitation that are the hallmarks of women's position in capitalist society.

First and foremost, it is important to understand that the oppression of women is not a product of natural circumstances, but rather is a product of class society, developing along with the growth of private property and sharpening class antagonisms. With the development of private property and the patriarchal system, the woman became an unpaid servant in the home, whose main task was to bear and raise children. She was regarded as a mindless

creature, totally dependent on her husband for life and shelter and was completely cut off from the productive forces of society.

With the advent of the industrial revolution, women and children were pulled into the factories as a cheap source of labor. So women, that is working class women, for the first time got out of the house. Even if it was under the most brutal conditions of working 16 hours a day, this was a step toward some degree of independence for womankind.

In modern capitalist society, many of the most barbaric aspects of the oppression of women have been legally abolished. But in practice, it remains in the interest of the capitalist class to promote the oppression and degradation of women in different forms. The most obvious form is, of course, the systematic denial of equal jobs and pay to women.

## Bosses Exploit Women 40% More

According to a study done in 1966 by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the median wage for women was only 60 per cent of that for men. In concrete terms, this means that the bosses were making approximately 40 per cent more profits from the labor of 27.8 million women who were working at the time. In 1966, women's labor accounted for 36 per cent of the U.S. labor force—so the bosses were just braking in the "benefits" of the oppression of women.

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Working women serve another purpose to the bosses, besides being cheap labor and providing the ruling class with children who will be the future exploited class. They must take the most menial and degrading jobs in society—positions which a male chauvinist culture forces them to accept without questioning. In 1965, 33 per cent of the women working earned less than \$1,000 a year; 13 per cent earned between \$3,000 and \$4,000 a year; and only .7 per cent (compared with 10 per cent of the men) were earning \$10,000 or more a year.

This situation is especially acute for black women (also Puerto Rican, Mexican-American and Indian women) who suffer not only from chauvinism, but racism, too. Half of all black women in this country work. Of these, 30 per cent are forced to take jobs as servants, getting abominably low wages and no benefits or job security; 28 per cent work in the service industries (that is, hospitals, laundries, hotels) which is difficult work at low pay. Only 10 per cent of black women working get so-called white-collar jobs. A comparison of average wages for 1965 among men and women is the clearest indication of the position of women in class society and black women in particular.

White men	\$6,375
Black men	\$4,000
White women	\$3,744
Black women	\$2,642

Half of the black women in this country work and 37 per cent of all women work. They go to largely distasteful jobs as servants and clerks not because they want to buy an extra car or a color TV, as many males will sneeringly claim. Women work for the most part because they must—they must to supplement the family income to get along under inflationary conditions, they are the heads of households and supporters of their children or they are independent.

The capitalist government in the United States, knowing from its own studies that more and more women with children are working each year, has done little or nothing to help them get out of the house and into a productive role in society.

Day-care center facilities are a mockery of what they should be to free the woman from childcare so that she can work. Only a few hundred thousand children in the entire country in 1966 were enrolled in licensed day-care centers. The vast majority of mothers are forced to get relatives or pay babysitters to watch their children. It is also true that the great majority of people on welfare happen to be children and almost all of the remaining recipients are their mothers—unable to work with children at home and forced to live in poverty as a result.

## Space-Age Chauvinism Just As Bad

While women in the U.S. are no longer legally regarded as the private property of their husbands or fathers, modern capitalism has developed a special form of the degradation of women. Every day the TVs, radios and movies pour out the image of the mindless, painted-doll sex object that every woman must emulate to survive. We are told over and over again that now that we work, we must try even harder than ever to be "feminine" and a "good housekeeper" in order to keep the men happy. It's the same slave mentality with a space-age package.

In the general climate of political activism, all these conditions—discrimination in jobs, drudgery in the homes and chauvinist attitudes—worked together to bring thousands of women to New Haven to protest the torture of their sisters in jail. It was a major step forward for the women's movement and just the beginning of the women's fight for liberation in this country.

# and the Woman Question

despite the fact that more than 125 years have passed since the Great French (bourgeois-democratic) Revolution.

## Nowhere Has Capitalism Freed Women

"In words, bourgeois democracy promises equality and freedom. But in practice not a single bourgeois republic, even the more advanced, has granted women—half the human race—complete equality with men in the eyes of the law, or delivered them from dependence on and the oppression of the male."

It has only been in the socialist countries where the woman question is seriously dealt with. In spite of a good deal of backsliding on the question of women's liberation in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union (due to the general degeneration there of revolutionary ideas and politics), it is still true that nowhere in the capitalist world are women able to compete for equal jobs with men; nowhere but in the socialist countries are child care centers, free health care and the right of abortion so readily available to women; and nowhere, for example as in Vietnam, have women played such a leading role in political life and in the revolutionary struggle.

Marx, Engels and Lenin paid a good deal of attention to the oppression of women and recognized the great importance of their struggle for freedom. Below we print two short excerpts from the writings of Engels and Lenin which have become the ideological foundation for Marxists in this struggle.

"The emancipation of women first becomes possible when she is able, on an extensive, social scale, to participate in production, and household work claims her attention only to an insignificant extent."

—Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*

"In particular,...it must be stated that the drawing of women and juveniles into production is,

at bottom, progressive. It is indisputable that the capitalist factory places categories of the working population in particularly hard conditions, but endeavors to completely ban the work of women and juveniles in industry, or to maintain the patriarchal manner of life that ruled out such work, would be reactionary and utopian. By destroying the patriarchal isolation of these categories of the population who formerly never emerged from the narrow circle of domestic family relationships, by drawing them into direct participation in social production,...industry stimulates their development and increases their independence....

## No More Household Drudgery

"Notwithstanding all the laws emancipating women, she continues to be a domestic slave, because petty housework crushes, strangles, stultifies, and degrades her, chains her to the kitchen and the nursery, and she wastes her labor on barbarously unproductive, petty, nerve-racking, stultifying and crushing drudgery. The real emancipation of women, real communism, will begin only where and when an all-out struggle begins (led by the proletariat wielding the state power) against this petty housekeeping, or rather when its wholesale transformation into a large-scale socialist economy begins....

"We are setting up model institutions, dining-rooms and nurseries, that will emancipate women from housework....

"We say that the emancipation of the workers must be effected by the workers themselves, and in exactly the same way the emancipation of working women is a matter for the working women themselves. The working women must themselves see to it that such institutions are developed, and this activity will bring about a complete change in their position as compared with what it was under the old, capitalist society."

—Lenin, *On the Emancipation of Women*



# A Comrade To Be Proud Of

By ELLEN PIERCE

On his last afternoon as a free man, draft resister Joel Meyers, who would be going to prison for four years the next morning, went to the Port Authority bus terminal in New York to distribute anti-war literature to servicemen returning to their bases after weekend passes.

That action says a lot about Joel.

It is not easy to face four years in jail but Joel has always acted as a true revolutionary in struggling against the imperialist army, the courts, and now the prisons.

Joel Meyers began serving his sentence on November 24. He was accompanied to the Federal Court in Brooklyn by sixty friends and comrades from Youth Against War & Fascism, the American Servicemen's Union and the Committee for Irish Justice, as well as by his parents and wife, Pam.

His supporters demonstrated in front of the building and as Joel went inside to surrender, returned the clenched fist salute which he gave them.

An activist in Youth Against War & Fascism since the earliest days of the resistance against the Vietnam war, Joel was living in Buffalo, N.Y., when he received orders to report to Fort Hamilton for induction on May 4, 1967.

## Leaflets in His Duffle Bag

When he reported to the Army base in Brooklyn (where he was born), Joel carried an overnight bag like the other men in the induction center. But instead of a toothbrush and clothes, his bag contained leaflets denouncing the draft and the war, and he proceeded to hand them out. Several other members of YAWF handed out the leaflet at the gate.

Most of the inductees had gotten—and were reading—Joel's message when the officer in charge noticed.

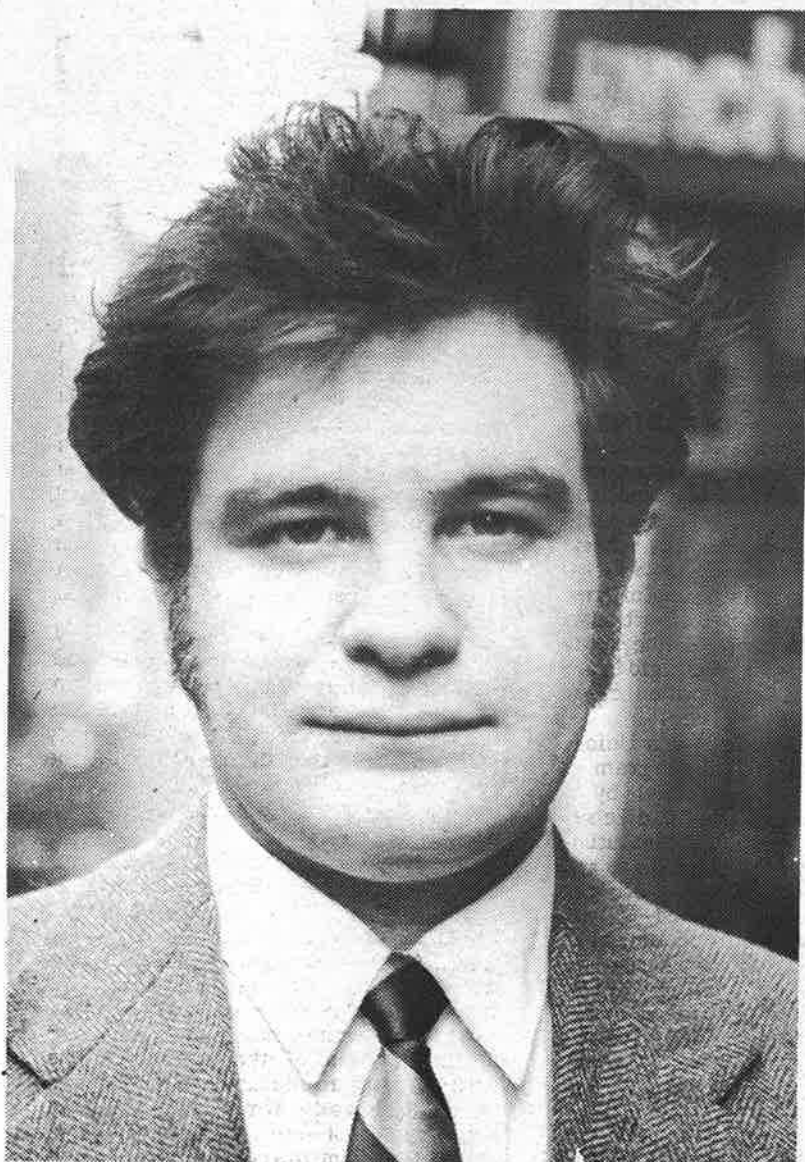
"What are you giving out?" he demanded.

"None of your business," replied Joel.

The officer snatched a leaflet out of the hands of one inductee. It read in part:

"Like you, I have been ordered to report today for induction into the Armed Forces.

"We may be sent to Vietnam this summer, sent to spill blood in the war against the peasant guerillas. But the millionaires who own the huge corporations raking in lush profits from war contracts will be living it up.



## JOEL MEYERS TOLD COURT:

### "I STAND WITH THE NLF AND THE DRV!"

When Joel Meyers stood before the Judge on May 17, 1968 he was permitted to make a statement showing why he should be treated leniently. He made a different kind of statement—and here is what he said:

"The sentence should not be passed because I did not get a fair trial. It is true that the jury was not of my peers, and it is true that its prejudices were played upon by both the prosecution and the court. But what is even more important is the fact that whom-ever the judge, the prosecutor and jury, the frame-ups are organized as tools of those same moneyed interests who profit so extensively from the blood of the GIs who are sentenced through an induction notice to defend the investments of the bankers whose properties are scattered around the world.

"These courts do not hesitate to trample on the constitution when big money is threatened. For example, they uphold the slave-labor draft law. The courts exist within the framework of the imperialist system which uses such unconsti-

tutional laws to force the youth of the country to fight a war against the Vietnamese people over there as well as the Black people over here. In both wars, the courts are willing frame-up tools. In these courts there is no such thing as a fair trial.

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

"While they laugh and sing on the Riviera, they will be forcing us to leave our friends and families, ordering us to muddy deaths in jungles half-way around the world, in order to defend their far-flung properties and investments.

"Meanwhile, the Vietnamese we are being ordered to fight against are struggling to free their country from U.S. domination. They do not want to serve as cheap labor for American bosses or as victims of U.S. war crimes.

### "Refuse to Step Forward!"

"It is an imperialist war of aggression, and as soldiers in that war we will be ordered to commit atrocities as hideous as those of the NAZIS and to use genocidal weapons such as anti-personnel bombs, poison gas, and napalm. We will be ordered to burn peasants' crops, poison their water, and herd them into concentration camps. Already, a quarter of a million children have been killed.

"An International War Crimes Tribunal is now in session to indict Johnson and his cohorts as war criminals. According to the Nuremberg agreements we are personally responsible to refuse to carry out such orders. But even more than that, we should identify with the victims of the war—the Vietnamese people that the American bosses are trying to subjugate and the GIs who are being used as cannon-fodder. All who do will refuse to step forward today, SAYING NO!! I WILL NOT TAKE UP ARMS AGAINST MY BROTHERS!! AND BRING ALL THE GIs HOME NOW!!!!"

The officer, after looking at this, barked at Joel that he was not allowed to give those out. "Are you afraid to let them read it?" Joel asked, as he continued to hand leaflets to every new man who came into the room, "You don't want them to know how the big firms profit when they are dying."

As another officer and then MPs were called to handle this "problem," Joel kept up a running commentary on the theme that GIs are being used in an imperialist war for profits, a war from which they have nothing to gain and their lives to lose. The threats of officers and MP's could not stop him, until finally half a dozen military police hauled him bodily from the room, with Joel fighting and talking against the war all the while.

### FBI Broke in at 5 A.M.

Handcuffed, Joel was thrown into an MP car and taken to the Provost Marshal of the base, who ordered him off the premises. That was the only order Joel obeyed.

Two months later, back in Buffalo, the FBI broke down the door of Joel's apartment at 5:30 in the morning of July 19 and arrested him for "failure to report for and submit to in-

duction" and "hindering or interfering, by force, violence, and otherwise, the administration of the Selective Service Act."

The timing of this arrest was significant. It followed a rebellion in the black community of Buffalo and came just four days after the jailing of black liberation fighter Martin Sostre on phony drug charges concocted by Buffalo authorities to make him the scapegoat for the rebellion. Joel had become acquainted with Sostre at the latter's Afro-Asian Bookstore, where revolutionary literature was sold, and was working on Sostre's defense when he, too, was arrested.

### Joel vs. Pacifist Leaders

Joel was given a much lower bail than Sostre, however, and was freed on a bond of \$2,500. He continued the anti-draft fight, taking an active part in organizing Stop-the-Draft Week in New York during December 1967. His militant stand on the anti-draft struggle reflected the feelings of many participants in the week's demonstrations, but hardly endeared him to the moderate pacifist leadership. He later wrote a devastating analysis of the two trends in the movement for YAWF's magazine, the Partisan, explaining the significance of the struggle between the militant youths and the pacifist leadership which came to the surface during the anti-draft actions.

### Guilty of Not Submitting

Joel's trial began April 2, 1968 in Brooklyn Federal Court. He faced 10 years imprisonment on the double charges of both failing to report and disrupting induction proceedings. After three days of testimony, in which the prosecution admitted that Joel had been at Fort Hamilton as ordered by his draft board, the jury was split. But Judge Bruchhausen guaranteed the conviction when he told the jury, after three hours deliberation, to reach a verdict by having the minority—obviously those voting for acquittal—give in to the majority.

Minutes after these instructions, the jury pronounced Joel guilty of failure to submit to induction, although he was acquitted of the other charge.

At the sentencing six weeks later, Bruchhausen gave Joel four years, just one year less than the maximum. The case was appealed to higher courts, but last month the Supreme Court refused to review it and Joel was ordered to surrender.

Joel still faces charges of "inciting to riot" arising from his participation in a demonstration by welfare mothers on the Lower East Side recently, demanding money for school clothing needed by their children. Charges of assaulting a federal marshal at the trial of black draft resister Eddie Quendo were brought against him, too, but later dropped.



# Four Forms of the Struggle Against the Military

By DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

The counter current in the anti-militarist movement is the development of an anti-imperialist force and ideology. It is based on an objective appraisal of the military system as an inevitable out-growth of monopoly capital. It does not see the war as a "mistake" or a "tragedy" for the nation, but as a necessary extension of U.S. imperialism's need to subjugate the Asian people in its world-wide drive for profit. In fighting against the military system that carries out the policies of the imperialists, revolutionaries rely not upon the mercy of their adversary but on the development of their own independent strength based on the aroused consciousness of masses of people. Thus its organizational approach is to involve greater numbers of people in militant struggle, rather than the pacifist tactic of focusing on individual actions and isolated heroes.

The U.S. military machine is under attack from all quarters. Even its staunchest supporters are now on the defensive as the revelations of a dozen Songmys hit the press.

Yet it wasn't too long ago that the armed forces were sacrosanct, able to carry out invasions of other countries, appropriate enormous sums of money and seemingly direct large areas of U.S. foreign policy without a whisper of debate. What was the beginning of the anti-military struggle, what forms has it taken and where is it going?

Since the first political draft case, there have been two basic trends in the anti-militarist struggle. One is bourgeois pacifist, the other revolutionary and anti-imperialist. The first attempts to appeal to the good conscience of the ruling class. It makes a rational appeal to their humanity, believing that they can be persuaded to put the interests of mankind (and often their own sons and daughters) before the interests of their class. It preaches non-violence to the masses, counseling them to rely upon the mercy of the war-makers.

## Two Ideologies, Many Forms

The struggle against the military is polarized around these two currents. However, the struggle itself can take a number of forms in which these two currents manifest themselves. Marxism teaches us to look for the relationship between form and essence. In making an analysis of any social phenomenon. In looking at the developing struggle against the U.S. military this is particularly important since many different forms of the struggle are

being improvised by the masses, yet the basic content of these struggles is either pacifist or revolutionary anti-imperialist.

There is very often a confusion of form with essence, sometimes by those who profess to be Marxists and should know better. The Socialist Workers Party and Progressive Labor have both criticized the anti-draft struggle and counterposed it to going into the army in order to organize the masses. It is true that the early forms of the anti-draft movement were pacifist and individualistic, but it has been possible to inject a revolutionary content into the struggle against the draft, turning individual resistance into an appeal and an inspiration for mass resistance.

This was done in a number of significant draft cases. Joel Meyers, whose fight against the draft is told in an accompanying article, was one. The first draft resister to give an anti-imperialist content to his refusal to serve in the army was David Mitchell. Mitchell cited Nuremberg in his defense, and in effect put the U.S. government on trial, reciting the list of war crimes committed by the U.S. in Vietnam. His example was soon followed by other young men who did not merely cite reasons of individual conscience in their briefs but enumerated the objective facts about the war in Vietnam.

## Criticize in Order to Cop Out

It is true that by and large the anti-draft movement remained in the hands of the pacifists. Had the so-called Marxist parties tried to rally a movement against the draft on a mass basis, however, the development of this form of the struggle would have been quite different. To many of the brave men who stood up and defied the draft machine, it appeared that the revolutionary arguments given by their more "political" critics were an elaborate form of cop-out from a struggle which threatened four- and five-year jail sentences. And indeed it was!

Eddie Oquendo, a black draft resister and member of Youth Against War & Fascism, showed by personal example that the struggle against the military, whether from within or without, is part of the same struggle if the political content is carried through. Eddie refused the draft and carried on a political struggle in the movement and in the black community to inspire his brothers to do the same. While his case was still on appeal, however, he was one of a delegation from YAWF that drove to Fort Sill,

Oklahoma to give invaluable assistance to a group of GIs who were fighting against the brass.

## GIs Respect Draft Fighters

It was out of this struggle at Fort Sill that the American Servicemen's Union was born. Not one of the GIs there thought that Eddie Oquendo should have gone into the army. They knew that the growing anti-draft movement was waking up a lot of GIs who had accepted induction because they thought there was no alternative. They had respect for a fighter like Eddie and recognized him as a leader because he had the guts and the understanding to attack the military before it got its claws into him. Eddie and Joel Meyers both gave vigorous support to the soldiers' struggle while carrying out their own fight against the draft.

The stands taken by young men like Joel Meyers, Dave Mitchell and Eddie Oquendo have enriched the general struggle against the military by exposing its thoroughly reactionary character and presenting an alternative to simply acquiescing to the demands of the ruling class. They proved that an act taken by an individual can, if the situation is right, be a lever to move masses of people.

With the growing resistance to the war from outside the military has come a parallel development among the soldiers. GI organization, both against the war and against the oppressive military machine itself, has the potential of crippling the basic tool of the bourgeois state. The army is the cornerstone of the power of the ruling class, its last resort in times of civil strife when its ideological hold over the masses crumbles and nothing is left but the rule of naked force.

Yet the army is composed of the sons of workers and the oppressed for the most part. In other words, the ruling class must rely on those whom it oppresses and exploits to shore up its rule. Thus the significance of the army in every revolutionary situation, and the reason that even today, when mass organization within



Dick Perrin (right) with Dick Wheaton of the ASU.

against the draft and the fight within the service—there are other ways in which the masses impede the effectiveness of the imperialist military machine and engage it in combat. One of these is desertion (there were 150,000 AWOLs and 53,000 deserters last year) and the other a movement of civilian support for the GIs, like the massive demonstration held at Fort Dix in defense of the Fort Dix 38 and to abolish stockades.

While most desertion is spontaneous, and is resorted to by many oppressed GIs either because they can't stand the army and the war or because they need to return to their families and loved ones, some of the GIs who have deserted have set up organizations to help their brothers. One such group is the American Deserters Committee whose branch in Saskatchewan, Canada is headed by Dick Perrin, another Fort Sill GI from the group that founded the ASU. Perrin left the army in Germany, and for a while helped get anti-war literature to the GIs stationed in Europe. He then went to Canada, where he found a need for organization among the many thousands of young Americans who have crossed the border to escape the military.

In all these forms of struggle, the anti-imperialists are in a constant



Left: Guy Smith of the Fort Hood 43 who refused duty against their brothers in Chicago. Below: Draft resisters Joel Meyers and Eddie Oquendo with ASU Chairman Andy Stapp.



the army is only in its infancy, the military is already nervous and attempting to crush resistance.

## Free Speech or Anti-Brass?

Within the army, as within the anti-draft movement, there is the pacifist approach to organizing and the revolutionary line. The bourgeois pacifist program—which has been adopted by organizations like SWP—is to limit the struggle to one of free speech and other civil libertarian issues. It does not strike at the roots of the military system—the rigid caste structure that reflects the class divisions of bourgeois society.

The American Servicemen's Union, on the other hand, with its program of elected officers, court-martial by a jury of your peers, the right to disobey illegal orders and an end to saluting and sir-ing of officers, appeals to the basic class consciousness of the enlisted man and his hatred of the officer caste. It attempts to organize the soldiers into a continuing structure that can challenge the authority of the officers and break the power of the ruling class over these trained bodies of armed men.

## Desertion and Civilian Support for GIs

In addition to these two main forms of the anti-military struggle—the fight

battle with the pacifists and moderates for leadership of the movement. When the movement can be forwarded through uniting with the other tendencies, it is correct for the revolutionaries to enter into a united front. However, Marxists look at a united front as a coalition in which the different tendencies march separately but strike together; that is, where the revolutionary elements can preserve their program and continue to fight for leadership of the masses.

In the struggle against the military, this means temporarily uniting with elements who may only want to reform the military and the system that has spawned it. However, the revolutionary objective is the dismantling of the imperialist military machine and the establishment of a people's militia.

With this perspective, the revolutionary engages in all forms of struggle against the military, as long as he can inject anti-imperialist content into them. As the struggle unfolds, its forms will multiply with the ingenuity and imagination of the anti-war masses. At the same time, there will have to be a clarification of the content of the struggle, and an education of the masses to the necessity for a revolutionary overthrow, not only of the murderous and corrupt military machine, but of the capitalist class that it preserves.



Draft resistance and work with GIs are complementary forms of the same struggle.



## Labor Commentary

## The GE Strike - What is Needed

The General Electric strike is shaping up as an extremely important class battle whose outcome will not only directly affect the welfare of 150,000 workers and their families, but will also have a significant impact on a whole series of upcoming struggles involving over a million workers in basic industry and transportation.

The steam behind the current struggle comes from rank-and-file outrage at having their wages literally stolen out of their pockets by the bosses via galloping inflation. In the enemy camp, the bosses are paying lip service to a slow-down on rising prices. They do this in order to justify the protection of profit margins (GE made \$1 billion last year after taxes) by putting the squeeze on wages.

The surest sign that the rank-and-file workers are burning mad is that the heat from below has risen up through the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy and has penetrated George Meany's thick hide. In order to save it (his hide, that is) Meany has had to tear himself away from Chamber of Commerce dinners, government functions, American Legion and VFW conventions and twist his well-fed form into the unnatural ("I never walked a picket line in my life") posture of a labor leader.

## Meany the Reactionary

Meany's first dramatic gesture of aid to the strikers was to call for a public boycott of all GE products. Of course, any step to hurt the company and to mobilize public support behind the GE workers is helpful to the struggle and should be supported.

But the irony of the situation is that the section of the public which will be most sympathetic to the workers and come to their aid are the progressive sections who are against the war, against racism and against reaction in general.

Now, no one has so alienated the progressive community in this country over the last two decades as has George Meany who symbolizes the sell-out, "business unionism" leadership of the AFL-CIO which is pro-war, pro-racist and pro-witchhunt. Fortunately for the GE workers, most progressives won't hold the entire working class responsible for George Meany. They still know that they should support the workers in a struggle against the bosses and will support the boycott in spite of racist, pro-war Meany.

No one should be deluded, of course, into thinking that the militancy which Meany has shown against anti-war demonstrators and black people fighting racism in the unions is suddenly being transformed into militancy against the bosses just because the labor bureaucracy called for a boycott. On the contrary, Meany is doing everything possible to restrict the militancy of the workers without losing the strike altogether.

## Behind GE, the Gov't.

Trying to defeat General Electric with a boycott is like trying to cut-down a redwood with a razor blade. GE is a giant monopoly with vast financial resources to fall back on. But far more important than that is the fact, which Meany and Co. are going out of their way to hide, that GE has on its side the capitalist government which is the concentrated power of the entire capitalist class.

GE is an imperialist monopoly whose holdings extend to every continent. It reaps super-profits from cheap labor under the protection of the U.S. military for which GE pays nothing. GE is the second largest prime military contractor for Washington (\$1.6 billion last year) and this government subsidy will keep coming to offset losses due to the strike. In addition to

the direct behind-the-scenes pressure from the government at the national level, the company has on its side the courts and police in every factory town to hamstringing the workers' struggles by force and legal and illegal maneuvering in a thousand ways.

The labor bureaucracy has always gone out of its way to conceal the class character of the government, to pretend that it is a neutral arbitrator above the classes and impartial to both. During the entire GE strike, neither Nixon nor the ruling class have been mentioned at all.

Against the power of the company backed up by the capitalist state, an economic boycott is a puny and severely restricted method of struggle. It binds and confines the workers' struggle to the narrowest economic means. It is a horse and buggy tactic in the space age.

What is needed are political methods of fighting back, and that does not mean voting for some capitalist politician on election day. It means bringing out into the open the fact that this is not merely a struggle between 150,000 workers and one company, but rather a struggle between the GE workers and the capitalist government which is the collective agent of the entire capitalist class.

## Equalize the Battle

As such, it is an entirely unequal battle. The task is to equalize it by drawing more and more workers into the struggle. Have demonstrations and short walkouts of workers in different cities in solidarity with the GE workers.

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Letter from a  
GE Town

ure of the IUE-CIO Local 301 leadership.

I don't claim to be able to speak for the mood of G.E. workers in general but as a former Schenectady resident (who will return there next year after a four-year absence), as a former G.E. employee (3 years part-time after school and 18 months as a fork-lift driver '66-'67) as well as being the son and grandson of two machinists with combined service of over 60 years, I feel I can speak with some knowledge of the true situation in the city "that lights and hauls the world" over the lives and bodies of generations of working-class people. Your article I feel included a serious misreading of the intentions of the local leadership.

As usual the officers of Local 301 have misled and sold down the river the rank-and-file members of their union. You quote a union leader, presumably an officer, as saying "If you want a war, we'll give you one."

The ploy of superficial, transitory, and rhetorical militancy coupled with a very real submission has been an ever present character trait of 301 officers for two generations; and has reached its highest point in the particular clique in power now.

You state that since 1946 the company has broken every strike with its one-offer, take-it-or-leave-it contracts. This is tragically true but WHY? Simply put it is because the leadership has time and again sold-out—refusing to align with the rank-and-file worker; the leadership has repeatedly sold the membership a bag of shit. These sell-outs by the bureaucrats have resulted in settlements—hard to believe as it seems actually endorsed by the officers—which have included pay-cuts and the introduction of closed circuit T.V. into the work areas so that company goons can spy on the workers at their leisure.

Why has it been possible for G.E. TO FORCE THESE SETTLE-

MENTS ON THE WORKERS—AGAIN ITS OBVIOUS—A SELL-OUT!! You have to scream it in your paper; not hem and haw and allude that a change is coming—because until the workers throw the officers out on their well-fed G.E. asses they're being stretched on a rack with the stooges pulling from one end and the company from the other.

## Workers Are Fighting!

The long strikes followed by sell-out settlements by the union officers have brutalized the workers financially. At the end of three or four months the workers are hurting so bad they are forced to accept contracts that wrap more chains around them. Most workers on strike in Schenectady now, have still not recovered from a three-month strike two years ago.

The labor bureaucracy as you so rightly state is responsible for this prostitution; but is it true that the bureaucracy is being forced to fight it out with G.E. on this contract? The answer from Schenectady looks like, no!

This is not true because the workers won't fight, they are fighting! It is true because of the leadership's duplicity—once again they have sold-out!

EXAMPLE—After the rank-and-file workers succeeded in keeping non-union members from entering the plant for seven consecutive days by means of mass-picketing, the officers docilely ordered pickets to admit baggage through the lines. They didn't even wait for a court injunction to be ordered; the mere threat of action led to immediate surrender by the bureaucrats. A case in point that brings out the true colors of the leadership of Local 301! You see, the officers would have encountered the direct consequences of the injunction and to avoid personal discomfiture they sabotaged an ongoing successful strike—which through its militancy was successful in halting operations in Schenectady for all employees for the first time in many years. But the preserva-

(Continued on page 16)

Below are excerpts of a letter to the editor which contain valuable first hand information about GE exploitation and union leaders' betrayals.

We feel that the author misunderstood the purpose of our article which was to alert the movement to the new militant mood of the workers which was reflected, among other ways, in the fact that conservative labor bureaucrats were forced to talk tough. We did not intend an exposé of the labor misleadership per se.

However, we wholeheartedly agree with the sentiments of Mr. Nichols and appreciate his comments which were made from the point of view of a militant on the production line.

Gentlemen:

This letter is written in response to your article "The G.E. Strike: New Mood in the Working Class" and most specifically in regard to the real situation in Schenectady and the actual post-



# Hitler "Attacked" Monopolies Too!

By D. STACEY

A remarkable turnaround by Nixon's head of the Federal Communications Commission, Dean Burch, was noted in the New York Times last week.

Commenting on the FCC chief's endorsement of Agnew's speech attacking the news media, the Times said: "Until yesterday, Mr. Burch, who served during Senator Barry Goldwater's presidential campaign in 1964, had been warmly regarded by the broadcasting industry as a 'pro-business' conservative. But today Mr. Burch was being reassessed as an aggressive 'anti-establishment' force, embracing at least partly the charges of his liberal commission colleagues against the networks and local broadcast owners."

The Times raised its eyebrows at Burch's switch because they know full well that Nixon's appointees are super-conservatives, men who have worked hand in glove with the big corporations to serve their political interests. Now, all of a sudden, Dean Burch, one of the most right-wing and formerly Goldwater's campaign manager, seems to have switched his loyalties. Along with Agnew, he is attacking monopoly in the media, pointing out that the news is controlled by a few giant broadcasting corporations and newspapers.

Right on! There's no quarrel with that. The news has been in the hands of billionaires and their corporations since Hearst helped manufacture the Spanish-American War of 1899.

But what does it mean when the reactionaries suddenly appear to be the champions of the "little man" against the monopolies?

## Nazis Did It First

There are very ominous historical precedents for this behavior. A favorite trick of the Nazis was to attack institutions controlled by the liberal bourgeoisie, and especially the Jewish

banks, as responsible for the nation's ills. The fascist movement as a whole, which in both Germany and Italy wore the mantle of socialism in order to appeal to the anti-capitalist masses, railed against the power of the big corporations—including the liberal press. In Germany, a wealthy Jewish family known as the House of Ullstein controlled the Vossische Zeitung, a paper founded in 1704 that for more than two centuries had spoken for the liberal bourgeois establishment and was comparable to the New York Times. One of the first acts of the Nazis after taking power was to close this paper down, in the name of attacking the monopoly press and Jewish capital.

Goebbels, Hitler's propaganda min-



Agnew learned it from Goebbels.

ister in charge of either harnessing or destroying the liberal press, always made it seem that he was acting on behalf of the masses. "A few individuals should not have the right to use the national economy against the nation! But in reality a few monopolies dominate, a few individuals have amassed enormous fortunes..."

National "socialism," however, proved to be completely in the service of the biggest capitalists. Detailed testimony at the Nuremberg trials proved that from the beginning Hitler was financed by a significant section of the ruling class. In Shirer's "The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich" there is a brief but highly significant rundown of Hitler's supporters.

## Hitler's Angels

"We know from the interrogations of Funk in the Nuremberg jail after the war who some, at least, of the 'influential industrial magnates' whom Hitler sought out were. Emil Kirdorf, the union-hating coal baron who presided over a political slush fund known as the 'Ruhr Treasury' which was raised by the West German mining interests, had been seduced by Hitler at the party congress in 1929. Fritz Thyssen, the head of the steel trust, who lived to regret his folly and to write about it in a book called "I Paid Hitler," was an even earlier contributor. He had met the Nazi leader in Munich in 1923, been carried away by his eloquence and forthwith made, through Ludendorff, an initial gift of 100,000 gold marks (\$25,000) to the then obscure Nazi Party. Joining Thyssen was Albert Voegler, also a power in the United Steel Works. In fact the coal and steel interests were the principal sources of the funds that came from the industrialists to help Hitler over his last hurdles to power in the period between 1930

(Continued on page 14)

# The Revolutionaries

(Continued from page 6)

and the need for revolutionary force as the means to liberation.

Only one year later the course of the Afro-American struggle shifted sharply toward armed self-defense, revolutionary violence and the politics of black liberation. The early advocates of irreconcilable revolutionary struggle for liberation were subsequently vindicated by the black masses themselves in the living struggle. Bourgeois pacifism is a dead letter in the Afro-American movement.

And, as regards imperialist war, the bourgeoisie is certainly not going to be persuaded to change its warlike policy toward the oppressed people abroad if they won't do it right here at home. The Vietnamese speak to the ruling class in the only language which they can understand.

In this sense, the revolutionary youth who raised the red flag, pounded on the door of the Justice Department and surrounded it in a menacing manner were moving in the general direction of the historical solution to the problem of imperialist war—that is, the destruction of imperialism. Similarly, the pacifist, CP, SWP coalition which tried to sabotage and discredit the Justice Department demonstration were standing in the way of the genuine struggle against the imperialist war. They firmly supported the bourgeois liberal establishment in its struggle against the revolutionary elements. There is no greater obstacle to the struggle against imperialism than the illusions

of the masses about the nature of the ruling class.

If the revolutionaries made any error, it was that they did not fight sagaciously enough to win the broad masses away from the opportunists and over to an anti-imperialist point of view. They were correctly intent upon providing a revolutionary alternative to the main rally but in the process they neglected to develop a direct approach to the new layers of youth streaming into Washington.

Without compromising their anti-imperialist politics one iota they could have developed a propagandistic approach to the main march, only put in such terms that could be understood by people who have not yet gone through the process of political education which the vanguard has already experienced. In short, the revolutionaries overlooked one very important tactic in the struggle against opportunism.

Such mistakes, however, are due purely to inexperience in the struggle and can be easily corrected in the future. In the meantime, they carried out a splendid demonstration, a militant show of solidarity with the Vietnamese and the black liberation struggle. Hopefully this successful show of strength at the Justice Department will provide the basis for a revolutionary coalition which will carry the struggle to a higher level politically, organizationally and tactically in the coming campaign to put an end to imperialism and its base, monopoly capitalism, altogether.

An account of the attempt to restore capitalism under cover of "liberal reform."

## Counter-Revolution In Czechoslovakia

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# The Liberals

(Continued from page 7)

the militant leaders were provocateurs—"a handful of brick-throwers"... who "provided the cops with their excuse" for attacking the crowd.

The weekly Guardian had taken a much better position, but later appeared to backtrack. In the issue of November 22 it correctly criticized the New Mobilization, saying its "renewed stress on non-violence as a philosophy... is part of its rightward drift." But it added that alleged window-breakers, etc., had provoked the cops and had given the press its chance to attack the demonstration (somewhat implying that otherwise the press might have been silent).

## Who Helps the Police?

While there is such a thing as provocation, a march of thousands upon the very center of the internal repressive apparatus of imperialism against both the black people and the anti-war militants, is not a provocation, but an act of serious opposition to the ruling class that makes the war.

Only timid opponents and potential servants of the ruling class within the mass movement could be against such a march under the given circumstances.

While it may be wrong to advertise that you are going to "fight the police"—particularly when you do not have the means to do so—it is far worse to say that those who do this are in any way helping the police.

The bourgeoisie and its liberal Senators intimidated a lot of people with their cautions against "violence." They intimidated them more successfully than even the bourgeois warhawks with their threats of physical repression. The liberal Senators who to this day refuse to vote for an immediate end to the monumental violence of Vietnam successfully appealed for placidity, candles, prayers, togetherness and intimidated many of those who felt that a more vigorous protest should be in order.

But they did not intimidate the thousands who went to the Justice Department. Neither the appeals to bourgeois respectability nor the threats of armed intervention, nor the social pressure of the majority of their own still passive contemporaries intimidated these militant youths.

## Imperialists Invented and Perfected Violence

The liberals' position on "violence" of the masses simply served to soften the opposition to the real violence of their own hawk opponents. The New Mobilization provided an integral part of this position. The CP and SWP went along.

The imperialists have killed scores of millions, hundreds of millions, and they are willing to kill hundreds of millions more, in order to keep their money and their power. The imperialists invented modern violence, perfected it and escalated it by a factor of many thousands—and this includes the dove imperialists as well as the hawks.

When the great masses begin to comprehend this (and they'll never comprehend it by listening to the New Mobilization or the CP and SWP, of course), the question of "violence vs. non-violence" will be thrown into the waste basket where it belongs. And the masses will just reach out their hands and take what is theirs (that is, peace and socialism) with whatever degree of force is needed.

The blood-soaked ruling class may call this "violence." But the people will call it revolution.





The ongoing destruction of Arab homes under Israeli occupation.

It's an Arab village, occupied by soldiers of the Israeli army. As in Vietnam, guerrilla commando groups move freely in the town, where the people look on them as liberators. An Israeli officer is killed.

The next day, half a dozen Arab homes are blown up by the Israelis. It's called "collective punishment."

Collective punishment is a favorite tactic used by the oppressor when faced with people's war—a war in which no one remains neutral and few side with the oppressor. It has been practiced by the German fascists, by the French in Algeria and Vietnam, by the U.S. in Korea, Vietnam and the black communities at home. Ironically, this tactic perfected by the Nazis is now being used by the Israelis in the Mideast.

#### Dayan Learned From U.S.

Historically, collective punishment has been carried out directly by the troops of the imperialists, but in Israel the situation has been modified. The U.S. imperialists use their puppet, Israel, to do their dirty work. And, indeed, the prime U.S. lackey, Moshe Dayan, has taught his soldiers well the lessons he learned when he visited South Vietnam in 1966. So well, in fact, that the U.S. ruling class does not have to intervene openly to protect their profits stolen from the Arab people—Arab land, Arab oil, and Arab labor.

It was just a few weeks ago that Israel announced its new "defensive measures" against Arabs who "collaborate" with the guerrillas. Under this policy of collective punishment, the Israeli government orders the indiscriminate destruction of Arab homes and shops in the neighborhood where a terrorist act has taken place or where they "feel" acts of terrorism are likely to occur.

By resorting to such measures the Israeli government is admitting what they have all along been denying—that the Arab liberation forces have won the support of the masses and are winning in their struggle against their Zionist and imperialist oppressors.

#### Deir Yassin Massacred

Just one example of this fascist policy is the town of Halhul, where an Israeli lieutenant was executed by Arab liberation fighters while he was flushing suspected "terrorists" out of a building. In retaliation, the Israelis blew up six buildings that day and eighteen more the next day.

An Israeli officer explained, "there has been more collaboration with terrorists recently. We are saying to them, 'If terrorism continues, life will be unbearable and our defensive measures will make it unbearable.' If it becomes unbearable, then they will have three choices: either fight the terrorists themselves, or denounce them to us or suffer."

But as the Algerians, the Koreans and the Vietnamese have shown, a revolution can no longer be crushed by fascist terror; in a war of national liberation, the people are united and prepared to keep on fighting until their land is free. The liberation army is the people; when one is tortured and killed, two more stand ready to take his place on the front line.

This policy of collective punishment is not new in Israel—only newly publicized. In 1948, the massacre of the village of Deir Yassin was, according to official Israeli plans, "one stage" in an overall plan to terrorize and oust the Arabs. More recently, since the beginning of the 1967 war the Arab guerrillas have counted more than 7,000 homes destroyed by Israel. During the war itself, three villages in the Latrun area are known to have been bulldozed out of existence to insure Israel's retention of the area.

Such "defensive measures" were an often used strategy of the Nazis to stifle and crush opposition. In Lidice, Czechoslovakia, a small mining town outside Prague, the entire population was massacred—the men shot and the women and children sent to concentration camps—and then the buildings were blown up, set on fire and bulldozed into a wasteland in retaliation for the execution of a hated Gestapo official, Reinhard Heydrich, by one of Lidice's native sons.

The German fascists were horribly

effective with their use of collective punishment. There did not have to be many Lidices before country after country fell to Nazi terror. But the balance of world forces is different today from what it was in 1940 when workers' and national liberation movements all over the world were being crushed. Today, the imperialist monster is over-extended at home and abroad and is in its dying, yet most vicious, stage. Its murderous tentacles are being cut off by liberation movements all over the world.

Israel's attempts to crush this movement on behalf of its imperialist mentor will meet no more success than U.S. efforts in Vietnam, where collective punishment has merely served to expose the vicious nature of the imperialist aggressor. Just as the massacres in the village of Song My are becoming symbolic of the Vietnam war, the atrocities committed in Halhul and many other Arab villages are arousing people all over the world to the brutality of U.S.-Israeli aggression.

### Israel: Base of Western Imperialism 35¢

by Abdel-Wahab M. El-Messiri

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The struggle of the Palestinians for national liberation is the struggle of the oppressed Arab masses against imperialism. Above, guerrillas prepare their weapons of liberation.

## Israel Uses An Old Nazi Tactic

## — Hitler "Attacked" Monopolies Too!

(Continued from page 13) and 1933.

"But Funk named other industries and concerns whose directors did not want to be left out in the cold should Hitler make it in the end. The list is a long one, though far from complete, for Funk had a wretched memory by the time he arrived for trial at Nuremberg. It included Goerg von Schnitzler, a leading director of I.G. Farben, the giant chemical cartel; August Rosterg and August Diehn of the potash industry (Funk speaks of this industry's 'positive attitude toward the Fuehrer'); Cuno of the Hamburg-America line; the brown-coal industry of central Germany; the Conti rubber interests; Otto Wolf, the powerful Cologne industrialist; Baron Kurt von Schroeder, the Cologne banker, who was to play a pivotal role in the final maneuver which hoisted Hitler to power; several leading banks, among which were the Deutsche Bank, the Commerz und Privat Bank, the Dresdener Bank, the Deutsche Kredit Gesellschaft; and Germany's largest insurance concern, the Allianz."

Shirer does not include in this list the Krupps, who became Hitler's biggest backers and are again in the saddle in West Germany today. Alfred Krupp was a sponsoring member of the SS in 1931, two years before Hitler took power. Throughout the period of the Third Reich, the Krupps were the epitome of Germany's "industrial-military complex," using slave labor in their factories. One of the biggest war criminals in the dock at Nuremberg, Krupp was quietly pardoned in the 50's by John J. McCloy and was, until his death a year ago, the most powerful industrialist in the Common Market.

#### Also Purged the Liberals

Hitler's most important service to German capital was to crush its principal enemy, the German working class. This he did with a ferocity never to be forgotten. All mass organizations—particularly the unions and the political parties of the working class—were completely dismantled and millions were sent to the concentration camps.

But the Nazi Party also performed another function for the reactionary core of German big business—it purged the ruling class of its liberal wing, most of whom capitulated without a fight.

#### "More Papal Than Pope"

(Shirer throws light on the political backbone of some of the liberal press:

"Germany's third great liberal newspaper, the Frankfurter Zeitung, also continued to publish after divesting itself of its Jewish proprietor and editors. Rudolf Kircher, its London correspondent, an Anglophile and a liberal, became the editor, and like Karl Silex, editor of the conservative Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung of Berlin, who had also been a London correspondent, a Rhodes scholar, a passionate admirer of the British and a liberal, served the Nazis well, often becoming, as Otto Dietrich, the Reich press chief, once said of the former 'opposition papers,' 'more papal than the Pope.'")

Mussolini also traded on a "socialist" reputation to win over the masses, promising he would expropriate the big banks and take power away from the "rotten and corrupting bourgeoisie." But behind the scenes he was being financed by the huge Banca Commerciale and the Federation of Industry, who supplied the millions needed for

the March on Rome.

To be familiar with the history of fascist demagoguery is to be forewarned against the "anti-monopoly" campaign of Spiro Agnew, Richard Nixon, Dean Burch and Company. These bourgeois politicians are continuing to serve the interests of the biggest monopolies, as they have done all along.

The crisis of U.S. imperialism may not at present be so severe that the rulers are ready to resort to an all-out fascist dictatorship in order to save their system. But there is a grave split within the ruling class itself over how to best protect its interests abroad, and the reactionary wing at present controls the state apparatus. In its attacks on the black people and the anti-war youth, it is resorting more and more to fascist terror tactics.

#### Just a Disguise

However, despite Nixon's bleating about the "silent majority," it is clear that the pro-war clique in power does not have the support of the masses. That is why, in its frantic efforts to crack down on the real militants while simultaneously starting a campaign to housebreak the liberals, this group of ultra-reactionaries must disguise what they are doing as an attack upon "monopoly" and "powerful interests."



# 40,000 Puerto Ricans March Against Draft



A contingent of Dominican exiles in the mammoth anti-draft march, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Photo by Claridad.

The following article was sent to Workers World by the editor of Claridad, organ of the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI).

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico—Thousands of Puerto Rican independentistas pledged themselves to continue battling compulsory military service in the U.S. Armed Forces until Puerto Rico's youths are exempted from that blood tax.

Despite heavy rains and a government-created atmosphere of repression, some 40,000 independentistas participated in the first national anti-draft march held in Puerto Rico. The march, held last November 23, was sponsored by all independentista groups.

Puerto Rico, a U.S. colony since 1898, has suffered compulsory military service in yankee armed forces since 1917, when U.S. citizenship was

imposed on all Puerto Ricans, one month before the U.S. entered World War I.

Puerto Rican opposition to the draft started during World War II, continued during the Korean conflict, but really gained momentum with the Vietnam War. Hundreds of Puerto Rican youths have refused induction; a hundred of them have been indicted and one has been sentenced to a one-year prison term—his case is being appealed.

The November 23 march is viewed by independentista leaders as a major step forward in the Puerto Rican anti-draft movement; it is the first time that all seven independentista organizations battled jointly against a specific form of imperialist oppression.

Addressing the demonstrators at the

end of the march, Juan Mari Bras, Secretary General of the Pro Independence Movement (MPI), stressed that all groups must join to end the draft in Puerto Rico. He invited the other organizations to join MPI in organizing militant anti-draft activities next February, specifically workers' and students' strikes, and open induction refusals.

The last words in Mari Bras' proposal were drowned out by prolonged applause by the crowd. The demonstrators then answered affirmatively when MPI's leader said he expected them to participate in next spring's militant activities.

Puerto Rico's independence struggle has grown steadily during the last ten years and, recently, has been ac-

celerated by the actions of a reactionary pro-statehood government, voted in a year ago.

Last September 26, University of Puerto Rico students attacked the R.O.T.C. building in the Río Piedras campus and partially burnt it down.

Little over a month later, November 7, and in reaction to anti-ROTC student activities, right wing pro-statehood adults unsuccessfully attacked the university and, with the aid of police, partially burned MPI headquarters.

Forty MPI leaders and members were inside the headquarters during the attack; two of the leaders were shot. Outside, tens of pro-independence students, who were demanding protection for MPI's headquarters, were clubbed by police.

## That "Liberal" Report on Latin America

# Rockefeller Calls for More Big Stick

By P. MEISNER

Having stirred up a storm of violent protest throughout Latin America last summer, Rockefeller has now submitted a 135-page report to Nixon, leaving the impression that the main task for U.S. monopolies is to grant drastic economic concessions to the super-oppressed Latin American nations. But beneath all of the economic window dressing is Rockefeller's plea for an increase in military aid to Latin American regimes to "resist" what the report termed "a real threat of Communist subversion."

Thus, the purpose of Rockefeller's tour of Latin America really boils down to how to minimize the loss of U.S. monopoly profits in Latin America—by as few economic concessions as possible and as much military repression as necessary. The Rockefeller report made specific just who should receive military aid from the U.S.

Rockefeller certainly did not have in mind the Bolivian and Peruvian regimes:

"The critical test, ultimately, is whether the new military (in Latin America) can and will move the nation.... Or will they become

radicalized, statist and anti-U.S.?"

Where the U.S. no longer has military control or influence, as in Bolivia and Peru, military aid or even U.S. intervention has been replaced by economic isolation and blockade. In Bolivia, where Gulf Oil operations were recently nationalized, Gulf's desperate attempts at restoring its huge profits are described in the November 22 edition of Business Week:

"Gulf officials are taking a hard line toward Bolivia—partly because they are concerned about the effect that the Bolivian seizure may have on Gulf's interests in Ecuador. They have threatened an embargo on sales in the U.S. if Bolivia tries to market the oil from Gulf's concession, and they have invoked the threat of the Hickenlooper Amendment."

The Cuban Revolution, of course, has suffered and withstood both economic blockade and U.S. military aggression for the last ten years. The Pentagon is still to this day beefing up the military regimes of Brazil, Argentina, Panama, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic. But even the Peruvian and Bolivian peoples must be prepared for a Yankee military intervention. After all, it was only four

years ago that U.S. troops landed in the Dominican Republic to save the U.S.-puppet regime from a popular revolution.

In fact, the Rockefeller report prepares the U.S. rulers for a military solution of U.S. imperialism's problems in Latin America:

"Fortunately, the governments of the American republics have gradually improved their capabilities for dealing with Castro-type agrarian guerrillas.

"However, radical revolutionary elements in the hemisphere appear to be increasingly turning toward urban terrorism in their attempts to bring down the existing order. This type of subversion is more difficult to control, and governments are forced to use increasingly repressive measures to deal with it."

The Rockefeller report is therefore preparing U.S. imperialism for an economic face-lifting in Latin America while reliance on CIA and Pentagon militarism will be increased, according to the "liberal" governor of New York State.

Rockefeller admits again that only through military repression can the U.S. imperialist profit system survive in any place of the world.

## Some of His Proposals

Reprinted below are some of the proposals contained in Rockefeller's report to President Nixon, entitled "Quality of Life in the Americas", as quoted by UPI.

— "The creation of a Security Council for the Western Hemisphere, with headquarters outside of the United States, in order to deal with the forces of subversion."

— "Increase in North American assistance for the training of armed forces for the defense of Latin America."

— "The shipment of light arms, communications equipment, jeeps, helicopters and trucks for police and internal security forces in Latin America."

— "Reduction of United States permanent military missions in Latin America. The training of Latin American troops should only be carried out in the Panama Canal Zone or by the sending of special missions, if those governments request it."

— "Demonstrate the will of the United States to sell planes, ships and other heavy military equipment to the most developed countries of Latin America, while at the same time dropping all threats of reducing economic aid as currently required by North American laws."



By ELIZABETH ROSS

When, in the 1950's a thousand Puerto Ricans a week streamed into New York City looking for any kind of work at whatever pay they could get, there were wealthy New Yorkers who complained that "their" town was being inundated by "undesirables" and relief seekers.

"What are you hollering about?" snapped one of the local judges. "Somebody's got to do the dirty work in this city."

The problem of who will do "the dirty work" is—of course—universal, and not confined to New York City. Who will clean the toilets, mop the floors, scrape up the garbage, dig the ditches, clean out the sewers, load the ships and trucks, man the subways, dig the coal—who will perform the thousands of back-breaking, degrading, dirty or dangerous chores so vital to the prosperity and well-being of any community?

Everyone wants to avoid these jobs if he can, and yet—mysteriously—they are always filled.

A rational and enlightened society would give gratitude, honor and material rewards to the men and women who do this valuable and necessary work. But in a class society they are despised and avoided, crowded into slums and ghettos, and paid less than a living wage.

They are a caste set aside. The privileged members of the community tell them, in effect, "We despise you because you are doing the kind of work we would have to be doing if you did not exist. We must make sure that you do exist in perpetuity. We must ensure the continuance of the caste system, and keep you in your place."

These same privileged people brag publicly, of course, that a caste system exists in the Western world, and point to India.

A European visitor to Calcutta once reported that he saw a merchant eating his bowl of rice in the market place, when a gaunt and nearly naked man passed by whose shadow fell on the bowl of rice. With a cry of alarm the merchant threw his meal away. The visitor at first thought that the intruder must have been a leper, and that the merchant must have had a supersti-

## THE UNTOUCHABLES

"Who'll  
Pick up  
The Garbage?"

tious fear of being infected by the leper's shadow. But the European later learned that the man whose shadow caused so much horror was an "untouchable"—a member of the lowest caste in Hindu society. It was not dread of disease but dread of social contamination that moved the merchant to fling away his dinner.

Although caste prejudice may seldom be expressed so pointedly in the Western "democracies," its reality is felt just as keenly by those men and women who perform the drudgery of the "free world." Ask any black garbage

collector, any black or white charwoman, or any GI in the U.S. Army!

The Colonel may not fear the GI's shadow, but he makes sure that the GI's substance stays away from him when he is dining and wining. Enlisted men don't enter the officers' mess hall except as servants.

Once in a blue moon an heiress elopes with her chauffeur; but has it ever been recorded that one of these fine ladies has run off with her dishwasher?

No, the line is drawn very clearly. And the line becomes a gulf when members of the lowest caste are marked by a difference in color, speech, religion or nationality.

The Afro-American in the U.S. bears the stigma that seems to come from his color; but in reality his color only underlines and makes obvious his U.S. status as drudge or menial, the heritage of a chattel slavery the white ruling class cannot forget and in spite of the new "liberalism," really wants to perpetuate.

The Puerto Ricans in the east and the Mexicans and Orientals in the western states of the U.S. suffer the same indignity. In Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, Guatemala, etc., it is the Indian—once the proud monarch of the whole hemisphere—who is the untouchable.

In Japan, besides the native low caste Eta (a specially created untouchable caste), the imported Korean factory worker bears the double stigma. In England it is the Irish Catholic and more recently the Jamaican black; in West Germany it is the Italian or Portuguese worker; in France, the Algerian.

Then, too, a member of the privileged classes is always so much safer and surer of his own identity when his servants are of an alien race.

The difference in speech between the Oxford accent and the cockney provides a formidable barrier between the aristocratic parasites and the working class untouchables. But in the United States, where culture and speech are only incidental and often disregarded, the most outstanding class distinction is the color of one's skin. Servants are usually black, Puerto Rican or Oriental, for that reason.

The native white workers observe

all this. And the attitudes of the aristocracy, restrained and tolerant in public, become the vulgar prejudices of the white masses.

But the revolutionary wave sweeping across the twentieth century is not only changing social forms, but social attitudes as well. Fissures appear in the solid wall of class prejudice.

In Cuba intellectuals and government functionaries devote many days to cutting sugar cane—as a symbol of the dignity and value of this back-breaking, formerly menial work. In China the man who takes away the "nightsoil" is awarded a medal (while New York journalists hold their noses and snicker). A doctor in Peking tells a Canadian visitor he is proud to take less pay than a ditch-digger. "He needs more food than I do because he works harder," says the doctor.

In the Soviet Union in 1917 privates in the Army elected their officers (which shocked the world's officer caste much more than the reported "rape of nuns"). And in the U.S. today the lowly GI, whose status as an "untouchable" is so clearly defined, is demanding his right to choose his own officers, and be judged by his own peers. He is challenging the caste system of the Army.

The grandchildren of black slaves are throwing off their chains and demanding equality, not only for their blackness, but for the vital work they perform. (They are demanding equality through self-determination and national independence, the natural right of all oppressed national minorities. But this struggle, too, is in the last analysis a part of the class struggle.)

Women, whose inferior status has endured since the dawn of class society, are rising all over the world, demanding full equality and taking leadership in the struggle.

Students are defying high-caste professors, ghetto dwellers defy august school boards, and the American people are challenging the right of politicians to make war.

The old caste order is being challenged. It is beginning to crumble. The liberation struggle and the class struggle together will destroy it. The classless society will also be a caste-less society.

# Letter from a GE Town

(Continued from page 12)

tion of the strike effort was sold out to prevent the discomfiture of a few officers who have become malleable tools of the G.E.

## GE Runs the City

I called the G.E. managerial-class feudal lords earlier. Some aspects of the G.E. feudal set-up in Schenectady deserve further analysis and space in W.W. A brief mention of a few of these areas; deeper analysis of the tyrannical rule of the G.E. in Schenectady should include their manipulative power stemming from ownership of the Channel 6 Schenectady T.V. station, and the ownership of the largest non-rock oriented radio station. Obvious point—THE PEOPLE WHO CONTROL THE NEWS RECEIVE G.E. SALARIES—WHO CONTROLS THE PEOPLE WHO CONTROL THE NEWS?

Further investigation would turn up some interesting facts about G.E.'s relationship to the Union Star, the sole daily mass circulation newspaper; then if by this time you've become interested enough to really start examining the extent to which the capitalist ruling-class rules Schenectady, try G.E.'s policy control of local bank lending and spending, move next to G.E. real estate interests, the G.E. Credit Corp. (an independent?? finance company). Thus we see not only ownership of the means of production but effective control of all aspects of economic life—over 85,000 people directly or indirectly dependent on G.E. for their financial survival—you better believe this is no normal situation—this is feudalism and it's one HELL of a big fief!

## Boot Out the Bureaucrats

Quite obviously there is great dependence in Schenectady on the G.E.

for economic reasons—as a matter of fact, if you tune in Channel 6 the official G.E.B.S.ers will do their best to convince you they control your very existence—try fighting this for a lifetime; if you don't buy it chances are good your wife or kid will and that can be a heavy club man!

As far as Nixon's hurry to back G.E.—witness the existence of the Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory and a nuclear-submarine division of G.E. in Schenectady; both KAPL and the subdivision are managed on a cooperative basis between the G.E. and the U.S. military—is this a too obvious example of Capitalism and Fascism sharing the same bed? All this is done at the expense of the workers and with the tacit complicity of the union leadership. Give the workers all possible credit—they are a truly militant labor force. Give the union leaders no credit; their policy is still obvious in the present strike; they are still operating hand-in-fist with the G.E. to suppress the workers'

struggle. Schenectady G.E. workers should boot the bureaucrats out of a soft bed which has been heated too long with a General Electric blanket.

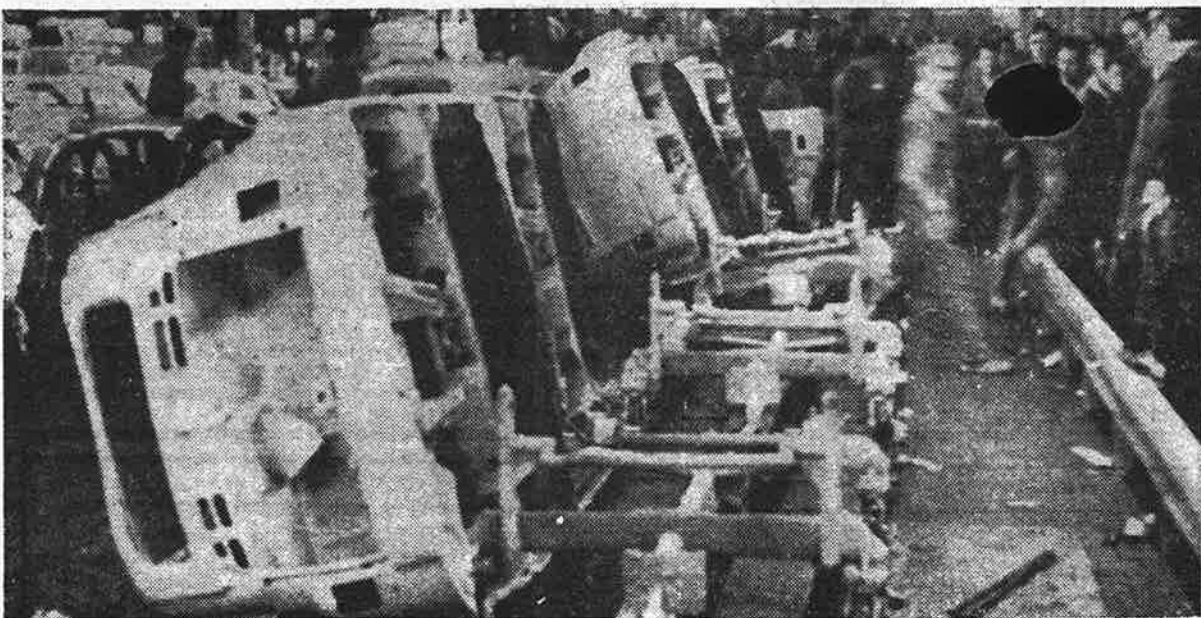
W.W. can help them do this by exposing the true nature of the Local's officers. Schenectady is an extreme representation of monopoly capitalism in miniature—I'm asking you to aid your striking brothers in Schenectady by becoming the magnifying glass which will help the workers gain the real power they are struggling for so valiantly—through this glass will come out the most effective force we have at our disposal to fight the G.E. pigs and opportunist leaders—TRUTH.

Worker's World you've always been right on—stick the pigs in Schenectady!!!

POWER TO THE WORKERS!!!

Yours for the REVOLUTION,

Kurt C. Nichols  
Brighton, Mass.



The general strike is a highly political act by the entire working class, conscious of its strength and essential role in society, against the entire capitalist class. Above, workers overturn and smash autos on the FIAT assembly line in Turin, during Italy's third general strike this year.

## Expanding Empire

by Vincent Copeland

The Global War Drive of  
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