

Black and white, unite and fight for a

# WORKERS WORLD

10¢

VOL. 12, No. 1

January 10, 1970

Women in steel...p.6

Hilliard interview...pp.8-9

With the commandos...p.10

Young Lords...p.15

## The Subways Belong to The People!



...they should be free



The increase is illegal  
Don't pay the fare!

Story on pp.4-5

The Yablonski murder



## Government by assassination: Fascist Terror Strikes Labor

by Sam Marcy

Many years ago, Hugh Byars wrote a book called "Government by Assassination." The book is not about the U.S. Government, although the title seems perfectly fitting. Hugh Byars was the New York Times correspondent in Tokyo for many years and wrote the book shortly after the Japanese militarist-industrialist oligarchy made its plunge into the Second World War.

The book describes in detail the pre-war days when the Japanese ruling class was desperately trying, through its military and especially its naval leaders, to root out all opposition, including those in its own ranks who questioned its plan for the conquest of all Asia and its challenge to Japan's imperialist rivals — Britain, France, and the U.S. — for the domination of the Pacific. As the war fever of the militarists increased, and as the need to maintain a facade of national unity became urgent, indeed imperative, the government resorted more and more to individual political assassinations.

In many ways, the U.S. ruling establishment is faced with an almost identical dilemma. Like the Japanese ruling class, it has a military-industrial complex at its summit which has set itself an impossible goal in world affairs and has roused an opposition which it can only subdue by force and terror. And like its Japanese counterpart, the U.S. ruling class has resorted to individual assassination as a means of quieting opposition at home in order to succeed in its mad projects abroad.

It is almost seven years since the

assassination of President Kennedy. His violent death is regarded by the entire world as a political assassination that came strictly from within the establishment. Since then, there have been numerous assassinations of prominent individuals, among them Malcolm X, Robert Kennedy, Martin Luther King and Fred Hampton. The assassinations extend to any and all who offer an obstacle in the way of the unbridled course toward mad, imperialist war abroad and rampant, uncontrolled repression at home.

The Yablonski assassination is singularly significant because it is the first time that this tendency has reached down to the ranks of the labor hierarchy which has, until very recently, been regarded as absolutely safe, submissive, and amenable to whatever the ruling summits of the imperialist establishment have laid out for them in the way of pursuing broad political objectives of the ruling class in foreign and domestic policy.

Everlasting class peace:  
an illusion

For more than two decades the imperialist establishment has regarded the working class not as a class, in the social sense of that term, but as a bourgeois economic category, like its other mythical categories such as commerce, industry, capital, the consumer, etc. The long years of the witchhunt and the docility and crass opportunism of the leadership of the labor movement has not destroyed the irreconcilable

(Continued on page 2)



# Government by assassination: Fascist Terror Strikes at Labor

(Continued from page 1)

antagonism between the ruling class and the working class but merely driven it underground and created the illusion of everlasting class peace.

But the ravages of inflation, as evidenced by the skyrocketing cost of living, the inability of wage increases to, in any way, keep up with price increases, and the slow but sure awakening of the masses to the intimate connection between economic hardships and the Vietnam war are bringing to the surface sure signs of a growing insurgency and militancy from the ranks of labor.

Any real challenge by a significant section of the organized workers which would have political overtones would be regarded with the utmost seriousness by the ruling class which finds itself saddled by an imperialist war abroad and a revolutionary struggle by the oppressed people at home. The one thing that the ruling class has tried to safeguard itself against is a revival of class warfare on the scale of the thirties. Such a revival of mass struggles in the context of the present-day predicament of the U.S. ruling class would create a truly profound revolutionary crisis in the country. This is the one thing that has haunted the ruling class ever since it embarked on a campaign of world-wide domination.

## CIA, FBI spy on

### basic-industry unions

It is commonly known that the CIA has subsidized almost all of the top unions in this country at one time or another with the sole purpose of securing "internal peace." Only when the CIA overdid things and went to an extreme in this area, did the imperialist press put the spotlight on one of the dark corners and expose the fact that the CIA has subsidized various international unions such as the UAW, the Newspaper Guild, the ILA, the Seafarers, and, above all, the International Department of the AFL-CIO.

But that is not the most important aspect of the situation. Far more significant is the fact that the large unions that represent the workers in the basic industries, such as steel, auto, railroad, mining, and others, are subject to a special type of government surveillance as part of the internal security program of the U.S. ruling class. This has generally not been publicized but is very well known, in part because the labor leadership has been involved in it and in some cases has enthusiastically collaborated with the government, even to their own detriment.

Aside from the fact that rank-and-file militants, through the strategem of security checks, have been rooted out of so-called sensitive jobs, both the FBI and the CIA are enormous factors in the internal affairs of the large basic-industry unions because the ruling class regards developments in them with the utmost seriousness. The CIA has often boasted of how many deputies it has in this or that parliament, or how many communists they control in various foreign countries, but it has been mum about its operations in the labor movement in order not to embarrass its clients. Except for the exposés in 1964 and 1965, little has been said of what the role of the CIA and FBI really is in the unions in this country. But we can use these limited exposés as a scale of measurement of what their actual intervention really is.

## Top labor leaders in orbit

### of ruling class

The point to be driven home in connection with the assassination of Yablonski is that the mining industry is a key and basic industry in the country and that its leadership has been for many years part and parcel of the establishment. This was so whether the union fought hard or whether it collaborated. Both factions of the union are intimately connected with the government hierarchy and have served in the government for many years. Yablonski himself served in an official capacity in the government from 1934 to 1942 as a representative of the UMW on a government commission.

Because the coal industry is basic and is controlled in turn by the oil and steel barons and ruled by the very summits of U.S. high finance such as the Rockefellers, the Mellons, the Morgans, etc., the UMW leaders have of necessity had long association with top-ranking representatives of the ruling class. As a consequence of this association with the labor leaders, the ruling class has found it to be in their interest to bring these leaders into the orbit of their particular segment of the establishment.

Not only do the top representatives of the ruling class cultivate these special relationships, throwing small favors to them here and there, but as part of the bosses' strategy they also bestow upon these leaders confidences, thereby tying them to the master class and to the establishment on the basis that they are part of the in-group and are bound by certain secrecies which go along with in-group status. These confidences also include questions of broad political policy pursued by the summits of the ruling class. In this way they turn the labor leaders into the political police over the working class, as exemplified by the Gleasons, the Bierne's, the Meany's, etc.

This literally applies to many of the top leaders of the large and powerful unions and this relationship would appear, in the eyes of the philistines, as everlasting and eternal.

This relationship might, in fact, be everlasting were it not for the interference of the class struggle and the contradictions inherent in the laws of capitalist accumulation which slowly but surely brings out class antagonisms into the open and forces the workers to fight regardless of who their leaders may be at the moment. Nowhere is this more true than in the mining industry which is one of the vital arteries in the economic anatomy of the U.S. capitalist system.

## Coal baron prey on weakened

### UMW: force struggle

From a union with more than 500,000 members, the UMW has shrunk to a mere 110,000, according to the union's own figures. This staggering diminution in union strength would be enough by itself to disrupt any relationship between the union leadership and the mining bosses no matter how many ties have been previously created by the establishment to bind the leaders hand and foot. Add to the staggering loss in union membership an even more staggering increase in the productivity per man hour by the miners as a result of technological advances.

Nowhere have the miners gotten the benefits of the increase in the productivity of labor and of the technological advances except for a mere pittance here and there. Furthermore, the advances made in mining technology and available scientific advances in other fields have not been applied to secure the safety and health of the miners. Black lung disease is almost as rampant in the space age as it was half a century ago. Rank-and-file rebellion in the mines is clearly on the order of the day, has been going on sporadically for several years now, and reached an armed stage in Hazard, Kentucky as far back as 1962.

The factional struggle between Yablonski and Boyle is merely a reflection, or to put it more accurately, an anticipation of the coming large-scale rebellions, not only in mining but in other industries, which to one degree or another are beginning to feel the effects of years of accumulated discontent which is slowly breaking out on the surface. Yablonski and Boyle were both labor lieutenants of the imperialist establishment and held in high confidence by the ruling summits of heavy industry. But this idyllic relationship was disrupted by the nature of the completely altered conditions of the workers which were wrought by the savage and insatiable appetite of the mining magnates for unlimited profit and unlimited exploitation.

## Rulers knew details of

### leadership struggle

It was inevitable that one of the two factions would be drawn to play the role of the opposition. Serious factional disputes, even those that are bereft of any issues, have rarely occurred in the large unions that have organized the basic industries. Where disputes have taken place, such as in the steel union where MacDonald was ousted, the respective factional opponents have not stepped out of line so far as the vital interests of the imperialist establishment are concerned. Nor have they sought, as the bosses would see it, to inflame class hatred or direct dissatisfaction into political opposition of a meaningful character. In such cases the CIA and the FBI, and the ruling class that they represent, keep fully informed of the entire internal struggle, have agents in both camps and report to their superiors the progress of the struggle. Which way the weight is to be thrown, that is, to one group or the other, is decided in Washington.

The CIA, on numerous occasions, especially when appropriations come up or whenever they have made a particularly howling blunder somewhere, have revealed how cleverly they intervened in some foreign election and determined its results. Since, according to Marxism, foreign policy is merely an extension of domestic policy, we must assume that the same thing happens at home.

We must assume that the imperialist establishment was keenly aware of the deep and very bitter struggle that was going on in the UMW, that both Yablonski and Boyle were protégés of the establishment, and that the course of the struggle in the UMW forced Yablonski to step out of line a little, to slightly transgress the limits of a naked power struggle in a key industry with a potentially explosive situation that could reverberate throughout the country.

## Yablonski violated establishment "ground rules"

That violence in inter-union warfare in the coal fields has characterized many of the struggles in previous years, is undoubtedly a factor to be taken into consideration. But it is not the explanation at all for the assassination. In the course of the struggle, Yablonski did not rely on the miners alone to beat Boyle. He sought strong support from the liberal establishment. This was symbolized by his having linked up with Ralph Nader and others who have championed progressive causes and in particular

mining safety. Yablonski took an unusually strong stand on mine safety, considering his relations with the mining bosses. And the recent mine safety legislation that was passed, weak as it was, was due to the struggle which he put up.

It is to be noted, however, that his appeal to the miners on this issue was strong, effective, and a departure from the moderate, garden-variety attacks upon the vested interests. In view of the special surveillance by these fink agencies over key unions in basic industries, such as the UMW, both the CIA and the FBI could not but know every detail in the course of the struggle for control of the union. It is impossible that they would have been unaware of the existence of a plot by one faction to assassinate the leader of the other.

It is also to be noted, that although Yablonski lost the election, he was contesting the validity of the results. The Labor Department had dismissed his complaint and he had instituted a suit against the union leadership, the prosecution of which could have resulted in exposures that could implicate elements of the mining establishment who in turn are controlled by the steel and oil barons. With Yablonski silenced, the effectiveness of any exposure is minimal. Along with Boyle, Yablonski was high in the confidence of the establishment. Yablonski's slight transgression from the ground rules laid down by the invisible infrastructure of the government is what led to the assassination.

## Mineworkers ripe for

### full scale rebellion

The situation in the coal fields is ripe for mass opposition to the do-nothing policy of Boyle's leadership. With unemployment high, with conditions in the mines deteriorating, and with mass poverty generally surrounding the entire Appalachian country, a militant appeal by Yablonski could have aroused genuine mass opposition of the miners and galvanized them against Boyle's clique to the extent that favorable election results for Boyle could turn out to be nothing but a Pyrrhic victory.

If anyone had the present authority to open a real struggle of the miners, it was Yablonski. If anyone had the knowledge and the ability to contest the Boyle leadership, to try the newer, non-traditional methods of approach, and to embark on a campaign of arousing rather than squelching the miners' will to struggle, it was Yablonski. Clearly, the reigning lords of high finance who run the coal industry no longer had anything to gain from Yablonski. If by posing as an opposition and threatening to expose and fight the establishment, Yablonski posed a danger to the ruling class, then they would much sooner get rid of him than face a long period of agitation. That is the classic approach of the police mind in the face of social unrest. They always think that by suppressing the symptoms they will cure the disease. That is the pattern they followed in the previous assassinations. It is not that the bosses are for Boyle just because they were against Yablonski. It is just that they are opposed to anyone who incites militancy among the workers. They would dump Boyle in a minute, especially if he becomes too discredited.

Unquestionably the capitalist press will be filled with all sorts of leads to assassins, perhaps some scapegoat or hired thug will be found to merely divert attention and to convey the impression that all that was involved was an intra-union struggle for power between individual leaders.

The truth of the matter is that the bourgeoisie has finally caught on to the drift of events in the whole country, and their greatest fear is that the mood of fight, which first hit the campuses, then large sections of the population, especially the youth throughout the country, and finally reached millions of people of the older generation now threatens to reach down to the fundamental class upon which capitalist society rests.

The mine union has always been a bellweather of a sort, a harbinger of things to come. The bourgeoisie has never gotten over the fact that the UMW originally supplied the money, much of the knowhow, the organizational skill, and the inspiration in organizing the CIO and took the initiative in inviting thousands of progressive and radical youth to help in the struggle to organize the working class against the bosses. It is important to note that Yablonski had over 2,000 young people recruited from college campuses to act as poll watchers during the election in areas under the control of the Boyle leadership.

The ruling class has seen the handwriting on the wall. The assassination of Yablonski is a warning by the ruling class to other labor leaders, inside and outside the establishment. Like their Japanese counterparts who were caught in an insoluble contradiction arising out of their insatiable appetite for world conquest and who could not deal with the situation at home except by political assassination, the U.S. rulers are intent in presenting to the world a second edition of government by assassination. The pursuit of this trend by the ruling class will make them subject to the same fate as Tojo and his cohorts, only this time, the entire structure of finance capital will come crashing down upon their heads as the result of a victorious proletarian revolution.



# Brass instigate Bircher-Hargis attack on ASU

By D. Stacey

"Reds Unionize U.S. Army" reads the blurb on the cover of the December issue of American Opinion, magazine of the John Birch Society. The article, written by a former Chicago cop in the Police "Intelligence" Squad named David Gumaer, is an attack on the American Servicemen's Union and its program of organizing rank-and-file GIs to fight the brass. At the same time, a similar Red-baiting attack on the ASU under the title "Communist Infiltration of the Military" appeared in the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, a neo-fascist publication of the evangelist Billy James Hargis.

These two "exposes" of the growing influence of the militant soldiers' union have obviously been orchestrated by the brass itself, which is deathly afraid of the specter of rank-and-file power. Fearing to engage the union in a frontal attack, the military has got its friends on the far right to spearhead a campaign against the ASU.

Its public image shattered by the revelations of massacres in Vietnam and corruption at home, the military is on the defensive. Mass opposition to the war, the dynamic militancy of the black liberation struggle, and the general disaffection of the youth have all contributed to putting the brass on the spot. Now is not the time, they evidently feel, to carry out an open campaign against the Union. But they are so alarmed at the impressive growth of the ASU that they have prompted their right-wing civilian allies to initiate the attack.

## Got briefing from Army pigs

The article in the Birch Society magazine admits in so many words that the author was briefed by the military brass. "According to reports from Military Intelligence," writes the ex-cop, the ASU "has declared in secret session that its agents are working for disintegration of the armed forces through democratization." What a telling statement! It reveals both the close association that exists between the Army's political police and the right-wing and their mutual fear of democracy within the armed forces — i.e., power in the hands of the enlisted men.

A further step in this brass-directed fascist campaign was to get Rep. John Rarick to read the American Opinion article into the Congressional Record. The Louisiana Congressman, an open supporter of Wallace in the 1968 Presidential Campaign, concluded his remarks by saying, "Because the situation as presented in the Gumaer article is so serious, I include its text in my remarks and urgently suggest that the Committee on Armed Services, the Com-

## ASU organizer signed up whole unit: Union saves him from Vietnam

Ken Dupre is a marine organizer for the American Servicemen's Union. He was stationed at Kaneohe Marine Air Station in Hawaii, where he signed up his entire unit into the ASU — 60 men!

He is currently in the brig on Treasure Island, California, awaiting discharge. The brass had attempted to send Ken to Vietnam for a second time, because of his organizing activities. The ASU intervened and prevented Dupre from being shipped out.

We print a statement he wrote from prison.

Since its inception, the American Servicemen's Union has been battling the brass who run the American Military Establishment in an effort to eliminate the gross injustices and to secure for the enlisted men our basic human rights. This incident is just another skirmish in the war against oppression.

On Friday the 5th of December, the Military attempted to shang-hai me off to a war which it knows I consider both immoral and illegal. I feel that the underlying reasons for this action by the military were twofold. First of all because of my activities in organizing for the American Servicemen's Union and secondly because of my personal convictions against the war in Vietnam. It was a poor attempt to destroy part of the ASU.

They mistakenly thought that by eliminating me they could silence part of the movement. They were wrong. When I am arrested, or when I turn myself in, I will be taken out of the picture for a while, but not forever. I will continue to rap against military injustice, racism, and the war in Vietnam.

## EMs are organizing

All over the country enlisted men in the Armed Forces are organizing and demanding their rights. A man need no longer stand alone in his fight against the injustices in the military.

While participating in Moratorium Activities here in Hawaii during the weekend of November 14-15, I learned that my Command had placed me in an AWOL status. When I returned to the base on Monday morning some friends told me that the brass was planning to put me in the brig for "Safekeeping."

It was then that I decided to go AWOL and meet with ASU leaders in New York to discuss some of the aspects in organizing the Union.

I left Hawaii on November 20. I never made it to New York. I was arrested by Naval Intelligence in Minneapolis on November 21. I was booked into Hennepin County Jail for being AWOL. I was held there until December 3, when I was awakened by the guards, taken out of my cell and escorted by two M.P.'s in civilian clothes to Great Lakes Naval Brig in Illinois. The next morning I was flown to Camp Pendleton, California. Because the brig there was overcrowded I was placed in a restricted status and had a guard placed on me. On December 5, I was taken to Regimental Headquarters where I was told that I would not be returning to Hawaii to face charges and that I was going to Vietnam.

## ASU chapter alerted

I was allowed to read an order they had from Marine Corps Headquarters in Washington. This order stated that I was to be delivered under guard to Camp Butler, Okinawa, and further that I was to be delivered under guard to the Commanding General of the 1st Marine Air Wing in Vietnam.

I immediately notified the Hawaii chapter of ASU of my situation. Exactly what happened in the next few hours I don't know exactly, except that now I know that the American Servicemen's Union had secured a Congressional Hold for me.

The Marine Corps did not inform me of this. They told me that my orders had been a mistake and that I was really going to be delivered to my Command in Hawaii. Naturally knowing how the Fascist Machinery of the Military Establishment works I did not believe them and felt that as long as I stayed there I was much too vulnerable to the brass. So I decided to leave again, make my way back to Hawaii on my own and turn myself in to my Command to face charges.

My story is not a new one by any means. The Brass uses these Gestapo techniques more and more often as the movement within the military grows. They go to the extreme in their attempts to silence and destroy us. They will not succeed!

We shall continue the struggle, continue to organize, and continue to demand our basic human rights!

Issued by The American Servicemen's Union  
N.Y. Office: 156 Fifth Ave., Room 538  
(212) 675-6780  
Hawaii Office: 1434 Makaloa St., Room 9  
Honolulu, Hawaii



Billy James Hargis: He and Robert Welch have been fed anti-ASU propaganda by the brass. These fascists got their racist, right wing friends in Congress to read anti-ASU article into the Congressional Record.

mittee on Internal Security, or a select committee conduct an immediate investigation into all the allegations."

## Racist attack on black GIs

This barely concealed attack by the brass against the unionized EM relies on the most fascist and racist elements. The American Opinion article starts off with a scurrilous attack on black GIs, talking about "roving bands of black revolutionaries," "black militants (with) toothpicks thrust through their earlobes," and moans that "all over South Vietnam the Communist Black Panthers and Black Muslims have stirred bloody dissension, spreading the Red contagion throughout the military command." To the racist brass and its congressional counterparts, the ASU demand for "the right of black- and brown-skinned servicemen to determine their own lives free from the oppression of any racist whites" is one of the most chilling planks in the union platform. It is no wonder that this attack on the ASU was supported by Mr. Rarick, who risked expulsion from the Democratic Party to campaign for Wallace and who went to Rhodesia last year to meet personally with Ian Smith, the butcher of so many black Africans.

There can also be no doubt about the thoroughly fascist character of this attack on the ASU. The Gumaer article rewrites history in one sentence, claiming that "when the German legions suddenly invaded Russia, literally millions were rejoicing at their imminent liberation from the Communists...." He doesn't add that 20 million Russians were exterminated by the "liberators" from Nazi Germany. As a matter of fact, he leaves the little matter of Nazism out completely.

## Militarists, fascists in close cahoots

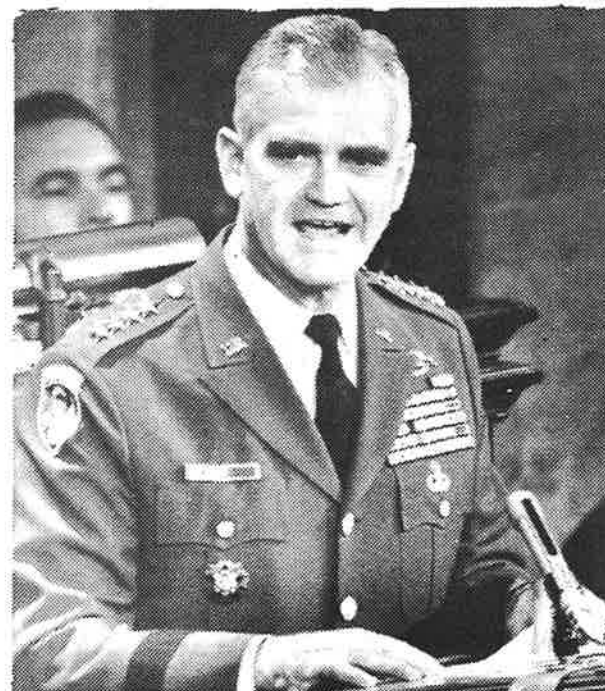
The closest ties exist between the American neo-fascists and a powerful section of the military brass. Congressman Rarick, for instance, last summer spoke at the annual convention of Hargis' Christian Anti-Communist Crusade along with Gen. Edwin Walker, Gen. Richard B. Moran, Gen. Clyde Watts, and Lt. Col. Jack Mohr.

Walker is the general who indoctrinated American troops under his command in Germany with fascist propaganda.

All these top-ranking members of the brass are retired, of course, as is Charles Edison, a former Secretary of the Navy who now serves as a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of American Opinion. However, these men keep their contacts with the active-duty brass up to date through membership in various military and veterans organizations.

It should also be kept in mind that Wallace's running mate, Gen. Curtis LeMay, was formerly a member of the

(Continued on page 13)



Top Brass Westmoreland: Army brass is afraid to open up a public attack on the ASU themselves. So they instigated the Birch Society and other right-wing organizations to pressure Congress to start an anti-ASU witchhunt.



# On the role of the capitalist state as an exploiter

## The subways belong to the people!

Millions of people who are outraged at the extortionate subway fare increase in New York City find themselves at the moment powerless to oppose it. The reason for this lies in the hidden function of the capitalist state as an exploiter of the mass of the people as distinguished from its role as an instrument of suppression and oppression.

Millions of workers who are willing to grant that an individual employer is nothing but a capitalist and an exploiter interested only in profit, do not, as a result of decades of big business propaganda, realize that the state is nothing more than the collective rule of all the big capitalists.

The evolution of the New York transit system from a privately owned capitalist enterprise into a publicly owned, government-operated transportation system is a clear illustration of this.

More than half a century ago, the N.Y. transit system was owned by a group of individual capitalists in which the Morgans and the Rockefellers alternately had very large and preponderant interests. The fare was 5¢, the wages were as low as the bosses could get them and they had the right to hire and fire at will. There was no question that the industrialists and financiers who owned and operated the system exploited the transit workers to the nth degree and milked the millions of subway riders out of as many millions of dollars as they could. But one thing they dared not do was raise the fare. To do so would invite the wrath of the public and mobilize millions of people against the financiers and the industrialists. In particular, the Rockefellers and the Morgans would have become the direct target of the people's anger.

Instead they let the subways decay and criminally neglected to maintain and repair the transit facilities as needed. Also they dumped upon the government a wide variety of bonds, for which the government, through financial jugglery, ultimately assumed responsibility.

### Private capitalists feared people; could not raise fare

The significant point that stands out in all this, however, is that as long as the private company owned and controlled the transit system, they found it impossible for more than half a century to increase the fare from 5¢.

No fare increase for more than half a century! Why? Because of generosity of the bankers and bosses? To ask the question is to answer it. Or was it because the cost of living was stable and stationary? On the contrary, the cost of living was steadily rising then and the purchasing power of the dollar was declining then too, but not so sharply as now. Why then no increase?

In one way the answer is almost ridiculously obvious, and yet in another sense it is deeply camouflaged. It is the fear on the part of the capitalists and their servants of a collision with the people, a fear that ever haunts them, and never leaves them. It is never openly admitted, rarely alluded to, but is an ever present factor in the relationship between the ruling class and the ruled.

This is the crux of the matter and is carefully hidden by the capitalist media today. A way had to be found to increase the fare—that is, to rob the masses of the people in a way which would relieve

the capitalists of the responsibility and remove them as the target of the wrath of the masses, while nevertheless retaining and increasing their profits.

### "Government ownership"

#### — collective capitalist rule

The device concocted by the capitalists goes under the palatable name of "government ownership and operation of the transit system." This did not come about until the early 1940s.

So-called socialists, progressives, radicals and liberals of all sorts had unwittingly become the chief propagandists for this idea. In the meantime, even people who called themselves Marxists at the time forgot to point out what is the most elementary teaching of Marxism on the nature of the state; namely, that government take-over of any privately owned enterprise or industry under capitalism merely means the transfer of the ownership from an individual or group of individual capitalists to the collective rule of the capitalists. It simply means the transfer gets the sanction of the whole capitalist class through the capitalist state.

In the eyes of the people, however, it seemed that the fare, as well as the wages of the workers, would be safer in the hands of politicians elected by the people than under the arbitrary rule of the industrialists.

### Politicians also fear people; voted down increase

The truth, however, was that the transfer of the transit facilities to the government was merely a screen and a camouflage through which the bankers and the industrialists have ever since operated. And the first real result of government ownership of the transit system was a 5¢ increase in the fare. The underlying significance of this increase was that the City Council had never voted for it. The first effort to raise the City fare in 1946 to 8¢ was roundly defeated by a vote of 18 to 2, and all three mayoral candidates were obliged to pledge themselves to maintain the 5¢ fare.

The most important aspect of this political development was that the city politicians had found as much difficulty in bucking the people on the fare increase as the individual capitalists, and at election time especially of course, they feared to do it. Fear of the mass of the people was the underlying factor in holding the fare down to 5¢. A medium had to be found for the capitalists' politicians to divest themselves of responsibility so that they would not be the subject of the opposition of the people.

### Creation of MTA sold out the people to bankers

It did not take long before the City Council created the Transit Authority sometime in 1953 which was a subtle device to take the Mayor and the City Council off the hook. At the same time, they gave this Authority the right to increase the fare subject to some conditions vague enough for the Mayor, the Governor and even the State Legislature to claim lack of responsibility.

Today, the fare is regulated and the transit system is operated through a combination of the Transit Authority and the Metropolitan Transit

.....  
*"The transit system was built by the people. It is run by the people. It is the people who ride on it. It is the people who pay for it. The people should take it into their own hands and see to it that all of the people ride freely on it."*  
 .....

Authority. In the minds of the people, it is these agencies who seem to have the final say on the fare increase, but the truth is really quite different. The transit system was taken over by the City and is owned by the City. The delegation of this basic and elementary right of the people to run their facilities cannot legally be delegated to an autonomous body.

How strange it is that this elementary fact is not posed this way. In reality the TA, the MTA and even the State Legislature have no right to raise the fare. Only the City Council and the Mayor have that right, and by giving it away to unelected officials, appointed by the bankers—and who are bankers themselves—they have expropriated politically one of the most basic and elementary rights of the people.

The fare increase is illegal and unconstitutional because the politicians, whom the people elected, in reality sold out the peoples' right to own and operate the subways and buses in accordance with their needs. One should ask the City Council why it didn't give away their right to set their own salaries. The Transit Authority and the Metropolitan Transit Authority are stooges of bankers and industrialists, nominated by Wall St. banks, the Commerce and Industry Association, the Chamber of Commerce and the chief financiers of the big department stores in New York.

We thus see that the transfer of a private enterprise to the government is merely a device to put into the hands of the collective ruling class, mostly the banks, what the people thought would belong to them. In the minds of the people, what the government owns belongs to the people. But in reality, what belongs to the government is actually owned by the ruling class and operated by the politicians in their behalf.

### Bourgeois nationalization strengthens exploitation

The transfer of individual ownership to government ownership under capitalism strengthens the rule of capitalism over the mass of the people rather than weakens it.

The strategem, this political trick of government ownership, actually a gimmick, is not a local phenomenon of New York City, but a national and international one.

The British coal mines were nationalized. This meant fabulous profits for the coal barons, greater hardship for the coal miners, and the power of the entire capitalist state of Britain poised against the coal miners. The same thing happened in

(Continued on next page)





## DEMONSTRATE!

No Increase!

Abolish the Fare!

Tax the Banks!

Cancel the Debt!

Living Wage for TA Workers!

WED. JAN. 14 4-6 PM

TA Office 1700 B'way, 54 St.

# YAWF leads way over and under the turnstiles

By Deirdre Griswold

A little old lady crouched low, holding onto her hat so that it wouldn't be brushed off as she squirmed under the turnstile. She had handed her purse to the young girl in blue jeans on the other side, who was shouting "Don't pay the fare!" Safely on the other side, the woman retrieved her purse, smiled at the girl in exhilaration, and said, "I'm with you kids on this one!"

And that's the way it was at 14th Street, 34th Street, Grand Central, Times Square — all over midtown Manhattan this week as squads from Youth Against War & Fascism fanned out and liberated the subway stations. The response of the thousands of passengers who welcomed the young militants, swarmed through held-open exits and slid under or vaulted over the turnstiles, was so overwhelming that it was hard for even us optimistic revolutionaries to believe.

There was a spirit of rebellion in the air, and it was so general that it cut across all the ethnic, age and social categories of subway riders.

### All it took was to do it

The working people of New York, for whom a trip down the escalators to the subways each day is like a ride to Hades, have been boiled, buffeted, squashed and trampled on for years. Somehow they've survived without a mass freak-out. But the fare increase this week really did it. All it took was a spark — and that spark was provided by the YAWF militants.

The first liberation squad struck at 14th Street on Monday at 4:30. The program was like this: first there was a street corner rally and a press conference at the entrance in front of May's department store. Meanwhile, leaflets with a boldly lettered "Don't Pay the Fare!" on one side and a text explaining the fare swindle on the other were passed out at subway entrances throughout the area.

Bright yellow banners with the above-mentioned slogan and also "The Subways Belong to the People" bobbed in the air. People immediately gathered around the speaker and the banners. A

dozen or so street kids joined and began agitating people going in not to pay the fare.

After 15 or 20 minutes of agitation, we marched down into the subway. The banners led the charge through the exit doors. People began slithering under the turnstiles. The press appeared inside the toll gates (had they paid?) and trained their klieg lights on the more daring youths who were jumping over. The noise was terrific, but the chant, "Don't pay the fare!" rose above it all. Mysteriously, one of the exit gates was chained open. The people arriving in the station from the street sized up the situation quickly and, with a smile, poured through.

### Working people mad

This reporter wanted to see what the ordinary working person was thinking and interviewed a dozen of the people who were just standing and watching the scene. Their opinion was unanimous.

"The fare increase is a hassle. People ought to do something about it." "The 30 cent fare? It's terrible. Just terrible. Makes it so it hardly pays to go to work." "It stinks!"

When the cops came, the squads moved out, first to other stations on 14th Street, then up to the midtown area. The response was the same everywhere. All it took was a few people to hold open a gate and others with banners urging the crowd through. Their first moment of hesitation was replaced by a rush of pride as they came through. They'd done it — broken the law, a bad law. And it felt good!

The next two days, this scene was repeated again and again. On Tuesday and Wednesday, however, some arrests were made as Lindsay began getting worried that an explosive mass movement was underway. Yet even when the pigs were hustling our people out of the subways in handcuffs, the spirit of the crowd didn't change. Mike Gimbel of YAWF was having the cuffs put on by a nervous pig. A group of elderly women gathered around, hassling the cop. "Don't you hit him! We're watching you." Others called out, "He didn't do

anything. What are you arresting him for?"

The City had tried at first to ignore the demonstrations. A radio newscaster reporting on the Monday night Union Square action commented wryly that the police claimed they hadn't known about the demonstration, yet every newsman in town had been there. And it was true that the police didn't arrive for at least 15 minutes, even though the action had been preceded by a street corner rally replete with banners and sound equipment.

The City was also obviously trying to keep the arrests down so that the extent of the mass resistance wouldn't be too obvious. Many people were apprehended, even handcuffed, taken out of the subway station and then released.

### TA workers show support

The attitude of the subway workers was one of either silent neutrality or open sympathy. Those who had read the leaflets must have noticed that the demonstrators supported the wage increase for the workers and explained to the public that this was not the cause for the fare rise. The workers showed they appreciated this.

On Tuesday and Wednesday people had seen the previous demonstrations on TV and in the papers and recognized what was going on immediately. As soon as the gates were held open in places like 34th Street, there would be a stampede toward these "exits." A number of Puerto Rican youth who joined one squad moving from station to station translated for their compatriots. "No pague el tren," they shouted.

Not only the masses of the city were exhilarated by this blow against one aspect of their daily oppression. People in the movement who have felt stale-mated by the cops were also tremendously impressed. One girl threw her arms around this reporter and beamed, "This is beautiful. This is what the movement has to do to get to the people!"

## —Subways belong to the people

(Continued from preceding page)

Belgium, the same in France with the railroad workers, etc.

While the individual capitalist can do only so much to exploit the particular group of workers under his dominion, the intervention of the capitalist state under so-called government ownership really supplements and intensifies the exploitation of an entire city by means such as a city-wide fare increase — which the individual capitalist could not do. This money taken from the workers is then paid out to the banks in ever-increasing rates of interest on bonds and other devices aimed at further intensification of broad exploitation.

Furthermore, the elected capitalist politicians in

an explosive issue like this, cowardly to the marrow of their bones in the face of such massive popular opposition, conspired with New York State legislators, with Rockefeller and with the leading group from the banking fraternity to create a hodge-podge of independent agencies such as the MTA and the TA where they absolve themselves of responsibility of the fare increase, and convey the impression of utter helplessness to stop it.

It should also be noted that this fare increase was made secretly without the elementary constitutional right to a public hearing where the stooges of the bankers and the industrialists could be confronted by the masses. The U.S. Congress supposedly is the only legal body that has the constitutional right to declare war. But when it illegally delegated this authority over to the President, millions upon millions of people awoke to the fact that this predatory imperialist war was in fact illegal and a gross violation of the ruling class' own laws. So the people of New York in like manner need to be awakened to the fact that

the legal right to own and run the facilities through what they thought were their elected representatives was delegated away, really given away — or to put it more precisely — sold out, to a group of non-elected stooges, appointed by the financial-industrial complex of New York.

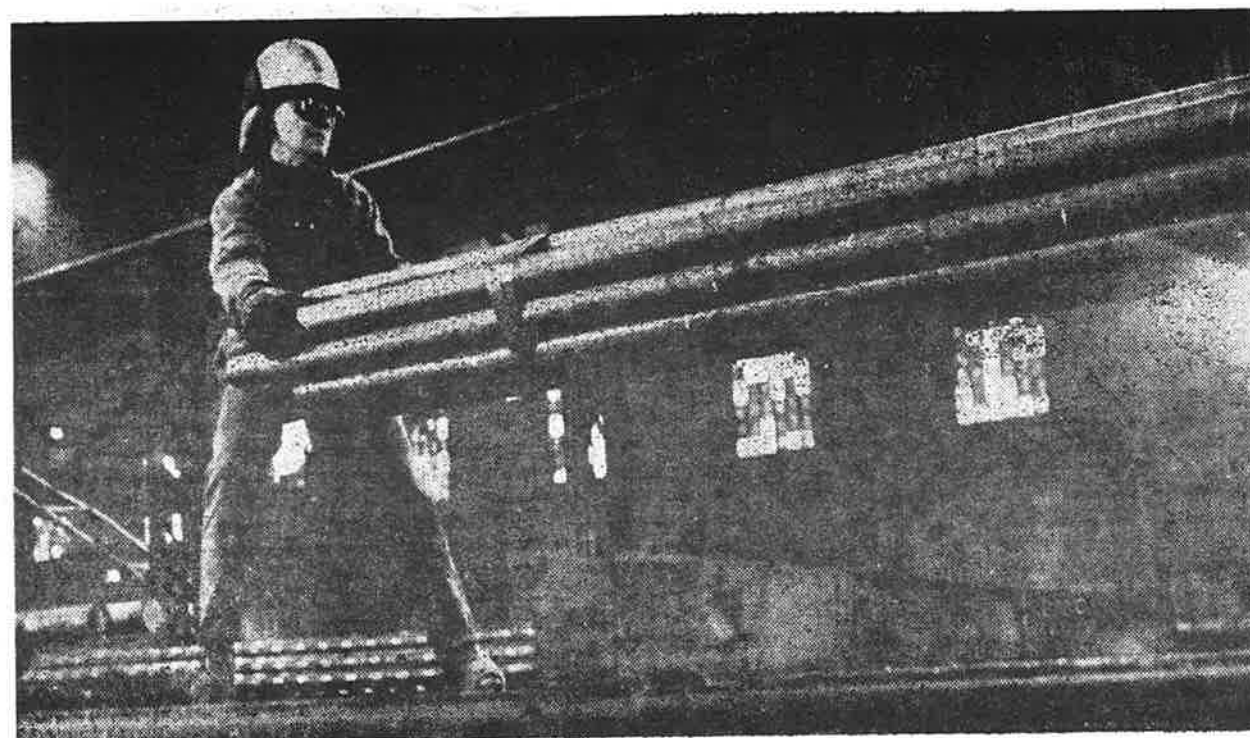
From this it follows that the mass of the people have every right to take the transit facilities into their hands since their elected officials have wantonly, criminally, and illegally given their right away to an autonomous, non-elected clique of stooges for the bankers without consulting the people through a referendum which originally was intended under law as a form of brake on any fare increase.

The transit system was built by the people. It is run by the people. It is the people who ride on it. It is the people who pay for it. The people should take it into their own hands and see to it that all of the people ride freely on it.

By Sam Marcy

January 4, 1970





Woman steelworker guides steel bars on to a flatbed truck.

# WOMEN IN STEEL

By Naomi Goldstein

Late last summer the TV stations in Buffalo, N.Y. rushed their cameramen down to the huge Republic Steel plant to shoot some of the new employees—they were women. In typical chauvinist fashion, the media covered the story as if it was a kind of joke. But the need for women to demand their right to do equal work with men for equal pay is dead serious. And, as a recent New York Times article on the subject revealed, many of the women are serious about becoming permanent steelworkers.

The story began in August when Republic Steel started to take women applicants. After the story broke in the press, Buffalo's steel plants were flooded with applications from women seeking jobs. Of these, one hundred were hired at Republic and about 50 at Bethlehem Steel. The hiring of women in the steel industry was the first since World War II.

During the war, women made up 10 to 15 per cent of the steel labor force. The "gentlemanly" steel bosses put them on the heaviest and dirtiest jobs, too. The Times article of December 28 conveniently claims that after the war the women fully intended to quit and go back to their "typewriters" and "kitchens." But the truth of the matter is that women in the plants were summarily thrown out of work after the war.

At Bethlehem Steel in Buffalo, at least 1,000 women steelworkers were laid off at the end of the war regardless of seniority rights. This was done without a peep of protest coming from the labor bureaucrats in the steel union.

## Govt. sent women home

A calculated campaign was launched by the monopolists and the government to send women back to household drudgery after their first taste of equality on the job. Not only were women laid off, but the government closed the extensive children's day care centers set up during the war. This meant that many working mothers had to leave their jobs and resume lives of petty housework and isolation.

The government's closing of the day care centers was a terrible blow to every working woman. The ruling class had used them during the war, then discarded them. After the women proved that they could do equal work with men, and after they were freed from the home by the day care centers, they were summarily sent back to their even more slavish lives. The action clearly exposed the capitalist government's role as an enforcer of chauvinism and inequality for women.

Twenty-five years after women were first allowed equal status with men on the job (and then it was only due to the war crisis), a handful of women have gone back to the steel plants, proving once again that women can do the same work as men. And the flood of applications to the steel plants shows that women, once given the chance, are willing and able to do the job.

To many middle class women it may be perplexing that women should want to take on such hard, dirty work. But one need only understand the plight of working class women to grasp the situation. Most working women are forced into the lowest paying jobs as servants, waitresses, clerks or typists. "Woman's work" in laundries and hotel kitchens is often heavier and more difficult than a factory job. But job discrimination against all women has meant that they are kept at the bottom of the pay scale.

Under capitalism, all work is wage slavery. But a woman who works only in the home is even worse off than a wage slave. Instead of having a portion of her labor power stolen by a boss, her work is totally unpaid for and unrecognized as socially useful. As long as capitalism exists, workers can only improve their condition by bargaining for a better cut of the value they produce. So, when a woman leaves the home, or leaves a low paying job at so-called "woman's work," she is materially improving her condition, even if it still means exploitation and doing rough and dirty work.

## Equal jobs for equal pay

To a woman, the new steelworkers in Buffalo said they took the jobs for the money. Now they are earning between \$120 and \$140 a week, almost twice the pay of an office worker in Buffalo. With a few exceptions, they do most of

the jobs in the plants. The Times article described how one 24-year-old woman was using a long poker to pull steel bars, some of them weighing over 100 pounds, off a finishing line. After a six-week probation the women are eligible to join the United Steelworkers union.

According to the Times report, the women were hired "because of an extreme labor shortage in the Buffalo area." This seems to be a flimsy reason, since there is a large black community in Buffalo which, like all other black communities, suffers from chronic unemployment as a result of racist hiring practices.

## Why were they hired?

Why, then, were the women hired? Certainly, after 25 years of solid chauvinism, the steel barons haven't relented under pressure from the women's liberation movement (not yet, anyway). It could be that the bosses are reluctant to hire more black workers because of their rising militancy. It could be that the bosses feel it is a wise tactic to break up the workers into three rather than two distinct groups—white men, black men, and women—thus breaking down further the workers' solidarity. Perhaps they are counting on the women to only keep their jobs for short periods of time and thus build up less seniority than the men do.

Whatever the reasons may have been, the bosses hired the women in the interest of profits. But they may be in for a big surprise. The women may not give up their newly gained position so easily. Women can be galvanized into a militant caucus too.

## Women's solidarity and struggle

Once in the plants, the women will get the experience of working with men on an equal basis. For many it will be their first union experience. Faced with ridicule from the men, they will be forced to fight chauvinism and demand equal treatment. Entering the plants will open up a whole new arena of struggle for women to be involved in. And struggle breeds consciousness.

During the industrial revolution, women were brought into the factories under the harshest and most inhuman conditions. They worked 16 hours a day in the earliest capitalist sweatshops. Yet the very act of leaving the home and joining the productive forces in society was a great step forward. It meant a break with the encrusted patriarchal system; women got out from under household slavery for the first time to gain a degree of independence by working.

The same is true today. Going into the dirty, hard work in the steel mills will be another step forward in spite of the hardships. It is a concrete step towards equality and, coming at a time of a general rising consciousness among women, holds the possibility for much greater struggles in the future.



Black woman attaches links from steel boxes to hook of a crane. She is doing the same work as the men.





Women form the front ranks of this group of workers who voted to strike the huge GE plant in Erie, Penna. In Cleveland up to 60 per cent of the strikers are women. Is a woman's caucus at GE on the agenda?

## Women's liberation reaches out to GE women strikers

CLEVELAND—With the GE strike in its second month already, many aspects of the struggle are becoming topics for discussion in the youth movement generally. One aspect that has not come to the fore in the course of the strike, however, is the role of women. Yet in this city between 50 and 60 percent of the GE strikers are women!

This fact may come as a surprise to many people, but when a local group of women active in Women's Liberation heard it, they decided to invite several of the GE women to a meeting to discuss their role in the struggle, their jobs and their special problems as working women. The discussion took place in mid-December and turned out to be a very fruitful meeting of the two groups.

Six union women, all over 35, with families and also responsibilities in the UE and IUE, came to talk with a dozen or so young women, between 18 and 25, from Women's Liberation. The union women all came from different plants in the Cleveland area and had different experiences to relate. But they were all similar in their articulate expression of militant trade unionism and activism in their locals.

One woman, who had come from a GE plant in Conneaut, Ohio, was the secretary of her local union (UE) and had, just a week before, taken part in the strike negotiations in New York City. (This is very unusual since the union has no official women negotiators.) The other five were from different shops in Local 707 of the IUE. Several were shop stewards and

officers in their local.

### Women protest discrimination

The chairwoman opened the meeting by saying that this was a women's organization, interested in women's problems. The discussion needed no prodding. There was a stream of questions that the younger women had about a host of things—down to a description of what the GE women did on their jobs. The six women laughed as one described, for example, how she painted Christmas tree lights.

The most pressing problem that the women faced on the job, they felt, was the discrimination against them in job ratings. Women are not allowed to progress beyond Rate 15 on the job scale, whereas men can go much higher. In essence, the jobs are divided into two categories—one for men and one for women. And unskilled men earn more than women doing skilled work.

Women are kept from learning electricians' skills because the company refuses to train them on the job. The union women all expressed their anger at being paid less than men for doing similar work. They were also unanimous in the belief that women work because they have to in order to make ends meet.

### Each one an activist

The trade union consciousness of the women was very high. Not one of them had fallen for the massive propaganda campaign which GE has launched in an attempt to get the strikers back

to work. In fact, one of the women read aloud to the group GE's step by step schedule for breaking the strike, which included a series of letters and phone calls to all the workers, cruelly reminding them of the hardships of the strike, what a dismal Christmas it would be without money, etc. Of course, this kind of propaganda is calculated to fall hardest on the women, who are more tied down by the problems of the children and family and are generally stuck with the responsibility for making ends meet in the home.

The group was shocked to learn that in addition to the low pay (two dollars and change an hour), the fringe benefits are quite meager. The women pointed out that they are covered by Metropolitan Life Insurance because of GE's economic interest in Metropolitan.

All six women have taken an active part in the boycott of GE products. They described their experiences leafleting outside of stores. One woman, originally from North Carolina, observed that the two groups of people who always take leaflets are the college students, who think it is some kind of protest, as she put it, and the black people, who have so many problems.

The women have also been active in manning the picket lines. It was interesting to learn that some of the striking men have been able to get jobs during the strike because of their electrical skills. But because women are kept on the production line in the lowest paying jobs, they can't find work so easily. (It is a union rule that a worker must serve at least 8 hours on the picket line to collect

the weekly \$24 strike benefits.) The women have also organized a strike kitchen to feed people on the picket lines.

In general, the idea of holding separate women's caucuses was a new one to the striking women when it was raised by the women's group (although the speakers did recognize the fact that the men do not understand women's special problems). But then, many of the experiences of the working women were altogether new to the others.

### Lesson for Women's Liberation

The discussion ended on a constructive note. One of the listeners asked, what can we do to help you? The answer was to help with the boycott. Almost all the women in the room signed up for leafletting duty and have subsequently helped give out leaflets along with the strikers. They were also invited to bring signs saying that their organization supports the GE strikers.

For the young women, most of whom only had experience in the anti-war and Woman's Liberation movements, the meeting was a real eye-opener. It was clearly the kind of discussion that is desperately needed to bring the women's movement into concert with the crying needs of millions of women who now make up well over one third of the labor force.

Only through such cooperation and exchange of ideas, and then through shared experiences and struggles, will the women's liberation movement be able to gain the confidence and respect of the very women it must help free.



The following uncut interview is from CBS's "Face the Nation," broadcast December 28, 1969. The interviewers are George Herman and Ike Pappas of CBS News and Bernard Nossiter of the Washington Post.

MR. HERMAN: Mr. Hilliard, the clashes between the Black Panther leaders and the police are now the subject of at least three investigations, one by the Justice Department, one by a group of black Congressmen, and one by a group headed by former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark. What do you hope for from any or all of these investigations?

MR. HILLIARD: We hope that these investigations will serve as a convincing indictment against the oppressive United States government and its killer police. The Black Panther Party has long said that the police were the main forces of oppression in our communities and also we had made a trip to New York City to the UN last year to apply for NGO status. So it has become very clear that the government is working in cahoots with the local agencies, the police, in a brutal attempt to try to liquidate the Black Panther Party. So out of that investigation we hope to bring the truth to the

## On CBS "Face the Nation" —

# David Hilliard

# answers the ruling class

American people so that we can have peace in our communities.

MR. HERMAN: Mr. Hilliard, all three of these investigations are being conducted by people either in or very close to the establishment, the Justice Department, former officials of the federal government, present members of Congress. Do you really think that one of these investigations will find what you claim, oppression by the government against the Black Panthers?

MR. HILLIARD: I think that already the black Congressmen, headed by Congressman Diggs, have shown concern for their own national salvation. Of course, we do not have faith in the Justice Department, because the Justice Department is the symbol of injustice as far as its black subjects are concerned. We refer to Goldberg as a fox that watches over the chickens. So we do not expect any equality. We do not expect justice from the other individuals. But we do have faith in our own people and the very fact that they have come forth to try to bring out the criminal indictments against the police and the other agencies of the United States government shows, if nothing else, that there is solidarity with the black people. So we see that as being victorious.

MR. NOSSITER: Mr. Hilliard, you speak of criminal activities of police. But don't the Panthers stock and collect guns themselves? Isn't this an invitation to the police to take action?

MR. HILLIARD: First of all, the Panthers do not stock guns. We are very aware of the gun laws. We advocate each individual having a shotgun in their homes, as spelled out under the Constitution of the United States. It is not our purpose to assemble large caches of weapons.

is, is in the way of our freedom.

MR. HERMAN: Is that Richard Nixon? MR. HILLIARD: Richard Nixon is the chief spokesman of the American people and, if the man is not responsible for the people in government, like the FBI agencies or the local police, then he should stand up and let the American people know that he does not endorse the kind of campaigns that have been waged against the Black Panther Party --

MR. NOSSITER: Let us get this point clear. Are you saying that you were incorrectly quoted when you were quoted as saying "we should kill President Nixon"?

## U.S. has adopted

## Hitler's "big lie" policy

MR. HILLIARD: I am saying that my whole speech was taken out of context, and this is nothing new. I think that the policy that the United States has adopted is the same policy put forth by Adolph Hitler, the big lie policy. And the big lie policy is to take things out of context.

MR. NOSSITER: Well, whether this statement was taken

MR. HERMAN: Are you saying that that time has now come, that rate of oppression has now come when — MR. HILLIARD: I am saying that the time has come when the masses of people have been pushed to the wall, when they cannot any longer redress their grievances through the legal political machinery of this country. We are not the decision-makers, the masses are. If the masses think it is time to overthrow this system, then there is nothing you or the President or anyone else can do.

MR. HERMAN: How many Black Panthers are there? MR. HILLIARD: We don't usually throw those figures around.

MR. HERMAN: Can you give me a rough idea? MR. HILLIARD: We have about thirty chapters throughout the United States. MR. HERMAN: That would be what, 5,000 or 10,000 people?

MR. HILLIARD: It may be. It may be more than that. MR. HERMAN: Do you have the feeling that this small group, 5,000 or 10,000, really represent the masses of the black people?

MR. HILLIARD: I am saying that the ideas spelled out in our ten-point program and platform represent the basic desires and needs of the people.

MR. HERMAN: How do you know? MR. HILLIARD: Because these are ideas taken from the masses. These are not just a bunch of abstract ideas that fell from the sky and ended up on our paper. This is a survey, what we asked for, things that were promised to us over 400 years ago.

MR. HERMAN: But aren't some of these things that you have down on the paper in your demands and so forth, aren't some of them paraphrases of Mao Tse-tung and Che Guevara, rather than the black masses?

MR. HILLIARD: There is nothing here that paraphrases Mao Tse-tung or Che Guevara, but the ideas, the desires asked for, the aspirations in our program are the same that all of the oppressed people in the world ask for, and that is freedom of self-determination. The ultimacy is national salvation.

MR. PAPPAS: Mr. Hilliard, there are twenty million black people in this country and, if you say you have maybe five thousand or even ten thousand members, that still is not twenty million. How are you going to get them, the rest of the black people, over to your side? We understand that you are having difficulty getting people to join with you in your philosophy.

## Panther program relates to the needs of millions

MR. HILLIARD: Well, first of all, I never quoted you any figure. I told you that we had about thirty chapters. But our program is the method for our organizing people. We are organizing them around our ten-point program, a program that spells out the basic desires and needs of all people. And the very fact that the Black Panther Party is a party that relates to internationalism as the key to eradicating racism in this country shows that we are much stronger than even you imagine.

MR. NOSSITER: Mr. Hilliard, is your back really to the wall? Here you are on national television. Here are all kinds of moderate black groups that have come to take up your cause, at least on the legal side. Doesn't this indicate that perhaps the society is much more responsive and much more open to legitimate demands than your rhetoric sometimes suggests?

MR. HILLIARD: I don't think that television is the big payoff. We could ask for a lot of other things. More so than television. I would rather be in our communities feeding hungry children, setting up, trying to erect institutions that would educate the people, the children in our communities so that they would not have to wage a war in your name or his or this man's, or for that



now, as far as you are concerned?

MR. HILLIARD: Well, as far as I am concerned, I see the revolution still at the educational level, because the masses of the people are still being duped, they are still being politically deformed by the ideological degeneration put forth by the journalists and the newsmen.

MR. PAPPAS: Do you have a timetable?

MR. HILLIARD: Well, revolutions are not blueprinted; what are you talking about?

MR. PAPPAS: Well, you are trying to build a popular base now, is that right? You need support?

MR. HILLIARD: What we are trying to do is we are trying to wage a mass educational campaign. We recognize before any revolution, there has got to be education. But I would like to say that there is no blueprint for the revolution. We are prepared to struggle forty, fifty years, however long it takes.

MR. PAPPAS: Isn't this food program that you have in feeding children and so forth — I am sure everyone will agree that children should be fed, children who don't have food and people who don't have medical aid should be given medical aid and so forth — but don't you provide an indoctrination also with the food, that the children are being indoctrinated into your philosophy and so forth, that when they grow up they will be big Panthers?

## Children get breakfast plus education

MR. HILLIARD: What you call indoctrination we call education. I figure they are being indoctrinated when you tell them to pick up a gun and go 10,000 miles and shoot somebody that never even called them "nigger." What we do is educate them. We educate them to their own environment. We don't educate them about historians that are completely rejected, completely removed from their environment. We educate those people, those young people, about the conditions in their community. We show them very physically the conditions in the white mother country, as sometimes referred to, and the situation in the black community. We show them and we point out to them the evil doers and the lawbreakers supposedly manifested in the peace officers, and we show them very concrete and real contradictions, but we do not indoctrinate them. We educate them.

MR. NOSSITER: Mr. Hilliard —

MR. HERMAN: Mr. Hilliard, the Party, the Black Panthers, are subject, I think you yourself have charged, to almost unexcelled, unbeaten FBI scrutiny. How badly are you infiltrated? Are there FBI men or whatever through all of your organization?

MR. HILLIARD: You see, first of all, let's make very clear what we are talking about: There is both ideological infiltration — MR. HERMAN: Yes, sir.

MR. HILLIARD: — and then there is cultural infiltration. I don't think that we have any FBI agents in our national headquarters. I know that in New York City they wiped out the whole organizing cadre, which numbered some twenty-one people. So I am sure that there are some agents there. But in our national headquarters, I am content to believe that we have dedicated, core people working for the betterment of the black people.

MR. HERMAN: There has been a lot written about the attempts of the Black Panther leadership to use truth serum or drugs and so forth to check the honesty and legitimacy of its high leadership. Doesn't that mean that you are somewhat worried?

MR. HILLIARD: I don't know anything about truth serum. I am not sure that truth serum would be the kind of chemicals necessary to even make people admit if they were agents. I don't know about the validity of truth serum. I am not a doctor or physician.

MR. HERMAN: How about the New Haven case, where the police charge that Black Panther leadership kidnapped, beat up and finally executed a Black Panther informer?

## Rackley murder in style



spelled out under the Constitution of the United States. It is not our purpose to assemble large caches of weapons. If we have weapons, we would distribute the weapons in the community for self-defense, but we do not have armories. And, even if we did, we would expect the same treatment under the law that is given to members of the Ku Klux Klan, people like the Thorens or the Birchites.

MR. PAPPAS: Mr. Hilliard, the Justice Department denies what you say, that there is an organized attempt to destroy the Black Panthers. But, if what you say is true, how successful has it been, has this campaign been against you?

## Attempt to destroy

### BPP failed; exposed govt.

MR. HILLIARD: I don't think that we can say it was successful. What it has done is it brought to the attention of the American people the atrociousness of the American government in terms of its subjects, people moving for their freedom. The very fact that they attack us so openly shows that they are very brutal people, that they are a barbarous, criminal element within society. But as far as their successfulness is concerned, they are not successful. They can never exterminate the Black Panther Party because the Black Panther Party is not just a party for itself but, rather, it is a party for the people, and its ideas --

MR. PAPPAS: Well, most of your leadership has been either jailed or is in exile, or some of them are dead. There is a leadership gap, obviously, in your organization. It seems to me that if there is a campaign against you it has been successful to a certain point.

MR. HILLIARD: Most people would like to think that, especially the enemy, but we're satisfied that they can never exterminate the Black Panther Party. In order to do that, they would have to commit genocide because what we are working for is already spelled out within the Constitution of the United States. We are asking for the basic necessities for human life so, therefore, it would be impossible for them to exterminate or really have a successful extermination campaign against our party. Our party is manifested in the people.

MR. HERMAN: Mr. Hilliard, you say that what you are after is manifested in the Constitution and yet you personally have said that you advocate the very direct forceful overthrow of the government. You are under indictment, as I understand it, for advocating the assassination of President Nixon. That doesn't sound to me like it is all within the Constitution.

MR. HILLIARD: What is within the Constitution is our right to free speech.

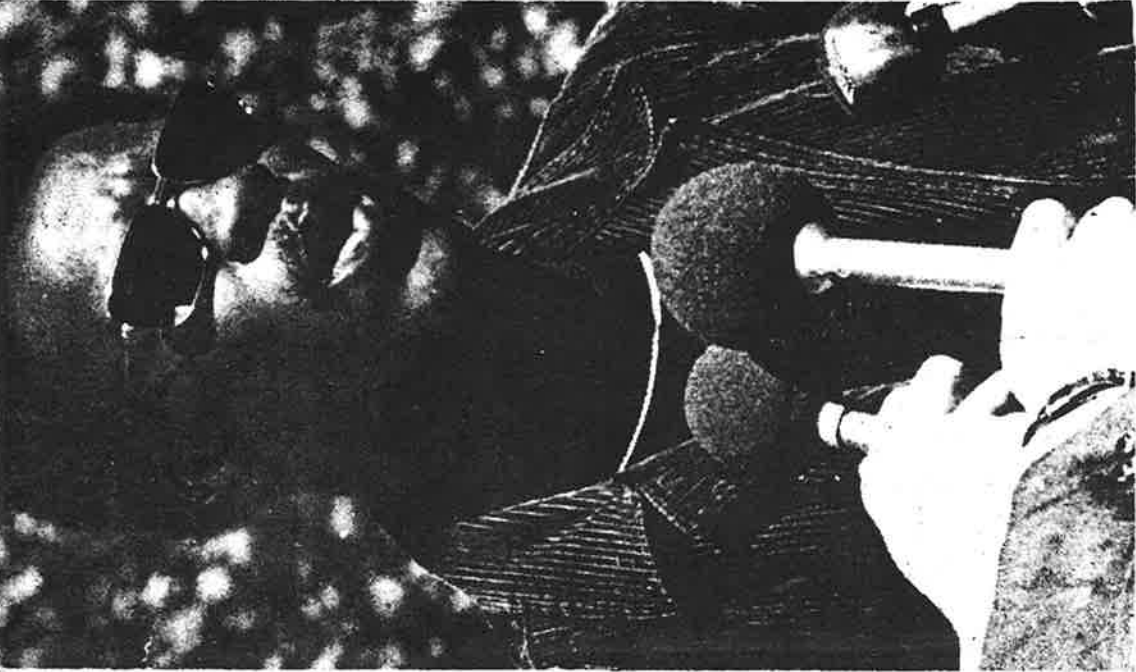
MR. HERMAN: Yes.

## On the "threat to Nixon"

MR. HILLIARD: And as far as my threatening the President, this is a violation of my First Amendment right. I did not threaten the life of the President. In the context of a speech that I made, I stated very emphatically that we would kill anyone that stands in the way of our freedom and, of course, the newsmen and the news media is another instrument by which the government dupes and hypnotizes the people. So the very fact that the newsmen themselves are ideological lackies for the system, they have whitewashed the criminal elements in the society and they have made the victims look like the criminals and the criminal look like the victim. I never said we would assassinate the President.

MR. HERMAN: Do you feel that Richard Nixon is standing in the way of your freedom?

MR. HILLIARD: I think that anybody that picks up guns against the oppressed people or anybody that endorses programs that maintain the oppressive structure as it



## DAVID HILLIARD CHIEF OF STAFF

matter the President of the United States. What we are for is peace, and that is the ultimacy of our goals.

MR. NOSSITER: Let me go back to the gun question, if I may. If police departments the country over staffed the ghettos with black policemen, policemen who lived in the community, would you then feel safe and would you then be willing to lay down the guns you now carry?

## Police protect the property owned by capitalists

MR. HILLIARD: You see, you don't understand at all. First of all, we have made it clear that we don't make any distinction between black policemen and white policemen. The police is the symbol of the state. The police's duty is not to protect the people in the community but, rather, to protect the property owned by the capitalist class, so that you have black servants. And we don't make any distinction between the black lackies who are servants for the system or the white people that are servants for the system. We don't advocate an all-black police department, because we understand that in our communities there are many ethnic categories of people living within the boundaries of the community. What we do advocate is that the police the community, therefore they should live in the community, and that the people should have control over the local police in their communities. That is the philosophy of the Black Panther Party.

MR. NOSSITER: All right, under those conditions would you lay down your guns?

MR. HILLIARD: We would have more reason to lay them down than under the present circumstances, let's say that.

MR. PAPPAS: What stage is the revolution in right

## Rackey murder in style

### of Reichstag fire

MR. HILLIARD: What about the Reichstag?

MR. HERMAN: What?

MR. HILLIARD: What about Reichstag?

MR. HERMAN: Oh, I'm sorry.

MR. HILLIARD: What about Charles Pool?

MR. HERMAN: What I meant was is there this kind of action against possible informers anywhere in your organization?

MR. HILLIARD: Well, let's say it is not necessary for the Black Panther Party to use this kind of torture and this kind of animalization. But let's say that it is a weapon that the United States government uses in order to vilify the Black Panther Party, the same as they use in Vietnam with the Songmy massacre, the same as they use in any other country where they want to first vilify the people and then isolate them and commit acts of atrocity and genocide against their people. We do not use those kinds of tactics. It is not in the benefit of our party. Our party is a party, as I said, that is for service to the people. We are up at six o'clock every morning feeding hungry children, trying to put forth point seven of our program to remove or control the police in our communities. We don't have time to do the dirty work for the police. I say that the police killed Alex Rackley.

MR. NOSSITER: Mr. Hilliard, in the world that you want to build -- let's say it came about -- would you permit a dissident group to carry sawed-off shotguns, to carry automatic weapons?

MR. HILLIARD: I would say that there wouldn't be any need for people to carry weapons anywhere on this planet Earth, if the government was a government for and by the people. The very fact that you have a very one-sided government, that only satisfies the needs of a few, a ruling class clique that manipulates the whole world, make it necessary for people to pick up anything they can to insure another day of life.

MR. HERMAN: But where in the world is there a government like the one you are talking about, where there is no need to keep an eye on the people?

MR. HILLIARD: I am sure that there are some examples. In my travels, I think that Algeria would be more of a model type people's government than the present form of tyranny and despotism --

MR. HERMAN: There are no dissidents, nobody in jail there?

MR. HILLIARD: Of course they have jails, and we could not imagine a society without authority. We do not say that. What we do say that as long as the people have some self-control, as long as the people are getting three meals a day, as long as they are employed, then I think that it will put an end to the many robberies, to the killings -- and you can check that out for yourself. There are records. They don't have near as many crimes in Algeria as they do here.

MR. HERMAN: Mr. Hilliard --

MR. NOSSITER: Mr. Hilliard, you are talking about the society that the Panthers want to build. Your colleagues frequently tell me that they draw their inspiration from Marx and Lenin. Do you? And what does this mean to you, if you do?

## Marxism-Leninism an

### advanced science

MR. HILLIARD: Well, we see Marxism-Leninism as being a science. They are an advanced science, and we recognize Marxism and Leninism as not a dogmatic ideology but rather as a guide to action, so that the philosophy of the Black Panther Party is not a philosophy that reflects the history of China, of Russia, of Korea, or of Cuba, for that matter. But it is the historical experience of blacks right here in this country interpreted through Marxism-Leninism, so that we see Marxism-Leninism not as a dogmatic dogma

(Continued on page 12)



## U.S. radical journalists in Mideast

## With the commandos in Jordan

LNS staff members Shella Ryan and George Cavalletto recently returned from a trip to the Middle East. In Jordan, they interviewed members of Palestinian liberation groups, and visited a Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine camp. Following are excerpts from their account of their experiences, as published in the December 24 issue of Liberation News Service.

AMMAN, Jordan (LNS)—Twenty-five years ago, Amman was a small town of fewer than 50,000, with a main market street meandering in a valley among its seven hills.

Now it is a city, swelled with a half million people, three-quarters of them Palestinians driven from their homes by the Israelis. The streets are filled with women in the intricately embroidered costumes of their ancestral homeland—the women from Jerusalem in striped dresses, those from Ramallah in white linen, and the women of Bethlehem in black.

But most of those in the streets are men, and many of them are armed with automatic rifles and hand grenades which are looped to the belts of their camouflage fatigues.

These men are affiliated with the Palestinian commando groups, which all pledge to fight a people's war to return to their nation and make it a democratic state.

## A dispossessed nation

On the hills rising from the jammed market street of the city are tiers of white limestone houses, some of them the headquarters of commando groups. Some areas on the hillsides have the air of an embassy district, but a very strange one, for these are the missions of a dispossessed nation, with the Palestinian flag flying overhead and a guard of commandos standing by the entrance.

One of the groups headquartered in the hills of Amman is the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, known popularly as the "Democrati." Its office is filled with young armed men, and occasionally a young woman in fatigues walks through with her Klashnikov rifle. On the walls are Tricontinental posters from Havana—an orange one with a Guinean woman guerrilla, calling for a "Day of Solidarity with the People of Guinea," a multicolored "Jornada de Solidaridad Con Cuba."

The posters give us a sense of familiarity, for they are on our walls at home. The people here are friendly, moving guns and grenades from chairs so we can sit while waiting for the arrival of a spokesman who speaks English.

The Democrati may be the smallest, poorest, most radical and newest group, formed only last February in a split from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). (The PFLP is the commando group which has made headlines in the last several months for hijacking and destroying an El Al airliner, and bombing Israeli offices in European cities.) Because the Democrati are poor (they receive assistance from no government), their armaments are limited, and their ranks and raids into Israel must be limited too.

## Honor Ho Chi Minh

Nevertheless, in the past month, the Democrati have launched two operations of note: one, designated Red Line, was a coordinated series of small actions against Israeli military targets. The other, honoring Ho Chi Minh, involved larger forces seizing and holding for a while the city of Qnaitra in Golan Heights, and surrounding villages.

The Democrati budget doesn't allow for an institutional "serve the people" program of the kind that Al Fatah has—seven hospitals, a boarding school for the children of fallen commandos, etc. "We can't supply medical care on the popular level yet," a Democrati spokesman told us. "We can barely take care of our fighters."

The greatest strength of the Democrati lies in their ability to mobilize the people. Much of its energy is devoted to direct political work among the Palestinian and Jordanian masses.

That ability and devotion is rooted in the political analysis that the Democrati have made, and which they enunciate with perhaps more subtlety and precision than any other commando group.

## See U.S. behind Zionism

The Democrati see the conflict in Palestine as interconnected with the problems of the whole Arab world. The major contradiction in the Middle East, they maintain, is between Israel, a Zionist state allied to U.S. imperialism, and the Arab masses. But they see contradictions too, between the Arab ruling classes and the Arab masses, and as Marxist-Leninists they are com-

mitted to class struggle and socialist revolution.

"There isn't a direct coordination between the Arab ruling classes—the Arab bourgeois and feudal classes in the area—and the Zionist movement and the ruling circles in Israel. But an indirect coordination between all these interests is done in Washington,"

*"These women go to pray in the mosque, and they say, 'Oh God, if you love us, make the U.S. get out of Vietnam,' because they know if the Vietnamese can make the U.S. leave Vietnam, we can get Palestine back."*



Palestinian refugee camp: training ground for revolutionaries of the future.—LNS

a Democrati comrade told us.

The Democrati say they are working towards a united front of Palestinian groups to fight against Israel. For that reason they work with several other commando groups, including Al Fatah (the largest) and Al Sae'qa (the pan-Arab Ba'ath party group), in the Palestine Liberation Organization and its branch for military coordination, the Armed Struggle Command.

The Democrati insist, however, on the importance of the struggle being led by the poorer classes. They point to the fact that the Palestinian liberation movement has been led into defeat in the past by the feudal and bourgeois elements (in 1936, for example, Emir Abdullah, monarch of Transjordan, broke the longest general strike in history by persuading the leadership of the Palestinians to call it off and allow him to negotiate with the British on their behalf)....

The Democrati acknowledge that some regimes in the Arab world have made steps toward national liberation—Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal and expropriation of some imperialist property, for example—but, they say, the petit bourgeois and middle classes are too closely tied to the imperialist markets and unable to muster the people to lead a national liberation movement to final victory.

## Combat training and Political Education

The Democrati have offered to take us to an elementary training camp in Jordan. Here prospective commandos undergo a two and a half month cycle of military instruction and political education. Those who seem most suitable for fighting are sent on to

(Continued on following page)



# Tel Aviv uses napalm: bombs civilians in 4-month attack

By P. Meisner

It does not require any great exertion to arouse indignation in the movement over the U.S. bombing campaign against North Vietnam and all the crimes associated with the bombing of the South which have infuriated the world against U.S. imperialism. Unfortunately, however, it does entail considerable effort to impress upon progressive opinion in this country the fact that the government in Tel Aviv, which is composed of the Thieu's and Ky's of the Mideast, are now in the fifth month of an air offensive against the Arab people and that this offensive is identical in its murderous character with the U.S. air offensive in Vietnam.

The U.S. air campaign has consisted of the bombing of cities and villages, the wholesale murder of civilians, the use of napalm bombs, the destruction of water supply and food supply, and the constant pressure of strafing and bombing in general. These are the murderous norms of imperialist war which have been established by Washington in Vietnam and are being followed with exactitude by the Israeli government in both its aerial and ground offensives against the Arab masses.

The current Israeli offensive began in early August soon after the ruling Israeli Labor Party declared in its platform that Israel would permanently keep the Gaza Strip, part of the Sinai Peninsula, and Syria's Golan Heights. The Israeli leaders, and by no accident, were reinforced in their expansionist drive when Washington almost simultaneously announced a major sale of U.S. jets and other heavy military armaments to Israel, including F-4 Phantom jets which are among the most effective attack planes used by the U.S. in Vietnam.

## Israel's Song My

August 7 marked a definite turning point in the current Mideast crisis when Israeli jets destroyed a vital freshwater canal along the Suez Canal. Many Egyptian towns depended on this canal for water and had to transport water for

a long distance in order to survive. The Israeli air force continued its aggressive forays. On August 9, it bombed and shattered sections of the Ghor Canal, a most critical irrigation project in Jordan.

In the arid Midéast, not only is water for personal use and sanitation quite difficult to obtain in many areas, but any tampering with the scarce water supply poses an immediate threat to the food supply. Bombing dams and irrigation channels is analogous to crop destruction in Vietnam.

On August 11, the Israelis conducted their own version of the Song My massacre by dropping napalm on Lebanese villages and murdering many Arab women and children. The atrocity so horrified the majority of mankind that even the U.S.-dominated UN was forced to denounce the Israeli massacre as a "premeditated air attack" on Lebanese villages.

During most of September and October almost daily attacks were conducted by the Israeli military against UAR and Jordanian defense positions. The Israelis also attacked Syrian forces in the occupied Golan Heights, but Syrian units successfully resisted the Israeli aggressors.

## Dayan orders "neighborhood punishment"

By November, Arab guerrilla resistance and attacks on Israeli military positions were being stepped up. Powerful guerrilla operations were already launched in late September by Al Fatah in the Jordanian Valley and by the Arab Organization of Sinai in the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip. In response to the popular support given to the Arab guerrilla movements, Israeli "Defense" Minister Moshe Dayan ordered a new level of repression, which he called "neighborhood punishment." The latter is the systematic destruction of Arab houses suspected of providing aid to the guerrillas or simply where no information is given to the Israeli authorities involving guerrilla activity.

Curfews were imposed by the Israeli military on the

(Continued on page 15)

another camp for advanced training, and later to take part in raids on Israel. (The Democrati also conduct a special school for cadre, with an emphasis on political education.) The participants in elementary training who are not selected as commandos either return to their homes, where they continue contact with the Democrati, or are sent to work organizing in a camp or elsewhere.

There is nothing to mark the spot on the highway where the Democrati station wagon stops, no sign of human activity about. We follow the comrade along a small dirt path. In an instant two men spring out of a tent hidden under the branches of a tree. There are shouts of greeting to their friend who brought us from Democrati headquarters, and one sets off to bring Abu Shahab, the leader of the camp.

Abu Shahab has a quick smile with a hint of shyness in it, and a habit of not walking when there is opportunity to run. We follow him for a few moments, and are on a hillside facing Israel. Abu Shahab points out the Jordan River, a thin black line winding through the distant valley. We can see the Dead Sea, and at night he says, we will see the lights of Jericho and Nazareth, and perhaps at dawn, the early morning sun shining on Jerusalem.

In a clearing, the men are waiting for lunch. Some of them one would call boys in any other context—there is 15-year-old Jellal, whose boots extend a good three inches past his toes, and Abu Klashinkov, Castro and others in their late teens, Abu Jihad, though, has hair shot through with gray; he wears good black leather boots which he presumably took with him from the Jordanian Army, in which he'd served for 13 years. He, like most of the others in the camp, is Palestinian, but there is also a new recruit from Lebanon and Simone, from Syria.

## Peasants and workers

These men, like most of those recruited as Democrati fedayeen, tend to come from the families of peasants, or sometimes from those of workers. Former university students bring their ability for political analysis with them to the war—Abu Shahab, Simone, who studied geology, and Ahmed, with courses in aeronautical engineering, all have a keen understanding of the political struggle in which they are involved, and talk constantly about it with the other men in the camp.

The names of the men are noms de guerre, and they quickly rename us Halime ("one who isn't angry with anyone") and Jabber ("supporter").

The lunch the men were waiting for is canned tuna and bread. It is much like the other meals we will



Arab teen-age girl shows her skill with submachinegun as part of graduation performance. She and hundreds of other youths have been trained at Ain el Helwe refugee camp in Southern Lebanon to liberate their homeland.

share with the commandos—a small piece of cheese and bread; and tuna and bread; and rice and bread again. The commandos have had no meat for three months. When there are farms nearby their camping spot, they help in the fields and are sometimes given fresh vegetables. There is always plenty of hot tea, heavily sweetened.

The meals are cooked on portable stoves in a tent hidden under trees—one of the two tents left standing in the camp. The others were dismantled to lessen the chances of detection by Israeli reconnaissance planes.

After lunch the men begin work again on a cave they are digging for shelter against bombings by Israeli planes. Israeli bombings of commando bases in Jordan are a frequent occurrence, a fact obscured by the American press. The cave is already large enough to hold all the men in the

camp, but it's a squeeze and they must add more chambers.

## U.S. role in Palestine

Abu Shahab points to a niche in the cave wall: "I'll put our library here, I think. It's very important, you know. With the book and this," he says with a small laugh and a pat for his rifle, "we can win." The library consists of volumes of Lenin, Engels, Marx and Mao. The little red book is familiar, with the same plastic cover and the same smiling Mao, but like all Arabic books, its first page is where our last would be....

As we wait for dinner (cheese and bread), there's a discussion about the role of the United States in Palestine. All the men realize that Israel is supplied with arms by the United States. But the Lebanese doesn't understand

why the United States would do such a thing. Simone patiently explains that the U.S., as an imperial power, is eager to maintain a Middle East base in Israel which is threatened from within the State by Arab nationalism, and which in fact hinders social revolution in neighboring Arab countries. Political education here is a process of question and discussion, not heavy-handed indoctrination.

Once a man refers to the enemy as "Yahood" (the Jews). He is gently corrected, for the Democrati, and in fact all the active commando groups, believe that the enemy of their struggle is the state of Israel, which displaced them, and its ideology of Zionism, not Jews in general.

## Support from the people

The commandos are constantly relating to the people—Palestinian and Jordanian—who live near the camp. They depend on them for material assistance, for new recruits, and ultimately for the success of the struggle.

One time at dusk, Ahmed, the red star on his shirt pocket indicating that he, like Abu Shahab and Simone, are leaders in the camp, comes into the clearing with a box full of coins—proceeds from a collection at a nearby factory. It is payday, and the workers have contributed \$30. Ahmed says he spent some time at the factory gates, rapping with the workers....

Another day, Abu Shahab suggests a walk outside the camp. A short distance away there is nothing to remind one of war but Abu Shahab's Klashinkov rifle. The land here is dry but not barren; there is a tree bearing ripe figs, a tobacco field nestled in the hills, and rock gorges, sometimes river beds, waterless at this season, leading through the rolling land to the Jordan valley.

When we've walked about a quarter of a mile, we look back towards the camp. It seems to have disappeared into the hillside—we can see the decoy cave off to one side, but there is no other sign of the presence of commandos.

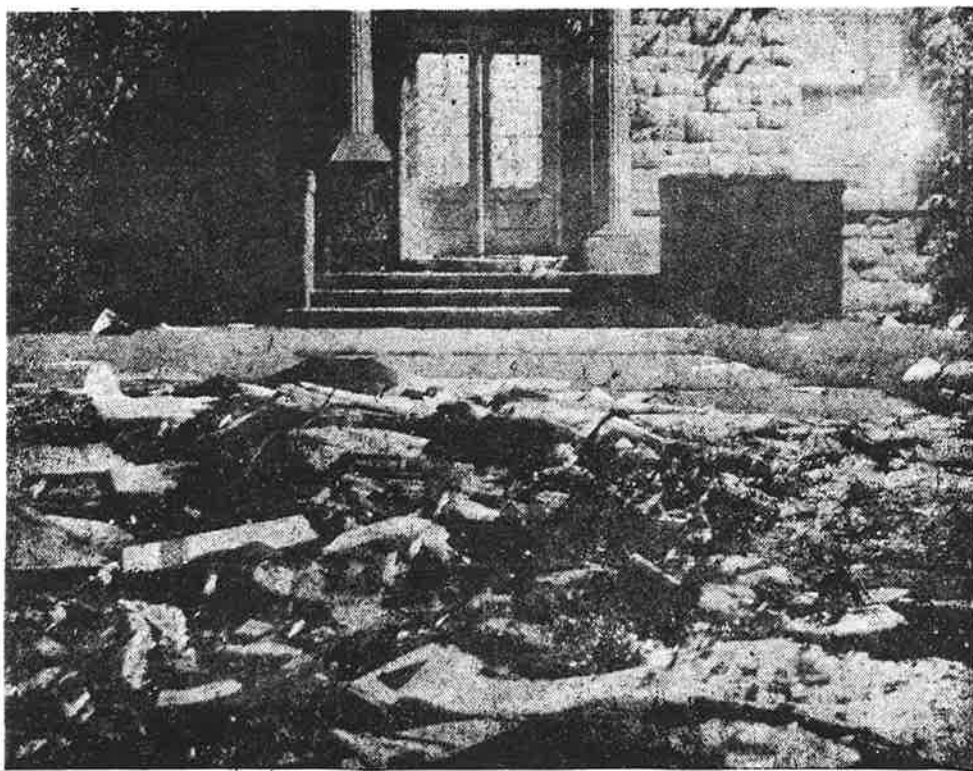
Off to one side of the road on which we walk is a simple clay house, of the sort people in this area use in the summer when they leave the village to tend their fields. In the yard, a woman beckons to us, and with a hospitality typical of the poor people of the Arab world, she invited us in for a cup of tea.

## Vietnam and Palestine

As we enter the single room of their home, the old farmer is donning his headdress, and their daughter arranges the mattresses and pillows which serve as chairs.

They show no fear or surprise at  
(Continued on page 14)





Above: ROTC records burned and strewn on lawn at UB. Below: Dan Bentivogli, Chairman of Buffalo YAWF and one of those indicted, here burning an injunction served against UB students for holding a sit-in at the school last spring.



A Buffalo grand jury has handed down indictments against sixteen persons involved in an anti-ROTC demonstration at the State University here. Among those singled out by the City and the University for prosecution are Dan Bentivogli, the Chairman of the Buffalo chapter of Youth Against War & Fascism, charged on five counts, and several members of SDS.

There are seven counts in the indictments, which include: burglary in the third degree, criminal mischief in the first degree, riot in the first degree, inciting to riot, criminal tampering in the second degree, and two counts of conspiracy in the third degree. A number of these charges are felonies.

The students have been enraged at the steady militarization of the University, which set up a "Department of Aerospace Studies" and contracted to do undersea research for the Defense

## 20 anti-ROTC indictments (SDS, YAWF) in Buffalo

Department under the innocuous name of "Project Themis," as well as training students to become officers under the ROTC program. A struggle against the draft, which took place around the Buffalo Nine case last year, helped bring out much of this latent anti-militarism, and after the conviction of one student, the buildings on the construction site for the Themis project were torn down by a large crowd of angry students.

### ROTC trophies painted red

This year's anti-ROTC action was a continuation of this developing movement against the military. On October 15, Moratorium Day, there was a large rally in downtown Buffalo followed by a march and a number of other activities both on and off campus. A crowd of about 200 demonstrated at the Department of Aerospace Studies

demanding that the ROTC program be abolished. The militancy was high, and before the demonstration was over, a trophy case was smashed and the ROTC trophies painted red, files and recruiting posters had been taken outside and burned, the walls were painted with slogans, and furniture and file cabinets in the ROTC administrative offices left in a shambles.

The prosecution is claiming that this "riotous" situation caused "public alarm" and that \$1,500 worth of property damage was done. However, anyone in the area could see that the "public" was thoroughly pleased with the justice done to these trappings of the military, and only the brass hats and their professorial buddies were alarmed.

### UB in tight with military

The indictments were prepared with the cooperation of the University Law Faculty, which sent letters to students believed to have taken part in the demonstration asking them to come in and "discuss" it with the administration. Since several hundred people participated in the demonstration but only sixteen were named in the indictments, it is obvious that the University fingered those students they believed to be most politically active.

In this category were the leaders of YAWF and SDS. On Moratorium Day, YAWF banners were prominent at the rally and the later demonstration at ROTC.

The indictments also include "John Roe, John Doe, Mary Roe, and Mary Doe." Obviously, the authorities want to be able to add additional defendants as the struggle shapes up.

As of this writing, fourteen of the accused had been arraigned before Judge Joseph Mattina, and were released on their own recognizance.

The University has a long history of collaboration with the military-industrial complex. It is in an area of heavy industrial production, much of which goes directly into the war machine. A key plant in the area is Bell Aircraft, which makes helicopters.

The Board of Trustees of the University is riddled with these corporation men, including officials of Bell. This major war contractor also worked out a joint program with the University to operate an atomic reactor.

It is pressure from these giant corporations that feed off war that is responsible for the oppression coming down against the students. They know that this militant struggle against militarism begun on the campus will spread into other sectors of the community.

Buffalo, which has become a state university only in the past few years, is slated for enormous expansion that will make it the largest campus in the East. The ruling class probably chose this site because the area has long been politically backward and under the thumb of the reactionaries.

But a new struggle is going to erupt over the recent indictments. The initiative taken by YAWF, SDS, and black students in fighting back against the two-headed monster of militarism and domestic reaction will not be crushed by this latest ruling class attack.

On the contrary, the Buffalo 16, or 18, or however many will be indicted, will turn this offensive by the Buffalo lackeys of big business into a rout.

## — Hilliard

(Continued from page 9)

but as a guide to action.

MR. PAPPAS: Mr. Hilliard, what kind of support does the Black Panther Party receive from such countries as Cuba, North Vietnam and so forth?

MR. HILLIARD: Resistance against a common enemy.

MR. PAPPAS: Well, is it in the form of money, guns, propaganda or what?

MR. HILLIARD: We haven't ever received any money from the People's Republic of Cuba or China or Korea, and one of the reasons we haven't is because the intermediaries of the United States government have taken it all off.

MR. HERMAN: How about Algeria? I don't know if you left some out or—

MR. HILLIARD: Well, they control the mail that comes from Algeria, too, so we know that it is impossible to get any money from Cuba or from Algeria or from Russia, or from any other country because of the United States government.

MR. HERMAN: Have you been offered it?

MR. HILLIARD: I am sure that those people would give anything that we asked, if it was possible for us to get it but, seeing that the system is set up in the United States government as being the initial recipients, we would never receive that. They are thieves and they put their claws on it and we never see it.

MR. HERMAN: Do you mean to tell me that in a country into which morphine and heroin is smuggled in every day that you couldn't get some help in from these other countries?

### Best support to BPP:

#### resist imperialism

MR. HILLIARD: Well, we don't go to the extremes to do that. First of all, we see our struggle as being one of self-reliance and we are not dependent upon anybody else financing our struggle. We said that the best assistance that we can get from all the countries you mentioned is their resistance against U.S. imperialism.

MR. PAPPAS: Given the raids and the jailings of Panther leaders that have taken place, really, has your organization any kind of future?

MR. HILLIARD: We see that it has more future than this country.

MR. PAPPAS: Your Minister of Information is now in

exile, Eldridge Cleaver. You speak with him often on the phone, is that correct?

MR. HILLIARD: You know I do. They tap the phones and the phone is probably hooked up to the White House.

MR. PAPPAS: Well, can you tell me why he wants to come back to the United States, or does he?

MR. HILLIARD: I can't tell you. Eldridge has never told me that he wanted to come back. The man is completely satisfied where he is. He doesn't have to worry about—

MR. PAPPAS: Why did he file for a passport?

MR. HILLIARD: What?

MR. PAPPAS: Why did he file for a passport?

MR. HILLIARD: Because he has a right to it. He has a right to a passport. He is an American citizen.

MR. PAPPAS: But for what reason?

MR. HILLIARD: So that he can travel around, so that he can have identification. You know, as he left, he didn't have any identification at all because he left under such circumstances.

MR. PAPPAS: Does he want to go to another country perhaps besides the United States?

MR. HILLIARD: I think he would like to move around. It would be of benefit to both our party and Eldridge for him to move around. The man doesn't have to be marooned on an island somewhere.

### All support welcome: won't change BPP program

MR. HERMAN: Mr. Hilliard, as a result of all the newspaper publications of killings of Black Panthers, as a result of all these investigations, suddenly the Black Panther has gotten the support, at least verbal support, of a whole group of moderate or even conservative black groups. Even the NAACP now seems to have some kind words to say for you. Do you welcome this? Do you court it?

MR. HILLIARD: Of course we welcome it. We see our struggle as being one—

MR. HERMAN: Well, the reason I wanted—there is very little time left and I just wanted to ask you—will your welcoming this support make any change in your own policies?

MR. HILLIARD: Our policy is still self-defense and national salvation. We welcome it because it shows very clearly that even the most moderate American blacks have finally realized that this is the most atrocious, the most barbarous government, the number one enemy of humanity so, therefore, they are moving with all of the forces of resistance against a common enemy, and that is in this case U.S. fascism.

## Expanding Empire

by Vincent Copeland

The Global War Drive of  
Big Business  
And The Forces That Will  
Stop It

50 cents

WORKERS WORLD PRESS  
46 West 21 Street  
New York, N.Y. 10010



Martin Sostre on the historic significance of the black liberation struggle

# Striking a blow at the head of the monster

Below are excerpts from a letter written by Martin Sostre to a member of the Martin Sostre Defense Committee.

Dear Eddie:

...In addition to the severe beating being administered the U.S. monster by the heroic Vietnamese people—on the heels of the defeat suffered at the hands of the brave Cubans, which followed defeats by the resolute Korean and Chinese peoples—the U.S. is now faced with escalating armed resistance by the black oppressed people inside the very fortress of imperialism. Do you know what this means? It means that the enemy is

in deep trouble, for it signals the beginning of that great final battle against the very head of the imperialist monster.

This is the climactic death-dealing assault upon the head of the American racist-imperialist octopus dreamed about by millions of victims destroyed and enslaved by its world-embracing bloodsucking tentacles. But though the victims resisted heroically, won many military battles against overwhelming odds, many even succeeding in freeing themselves from the colonial-imperialist death grip, none ever succeeded in striking even one blow against the monster's head. They merely struggled against the monster's overreaching tentacles, while its head remained

secure and unscathed thousands of miles away in the U.S. free to plan and carry out their strategies for employing neo-colonialist methods of economic, political and ideological infiltration and subjugation, and plot the assassination, overthrow, and incarceration of all resisters of their oppression.

Even the dog fights for world markets among the imperialist powers during World Wars I and II resulted in everyone's head being bloodied except the monster's. All the fighting and devastating was done on someone else's soil, while the U.S. remained safe and unscathed far from the scene of battle, secure behind its ocean moats. All the monster did was lay in the cut during the fight until the

combatants exhausted themselves, then moved in its tentacles, delivered the final blows, and grabbed off huge chunks of real estate, industries, and world markets from all parties—including its allies.

Now at long last, the consequences of all the millions of atrocities and murders committed by the U.S. at home and abroad have caught up with the monster. It is now faced with a spreading war of liberation within its own borders, waged by the oppressed black masses and led by their vanguard revolutionary organization: the Black Panther Party.

Give my greetings to Joel Myers.

Your brother-in-arms,  
Martin Sostre 9273

## Martin Sostre

Martin Sostre is a black man; he is a liberation fighter for his people; and he is a political prisoner held by the racist U.S. ruling class.

Sostre founded the Afro-Asian Bookshop in Buffalo, N.Y., where he provided revolutionary and nationalist literature for his community. His store in the black community became a center, which particularly attracted the youths, devoted to the Afro-American struggle for liberation.

Following the rebellion in 1967 by the black community of Buffalo, racist cops used the occasion to smash the Afro-Asian Bookshop and arrest Sostre and his co-worker, Geraldine Robinson. Framed-up on phony drug charges, Sostre was sentenced to 41 years in prison after a kangaroo-court trial in which the judge had him bound and gagged during the proceedings.

Sostre has waged a relentless struggle in prison against his racist oppressors. Held for over a year in solitary confinement, Sostre recently brought a lawsuit against Governor Rockefeller and his prison authorities for maintaining what is, in reality, a concentration camp system for the black and other oppressed peoples. Although the case is pending, Sostre, in the final analysis, bases his struggle on the political struggle of the masses for complete emancipation.

Since Sostre's arrest in 1967, the Martin Sostre Defense Committee in Buffalo has fought to free him and at the same time publicize the case and the revolutionary struggle of Martin Sostre. For more information, write to the Martin Sostre Defense Committee, P. O. Box 382, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, New York 14205.

## Workers World

Editorial office:

46 West 21st Street  
New York, N.Y. 10010

Editor: Vincent Copeland  
Manager: Dorothy Ballan  
Managing Editor: Fred Goldstein

Published Bi-Weekly

Vol. 12, No. 1 — Jan. 10, 1970

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

### Counter-Revolution In Czechoslovakia

50¢

Order from Workers World, 46 West 21 Street, New York, N.Y. 10010.



Martin Sostre

## — Attack ASU

(Continued from page 3)

Joint Chiefs of Staff and one of the most powerful men in the military. It is easy to deduce that the attack on the American Servicemen's Union, carried out by organizations that are riddled with retired generals, originated in the highest circles of the Pentagon.

The article in Hargis' newsletter, which purports to contain a speech by ASU Chairman Andy Stapp to the United Front Against Fascism Conference called by the Black Panther Party, ends up on a note of hysteria. They say, "It is difficult to exaggerate the present danger. There is cause for concern and even alarm, but panic must be avoided."

And these pigs are right! The development of a militant union of soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen spells the beginning of the end for these fascist generals and their racist friends. The GIs have hated the privileged and sadistic officer caste for a long time, but now they are organizing to do something about it. Their demands (election of officers, enlisted men's control of court-martial boards, the right to refuse illegal orders such as orders to fight in the imperialist war in Vietnam, to name a few) are a real threat and danger to

the U.S. imperialists and their aggressive militarists.

In the fight to win any one of these demands, the men are coming into conflict with the essence of what makes an imperialist, aggressive army tick. That's right, generals, you can't run an imperialist army where the men have any rights and you know it! The only kind of military machine that will take the kind of orders you give — like orders to massacre innocent civilians in My Lai and put down black and white demonstrators in Chicago and Cleveland — is one where the men are dehumanized, reduced to cogs in a wheel, turned into mindless robots that kill on orders, burn on orders, bayonet on orders.

But an army where the men think for themselves, where they control the guns — that spells the end of their fascist dreams of world conquest.

The fact that the Pentagon has to rely on fascist scum to do their dirty work for them only underscores the fact that they are reeling under the defeats, both abroad and at home, that oppressed people have dealt to the imperialist military machine. They can expect that the same kind of struggle will be put up by the GIs, who are getting wise to their brass bosses and will resist any attempt to bust their union.

## SUBSCRIBE NOW!

6 months.....\$1.75 One year.....\$3.50

One year via Air Mail within U.S. ....\$4.50

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

STREET \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

Fill in coupon and mail to:

WORKERS WORLD  
46 West 21 Street  
New York, N.Y. 10010



# A look at du Pont's police state

On April 9, 1968, just two days after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Wilmington, Delaware became the first open police state in the country. On the pretext of a riot situation, the then Governor Charles Terry called in the National Guard. On April 14, Wilmington's Mayor Babiarz declared the situation under control, but for ten months, until January 21, 1969, Terry's last day in office, the National Guard occupied the black community of Wilmington.

It is not by accident that Wilmington became a ruling class experiment in police state tactics. Two conditions made this possible. First of all there was a fast-growing, militant leadership—in particular the Wilmington Youth Emergency Action Committee, (WYEAC), a coalition of militant black youth originally formed from rival gangs. The WYEAC was organizing the youth of the community away from street gang consciousness and toward the struggle for black liberation.

Second, Wilmington is little more than the personal estate of the du Ponts, who represent a private concentration of wealth upwards of \$7.5 billion and control many times more. Both of Wilmington's newspapers and its main radio station are owned by the du Ponts. Of 250,000 people employed in New Castle County, 30,000 are directly employed by the du Pont Company. The other major employers in Wilmington are Hercules Powder Company and the Atlas Chemical Company, both offspring of du Pont which were born of the anti-trust litigation in the early part of the century. The du Ponts, who are one of the nation's largest arms manufacturers, have also seen to it that their private domain—with its low corporate taxes and high exploitation of workers—benefits other large capitalist companies. Among these, both Chrysler and General Motors (which the du Pont company used to control directly) have assembly plants in Wilmington.

## Handcuffs "made by du Pont"

Today the National Guard no longer patrols the streets with loaded shotguns, but the oppression remains the same—the police have adequately replaced the Guards. There are countless indignities and instances of brutality to which the black com-

munity is subjected by the police who are under orders from the du Ponts to treat the black people as "the enemy" and to wage a ceaseless campaign of harassment and terror against this "enemy."

Take the routine example of an incident which occurred last fall when some black youths ran after a pig, a four-legged one, which had escaped from an open-air market. When they captured it, some two-legged pigs appeared, took the four-legged pig, and arbitrarily rounded up more than a dozen black youths around the market.

These youths were handcuffed—but with new, experimental disposable handcuffs made of nylon cord which can only be cut off. These handcuffs are designed to cut into the skin if the hands are moved at all. They can be easily be used by the police to inflict torture, effortlessly and in the "normal course of duty." This diabolical new device unashamedly bears the name of its creator—du Pont!

The youths were taken to the police station where they were forced to strip and lie on the floor. Then they were threatened with shotguns and the cops stomped on them, literally walking all over their naked bodies! Eventually they were charged with conspiracy to loot! The case is still pending.

## Vigilantes anonymous racists

Another example of "justice" du Pont style is related by El Hajj Malik El Shabazz II, one of the Wilmington 8, sentenced to 12 years. He is currently serving another sentence and has been put into solitary because of his militant resistance. He told his family about two young blacks who were dragged into solitary, and as of that time, had been chained for 15 days, by their arms and legs, to an iron bed.

In another incident, Conrad Wiggans, 17, a black youth, was framed for the murder of a white man. Shortly after the murder on October 20, 1969, a vigilante-type "Concerned Citizens' Committee" was formed and a \$1,000 reward offered by "anonymous"—that is, an "anonymous" racist.

On October 26, Conrad Wiggans was arrested and later charged with the murder, despite the statement of the murdered man's daughter, printed in the Wilmington press, that said she heard two or three people laughing after the shooting. He has been held without bail in solitary for over 53 days.

Conrad may have been framed because the cops decided to intimidate the black youth with random arrests—or perhaps it is more than mere coincidence that his brother did an expose of the "public" housing projects of Wilmington a few years ago—projects that turned out to be very profitable private investments. For this, the older Wiggans was harassed, threatened, and finally arrested, only to be later released.

## The Wilmington 8

But the most clearly and openly political frame-up is that of the Wilmington 8, arrested during the 1968 occupation. All of the defendants were active in the militant WYEAC. Despite constant harassment by state troopers, National Guardsmen, and local cops, and continued vilification by the du Pont-owned press, which slandered them as "hardened criminals," the WYEAC continued to win the support of the community.

On October 29, 1968, two FBI men were supposedly arresting Kwame Wa Hakim, one of the 8, who was allegedly a deserter from the Army. The two white agents testified that they were walking to their car with the brother between them, when they were jumped and beaten by 5 or 6 young men—the 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 FBI agents with a dangerous weapon, "a shoe"—the defendants supposedly kicked the agents. Assault with deadly weapon carries a 10-year maximum, plain assault carries a 3-year maximum.

## Trial by du Pont press

One of the first motions filed by the court-appointed lawyers was to move the trial to another district, since the du Ponts' news media had already convicted the defendants. WYEAC was depicted as "an employer of criminals, delinquents, ex-convicts and other trouble-makers." Extensive confidential information calculated to prejudice the case, including descriptions of the defendants' police records, were also printed. (In a police state like Delaware, where black people are arrested on the whims of the cops, it is hardly surprising that any black person should have a police record.)

The headline indictments of the defendants continued in the same manner during the trial, which of course was not moved to another district. The judge was so blatantly racist that at one point a defense counsel accused him of treating his client "like a run-away slave."

The defendants were often referred to in the press as members of the "so-called Black Liberation Army." This stemmed from an August 1968 arrest of 6 youths for practice shooting within the city limits, in an unoccupied dump area that was frequently used by whites for target practice and shooting rats. Balagun Olatunji reports that "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 into the Liberation Army.' Gov. Terry leaped at this and with the help of the local news media blew it out of proportion. He was using us as a campaign scapegoat."

A white couple who felt that the defendants should know "that they have support in the white community" offered their house as security for bail for William Johnson. The newspapers blasted this in the headlines, printed the couple's name and address, and the assistant U.S. attorney called them to his office, assured them that they were in great danger of losing their house for the sake of a hardened criminal. In the end the couple was intimidated and withdrew the offer.

## Defense under way

The trial was a 20-day farce in which, as one of the defendants said, 8 were "made guilty" and given sentences up to 15 years. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund is now interested in their case and is considering taking it on appeal.

The struggle in Wilmington is far from over. The defense committee for the Wilmington 8—the Sisters and Brothers of Wilmington, Delaware—have not only launched a campaign to expose the racist frame-up of the 8, but also the frame-ups of other black political prisoners in du Pont land.

The du Ponts' experiment in open fascism failed to intimidate the militant black community because Afro-Americans have lived in a state of cloaked fascism for 400 years—it is like trying to torture a man by starvation who has known nothing but hunger all his life.

Help and funds are desperately needed. Contact the Sisters and Brothers of Wilmington, Delaware, 1321 East 29th Street, Wilmington, Dela. 19802.

## -Commandos

(Continued from page 11)

Abu Shahab's rifle; it is common knowledge that there are fedayeen in the area, and the feeling that the fedayeen are friends seems universal among the poor. We, though, must be a strange sight. Abu Shahab explains that we are friends from the United States—we're against the war in Vietnam, and we're against the U.S. helping the Zionists. The family smiles, and the lady pats us on the arm.

Abu Shahab begins to speak intensely to the family about the Palestinians. Our hosts are Jordanians, but like all their compatriots, feel great sympathy for the Palestinians and great anger at Israel. Abu Shahab compares the people's war of the Palestinians to the fight of the Vietnamese. These Jordanian peasants know about Vietnam from the radio, and the expressions on their faces leave no doubt of their anger with the U.S. We recall the Democrati cadre saying at Al Baka'a. "These women go to pray in the mosque, and they say, 'Oh God, if you love us, make the U.S. get out of Vietnam,' because they know if the Vietnamese can make the U.S. leave Vietnam, we can get Palestine back."

## One of the Panther 21 hospitalized after beatings

One of the Panther 21 was in Bellevue Hospital in critical condition this week after eight months of slow murder in New York City jails.

Lee Berry, 27 years old, was arrested, along with twenty other alleged members of the Black Panther Party, last May. Berry, however, was taken into custody while in a hospital bed, ill from multiple wounds he had received as a soldier in Vietnam. Like the others, he was arraigned, bail was set at \$100,000, and Berry was locked in a jail cell in solitary confinement.

## Viet vet tortured in jail

Berry is the father of an eight-month old baby girl, born six days before he was snatched from his sickbed by the pigs.

Berry has a serious head injury sustained in combat in Vietnam. He is subject to epileptic seizures because of this condition, and has had thirteen serious seizures in prison. In spite of this, he has not only been denied proper medical care, but was even beaten over the head with a blackjack on one occasion.

The young veteran also has an eight-inch steel plate in his leg from another war wound. It was not until he developed appendicitis, however, that he was transferred from the Tombs to Bellevue Hospital, where he has been in critical condition with a fever of 105 degrees.

Despite Berry's deteriorating physical condition, the judges who have heard appeals for reduction of the extraordinary bails set on the Panthers have refused to lower this ransom. In effect, they have sentenced this black man to probable death, before there has even been a trial on the preposterous conspiracy charges brought against the Panther 21.

## My Lai and Black Nation

Like the vicious imprisonment of three Black Panther women in Connecticut who were expecting babies, one of whom gave birth in jail, the treatment of Lee Berry by the New York pigs, from the sadistic prison guards to the "respectable" judges, shows the completely merciless character of the functionaries who carry out ruling class "justice." Lee Berry saw the real face of imperialism in Vietnam; that's why he decided to fight the system. It is the same ruling class that made My Lai and similar massacres inevitable that is now plotting the destruction of the black liberation movement and its most devoted young cadres.

A picket line demanding freedom for Berry marched in front of Bellevue on Saturday, January 3, for several hours. Berry's wife, Marva, told the demonstrators that her husband was aware of the picket line and felt strengthened by it.



(Workers World asked Yoruba Guzman, Minister of Information of the Young Lords, some questions about the YLO occupation of the Methodist church on 111th Street in Spanish Harlem.)

## An interview with Yoruba



**Taking a stand at People's Church:**

Felipe Luciano, Chairman of the Young Lords, Yoruba Guzman and other members of the YLO hold a press conference on the steps of the First Spanish Methodist Church. The group took over the building to provide free breakfasts, medical care and liberation classes to the community.

WORKERS WORLD: We'd like to know about the church and what's happening there; also, how it fits into the program of the Young Lords and into the meaning of the struggle of the Puerto Rican people against oppression.

Yoruba G: The fifth point of the 13-point program of the Young Lords Organization states that we want community control of our institutions and lives.

It's a very basic primitive idea that the land belongs to the people. The land has always been the basis for our revolution. What we're saying now is that not just the land, but everything in it, on it, in the air, everything belongs to the people who live in that community.

This particular church, the First Spanish Methodist Church on 111th St. and Lexington Ave. didn't want to deal with the people, thought we were lower than garbage. Other churches in the community are lacking in some ways, but at least they helped us with free clothing drives, they had a Headstart Program. The people here, it hurts, because these people are mainly Puerto Rican; the rest are Cuban. These people come into the community for a few hours, open up their book, turn on the lights, pray to their god-- it's their god you know, their image and likeness, not the other way around-- and then they split, they cut out.

We went to the church for six weeks: worshipping with them, praying, singing, leafletting before and after the services to the parishioners. Some of them got really up tight, stronger against us. And they were led in this by Dr. Carrazana, who is the pastor of the church.

Carrazana is a gusano. He used to be a district superintendent in Cuba and he cut out and now he's over here and he comes here.

### Cops beat Lord leader in church

The seventh week, December 7, Chairman Feliciano got up. He was about to ask for some space; we wanted to start a dialogue with the congregation...

As soon as he got up, the choir started singing, the organ started playing. He didn't get two words out and some of the choir members started pushing him around and 25 police came in and started beating heads and arresting people, and blood was flowing in the church. While all this was going on, the pastor was taking pictures.

WW: Could you explain more what kind of programs you're initiating now that you have control of the church?

YG: As soon as we got into the church-- we got in on a Sunday and Monday morning we fed 75 kids. We fed them breakfast. Then we had a liberation school. We had a community meal where we fed 300 people... We had a day care center and this time we got really small kids.

See, in the space of twelve hours, we put all our services in that church. We got free medical services. Every child that's in the church started a medical history. The doctors and nurses who we have in there gave them the lead poison tests, the tuberculin tests, checking their eyes, checking out the conditions of the ghetto...

WW: How do you see your movement in relation to the movement in Puerto Rico for independence from Yankee imperialism?

### Independence for P.R. same struggle

YG: Essentially it's the same movement. We are one with the struggles of the brothers and sisters in Puerto Rico, and they're supporting us in our struggle. In fact, we have a section of the Young Lords Organization developing in Puerto Rico...

The week that the busts came down the police surrounded the office, in taxis and Volkswagens. December 10, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, about 150 policemen surrounded the office. And it blocked up 111th, 112th Street. They lined up on the roofs across the street. And they were from all over the city.

So Lindsay comes out with this crap that he doesn't know what's going on. He knows-- Manhattan's 4th platoon, his platoon, that he claimed responsibility for during the campaign. He takes great pride in saying he created it. He knows when they move around-- they're created to move from trouble spot to trouble spot. So, he knew what was going down. He knows exactly that 150 policemen were there trying to intimidate us into something, making no bones about it.

### Hampton's murder a "personal loss"

They can't do it, because it was a week after the shit went down in L.A. and a few days after what happened to Fred, and we take that in the Young Lords as a personal loss-- because many of us, Cha Cha, other people, knew Fred, and if it weren't

for Fred, the Rainbow Coalition would have been another year in the making. That would be way off. It started in Chicago, mostly due to Fred.

What happened after that Thursday-- one o'clock in the morning, that's December 11, December 12 really-- our witnesses, a few Lords, were beaten up next to the church; they threw 'em up against the church and beat 'em up. One of them was an epileptic and he had a fit. He crawled into the office-- he crawled two blocks to the office and came in and told us what happened. They've been intimidating families: somebody, some kind of agent has been going around to mothers, wives, relatives, places where we work.

The situation right now-- we just got slapped with a show cause order. Across the street, 1681 Madison Avenue on the second floor, we've got definite proof; we found out that the police are watching the office, and that they have telescopic rifles pointed at the office. So we live with that kind of oppression every day.

We're lucky that we don't get uptight about it. We've got to stay cool, and we've got to keep on functioning. We can't afford to get uptight about it, and one of the reasons we don't is that we were brought up with that. See, we live with that every day. You know that any day you look bad at a pig in the street in the ghetto, that's your ass...

Then you move on other facts. You realize that our twelfth point says: We believe that armed struggle and armed self-defense are the only ways to liberation. When you combine the two, you've got to get rid of all the people that are putting their feet on your back; either that or you die-- one or the other.

WW: You say they're trying now to serve an injunction against you? How will that affect your program?

### "We have already won a victory"

YG: The injunction, we're deciding, we're rapping now. We're going to have a central committee meeting and we're deciding when the injunction comes whether or not we're going to stay or whether or not we're going to leave. Either way it doesn't matter, right, because we have already won a victory. We've driven that home to the people; we had a rally yesterday. In the meeting we told the people, look, they can come in and break our heads or they can give us an injunction and say OK give the church back and we can leave.

Either way the people have found that they can move and take control of things that affect them and that have pushed them around for too long. So it's a victory. Anything that happens from here is an anti-climax.

WW: Has any support been coming from outside the community?

YG: Yes, all kinds.... We're getting help from the mother country and a lot of people that have been watching us, calling us, and they say, "Look, I don't want to come down, but look, take ten dollars." We can take that you know. We can, we need all kinds of things. We need Gestetner machines; we need paper; we need mimeo paper.

Black people from Brooklyn, the Afro-American Students Association-- the colony has been tremendous. That's our main source of support, the people in the colony. And people in Chicago have called us up; and the phone calls and telegrams we're getting in the struggle are beautiful: people from Puerto Rico, people from California. Yesterday, Los Siete de la Raza-- two of the sisters came by and saluted us in the struggle. So that makes you feel good, that you're not alone, it's a good thing.

## — Ind. massacre

(Continued from page 16)

that 57 cartridge casings were picked up from the blood-spattered yard.

Those who witnessed the attack emphasized that the guards were in no danger from the prisoners, that there was no riot situation, and that the guards did not fire in panic. The calculated nature of this atrocity is further indicated by the fact that shotguns were used to crush the demonstration, rather than non-lethal weapons such as tear gas or the nearby fire hoses.

"It isn't surprising that one was killed; what is surprising is that the shots didn't kill 10 or 15 of them," commented one witness.

The complete facts about this coldblooded murder and its aftermath may never be known. Just as the atrocities uncovered in the Arkansas prisons in March, 1968, were eventually hushed up by Governor Winthrop Rockefeller, the ruling class is making every effort to do the same in this case.

Governor Whitcombe of Indiana wrote that "no reformatory employee would be suspended or released." And Superintendent Phend said that he backed the actions of his gestapo squad "100 percent." The Indiana prison authorities have, up to now, closed their doors and those of the reformatory to outside investigators. The all-white county grand jury that was convened for the specific purpose of providing a legal whitewash of the atrocity upheld the contention of the prison authorities that the prisoners were hit only by ricocheting bullets and that no guard aimed at the "rioting" inmates.

## — Tel Aviv attack

(Continued from page 11)

towns of Gaza and Rafiah in the Gaza Strip on November 15 as a result of the mass resistance to Israeli occupation. By the end of November, the Israelis conducted a wave of arrests throughout both occupied Jordan and the Gaza Strip in an attempt to crush the guerrilla resistance.

### Arab guerrillas retaliate

Meanwhile, Israeli officials claimed that all UAR ground-to-air missile sites were destroyed along the Suez Canal. But the Israelis have been unable to stop the rising number of assaults on Israeli positions by UAR-based commandos.

The threat of full-fledged war by the Israelis loomed as a real possibility in late December as Israeli planes launched a new wave of strafing missions into Jordan and the UAR. And the Israeli aggressors opened up the new year of 1970 by destroying Jordan's Ghor Canal for the third time. Arab guerrillas retaliated later in the day with rocket attacks along the Lebanese and Jordanian borders.

Despite the imitation of U.S. tactics in Vietnam by Moshe Dayan and Golda Meir, and the tremendous damage being done to the conventional defenses of the official Arab governments, the Palestinian commando forces cannot be destroyed and are growing stronger each day. Napalm, crop destruction, and "pacification" brought defeat to the puppets in Saigon, and the puppets in Tel Aviv are unlikely to fare any better.



# Indiana prison attempts massacre of black youth

By Emily Tarasov

Black men were once again faced with the naked terror of a Nazi concentration camp as 12 white guards at the Indiana State Reformatory at Pendleton opened fire on unarmed prisoners who were demonstrating against the racism of the prison. The men were all laying flat on their backs when they were shot. After the attack, one lay dead and 46 were wounded.

This flagrant, cold-blooded murder took place on September 26, over three months ago, but, as with the My Lai massacre, the ruling class tried to cover up their atrocity. The story was only pieced together after off-the-job discussions with prison workers who had witnessed the attack and through interviews with incensed residents of the area, especially in the large black community of nearby Gary, Indiana.

In fact, the story might never have come out had it not increased racial tensions in the heavily industrial city of Gary. Said Mari Evans, a black college teacher in Indianapolis, "There's nothing else you can regard the Pendleton shooting except as racial warfare against black people."

## One of worst reformatories

In the opinion of many penal experts, the Pendleton Reformatory, the largest in the nation, is also one of the worst. The inmates, the majority of whom are black and range in age from 15 to 30, are kept in greatly overcrowded, dehumanizing conditions and are brutalized by guards, more than 30 percent of whom are drawn from a surrounding rural area that is a stronghold of the Ku Klux Klan.

## Prisoners demand release of brothers from solitary

The events that led up to the racist attack in the Pendleton Reformatory appear to have been manipulated by the prison authorities who wanted to have an excuse to crush the organized militancy of the



black inmates. This militancy was reflected in demands such as the right to read black newspapers and books and to wear an Afro hairstyle. However, their most important demand was the release of four brothers who had been thrown into the dungeon-like solitary confinement cell—the "hole."

Because the prisoners exhibited such militant solidarity with their brothers who were being tortured in the hole—what has been called by some penal authorities the cruelest punishment known to man—the prison officials had been forced to meet with the prisoners to discuss their demands and to promise the release of the four from solitary. But on the morning of September 26, two of the four prisoners in the hole were hustled out of the prison for transfer to Indiana State Prison at Michigan City.

The first reaction of the prisoners to this callous double-cross was to start a fire in the prison's furniture factory. The fire was quickly put out, however, by the more organized of the prisoners who did not want to give the authorities the slightest pretext for suppressing their demands. They wanted to make a visible, organized protest in the yard, and the fire was not in harmony with the tactics of this approach.

As soon as the inmates gathered in the yard to present their demands, the guards (including one "vocational teacher"), wearing riot helmets and carrying loaded shotguns, demanded that they leave immediately. All the whites and a few of the blacks left. The rest remained to present their demands to Superintendent Phend, the perpetrator of the double-cross. Phend, however, refused to meet with them.

## Guards shoot prisoners in back

After ten minutes of verbal confrontation, the prisoners realized that orders had been given from higher-up to shoot them, so they lay face down on the ground, feeling that the guards would be less likely to open fire on them if they had to shoot the inmates in the back. As it became apparent that this tactic would not forestall the imminent massacre, some of the men began to stand with raised hands to indicate surrender, but even this did not deter the pigs from shooting. "You've had your chance!" they yelled as the bullets flew into the backs of the prisoners. One prison worker who was later interviewed, asserted

(Continued on page 15)

# Cleve. rally: groups unite behind Panthers

CLEVELAND, Dec. 21—A rally in support of the Black Panther Party drew nearly 1,000 enthusiastic people to Case Western Reserve University's Strosacker Auditorium tonight, despite heavy snow, to hear David Hilliard, Panther Chief of Staff, Mae Mallory of Operation Black Unity and of the committee that is defending Ahmed Evans, and lawyer Charles Garry, who has represented numerous Panthers in court. Twenty-five organizations in the area sponsored the rally.

The crowd cheered the speakers with cries of "right on" as they condemned the murders of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago and the Los Angeles police raid against the Panther offices in that city. Only last week, 50 heavily armed Cleveland police raided the local Panther headquarters here, which was vacant when the cops arrived.

Hilliard and Garry arrived an hour and a half behind schedule because their plane had been re-routed to Toledo allegedly because of bad weather in Cleveland. But as Mae Mallory told the audience, other planes were landing at Cleveland's Hopkins Airport at the time Hilliard's flight was sent to Toledo.

## Condemn Hampton murder

All of the speakers lashed out against the vicious racism of this system which allows such revolutionaries as Fred Hampton to be murdered in their own beds and against the Nixon Administration which is promoting the

most repressive measures against the black liberation movement and which is upholding oppression all over the world.

Mae Mallory strongly defended human rights over property rights, saying that acts against the oppressors' property were justified if one looked at the role of property holders in society. With regard to the black liberation struggle, she said that the job for white people is to organize whites and to build white support for black liberation. She strongly affirmed the black people's right to self-defense, in light of the fact that the establishment is attempting to systematically exterminate the black race.

David Hilliard talked about the many Black Panther Party members who are victims of persecution in this country. He used his recent indictment in California (which came down because he stated the "Nixon and anyone else standing in the way of our freedom ought to be killed") to illustrate the extent to which the rulers are violating their own laws in order to smash the Panthers. Anyone else making that statement, he said, would not have been bothered by the authorities.

## Fascism for black people

Charles Garry, attorney for the Black Panthers, pointed out that there is no such thing as "democracy" in this country and that there is actually fascism as far as the black community is concerned. He spoke at length about Huey Newton and Bobby

Seale and denounced Judge Julius Hoffman's attitude and actions against Bobby Seale in the court in Chicago. He stated that the time has come for lawyers to stand up against such behavior and to refuse to abide by the rulings. The audience responded with a standing ovation.

All three speakers supported the November 15 demonstration at the Justice Department in their talks. "If everyone had been at the Justice Department, Fred Hampton might be alive today," said Mae Mallory to wild applause. Many in the audience stood with clenched fists as David Hilliard was introduced, reflecting the great enthusiasm that filled the hall. Over \$400 was raised during the meeting and given to the Panthers for their work.

Although the local ruling class press could not ignore this extremely important manifestation of solidarity with the Black Panther Party, the editors of the "free press" here saw fit to censor all the remarks of the black speakers.

The people unanimously approved a resolution advocating a mass campaign to pressure city officials to denounce the systematic extermination of black people as evidenced in the attacks on the Panthers. Many sections of the population have since shown increasing interest in participating in a protest against these racist attacks. It is expected that the momentum built up at the Panther rally will greatly aid the local struggles in the near future.