

International Women's Day 1970

4-Page Special

**History of
Women's Day**

**The Road to
Women's Liberation**



—LNS/Ann Dockery

Chicago 10...p. 2

Answer to repression...pp. 4-5

Ribicoff-Stennis bloc...p. 10

Betrayal of 1877...p. 11

Philippine revolution...p. 14

Black and white, unite and fight for a

WORKERS WORLD

25¢

VOL. 12, NO. 4 — MARCH 7, 1970

N.Y. Panthers to Murtagh:

Black Declaration of Independence

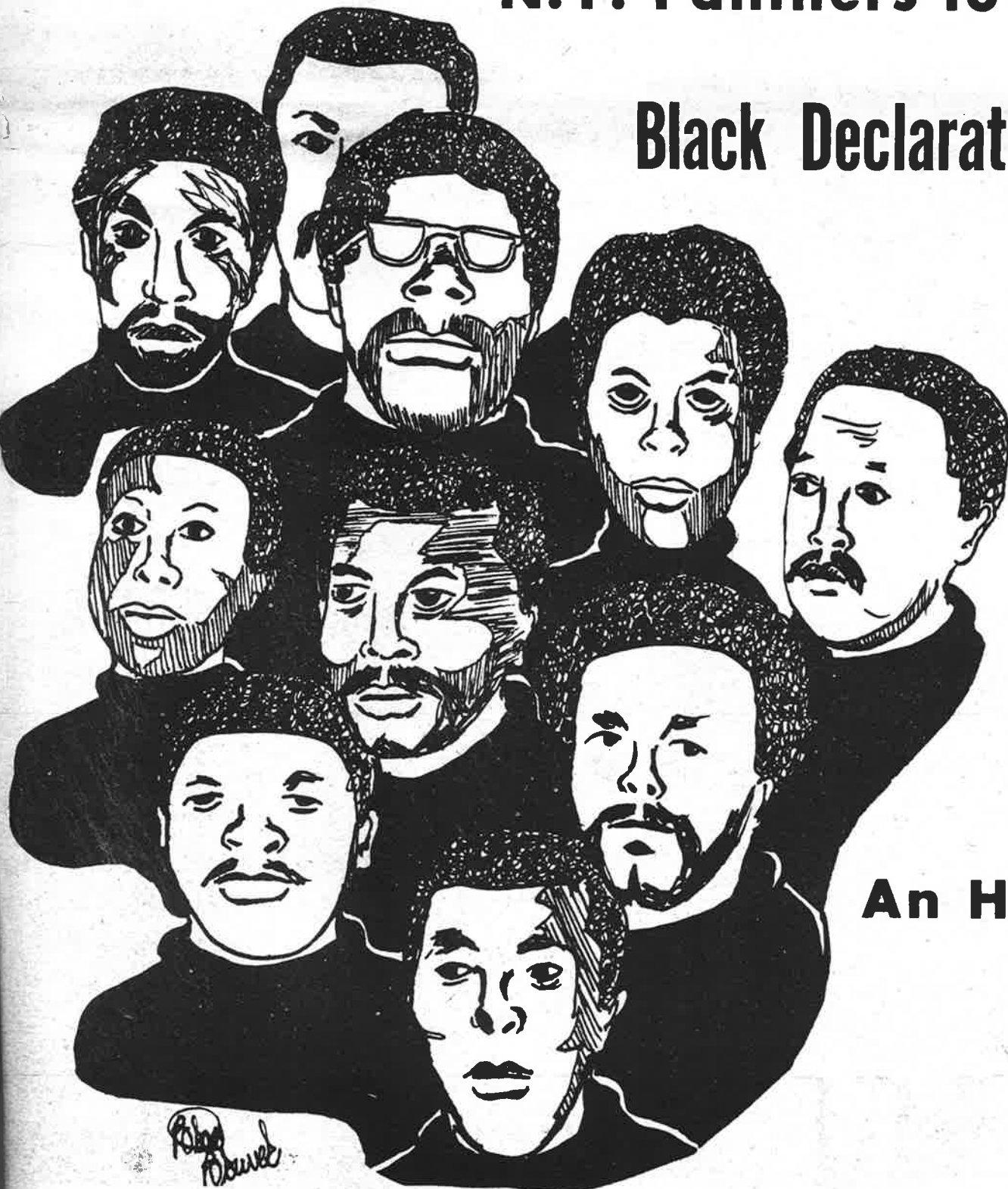
from

**American System
of Injustice**

An Historic Document

Full Text Inside

3-Page Special



Black Power

News Commentary

The Chicago 10 and the political groupings

By Sam Marcy

If the Chicago 10 never do anything more for the rest of their lives, they will already have made one of the most remarkable and invaluable contributions to the progress of the movement.

Their contribution is all the more welcome because it comes at a time when the ruling class is relentlessly escalating the repression and a truly vigorous and courageous response was most urgently needed.

The release of the Chicago 10—although on extortionate bail—is eloquent testimony to the massive character of the response to the foul verdict and unprecedented harshness of the sentences imposed on the defendants by Judge Hoffman. The response also proves the effectiveness and forcefulness of the struggle put up by the defendants in making the courtroom a veritable battleground in their unyielding effort to reach the public in the face of the sternest and most obdurate opposition of judge and prosecution.

Since the dawn of class society, the ruling class of every exploiting system has with undeviating consistency demanded of its subjects "respect for law and order—above all for the courts." The court, it must never be forgotten, had its origin when the slave-master and later the feudal lord brought into his "court-yard" his subjects to be judged by him—the master and lord—contempt shown in his presence was synonymous with contempt of the ruling class and defiance of its authority.

Capitalist jurisprudence has continued and fortified this tradition, masking the rule of the bourgeoisie as the rule of the people—and its court as the repository of justice.

"DE-SANCTIFIED" THE COURT

In tearing the veil from this holy of holies, the Chicago defendants not only "de-sanctified" the court, but exposed it for the corrupt and decadent institution it really is. This is not to say that other leaders in the past have not carried out a more consistent and revolutionary exposure of imperialist justice in the courtroom. But the bold and courageous struggle put up by the Chicago 10 served as a medium to rally the broadest sections of public support and make the courtroom the focus of world attention.

From the beginning it was clear that the ruling class through Judge Hoffman had over-reached itself. But the collective efforts of all the defendants and their attorneys took advantage of this to strike back with all the moral and political equipment at their disposal. The response, as we now know from the people, was greater and more intense than anyone could have hoped for at the very beginning of this infamous judicial proceeding.

THE POLITICAL GROUPINGS

Now that the defendants are out on bail, it is perhaps appropriate to discuss the relation of some of the political groups that lay claim to Marxism-Leninism and their relation to the trial of the Chicago 10.

To begin with it is well to remember that the CP, SWP and PL were opposed to participation in the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago from which demonstrations the convictions against the defendants spring. This is especially important in the light of their developing attitude towards the conduct of the defendants at the trial and to subsequent events. Each of these groups had its own reasons for opposing partici-

pation in the Chicago demonstrations at the time of the Democratic National Convention and none of them participated. The CP would have been very much for the demonstrations had they been staged as a pro-McCarthy nomination rally or as a vigil-type gathering of prayerful protesters. In any case their yearning for a close alliance with the so-called progressive wing of the Democratic Party ruled out any type of militancy which would offend the sensibilities of McCarthy, McGovern & Co.

The fact that the CP later roundly denounced and deplored the violence of the police, as did PL and the SWP, was no more of a gesture than one would expect from any good liberal.

BEHIND LEFTIST PHRASEOLOGY

On the face of it, the opposition of PL and the SWP was seemingly based on firmer ground. The Democratic Party is a capitalist party and a tool of the ruling class. Demonstrating at the Democratic Convention would be interpreted as support for the McCarthyites, who were vying for the presidential nomination, and in any case the demonstration would focus attention on the Democratic Convention and thereby strengthen the influence of capitalist politics on the workers. By boycotting the demonstrations rather than participating in them, more could be done to disillusion the mass of the people with the Democratic Party and its pro-war position than by participating in or encouraging the demonstrations.

These are good sound arguments and they have the old ring of "class truth" behind them. But the real reason why these organizations turned their back on the demonstrations is in direct contradiction to real class truth. It lies in their consistent, their undeviating position of avoiding struggle and confining themselves to bourgeois-reformist electoral politics, as is the case with the SWP, or to posturing as exponents of "proletarianization."

Of course, no serious working class organization worthy of its name can fail to firmly base itself on the working class as the fundamental instrument for the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie or deny the validity, in principle, of participating in electoral campaigns when they are timely and the circumstances are proper. To counterpose active, militant and sincere participation in this important struggle to "going to the workers" or "participating in an election campaign," or for that matter, counterposing the struggle in Chicago at the Democratic Convention to any other form of activity at the time was sheer hypocrisy and falsehood. Both PL and the SWP utilized good sound arguments to deceive the unwary. For their basic orientation was to sidestep what apparently was emerging as a major confrontation growing out of the anti-war struggle and provoked by the ruling class. Their abstention from the demonstrations was reactionary and their revolutionary phrase-mongering a cover-up.

ALSO OPPOSED DEFIANCE OF THE BOURGEOIS COURT

Without in so many words saying so, these very same political groupings were in one way or another hostile to the conduct of the defendants at the trial. Oh of course they denounced the Judge and the courts and the police and repression and all that, but many bourgeois liberals also did that and without calling themselves Marxists. But what these groupings did

not do, which would differentiate them from bourgeois liberals in practice and in action is to show that indispensable solidarity which flows from genuine concern and appreciation of the magnitude of the case and its overall significance for the movement in America.

COURTROOM STRUGGLE AROUSED MILLIONS

No one will assert that the defendants, with the exception of Bobby Seale, consider themselves Marxists or Leninists or that the level of their political ideology goes beyond the defense of democratic rights, anti-racism and anti-militarism. But that again is not the issue. The essence of the matter is that the Chicago defendants opened an avenue of struggle against the repression unleashed by the imperialist establishment and fought under conditions which were most difficult for the defendants. They nevertheless doggedly pursued a course of exposure and attack against the judicial frame-up system which aroused millions of people and awakened many of them to political life and the perils which face all the oppressed.

WORKERS WORLD PARTY CONFERENCE

As a Marxist-Leninist Party, we took a position diametrically opposed to that of the groupings we are discussing. We are proud of our participation in the Chicago demonstrations and are glad that we encouraged them to the widest possible extent. Our annual Party Conference, which followed on the heels of the Chicago demonstration by a bare few days, had as one of its principal items on the agenda for discussion our experiences and lessons learned from the Chicago demonstration. Practically all of the participants emerged from the demonstrations in an optimistic mood fortified by the lessons learned in the struggle.

Our Party has consistently solidarized itself in action with the Chicago defendants. This is particularly true of our young comrades who participated in numerous YAWF demonstrations and almost all the actions, especially in the East, which were designed to defend the Chicago victims and of course the Panther 21.

Our political differences with the Chicago defendants are probably deeper and more profound than those that these alleged Marxist groupings have with them. But that is in the plane of ideology. The supreme test of real meaning of ideological principles is in the crucible of the struggle itself. What kind of Marxism is it which shuns struggle? It is the familiar phenomenon of that Marxism which Lenin so relentlessly fought against, the Marxism that is pedantic, gutless and spineless, the Marxism of the revolutionary word but pacifist bourgeois liberalism in deed.

Every revolutionary party must utilize all avenues of possible struggle in order to reach the broadest strata of the masses. From this it follows that the party must also utilize a multiplicity and variety of forms in the struggle in order to reach the masses and achieve a flexibility in approaching the masses—with due regard to the level of their development.

This has absolutely nothing in common, however, with a renunciation of militant struggle and self-defense measures—of shirking from the struggle, of, in effect, "copping out"—just when it is most necessary to resolutely respond with all the vigor and energy at our disposal. Those who renounce the use of militant and revolutionary methods of struggle when the battle has only begun, will never survive the truly great battles which are just beginning to unfold.

YAWF leader framed up during Chicago demonstration

The head of the Chicago Red Squad personally arrested and beat a leader of Chicago YAWF at the February 12 anti-Agnew demonstration. Jim Coatsworth, 20, was singled out by the political police while 700 militant youth were demonstrating at the Conrad Hilton.

The demonstration had been called by the moderate Student Mobilization, but a group of activists who constituted themselves as the Revolutionary Contingent made up of Youth Against War & Fascism, Revolutionary Youth Movement and the Conspiracy gave militant leadership to the activists.

After about an hour and a half of picketing in front of the Hilton, a spokesman for the SMC announced that the demonstration against Agnew was

over. Jim Coatsworth, however, called on the crowd to march to the Palmer House, the hotel where the Conspiracy jury was sequestered, and announce to the jury and the people of Chicago that the Conspiracy defendants must be set free!

Falling in line behind an "Avenge Fred Hampton" banner, the people began to march to the Palmer House. After a few blocks on the sidewalk, they moved into the street chanting, "Fred Hampton—live like him, dare to struggle, dare to win!" Some were reluctant to go into the street at first. As the demonstration got within two blocks of the Palmer House, however, a surge of militancy and defiance swept through the marchers and they flooded into the street chanting loudly.

The notorious Chicago pigs were lying in wait in a city bus at the east entrance to the hotel. As the militants marched past, the pigs waded into the demonstration.

At this point the head of the Red Squad attacked and arrested Coatsworth. Jim was brutalized right there, and beaten two more times at the precinct. While dragging Jim to the police car, the pig bragged that he had been out to get the YAWF leader and named others in the organization who could expect the same treatment.

There were a total of 23 arrests. The other 22 were charged with disorderly conduct and obstructing traffic. They were released on \$25 bail. Jim was charged with two counts of aggravated battery; felonious mob action;



Jim Coatsworth (left) Chicago YAWF leader and Joel Myers New York militant now serving 3 1/2 years for draft resistance.

obstructing traffic and resisting arrest. His bail was \$2,000.

Buffalo U. Struggle

Students drive
cops out;
hold campus

By DAN BENTIVOGLI
Chairman, Univ. of Buffalo YAWF

Buffalo in the thirties and forties was the scene of many pitched battles between workers and cops. This week that tradition of militant struggle was carried on—but this time by students, some of them the sons and daughters of those very workers. And the battleground was not the dusty plant gates of Bethlehem Steel but the sprawling campus of the State University on the other edge of town.

The mood among the students this week was reminiscent of Berkeley, Columbia and Wisconsin. Tremendous initiative was shown by scores of people in devising ingenious methods of foiling the police invasion of the campus.

BEGUN BY BLACK ATHLETES

It all started on the night of Tuesday, February 24. A long-simmering struggle by the Black athletes came to a boiling point over a basketball game scheduled for that night. The University of Buffalo, like all establishment institutions, is thoroughly racist. Racism was the issue last year during massive demonstrations protesting the nearly all-white construction crews hired to build the new campus slated to make Buffalo the largest university in the East.

And racism was the issue again Tuesday night as the Black athletes demonstrated for fair treatment by the University. Their demands were: 1) that all members—Black, Puerto Rican and white—of the basketball team be made financially stable (few Black athletes get scholarships); 2) the University apologize to all team members who have been unjustly treated; 3) that the players receive the grades promised for athletic work; 4) that there be Black coaches; 5) the resignation of three coaches and an

Maryann Free!



Maryann Weissman greets ASU chairman Andy Stapp and fellow YAWF leader Key Martin on release from Women's House of Detention. Maryann served a 30-day contempt sentence for courtroom support of the New York Panther 21.



An abortive invasion by the pigs on the University of Buffalo campus last Thursday. A boycott by Black athletes led to a major confrontation on Wednesday night between cops and students. When this picture was taken the next day, an expeditionary force had been squeezed into ineffective enclaves. Soon after, the pigs were completely driven off campus.

investigation of the Athletic Department by a board that includes minority groups.

After a boycott of the game by the Black team members and a demonstration right in the gym, called by the Black Student Union, the game was cancelled. But the next day another game had been scheduled.

As a group of several hundred gathered in Haas Lounge of Norton Union toward evening to discuss what to do to support the Blacks, some campus cops entered the building and arrested two students.

COPS INVADED STUDENT UNION

Things were seething by the time city pigs—members of the Tactical Patrol Unit—burst into the building from both sides. Outside were eight TPU cars, three K-9 vehicles and three cars from

BULLETIN—

Twenty suspended

Note: As we go to press Thursday night, the author has been suspended along with 19 others in an arbitrary effort by the UB administration to remove the most political and activist people from the campus and to intimidate the rest. This action came after the defiance of the injunction by hundreds of students who closed down Hayes Hall, the administration building, all day. The campus remains shut by a student strike which has considerable faculty support. Meanwhile Fillmore and Humbolt, two mostly Black high schools, went out over the racism of the Buffalo school system. Burgard, a Black and white vocational school, walked out in solidarity with the UB students. A heavy confrontation developed downtown between the high school youth and the Buffalo pigs.

the Kensington precinct.

The pigs were vicious. They began arresting the people at the meeting, and cleared out the student lounge smashing all the furniture as they went. It was a rampage.

But when they went to leave the building it was a different story. Outside were several thousand angry students, and there was plenty of ice and snow around. The shoe was on the other foot, and even though the cops used mace and their clubs to break out of the encirclement, the final score was ten pigs and two students in the hospital. Nineteen were arrested.

The strength of the students can be gauged by the fact that no one in the Administration would take credit for having called in the cops.

The next morning began with a rally in Haas Lounge again. This time we marched over to Hayes Hall, the Administration building, growing to several thousand on the way. The anger of the students was vented on the many windows of this headquarters of the University establishment before we moved on the office of the campus security force.

SECURITY BUILDING

TAKES A FEW LUMPS

This building was thoroughly trashed. Every window was broken, and some mechanically minded students even jumped the wires on a couple of

pig station wagons and sent them crashing against the building. Next the large crowd descended on Project Themis, a Navy affiliate doing research on underwater warfare, and the windows there went quickly, followed by the explosion of a generator.

Suddenly about 35 TPU and campus cops appeared equipped with full riot gear. Hundreds of students rushed across an intervening athletic field, demolishing a dugout and arming themselves with the wood on the way. It was "Off the Pig" all the way.

The 35 made a hasty retreat. "There are times when it's advantageous to back off," was the way one Inspector described it later. A Lt. Goss alibied it this way: "We were greatly outnumbered, so we gracefully and very rapidly got out." And got out they did, marching down Winspear Avenue (the border of the campus) with a vocal student escort all the way.

LAST PIG DRIVEN OFF CAMPUS

But they hadn't given up yet. Another 100 cops, including some sheriff's deputies, gathered near Norton Union. They were armed with teargas guns, and after having been driven off campus once by a barrage of rocks, bricks and bottles, came back intending to fire the gas. But the students got upwind of the pigs, nearly a thousand strong, and backed them up clean across the campus.

The day had started off with the police thinking they could dampen the student powderkeg by carrying out an ID check as people entered the campus—a ridiculous and ineffective procedure. It ended with the withdrawal of the enemy and for a while, at least, the campus was really ours.

A 7:30 rally on Thursday evening approved a student strike—kind of ex post facto—and decided we should work in smaller groups to keep from being an easy target when the pigs returned. That evening the plush, Playboy-decor Faculty Dining Room was offed.

At 10:00 P.M., several thousand students met in the Goodyear Dorm cafeteria and decided to organize a blockade of the buildings the next day, to ensure the effectiveness of the strike.

The strike was so effective that the University cancelled all classes on Monday and called a general Convocation. This "soft cop" approach was combined with an injunction against any further student activity, signed by the same judge who had sentenced Martin Sostre to 41 years and had issued a similar injunction against UB students last year. And on the day of the Convocation, several thousand of Buffalo's "finest" assembled in the downtown area as the Chief of Police announced that all leaves had been cancelled.

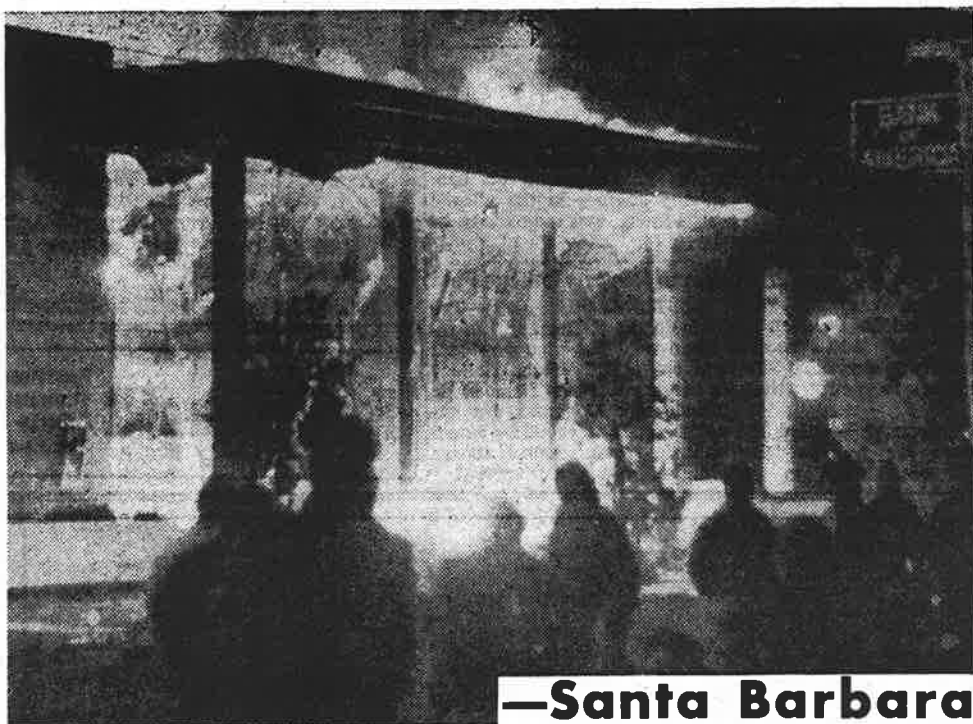
AN EFFECTIVE DRESS REHEARSAL

We all learned a great deal about how to struggle effectively in this battle. There was a disdain for meetings that bog down with endless bullshitting, and an enthusiasm for doing it. And as the fight to get the "Pigs Off Campus" matured, we all realized that this wasn't enough. The battle had started over the issue of racism. But racism on the campus is only an echo of the brutal repression by the pigs against the oppressed communities themselves.

We all looked at this struggle as a dress rehearsal for part of a bigger battle: to get the pigs out of the oppressed communities.

The response to the repression

—New York



—Santa Barbara

SANTA BARBARA — All that was left of this Bank of America in Isla Vista was a heap of scorched and twisted girders after students from the University of California finished relocating a large oil drum. The spectacular trashing came after student anger over the firing of a professor was rekindled by the verdict in Chicago.

After a rally where William Kunstler spoke, a large crowd marched from the University to the downtown area. When the pigs started a bust, the bank went.

Reagan, true blue to his class, freaked and declared a "state of extreme emergency." The National Guard was put on alert, highway cops moved in and at 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew set, while spokesmen for the bank screamed "insurrection"!



NEW YORK CITY, Feb. 23 — Bank windows came trashing down along lower Fifth Avenue today as 400 militant youth demonstrated against the repression of the Chicago 10 and the New York Panther 21. A Parade Committee march along an "approved" route followed by a rally featuring William Kunstler had turned out 2,000. The quiet mood of the crowd became more militant as the YAWF contingent arrived with banners demanding "Free the Chicago 10," "Free the Panther 21" and "Avenge Fred Hampton."

After the rally, the Parade Committee told everyone to go home, but instead the youth began another and more militant march down Fifth Avenue. Hastily assembled cops tried to intercept the group, but several hundred made it to Washington Square Park, trashing as they went. They reassembled and marched to the Women's House of Detention, where a demonstration was held demanding freedom for Panther Joan Bird and Maryann Weissman of YAWF.

—Chicago

CHICAGO — This demonstration of 700 at the Conrad Hilton to support the Conspiracy moved on to the Palmer House where the jury was still sequestered. As the spirit of the march picked up, the people chanted, "Fred Hampton — live like him, dare to struggle, dare to win!"

As the crowd neared the Palmer House, pigs rushed out of the doorways and broke up the crowd, arresting 23. (For story on arrest of Chicago YAWF leader, see page 2.)



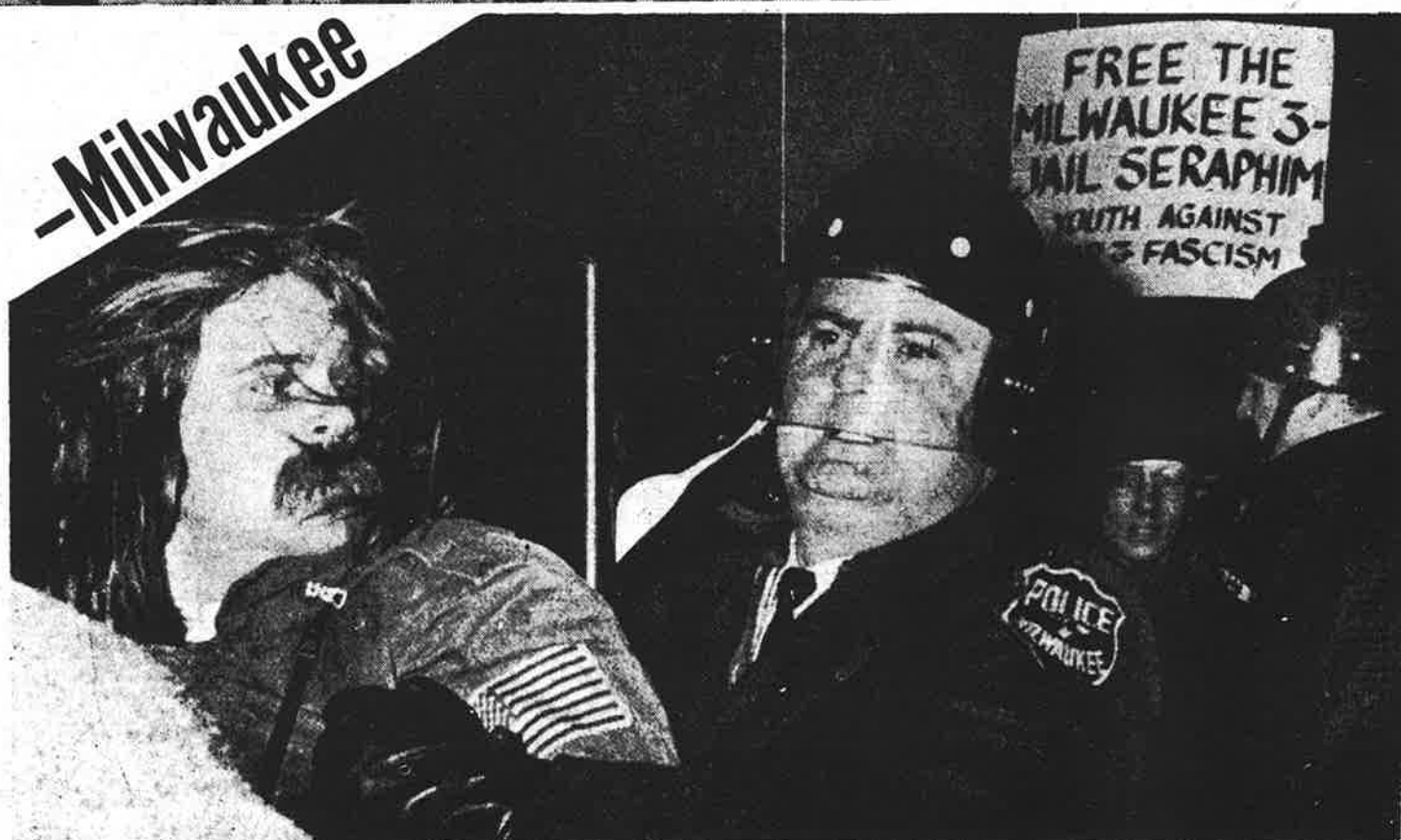
—Milwaukee

MILWAUKEE — City cops recruited more people for the revolution on February 20 when they tried to arrest everyone in sight during a demonstration protesting the Chicago Conspiracy convictions. They did grab 50 demonstrators out of a group of several hundred, and charged most of them with "unlawful assembly."

The protest had been called by SDS, YIP and YAWF. The plans were modest; they called for a march from the War Memorial Center to the Federal Building in downtown Milwaukee.

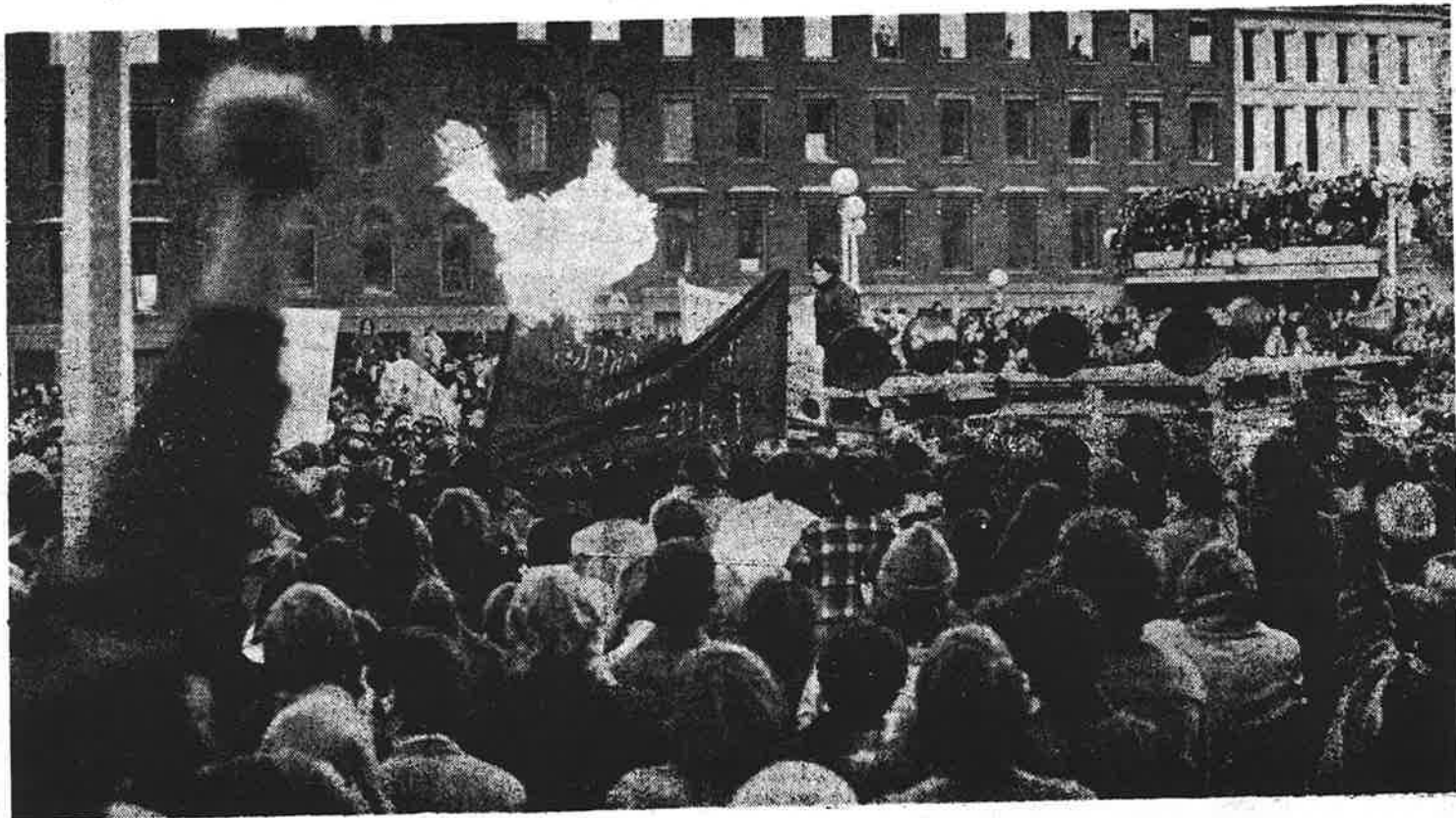
As they marched, their chants of "Free the Eight, Smash the State" attracted quite a bit of attention from the Milwaukeeans shopping in the area. It was at this point that the cops decided to break up the demonstration. They charged into the line of marchers, knocking people down and scattering their placards. Orders were issued to arrest everyone on the street.

The head of the Red Squad fingered Al Stergar, Chairman of the Milwaukee Workers World Party, while he was retrieving some of the signs that had been dropped during the police charge. Later in court, Judge Christ Seraphim doubled Stergar's bail, complaining that he "will not cease and desist."



March 7, 1970

-Boston



Burning Hoffman in effigy in downtown Boston.

BOSTON, Feb. 19—In the largest outpouring of demonstrators since the massive November 15 Moratorium Day Rally, about 15,000 young people marched on the streets here in angry protest of the Chicago Conspiracy frame-up trial. The marchers filled Tremont Street in downtown Boston and assembled at City Hall Plaza.

A highlight of the demonstration came when a large pig in black robes was burned high on a stake. The effigy

was easily recognized by all as Judge Hoffman.

Flags of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam were carried by demonstrators in a show of solidarity. Several large, colorful YAWF banners were also prominent in the demonstration, calling for the freedom of the Panther 21, the Chicago conspiracy and all political prisoners. "Avenge Fred Hampton" and "Stop the War Against Vietnam and Black

America" were also on banners carried by the YAWF contingent.

The political awareness of the demonstrators was shown by their attacks on the banks, known to be the real power behind Hoffman, Mitchell and Nixon. Among others, windows were smashed at the First National Bank, the Merchants Cooperative Bank, the Home Savings Bank and the Savings Bank Life Insurance Council Bank.

The cops (more than 400 had been mobilized for the march and rally) were true to form in their viciousness. Demonstrators were clubbed to the ground from behind and were still beaten while they were down.

The demonstrators were defiant and fought back, unarmed, against the cops in "riot-gear." The demonstrators showed once again that the ruling class violence and repression inevitably arouse mass defiance and struggle.

-Cleveland



BOSTON 10,000 students demonstrate.

CLEVELAND—This city saw four major actions against repression the week of the Chicago Conspiracy convictions. Demonstrations and rallies protested the Conspiracy sentences, the opening of the Panther trial in New York City, and continued the struggle to free Ahmed Evans.

The major demonstration was held on February 21, "Conspiracy Day." Over 250 people, angry and horrified at the stiff contempt sentences against the defendants and their lawyers, met in Public Square and carried the protest to the Federal and Municipal court buildings downtown.

Their signs read: "The courts are in contempt of the people"—"Court system, tool of bosses' rule"—"Down with police state tactics" and "Stop the war against Black America." The more militant youth chanted: "1, 2, 3, 4—open up the prison doors," "Free the eight, fight repression!" "Free the prisoners, jail the judge!"

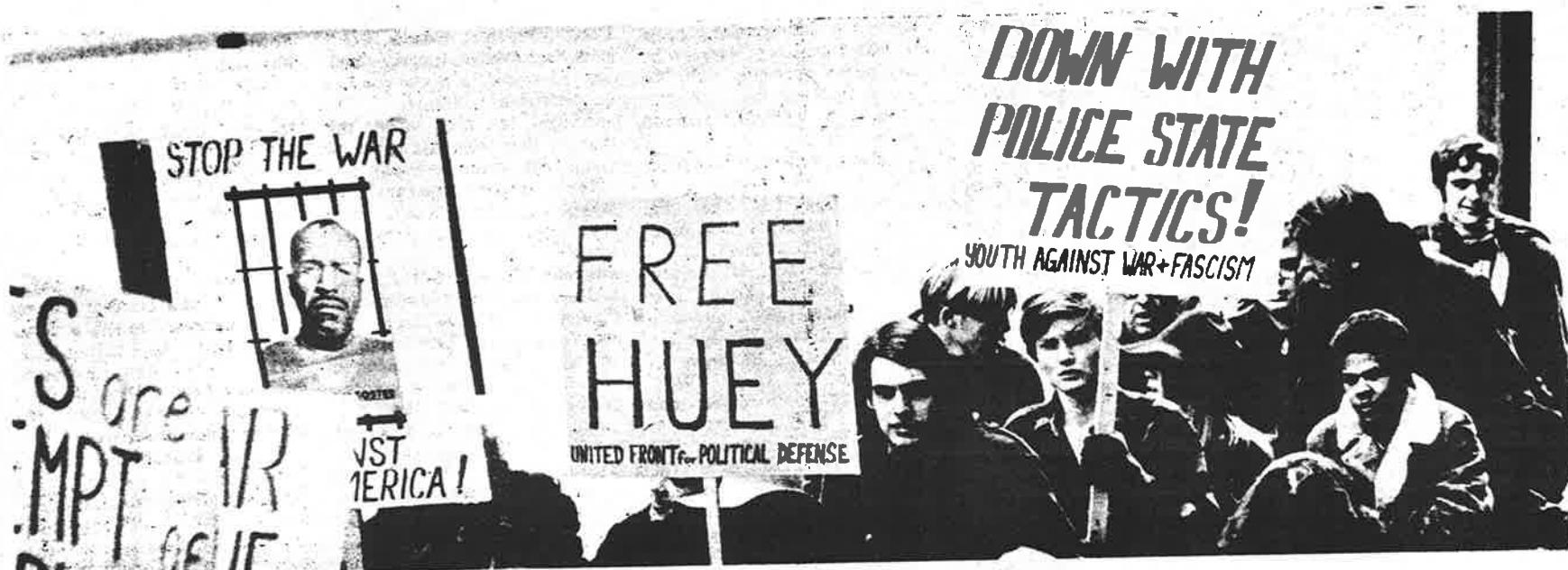
On the steps of Municipal Court—the scene of a number of previous anti-repression actions in defense of Ahmed Evans, Dostal and Gass, Mae Mallory, and the Panthers—Ted Dostal, a retired steelworker, urged

the crowd to continue to carry the fight into the streets. A defendant himself in a case arising from the campaign to Save Ahmed Evans, Dostal stressed the need to let it be known that the people are rising up against injustice and will not be intimidated by government-inspired repression.

An incident with a police detective brought the repression home to many in Cleveland later in the week. During a meeting in Strosacker Auditorium at Case-Western Reserve University to protest the Chicago jailings, a detective was found hidden in the projection booth taping the rally. The audience of 350 was furious and angrily protested the incident.

The same cop had been exposed a few days earlier when CWRU law students held a demonstration and rally to denounce the Chicago trial and affirm that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

The Week Against Repression also saw several hundred young people demonstrate in support of Ahmed Evans on February 15 at the conclusion of the national Student Mobilization conference.



Protesting the fascist trial in front of Cleveland Post Office building.

How Madison students took care of GE

By ALLISON STEINER

MADISON, Wisc. — Under the slogan "Warmakers, Strikebreakers — GE Off Campus," 2,500 University of Wisconsin students demonstrated against the presence of GE scab recruiters on the campus. They were met by a squad of riot-clad police, and prevented from carrying out any form of protest, either by picketing or by the presentation of petitions demanding that GE leave the University.

After attempts to exercise their rights as students to enter a public university building were prevented by police who drove the group away with clubs and tear gas, the group moved back to the main campus where other institutions tied to U.S. military imperialism such as ROTC and the Army Math Research Center were attacked. Several windows of these pig institutions were broken, and an unmarked police squad car which belonged to the director of police during the armed attacks last spring on the Mifflin Street (student) community, was turned over and set afire.

The group then moved onto Madison's streets and vented their anger and frustration on the capitalist merchants who exploit and over-charge the captive student community. In total over \$50,000 worth of damage was done in this trashing. Under YAWF and SDS leader-

ship the demonstration was led back to the primary target, the GE recruiters, where the police again attacked the crowd, now numbering around 800, and prevented any organized protest from occurring.

At this point several arrests occurred, including Amy Kirkland of YAWF. In all eight people were arrested Thursday, and several more have been picked up on warrants since then. The University officials, bowing willingly to pressure from the reactionary state legislature, have threatened expulsion for all students arrested and "other demonstration leaders." In addition, the City Attorney and the County District Attorney have brought up the possibility of a grand jury investigation to establish that a "conspiracy" took place to use the cover of the General Electric demonstration to break windows in the University area. Also the University has stated that it would like to press charges that would make the organizations that sponsored the demonstration responsible for the damage that was done. All of the groups that are involved have stated very clearly that it was the presence of police on the campus that caused the violence that followed.

In a press release February 16, Madison YAWF said the following: "Any attempt to red-bait or destroy radical groups on this campus or to stop general dissent against

the University and its relationship with U.S. imperialism at home and abroad by means of grand jury investigations or expulsion of individuals cannot be tolerated in Madison. Student groups have already begun to organize a defense which will clearly explain the circumstances of the GE demonstration. Attempts to break up the unity of these groups will meet with failure. The atmosphere of the recently concluded 'Conspiracy 7' trial in Chicago must not come to this city."

The United Front for Political Defense has already begun these efforts. A letter was sent to various labor unions in Madison by Amy Kirkland, asking for the right to come and explain the demonstration to them. Other efforts will be made to go out into the community of Madison and explain the real relationship between the police, GE and the University as well as the war in Vietnam.

The first round and primary objective of the demonstration was won in that GE did not return to campus on Friday as they had planned to do. The demonstration had gotten these warmakers (the second largest war producer in the United States) off the University. However, a second and perhaps more difficult round has opened up in the battles against repression, which is the logical extension of the University's policies towards the war and dissent in general.



Overturing an unmarked police car on the Madison campus.



Stoning the cops.

Militants defend Milwaukee Panther 3

By JIM MILLER

MILWAUKEE, Wisc. — The Black Panther Party has been met with a growing campaign of both physical murder and legal repression. The case of the Milwaukee 3 fits in perfectly with this pattern.

Jesse White, Earl Leverette, and Booker Collins are three members of the Black Panther Party who were arrested last September for supposedly firing a shotgun at a cop and missing him at four feet! They are presently serving one-year terms in the Milwaukee House of Detention for resisting arrest stemming from that incident. In typical frame-up style there were no witnesses to the "shooting" other than the cop who claims he was shot at.

While in jail several of the three have been denied adequate medical attention. Jessie White sustained a back injury when the police beat him up upon arresting him, and Booker Collins, who is a veteran of Vietnam, is in danger of losing an arm after police brutally beat him around his war wounds. The jail officials have repeatedly said that there is nothing wrong with them and has given them only aspirin or Darvon at the most.

In keeping with the constant harassment of Panther legal victims, supporters of the Milwaukee 3 who wanted to view their arraignment February 13 were searched so slowly and thoroughly that when a postponement was reached an hour and a half after the beginning of the proceeding, some twenty people had still not been allowed into the courtroom. The demonstrators totaled around 200, although some did not attempt to enter the court at all. After the hearing, flags saying, "Free the Milwaukee 3" and showing the Panther symbol were carried as the demonstrators marched to nearby Milwaukee Area Technical College to publicize their cause. Earlier in

the day squads of supporters had gone throughout the city distributing literature on the case and on the general repression against the Panthers.

On Saturday night, February 14, these Panther banners were raised at a demonstration against S. I. Hayakawa, President of San Francisco State College and chief instigator of the violence and repression that was meted out against Black and Third World students at that school. The action, called by several SDS groups, the White Panthers and Youth Against War & Fascism, drew about 300 people who surrounded the entrance forcing the police to close it off, delaying the speech by an hour. The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Union had been "secured" since that afternoon, with only one door open for the meeting. The demonstrators chanted "Free Huey, Free the 3, Overthrow the Bourgeoisie," as well as "Hayakawa Must Go!" They demanded that either everyone be allowed in to hear the speech or no one be allowed to.

After a squad of riot police moved in to protect the door and allow people with tickets into the building, a small group of demonstrators broke away, breaking windows in the University area and causing several thousand dollars worth of damage. There were several arrests.

Support for the Milwaukee 3 is growing and rallies are being planned for the period prior to the trial to build up actual demonstrations at the trial itself, modeled on actions around the Huey Newton case and the New York 21. The 3 are issuing agitation from the jail in the form of "Letters From Prison" and other support is being developed in a Black Community Newsletter "Seize the Time." The repression which the city of Milwaukee wants to bring down upon the Panther revolutionaries will not be met with silence, and the entire community is being mobilized to stop this injustice towards the people.

N.Y. Panthers to Murtagh:

Black declaration of independence from American system of injustice

We present here a document by the New York Black Panther Party defendants written in jail. It is their answer to Judge Murtagh, who halted the trial and demanded that the Panthers sign a statement promising to abide by the "American system of justice." The Panthers had refused to go along with the judicial farce taking place in Criminal Court, and in this answer they indict the entire system of racist justice in America. This statement is copyrighted and is reprinted here with the permission of the Committee to Defend the New York Panther 21.

(Subheads our own - Ed.)

TO: JUSTICE MURTAGH FROM: DEFENDANTS

We the defendants named by the state in the proceedings now pending before "Justice" John M. Murtagh, in Part 38 Supreme Court, County of New York, say:

That the history of this nation has most definitely developed a dual set of social, economical and political realities, as well as dynamics. One white, and the other Black (the Black experience, or ghetto reality) having as their roots one of the most insidious and ruthless systems of human exploitation known to man, the enslavement and murder of over 40 million Black people, spread over a period of less than three centuries.

Long ago in this nation certain basic decisions were made about Black people, but not consulting them. Even before the Constitution was ever put on paper with its beautiful words and glowing rhetoric of man's equality and philosophical rights, human considerations had long given way before white economic necessity. Black people were to legally be defined and classified as non-human, below a horse—but definitely not a man.

Color became the crucial variable, and the foundation of the system of Black slavery. While chattel slavery is no longer upheld by the supreme law of the land, the habit and practice in thought and speech of looking at Black people from the chattel plain still persist. After much refinement, sophistication and development, it has remained to become imbedded in the national character, making itself clear in organized society, its institutions, and the attitudes of the dominant white culture to this very day.

For us to state there are two realities (experiences) that exist in this nation, is a statement of fact.

THE TRADITION OF INJUSTICE

When we speak of American traditions, let us not forget the tradition of injustice inflicted again and again upon those whom tradition has been created to exclude, exploit, dehumanize and murder.

Let us not conveniently forget how the system of "American justice" systematically upheld the bizarre reasoning about Black people in order to retain a system of slave labor. And when this became economically unnecessary, how "the great American system of justice" helped to establish and maintain social degradation and deprivation of all who were not white, and most certainly, those who were Black. To be sure, the entire country had to share in this denial; to justify the inhuman treatment of other human beings, the American had to conceal from himself and others his oppression of Blacks, but again the white dominant society has long had absolute power, especially over Black people—so it was no difficult matter to ignore them, define them, forget them, and if they persisted, pacify or punish them.

The duality of American society today need no longer be reinforced by laws, for it is now and has long been in the minds of men:

THE PLANTATION MENTALITY

The Harlems of America, as opposed to those who decide the fate of America's Harlems. This is essentially a historical continuation today, of yesterday—the plantation mentality, system and division, in the cloak of 20th century enlightenment.

"Traditional American justice"—its very application has created what it claims to remedy, for its eyes are truly covered: it does not see the Black reality, nor does it consider or know of the Black experience, least of all consider it valid.

Black poor people are always subject to, but do not take part in your corrupt grand jury system and process.

We as a people do not exist except as victims, and

to this and much more, we say—no more. For 351-1/2 years we said this in various ways. But running deep in the American psyche is fear of the ex-slave. He who for so long has been wronged, will be wronged no more, and in fact will demand, fight and die for his human rights.

WE HAVE FELT

THIS 100 YEARS

But why need we feel this way in the first place? Does not your Constitution guarantee man's freedom, his human dignity against state encroachment? Or does the innate fear of the rebellious slave in the heart of the slavemaster continue to this day to negate all those guarantees in the cases of Black people? Does this cultural racist phobia make one forget, and abridge his own Constitution, as this court has done to us? Do you not know what we mean when we say "NO MORE"? What has been done to us by your court, the District Attorney, is only a reflection of all that has been infused and permeates this racist society.

Black people have said and felt this for over 100 years. But those of the other reality, the dominant white culture, its institutions, had no ears to truly hear. The wax of centuries of slavemaster-slave relationship had stopped up their ears, your ears. For if our reality, the Black experience in America, is invalid, then so are the institutions and social structure that contributed to its creation invalid. If you then concede it is valid (which it most definitely is), then it must be of consequence in determining what is "justice" compared to us, (Black people).

White citizens have grown up with the identity of an American, and have enjoyed a completely different relationship to the institutions of this nation, with that, the unresolved conflicts of the ex-slaveholder.

WE ARE STILL THE VICTIMS

Blacks are no longer the economic underpinning of the nation. But we continue to be willing, or unwilling, victims. There is a timeless quality to the unconscious which transforms yesterday into today.

On August 17, 1619, over a year prior to the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, a Dutch privateer dropped anchor off Jamestown, Virginia. There she exchanged her cargo of twenty Black men, women and children for provisions. According to the Dutch sailors, these Black people had been baptized, they were "Christians" and therefore could not be enslaved under British laws. As a result of that law, we were legally defined as "indentured" servants.

By 1663, though, the "Christian" conscience had given way to the capitalist desire for maximum profits. By 1663 also the Carolinas, New York and Maryland in 1664, Delaware and Pennsylvania in 1682 perpetrated the most heinous and despicable act conceivable to the human mind, that of denying an entire race of people their freedom by relegating them to an eternal status of "chattel slavery," and this abominable feat was done through the courts, legally, and with the backing of guns—our first experience with "American justice."

YOU EVEN GAGGED JEFFERSON

But it did not stop there. Although later the "Declaration of Independence" proclaimed that "All men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness," there was a most interesting omission.

In the original draft there was a paragraph that Thomas Jefferson intended to include in the list of grievances against King George III. The paragraph read: "He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the person of a distant people (African, Black people), who never offended him; captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither."

This paragraph was omitted in the final document, and understandably. For not only would it have been a valid and factual indictment against King George, but also one against the "Founding Fathers" themselves.

A SLAVE CONSTITUTION

When the "glorious" and "sacred" Constitution of the United States of America was drawn up in 1787, the "noble," "just" and "freedom-loving" men who had fought a long and bloody war against the tyrannical and oppressive British regime headed by King George, for their freedom, wrote into their constitution laws that further sanctified, legalized and protected that most "peculiar institution" (slavery). Apparently they recognized the absurd and repugnant contradiction, but not sufficiently enough to do anything other than exclude the term "Negro" and "slave" from that document.

The Constitution contained three provisions that dealt specifically with the issue of slavery. The first, established the policy that in counting population in order to determine how many representatives a state might send to Congress, all free persons and "three-fifths of all other persons" were to be counted (Article I Sec. 2). The second forbade the Congress from making any laws restricting the slave trade until 1808 (Article I Sec. 9), and the third, provided that runaway slaves who had escaped from any state had to be returned by any other state in which they might have sought refuge (Article IV Sec. 2).

SLAVE CODES EVEN YET!

The years passed and our wretched plight progressively worsened, the "laws" of bondage became even more institutionalized, inculcated in the dominant culture. In order to further protect and perpetuate their domination over us, the southern states passed many repressive laws called "slave codes." For us, there was no freedom of assembly. If more than four or five slaves came together without permission from a white person, that gathering in the depraved minds of the slavemasters was construed as a conspiracy.

The towns and cities imposed a 9 P.M. curfew on us, there was no freedom of movement, a pass had to be carried by the slave whenever he was out of the presence of his master. And to enforce these ignoble laws, slave patrols, organized like militias were composed of armed and mounted whites. (This mentality persists to this day. Woe to the Black man who is out very late in a white neighborhood; the police (white) suspect him immediately of being up to some foul deed, even into the ghetto, the white policeman brings this mentality.)

Although slavery had been abolished in certain states, the Black people who lived in those states were subjected to degrading laws which belied their so-called free status, and even worse, they were subject to kidnapping and being sold into slavery. The so-called free Black man was anything but free under the "American system of justice."

NO PLACE TO HIDE

Throughout this horrid epoch, a few slaves managed to escape, then more slaves. The slaveholders demanded that the runaway slave laws be enforced. They pleaded to the United States Supreme Court, and that "august" body, the most powerful judiciary body in the land, the ultimate interpreters of the Constitution, answered their plea by passing the "fugitive slave law" in 1850. Now for the runaway slave escaping to the North was not enough, for the Northern cities were overrun with slave-catchers.

In July 1847, Dred Scott, a Black resident of Missouri, brought suit in a Federal Court for his freedom. It read:

"Your petitioner, Dred Scott, a man of color, respectfully represents that sometime in the year of 1835 your petitioner was 'purchased' as a slave by one John Emerson, since deceased, who... conveyed your petitioner from the state of Missouri to Fort Snelling (Illinois) a fort then occupied by the troops of the United States and under the jurisdiction of the United States."

THE HOPE STRANGLER

In essence Dred Scott was claiming that since he had been transported into territory (Illinois), in which slavery was forbidden by an act of Congress as well as state law, he was now a free man. This case was looked upon as a test to determine just what rights a Black man had in this country. It was the profound hope of many that a just and humane verdict would be rendered.

It took the Dred Scott case 10 years to reach the "sacred" halls of the Supreme Court, and when that "prestigious" group of men spoke in March 1857 through the voice of "Chief Justice" Roger Taney, the Court ruled that "people of African descent are not and cannot be citizens of the United States and cannot sue in any court of the United States," and that Black people have "no rights which whites are bound to

respect"—a classic example of the "American way of justice."

RECONSTRUCTION AND BETRAYAL

The Reconstruction Era was a time of great and unparalleled hope. It seemed as though Black people were finally to be accorded equal and humane treatment when the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments were enacted.

But terror, violence, intimidation and murder still haunted us; the Ku Klux Klan did "their thing."

In 1875 Congress enacted the first significant civil rights law. It theoretically gave Black people the right to equal accommodations, facilities and access to public transportation and places of public amusement. But as Blacks well know and whites deny, there is a world of difference in America between theory and practice. For although the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments and the civil rights act of 1875 "gave" Black people so-called freedom, the right of citizenship and the right to vote, the enforcement of those laws was an entirely different thing. The extent of enforcement was totally dependent upon the degree to which it was advantageous to the Republican Party and the Northern industrialist.

By 1876 it was decided that Black people had served their purpose and, therefore, even the pretense of Black equality was no longer necessary.

SUPREME COURT'S

ROLE — AGAIN

The Supreme Court in 1883 embodied that attitude in law by declaring that the civil rights act of 1875 was unconstitutional. In other decisions it displayed its remarkable and ingenious talent for interpreting the law according to the needs and interests of the dominant white ruling class. It nullified the 14th and 15th Amendments by declaring that they were Federal restrictions only on the powers of the states or their agents, not on the powers of individuals within those states. Thus it was still illegal for any states to violate or abridge the rights of Black people; but if on the other hand, private citizens or a group of them (such as the Ku Klux Klan), within any state actively prevented Black people from exercising their rights, then the crime came under the jurisdiction of the state in which the crime, or crimes took place.

The court also ruled that if a state law did not appear on its surface discriminatory against Black people, then the federal courts had no right to investigate. But this was not enough. It was necessary to go even further, and they did.

REPEALED THE CIVIL WAR!

In 1896 the Supreme Court in Plessy vs Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537, upheld a Louisiana law requiring segregated railroad facilities. As long as equality of accommodations existed, the court held segregation did not constitute discrimination, and Black people were not deprived of equal protection of the law under the 14th Amendment. American justice!

"Segregation automatically meant discrimination. Black people were forced to use in public buildings, freight elevators and toilet facilities reserved for janitors. On trains all Black people, even those with first-class tickets, were forced to seat themselves in the baggage car. Employment discrimination and wage discrimination, "inferior" schools for Black children. All of these inhuman crimes were made legal by the highest court in the land. Typical American justice, for Black people.

HYPOCRITICAL

TOKENISM IN 1954

In 1954 the Supreme Court, only after intense domestic pressure and unveiling internationally as a nation of hypocrites, this nation's ruling elite reversed the infamous Plessy vs Ferguson decision, and ruled that segregated educational facilities were unconstitutional. But this ruling, like virtually every seemingly just decision for Black people, was almost immediately revealed as a sham, a mere gesture to pacify us and alleviate your embarrassment. For the public schools of the nation are still overwhelmingly segregated and unequal, the result of a century of duality.

In the north, in the south, in the east and in the west, all over the country Black people are accused of crimes, thrown in your jails, dragged through your courts and administered a sour dose of "American justice." We are in jail outside, and jail inside. Black people and now all poor people have been well educated in the American system of justice.

YOUR FORCE GOES ON

We know very well what is meant by your statement, "This court is responsible for maintaining proper respect for the administration of criminal justice and preventing any reflection on the image of American justice." Properly translated, it simply means that the farce must go on. The image must remain intact.

It is precisely these contradictions of maintaining justice as a reality or rhetorically asserting such procedure that must be resolved. The process

of determining judicially by which the legal rights of private parties or the people are vindicated, and the guilt or innocence of accused persons is established has a history that is as variable as the color and the class of the individual prosecuted. It is not only doubtful, it is appalling, to say the least.

Accusations of contempt for the "dignity" of and respect for, the court indicates to us the defendants, that a devious attempt by the court prevails, to obscure the truth of these proceedings. There is a note of glaring distinction between theory and practice within the "halls of justice" which is consistent with the judicial history as it pertains to Black and poor people. This is why the brief history. What fool cannot see that the "justice" of which you speak has a dual interpretation quite apart from the legal definition and is in keeping with "slavemaster" traditions.

NOT JUSTICE, BUT FASCISM!

In light of historical fact, the perspective must be put into the proper context and true time continuum as to whether justice and United States Constitutional rights are effectively afforded unvaryingly to all who stand before the "American system" of justice, that exercises due process.

Just law, in reality, shall not be defamed by its dual application according to racial and social values because of wealth, position and influence. History provides the doubt of "American system" of justice when comparison of class orientation defines the degree of rights, respect and justice the individual shall receive. Political favors as existed then for judicial position has not varied even to the present.

With such political relationships existing have the courts, in practice, escaped from the abuse of authority which is a threat to the development of a free nation of people? Fascism encroaches in just such a manner. Historically the qualitative change in society still reveals a lack of humane interaction with the socially, economically and politically exploited and isolated Black and poor peoples. The preceding chronology substantiates a blatant contempt for Black people and other non-white poor people, not recognizing their human rights and liberties as a matter of law, or morality, and a total disregard to our social reality, is an insult to us. We can see the yesterday in today and the history of our particular case runs upon the same tracks as does our people's long struggle.

WE'RE SICK OF THE 'BIG LIE'

This court represents the most ruthless system in the world, caring nothing for the wholesale misery that it brings, while at the same time, your papers are full of verbiage of your "nobility," "righteousness," "justice," "fairness," and the "good" that you do.

We are very, very sick and tired of the BIG LIE. We cannot stand passive to the big lie any longer. We cannot accept it any longer.

It is time to state the truth, for Black people, for poor Puerto Rican, Mexican American, Chinese American, Indian and poor white people. The "American system of justice" is a hideous sham and a revolting farce.

We must look at the situation objectively. As has been explicitly implied in the preceding, we realize that we are not Second Class citizens at all. We are a colonized people. (Read your own Commission Reports.) We see that we are still considered chattel. We see how the Fugitive Slave Act has been modified in words, but is still being used, how the Dred Scott decision was never really reversed. That the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments of the Constitution did not liberate us—that in fact, in social reality they only legalized slavery and expanded the Dred Scott decision to include Indians, Spanish-speaking and poor white people.

SUBMIT TO 'YOUR' LAWS?

We see that things have not gotten better, but only progressively worse, and that includes tyranny. We completely oppose racism and tyranny and will continue to do so. You wish us to act according to a Decorum set down by an organization, the "American Bar Association," which is not only racist, but is also not against genocide. (Perhaps they realize the truth, and see that the American ruling class is definitely liable, for its treatment of Black people?)

In court you ask us to submit to a code of laws—your laws, not our laws (Black and poor people) but your laws—your laws because we were never asked (Black people) if we consented to having them as our laws, nor are these laws relevant to our ghetto reality. They are your laws, and we find them racist and oppressive. They, these laws, perpetuate our plantation continuation.

Right now, in 1970, 90 percent of the inmates of your prisons are non-white. Ninety percent! And we (Black people, etc.) have never had the right to decide if we wanted to be governed by laws which we had no part in making. Yet, the primary concern of the men who drafted the "Declaration of Independence" was the consent of the governed by laws which they had a part in forming and which was relevant to them. We are in your prison, but these are not our laws. They are your laws, and in dealing with Black and poor people, you do not even adhere to your own laws.

HOW MANY

HAVE YOU LYNCHED?

In fact, a leading criminologist, Dr. R. R. Korn of Stanford University, has noted that 80 percent of the people now in prison were put there illegally according to your own law. (Strange that the overwhelming population is Black and non-white?)

Mr. Murtagh—your record speaks for itself. You are known in the ghetto as a "Hanging Judge." (How many Black and white poor men did you convict without their even having counsel just in 1969 alone, in your clever slick way?) Frank Hogan and his aides are well known—very well known in the Ghetto—known for what they are—racist and unethical. (We have knowledge of cases, since our incarceration of Assistant District Attorneys, or D.A.'s men posing as legal aides to get convictions.) But in our case you and Mr. Hogan have gotten together and have outdone yourselves in denying us all, everyone of our "alleged" state, federal and human rights. The record clearly shows this, when not clouded with the mist of racism.

WE ARE NOT CRIMINALS!

A) Let us clear up one basic misconception. You constantly refer to this case as a "criminal" trial, while all of the time we know, you know, Frank Hogan knows, the people know, the other prisoners and even the guards know that this is not a criminal trial. Everyone knows that this is a political trial, for if we were not members of the Black Panther Party, a lot of things would never have been done to us in the first place.

Why are we not allowed to be with other prisoners? Why are we not allowed to even talk to the other prisoners? Why are we isolated? (Something we might say or do that can open their eyes, perhaps?) Alleged murderers and rapists are not treated in this manner, even "convicted" murderers and rapists are not treated in the manner in which we were treated. Why do you persist in the big lie? It is one of many clear contradictions.

B) On April 2, 1969, hordes of "police" broke down our doors, or otherwise forced entry into our homes, and ran amok. Rampaging and rummaging through our homes, they seized articles from us with wild abandon while having no search warrants. The "police" put us and our families in grave danger, nervously aiming shotguns, rifles and pistols at us and our families—even our children.

WE WERE KIDNAPPED

We were then kidnapped as were some of our families. We state "kidnap" because many of us were never shown any arrest warrant, even to this day. This is illegal. This is a blatant contradiction of your own Constitution.... We said nothing.

C) Upon the arrest of some of the defendants and before the appearance of any of the defendants, New York City District Attorney Frank Hogan appeared on national radio and national television (Channels 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, and 11) in a press conference, during which time he gave out information from an "indictment" against us in an inflammatory and provocative manner, deliberately designed to incite the people against us and to deny us even the semblance of a "fair trial." Mr. Hogan implied a lie—that we had been seized on the way to commit these alleged acts with bombs in our hands—rather than the truth—that we had no bombs and that most of us were taken out of our beds.

WE WERE LIED ABOUT

Subsequent to that press conference, "unidentified police sources" and "persons close to the investigation" stated falsely to the press that we, as members of the Black Panther Party were being aided and abetted by foreign governments considered hostile to your government (i.e. Cuba and China)—that we, as Black Panther Party members were stealing money from federal and/or state agencies and many other false wild charges, designed to heighten the public alarm against us and our Party, rather than diminish it, so as to create an atmosphere conducive to the extermination of the Black Panther Party and justify anything that might be done to us.

This unethical behavior gave, aided, and abetted further prejudicial pre-trial publicity, indirect contradiction to your law as outlined in the 14th Amendment of your Constitution of the United States. Due to this behavior alone, we are positive that we could not get a fair trial anywhere in this country.... We still said nothing.

YOU BROKE

YOUR OWN LAW

D) When our attorneys learned of our arrest, they attempted to see us, as we were being held in your District Attorney's office. They were refused permission to do so. At the "arraignment" a similar request by our counsel was again refused by Mr. Charles Marks who presided thereat. These refusals were in blatant violation of your law as outlined in the 6th and 14th Amendments of your Constitution of the United States.... We continued to be silent.

E) At this "arraignment" this Mr. Charles

March 7, 1970

Marks who was presiding, refused to read, explain or give us a copy of this "indictment" against us. This is another violation of your law as outlined in the 6th and 14th Amendments of your Constitution of the United States..... yet, we remained silent.

YOUR 'BAIL' WAS RANSOM!

F) Bail (ransom) was set at \$100,000, which is ridiculous and tantamount to no bail at all. This is another violation of your own law as outlined in the 8th and 14th Amendments of your Constitution of the United States. We state that this bail is not only contradictory to your own law, but that it is also racist. When white "radical" groups are arrested, their bails do not usually exceed \$10,000. When three Yemenites were charged with "conspiracy" to murder your President Nixon, and with the equipment to do such, their bail was \$25,000; when Minutemen in New York were arrested and charged with a conspiracy to commit murder, the murder of 155 persons and were arrested with bombs and guns more than enough to do this. Bail was at \$25,000. We had no bombs. Our bail was \$100,000..... We remained silent.

G) At this arraignment, this Mr. Charles Marks, the same "Judge" who is alleged to have signed the "Arrest Warrants," stated in words or substance that he was accepting all of the allegations in the "indictment" against us to be true. On subsequent hearings during April and May 1969, concerning reduction of ransom (bail) at which this same Mr. Marks still presided, he stated that we were "un-American" and that the law "did not apply to us" (sounds of history?). This does not quite show impartiality..... Yet, we said nothing.

H) Our counsel have been in front of at least 35 "Judges" concerning our bail, and this attitude permeates the "great American system of justice." All motions on this were denied, either without comment or because of the "seriousness" of the "charges," but never dealing with the Constitutional issues involved, and it is your Constitution. All of this seems to underlie "Judge" Marks' remarks..... Yet, we said nothing.

WE'VE BEEN TREATED LIKE ANIMALS!

I) We have been treated like animals—in fact, like less than animals. On January 17, 1969, Miss Joan Bird was kidnapped, beaten, and tortured. She was punched and beaten, given the "Thumb Torture," hung upside down by the ankle from out of a third-story window of a "Police Precinct." On April 2-3, 1969, some of us were beaten as we were being kidnapped. From April 2, 1969, all of us were placed under constant abuse and harassment, which included 24-hour lock-in, complete isolation, no library or recreation, lights kept on in our cells for 24 hours, physical assaults, deprivations of seeing our families, at times denied mattresses, medication, sheets, showers, pillowcases, towels, soap, toothpaste, and toilet paper.

Our families have suffered abuse in visiting us, and mental anguish. One of us suffered the loss of a child because of this. Some of our families had to go on welfare because of our outrageous incarceration and ransom. We were denied mail, even from our attorneys—denied access to consult all together with our attorneys. We have been subjected to the most onerous and barbaric of jail conditions. The objective of all this was our psychological and physical destruction during our pre-trial detention.

As NEWSWEEK magazine even states, "... the handling of the suspects between their arrest and their trial was something less than a model of American criminal justice," and "none of it was very becoming to the state...." (How well we know.) All this is a blatant violation of your own law as outlined in the 8th and 14th Amendments of your own Federal Constitution..... Yet, we still remained silent.

YOU UPHELD ALL THIS

J) You—Murtagh. You came into the case in May 1969. You were informed of these conditions. You could have righted these blatant violations of your own law, the laws you have "sworn" to uphold. But you did not. You refused to do this... and remained silent. You tried to rush us pell-mell to trial, knowing full well that we were not, could not, be prepared..... We remained silent.

We filed motions that are guaranteed to "citizens" by the 14th Amendment of your Federal Constitution. You denied them all. You denied us the right as guaranteed in your laws in the 6th and 14th Amendments of your own Constitution, to conduct a voir dire of the Grand Jury in these proceedings, knowing full well that they did not comprise members of our peer group..... We remained silent.

YOU DENIED OUR RIGHTS

You denied us a hearing with which to be confronted with the witnesses against us, as is guaranteed by your law in the 6th Amendment of your Constitution..... We remained silent.

You denied us a Bill of Particulars which is guaranteed by your laws in the 6th and 14th Amendments of your Constitution..... We remained silent.

Two "suspects" were kidnapped under the modification of the Fugitive Slave Act in November 1969. You gave them no bail. (No sense pretending anymore, it seems)..... We remained silent.

You denied us every state and federal constitutional right, and remained silent. You substantiated Mr. Marks' "the law does not apply" to us..... Yet, we remained silent.

YOUR CRUELTY TO THE SICK

K) Lee Berry. Lee Berry is a classical example of how you and your cohorts conduct the "American System of Justice" when dealing with Black people. On April 3, 1969, Lee Berry was a patient in the Veterans' Administration Hospital where he was receiving treatment as an epileptic, subject to Grand Mal seizures, which can be fatal. Lee Berry is not mentioned particularly in the "indictment." Yet, on April 3, 1969, your "police" dragged him out of the hospital. These "police" stood him up before your cohort, "Judge" Marks. Lee was "arraigned" without counsel. Bail \$100,000. He was thrown into an isolation cell in the Tombs without even a mattress. In July 1969, he was physically attacked without provocation and without warning, while he was in a drugged stupor.

You were aware of his condition—you were quite aware. Numerous motions were in your "Great Court System." It took four months to even get him medication, and only in November when he had become so ill, so progressively worse that it was frightening. He finally got consent to be transferred to Bellevue Hospital. Because of the courts' decisions under your "American System of Justice," Lee Berry has had four serious operations within the last two months. Because of the courts' decisions under the "Great American System of Justice" at this precise moment Lee Berry is lying in the shadow of Death with a possible fatal case of pneumonia.

At the very least, your Great Court system is guilty of attempted murder, and D.A. Hogan should be named as a co-defendant. Lee Berry is our Brother, and what is done to him, has been done to us all..... and we remained silent.

INSULTED ENOUGH

L) In November 1969, four white persons were arrested for allegedly "bombing" various sites in New York City. They were arrested allegedly with "bombs in their possession," but they were white. For three of them, bail was reduced 80 percent in two days, because "the presumption of innocence is basic among both the statutory and constitutional principles affecting bail"... if you are white. (The political climate is such today, even this hardly matters anymore if one is dissident.)

Two days after that decision, we were brought in front of you and given a superceding "indictment." We could be silent no longer. We had been insulted enough—more than enough. We had been treated with contempt, in an atmosphere of intimidation for too long.

We must reiterate—we are looking at the situation objectively. Object Reality.

AND YOU ADMINISTER JUSTICE?

At the pre-trial hearings we are confronted with a "Judge" who has admitted, in fact, been indicted and arrested for ignoring "police" graft and corruption... a "Judge" who by his record shows an unblemished career of "police" favoritism and All-American racism. In your previous dealings with Black people, you have shown yourself to be totally unjust, bloodthirsty, pitiless, and inhuman. We are confronted with a District Attorney machine which has shown itself to be vigilant and unswerving in its racist policies. Ninety percent of the inmates convicted are non-white and poor. This machine has shown itself to be unethical in its techniques and practices—even in front of our eyes—tactics which include going up and whispering to the witnesses on the stand, signalling and coaching them. We know as LOOK Magazine stated in June 1969 "how the police corrupt the truth... Prosecutors and Judges become their accomplices."

To cite a small example: A man, a Black man... was beaten to death in the Tombs in front of forty witnesses in May 1969 and the police swore that he died of a "heart attack." Yes, we know to what the police will swear to. All Black people, poor people, know to what the police will swear to. With all this, together with the hostility inculcated in the dominant white culture towards anything Black, is shown by you and your cohorts very well indeed. Under these conditions, and considering our stand against American racism, this is not only a challenge to us and Black people, but the whole people. To relate in terms you can understand, even Racist Woodrow Wilson stated (concerning fascism) "... This is a challenge to all mankind; there is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making, we will not choose the path of submission... we will be, we must be as harsh as the Truth and as uncompromising as Justice—true Justice is on our side"... To that we say, Right On!

HOW CAN

WE BE IN CONTEMPT?

You have implied contempt charges. We cannot

conceive of how this could be possible. How can we be in contempt of a court that is in contempt of its own laws? How can you be responsible for "maintaining respect and dispersing justice," when you have dispensed with justice, and you do not maintain respect for your own Constitution? How can you expect us to respect your laws, when you do not respect them yourself? Then you have the audacity to demand respect, when you, your whole Great System of Justice is out of order and does not respect us, or our rights.

You have talked about our counsel inciting us. Nothing could be further from the truth. The injustices we have been accorded over the past year incite us, the injustice in these hearings incite us, racism incites us, fascism incites us, in short—when we reflect back over history, its continuation up until today, you and your courts incite us.

WE MUST HAVE OUR RIGHTS!

But we will not leave it there for you and others, to distort, as some are inclined to do. There will be left no room for your courts and media to distort and misinterpret our actions. We wish for a speedy and FAIR trial, a just trial. But—we must have our "alleged" Constitutional rights. This court is in contempt of our Constitutional rights and has been for almost a year. We must have our rights first. The wrongs inflicted must be redressed. Bygones are not bygones. Later for that. Three hundred fifty-one and a half years are enough. We must clean the slate. We do not believe in your Appeal Courts (we've had experience with 300 years of appeals generally, and 35 judges specifically). So we must begin with a mutual understanding anew. When we have our Constitutional guarantees redressed, we will give the court the respect it claims to deserve—precisely the respect it deserves.

In light of all that has been said, in view of the collusion of the federal, state, and city courts, the New York City Department of Correction, the city police, and District Attorney's office, we feel that we, as members of the Black Panther Party, cannot receive a fair and impartial trial without certain pre-conditions conforming to our alleged constitutional rights. So we state the following: we feel that the courts should follow their own federal Constitution, and when they have failed to do so, and continue to ignore their mistakes, but persist dogmatically to add insult to injury, those courts are in contempt of the people. One need not be Black to relate to that, but it is often those who never experience such actions on the part of the courts, who believe they, the courts, can never be wrong.

RIGHT TO A JURY OF PEERS IN A COURT OF ENEMIES

So, in keeping with that, and the social reality in which that principle must relate, we further state:

1) That we have a Constitutional right to reasonable bail, and a few would, if they were white, be released in their own custody. We demand that, and the courts' consistent denial of that right, in effect is in contempt of its own Constitution.

2) We demand a jury of our peers, or people from our own community, as defined by the Constitution.

3) We say that because the Grand Jury system in New York City systematically excludes poor Black people, it cannot be representative of a cross-section of the community from which we come. So in effect, it is unconstitutional, and nothing more than a method of wielding class power and racial suppression and repression. We demand to have a Constitutional and legal indictment, or be released, for we are being held illegally, by malicious and racist unethical laws.

4) We demand that the unethical practice of the police and D.A.'s office, in its production of evidence, lying, and misrepresentation be strictly limited by the introduction of an impartial jury of our peers of all pre-trial hearings, to judge all motions and evidence submitted, subsequent to a new Constitutional indictment.

Therefore, since you have effectively denied by your ruling of Wednesday, February 25, 1970, our right to a trial, and since this ruling will affect the future of Black and white political prisoners, we have directed our Attorneys to do everything in their power, to upset this vicious, barbaric, insidious and racist ruling, which runs head-on in contrast with the promise of the 13th and 14th Amendments of your U.S. Constitution.

Let this be entered into all records pertaining to our case.

All Power to the People!

Lumumba Abdul Shakur
Richard Moore (Analyze Dharuba)
Curtis Powell
Michael Tabor (Cetewayo)
Robert Collier
Walter Johnson (Baba Odinga)
Afeni Shakur
John J. Casson (Ali Bey Hassan)
Alex McKiever (Catarra)
Clark Squire
Joan Bird
Lee Roper
William King (Kinshasa)

The Ribicoff-Stennis bloc: repeat of an historic betrayal

The Ribicoff-Stennis senatorial alliance on the question of school segregation was briefly and mildly protested in the liberal capitalist media and then quickly buried. But this alliance must not be glossed over and forgotten because its significance involves the destiny of the masses of people and must be explained as an important indication of the trend of ruling class politics.

Ribicoff's support for Stennis' so-called uniform desegregation amendment is a grave sign and a warning, first of the steadily mounting influence second, of the historic tendency of the liberal bourgeoisie to adopt the program of the most reactionary and aggressive sections of the ruling class; and third, of the role of militarism as an all-pervasive central force which tends to draw all elements of the ruling class together into its orbit and crystallize them into an ever widening constellation of reaction.

An "historic reversal- "

Of course, Ribicoff made an attempt to cover his move with a liberal argument for "equality" between the North and the South. But this cover was so flimsy that even the capitalist media was forced to admit that the Ribicoff defection, which led to the victory of the Stennis amendment, represented a "historic reversal."

No person intending to carry out a progressive act would ever, or could ever, work it out together with a man who is the embodiment of the racist dictatorship and aggressive militarism such as Senator Stennis. Stennis would never agree to it in the first place. But even if he did, any person with progressive intentions would find another way to go about it.

Why did Senator Ribicoff suddenly need Senator Stennis to "open my eyes" to racism in the North? Why didn't Senator Ribicoff permit his eyes to be "opened" by all progressive opinion in the last fifty years, by the NAACP, by the Black Panther Party, by the volumes and volumes of testimony concerning Northern racism?

Repressive violence in Connecticut

Ribicoff said that Stennis made him an "honest man" by showing the racism which exists up North. If Ribicoff, the Senator from Connecticut, wanted to be an "honest man" that badly, why didn't he start searching his soul these past three years during which there have been Black rebellions in every major city and town in his state, from Watertown to Danbury to Hartford. Every one of these risings was caused by the misery of Northern racism and every one was put down with brutal force. The uprising in "model city" New Haven was crushed with particular ferocity.

There is no record of Ribicoff trying to become an "honest man" or to "open his eyes" during this period of brutal suppression of Black people in his own state. Furthermore, as the former Governor of the state he had his chance to clean up the conditions that Stennis is goading him about, but he didn't do a thing.

Why did he suddenly decide to become an "honest man" at the moment that the reactionary Stennis amendment, whose purpose was to stop school desegregation, was on the floor of the Senate? Why did Ribicoff suddenly become the advocate for fair and equal treatment for Southern bigots when there is

nothing but discrimination and inequality for Black people in Connecticut?

Mutual partners in the military industrial complex

There are several answers to those questions. But the first and most immediate one is that Senator Stennis is the Chairman of the Armed Services Committee and Connecticut receives the highest per capita war contracts (\$795) of any state in the union (with the exception of Alaska which is really one huge military base)! Connecticut is the second in the country in the proportion of its working class employed in war industry. In fact all recent figures show beyond a shadow of a doubt that the Connecticut ruling class has become part and parcel of the military-industrial complex and is heavily reliant upon the Pentagon and the Stennis committee for its profits.

But Connecticut and Mississippi are tied by more than a common bond with militarism. The financial and industrial aristocracy of the state has shown by its intransigence toward the Black liberation struggle (illustrated by the vicious frameup of the Black Panther Party in New Haven) and by its repeated resort to violent suppression of the Black masses, that it looks upon the "Southern method" of rule with increasing sympathy.

In other words, Ribicoff meant the opposite of what he said. From the premise that there is racism, North and South, he means to draw the conclusion—leave the South alone! Abandon the Black masses to the Southern terror. It works in the South; maybe it will work in the North.

Small wonder that the Southern senators were

virtually hysterical with joy over the Ribicoff defection. They hailed and applauded him to the skies. They had just cause. This was more than an individual aberration.

Dissolving an historic antagonism in a reactionary way

Ribicoff has long been a prominent symbol of liberalism and an advocate of civil rights at least in words. In addition to having been the governor of Connecticut he was also in charge of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare under President Kennedy and the overseer of school desegregation.

More fundamentally, Ribicoff is an authoritative representative of the ruling class of a key state in New England, historically a seat of Northern liberalism, a stronghold of the abolitionists and radical reconstructionists before and after the Civil War whose ruling class has been an historic antagonist of the Southern bourbons since before the American Revolution.

The root of this antagonism was at first chattel slavery and then white supremacy. What Ribicoff has done is, in effect, to stretch out his hand to the South and declare this historic antagonism dissolved in favor of the modern day slavocracy. It was a complete capitulation—a defection—but not just by an individual but by an important section of the ruling class.

This explains quite well why there was a celebration in the Confederacy when Ribicoff got up in the Senate and, with almost unsurpassed dishonesty, said that the time has come "for Senator Stennis to make honest men of us all."

State	Rank by size of population	Rank by value of defense contracts	Defense contracts-top 10 states (\$ millions)	Defense contracts-per capita	Labor force employed by defense industry (in percent)
Calif.	1	1	\$6,470	\$335	6.2
Texas	5	2	4,087	371	4.6
N.Y.	2	3	3,484	193	2.1
Conn.	24	4	2,335	795	8.8
Pa.	3	5	1,727	147	3.2
Ohio	6	6	1,641	155	2.5
Mass.	10	7	1,619	296	4.6
Mo.	13	8	1,357	290	4.0
Ind.	12	9-10	1,108	219	3.5
N.J.	8	9-10	1,108	155	3.1

Source: The American Almanac for 1970. Statistics are for 1968. Column 5 computed.

AFTER YABLONSKI ASSASSINATION

Bosses oust mine-safety head

In the wake of the assassination of Joseph Yablonski by the Government-Steel Trust conspiracy, the Nixon Administration has struck a blow at the coal miners. While both factions of the union leadership are entangled in the Government's grand jury proceedings in Cleveland (an investigation which the Government claims is supposed to help the union), the Washington headquarters of this same capitalist government has kicked out a key mine safety official at the request of the coal barons in order to make way for someone with a more pro-company position on mine safety.

John O'Leary, the former director of the Bureau of Mines, who is responsible for enforcing what meager mine safety laws exist, was a moderate on the question of mine safety. That means that he did not think that it was worth risking a full-scale rebellion in the mine fields just to save a few pennies for the bosses. He thought it worthwhile from the point of view of profits to

eliminate some of the crassest forms of murder in the mines.

After the mine explosion in Farmington, West Virginia in which 78 miners were entombed in Consolidation Coal's Console No. 9, O'Leary took one look at the brewing rebellion of the miners and decided to speak out in favor of mine safety reform.

The miners demanded an end to the operators' callous and criminal neglect of safety and they put muscle into their demands by calling numerous wild-cat strikes. The operators were sweating. O'Leary had just been on the job one month. He decided to bend with the storm. He denounced the "dismal" conditions in the mines and was even said to have attacked U.S. Steel by name.

In deeds he advocated mild safety measures which were justly denounced by the miners' reform movement, being led by Yablonski with the aid of Ralph Nader, as totally inadequate. A twenty year federal power agency bureaucrat,

O'Leary came up with a Mine Safety Bill last December which, among other things, slightly reduced the permissible level of lethal coal dust and provided some meager benefits to miners suffering from the protracted and fatal disease of black lung.

The mine bosses (the mines are largely controlled by the Steel Trust and the oil monopolies) did not want to give up this tiny concession to their victims. They screamed for O'Leary's head and got Nixon to oppose the bill.

But all this took place before Yablonski had been killed. The reform movement of the miners was still gathering momentum. In fact the wives of the Farmington victims called out the miners in a wild-cat and forced Nixon to change his position and sign the bill. The miners were making strong class demands and in fact had also forced the West Virginia legislature to pass a safety law which it had decided to kill.

In fact, if it had not been for the Government's fear of the miners, Nixon would have kicked O'Leary out long ago. He was a Johnson appointee and a Democrat. He was also hated by the mine bosses. Either of these things alone would have been sufficient for getting rid of him.

That is why his ouster is such a significant indication of the nature of the Yablonski affair. Neither faction of the union wants a company man to be appointed to this crucial post. But Yablonski is dead; the reform movement is leaderless and in disarray. Boyle and his faction are fighting for their lives against the Government inquisition. The capitalist Government and the mine owners feel that both factions are now powerless to resist a shift to the right at the Bureau, so Nixon has made his move.

It may be that the miners themselves can recover and muster enough strength and organization to put up a fight against the reduction of safety standards which Nixon and the coal bosses are intending. But even if they do, it will be from a far weaker position than they were in before the assassination.

Whatever the outcome of any struggle which may develop, the ouster of O'Leary by Nixon at this time is proof positive that the Government and the bosses are working hand in glove in a campaign to destroy the miners' union and crush the miners and that both the assassination and the current grand jury investigation are two facets of the many-sided class war which the operators have always carried on against the miners.

March 7, 1970

The betrayal of 1877

How the northern
bourgeoisie sold the
Black people back to the
slave masters

By V. COPELAND

The recent Congressional maneuver against the Black people in the field of education has been compared to the great betrayal of 1877. Actually a betrayal implies that the betrayed had some belief in the betrayer and had confidently looked to him for some good result. And of course the Black masses after 16 years of duplicity even in the field of equal rights in public school education, have not had the slightest real faith that the Northern liberal bourgeois ruling class of today would fight the segregationists in the South or anywhere else.

But since the question of betrayal has been brought up, even by a part of the liberal bourgeoisie itself, and at least one establishment columnist has referred to the real betrayal of the hopes raised by the Civil War a century ago, it is well worth pausing to get a good look at that old betrayal—in reality, that counterrevolution—in order to better understand the present situation.

Former slaves active in government

The U.S. bourgeoisie, that is, the industrial capitalist class, were once revolutionary enough to lead a war against Black slavery. The poor whites and poor blacks did all the fighting, of course, as the poor always do. But the Northern rulers directed the struggle and armed the masses. Even more significant, they armed the Black militias during Reconstruction in the decade after the war and kept the Union Army in occupation over the beaten slave-holders. This is why reactionary historians, both North and South, always refer to Reconstruction as such an "unfortunate" or "dark" period of U.S. history, when the truth is that it was actually the most revolutionary and glorious of epochs.

In almost every one of the formerly rebel states the Black people were politically active and participated freely at all levels of government. They organized the first real public schools in some of these states. They created the first—and only—popular assemblies in others. The armed Black militias were far more numerous than the occupying Union Army, which only validated and gave official recognition to the revolutionary Black units.

The revolutionary Blacks were aided by some of the white poor and lower middle class (who are now slandered in history books as "scalawags") and by the so-called "carpet-baggers" from the North, most of whom were former Union Army men who passionately believed in the cause of freedom and stayed in the South to help effect it. These men were slandered as opportunists and speculators. (Real) opportunists and speculators are of course the only heroes of the official historians.) And even to this day, the word "carpet-bagger"—the slaveholder's word for "out-of-town agitator," is a term of opprobrium, a dirty word, so powerful is the



Radical members of "reconstructed" South Carolina legislature 50 of whom were Black and 13 white.

Most of them were former slaves who learned to write after being in office.

ideology of the "defeated" dealers in human flesh.

The best and most resolute of the bourgeois political leaders wanted to expropriate the big plantations after the war and divide the land among the freed slaves and a smaller number of white "squatters." This would have completed the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the South and insured the end of racism, at least as we know it.

But this faction was overruled and defeated. And the "radical" bourgeoisie definitively sold out when it removed the last Union troops from the South in the infamous election deal of 1877. The Southern semi-feudal ruling class had already gained back half their power from the Black revolutionaries and had ever since 1870 been hacking away at the new democratic rights of the Black people, and had begun to stage armed counterrevolution in isolated places with only half-hearted interference from the Northern bourgeoisie, who now wanted the leading white traitors (some of whom had been given all too short prison sentences) to act as junior partners, preserve class peace and buy more Northern products than ever.

Election deal signals counter-revolution

The election deal was as follows: The election of 1876 had been thrown into confusion by the fact that in South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida both sides claimed victory. If even one of these states went to Tilden, the Democrats would have been victorious. After months of dickering, all three states gave their electoral votes to Hayes, the Republican candidate, but in return the final agreement was made that the white planters should rule the South again. "States' rights" was restored. Subjugation of Black people was restored. The plantation economy was restored, slightly modified to permit tenant share-cropping instead of chattel slavery, but with an open or implied terror against Afro-Americans in all quarters.

The election itself was only the end of an armed struggle in which the Blacks and a dwindling number of white allies were constantly pushed back, sometimes in big shoot-outs in State capitals, sometimes in terrible ambushes and indiscriminate slaughter by the white landowners. There would have been no dispute in Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina

in the first place, if the white rulers had not already half-won the armed struggle with the aid of preliminary betrayals by the North.

The Northern capitalists thus allowed their Black allies to be crushed with mass lynchings, mass shootings, and KKK terror campaigns. To make the lesson complete for those willing to learn it, these capitalists in the same year—1877—also put the white working class to the sword in a bloody defeat of the first nationwide railroad strike.

Liberal demagoguery and betrayal

From that time the Northern rulers have shut their eyes firmly to the genocide of the Black people, not to mention the strangulation of the Constitution they themselves—the Northerners—wrote. (Every single law passed by Congress since 1877 is illegal on the basis that were the 14th Amendment enforced, most Southern states would not have any representative in Congress at all, and thus the votes of Southern Congressmen should never have been counted in all those years. This true fact, however, is not even mentioned in the cloak rooms of Capitol Hill, even in jest. It would be considered a pretty sick joke, if not a deadly one.)

Now the point of all this is that if the bourgeoisie could so viciously betray their Black allies in the revolutionary heyday of U.S. capitalism, they could not be expected to act other than with the most vile cynicism, duplicity and demagoguery during their epoch of imperialist degeneration.

But their actions also have a different effect in these days than in those. Today the Black revolutionaries are not one tenth as well armed as they were in the early 1870's. But they are once again on the verge of taking up arms, this time against the whole bourgeoisie, North and South. Furthermore, a whole world of slaves, both colonial and proletarian, is also in revolt against the U.S. ruling class, which in turn is infinitely weaker than it appears to be on the surface.

Under these conditions, Senator Ribicoff's monstrous and pious cynicism and the turnaround of the Northern "liberals" on the school desegregation question has a different effect than the Great Betrayal of 1877. Instead of crushing a glorious movement, it only verifies its necessity and helps call it into greater being.

—Green Berets in Indonesia

(Continued from page 15)

job is to crush the Indonesian revolution.

There were no reports of Green Berets in Indonesia at the time of the actual coup. The fascist military officers, many of them trained in the United States, had a pledge of military support from the Pentagon but there is no evidence that they called in actual troops (although they did get money and supplies from the U.S.). They were able to take advantage of confusion in the left, and most of all, the fact that the people had not been prepared for armed struggle.

This new revelation, however, would seem to in-

dicate that the revolutionary guerrillas who have been carrying on a four-year struggle in central Java (where the Green Berets are) have caused the puppet Suharto government to panic. Our paper predicted several years ago that the revolution in Indonesia would rise again, and that inevitably U.S. troops would be called on to protect Wall Street's interests in the oil and mineral rich archipelago.

The Green Berets are the shock troops of this intervention, as they were in Vietnam, and it is our duty to mount an offensive here against the imperialist intervention and in solidarity with our Indonesian brothers.

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.

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

Everyone remembers the "great debate" in the Senate over the ABM and the cliff-hanging vote in which the bill authorizing the massive leap in the nuclear destructive powers of U.S. imperialism was finally passed by one vote. But what few people knew at the time was that behind the smokescreen of public debate over scientific, economic and military affairs, the actual achievement of this reactionary victory was based upon an unholy, behind-the-scenes alliance between racism and militarism.

The horsetrading, bribery, corruption and double dealing involved in such a giant legislative battle over spoils is rarely unveiled to the public eye before the passage of at least a decade or two. But it has just been revealed by a moderate civil rights official, who was just kicked out of the Government by Nixon, that the ABM victory was sealed by an unsavory pact between Senator Stennis of Mississippi and the President acting in his capacity as a delegate for the military-industrial complex.

Leon Panetta, until last month the head of the Office for Civil Rights in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, told the Associated Press on February 28, that during the crucial period in the fight over the ABM, Stennis threatened Nixon that unless the Government stopped the desegregation of Mississippi schools he, Stennis, might resign as floor manager of the ABM bill.

Panetta, who was ousted by a coalition of Nixon Adminis-

tration racists shortly after the Ribicoff-Stennis alliance (see story page 10) was asked when he first realized "that this Administration wasn't about to enforce anti-discrimination laws the way you thought they should?" He replied: "The first real line was drawn when the Administration decided to reword the school desegregation guidelines... that had the effect of removing the Fall 1969 deadline...."

He then elaborated on how this "rescheduling" came about.

"A great deal of pressure was coming, specifically from Senator Stennis in regard to the Mississippi district... At that time the ABM debate was in full progress and the Senator went directly to the President, at least through Bryce Harlow, in regard to his complaint in these districts.

"I understand at one point the Senator had written a letter on how... he'd be willing to leave his Senatorial services just to help Mississippi on its educational problems."

"And that would include abandoning the leadership in the ABM issue which the President wanted very much?" Panetta was asked. "That is right."

Stennis a racist first

What a glorious pact! The representative of the Southern slave-masters-turned-capitalists meets with the representative of the banker-generals and together they agree to simultaneously bargain away the constitutional rights belonging to millions of Black people and billions of dollars belonging to the

masses. One robbers' agreement and the 14th Amendment rights of the Black people vanish behind near-Government recognition of post-Reconstruction white supremacy while \$40 billion of the people's money is earmarked for the vaults of the giant military corporations to be funneled through their central headquarters, the Pentagon.

Stennis did not have to bargain because Nixon had any hesitations about racism. On the contrary, the only reason for restraint on the part of Nixon was a reluctance to show his hand all at once and too openly. He was in the midst of waging a war against Black America and in accordance with the tactics of war he was concentrating his attack against the revolutionary elements, in particular the Black Panther Party, and did not wish to arouse too broad an opposition by attacking the integrationist forces at the same time. He wanted to proceed more slowly.

Nor did Stennis have to be coaxed or bribed to serve the interests of the military. As the head of the Senate Armed Services Committee he has been their most obedient stooge. However, as much of a militarist as Stennis may be, he is first and foremost a Mississippi racist. His first master is the slavocracy and his first duty is to maintain the subjugation of the Black people. When push comes to shove all else is secondary to Stennis.

Rooted in monopoly capitalism

So the paths of the plantation owners and the generals intersected at the White House. Each came to peddle the wares of reaction, nuclear destruction and apartheid. Nixon, the chief executive of U.S. imperialism, appeared in his true light as nothing more than a miserable broker in an ABM-for-segregation deal, a tool, a cheap middleman rushing to and fro in his haste to do the bidding equally of racism and militarism.

This sordid union, which appears to have been forged by the coincidence of timing is in reality the most natural of alliances, and is constantly finding new and more binding forms of collaboration. The two are steadily drawn together by the natural circumstances of their existence under imperialism.

Racism and militarism, each in its own function of repression at home and aggression abroad, has as its modus operandi the harshest forms of violence and brutality against the masses. Both regard all legal and traditional restraints on their exercise of arbitrary, repressive violence as so many obstacles to be trampled under foot at the first sign of mass upsurge. Each, for its own reasons, regards bourgeois democracy as a superfluous adornment which is at best a hindrance to the untrammelled domination of finance capital.

Most importantly of all, both militarism and racism are deeply rooted in the subsoil of U.S. monopoly capitalism which is rapidly reaching a state of total dependence upon these twin forces of reaction to enforce and bolster its rights of exploitation.

As these rights are challenged by the exploited and oppressed everywhere these two institutions, because of their particular repressive nature, constitute the vanguard of the bourgeois counterrevolution. As such they draw closer and closer together, feeding one another and buttressing one another in a mutual alliance against the masses of the people. And inasmuch as this alliance is based upon the common defense of capitalist, imperialist interests, the only way for the masses to protect themselves against the continual encroachments of this monster, is the revolutionary destruction of imperialism itself.

Behind the ABM 1-vote victory

The union of racism and militarism

5 Southern states pass N.Y. school law

Albany shows Dixie way to segregation

It is a measure of the reactionary character of New York State's anti-busing law, recently signed by Governor Rockefeller, that five states from the heart of the Confederacy have already rushed to enact carbon copies of Albany's racist edict, and other Southern states are considering similar laws.

Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and Tennessee have seen fit to make use of the recently devised New York law which restricts the power of administering school desegregation to local school boards. In practice, this means that the very bodies which have been the bastions of racism and the architects of the policy of segregation, bodies from which Black people have been excluded all along, both North and South, will be in charge of ending segregation.

To be sure, busing is not going to solve the social problems of the Black people. And the broad masses of Black people have turned their backs on integration after having seen that the hypocritical ruling class would never permit it in the first place. But the ruling class opponents of busing are certainly not catering to the nationalist sentiments of the Black community either. On the contrary, they are using the busing issue to codify segregation, bar legal remedies to racism, and to stir up anti-Black hatred.

A law which puts racists in charge

of ending racism could hardly be more suited to the needs of the slavocracy and copies of it are being requested and handed out by New York State Republican Assemblyman George E. Van Cott from Mount Vernon. Southern politicians recently have been citing this law in speeches and private conversations during the campaign to roll the clock back to pre-1954 days.

Mount Vernon has a large Black community which has been ground down by poverty and oppression for a long time. In recent years, the local establishment has resisted, with all the tenacity of a Southern community, all attempts by the Black people to achieve even token social equality. Van Cott has been one of the outspoken leaders of this resistance.

What is significant is that Van Cott has been pushing for this law in New York State for over ten years, but the ruling class has always rejected his attempts—until six months ago. All of a sudden the program of the bigots of Mount Vernon has become acceptable to the "liberal" rulers of the Empire State and it has been given the stamp of approval by one of the billionaire kings of Northern finance capital, Nelson Rockefeller himself.

In previous times, racists in the North used to look for inspiration, encouragement and political assistance in the South. The fact that Stennis, Eastland, Thurmond & Co. have found

acceptable a law drawn up in the center of Northern capitalism is a clear measure of the increasing sympathy among the Northern "liberal" ruling class for their class brethren in the former slave states.

Workers World

Editorial office:

46 West 21st Street

New York, N.Y. 10010

Tel. No. 255-0352

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

Published Bi-Weekly

VOLUME 12, NO. 4

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

6 months.....\$2.00 One year.....\$4.00

One year via Air Mail within U.S.\$7.50

One year first class.....\$5.00

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Fill in coupon and mail to:

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



"Volunteer" British soldiers in Aden doing the mercenary work of imperialism

are ordered to carry out. They wear peace symbols, put out anti-Army newspapers, and are even organizing a union for enlisted men!

Because draftees are only in the Army for two years and tours of duty in Vietnam are 12 months, the generals constantly lament that just as a soldier is getting used to the climate and getting some experience, he is sent home.

All in all, the drafted GI does not perform the way his imperialist master would wish him and train him to do. And using large numbers of these reluctant soldiers cannot solve the Pentagon's problem either.

Stripping down for more

—not less— war

What the Pentagon wants is an Army where orders (a) are never questioned and (b) are carried out in the most "professional" way, that is, ruthlessly, like clockwork whether abroad or at home. They are willing to accept a cutback in the number of troops, from the present 3 million plus, to about 2.5 million, if they can get the kind of mercenary they need, perhaps something on the order of the infamous colonial troops of France, the Foreign Legion, or like the British paratroops, who can be dropped into any area where the dominance of American capital is threatened.

The poor "volunteer"

The mercenary army also has the advantage, from the government's point of view of putting the unemployed into a "constructive" business, where whatever abilities or militancy they have will be channeled into their fascist profession.

The question of whether or not the volunteer Army will lure mainly Black men because of the pay is still unanswered. Although many Black GIs volunteer for the higher-paying, more dangerous "elite" units like the 101st Airborne, enlistment, and especially reenlistment, rates among the Afro-American soldiers have plummeted in the last two years as their political consciousness has leaped ahead.

Rebellious and politically aware soldiers are precisely what the Pentagon wants to rid the armed forces of. As the commission's report put it, the draft "has weakened the political fabric of our society and impaired the delicate web of shared values that alone enables a free society (sic) to exist."

What they mean is that having forced men to submit to the draft, they now want to phase out of the Army (and the whole society, if they could) these men whose anti-draft, anti-war, anti-brass feelings are contagious.

300 protest shipping of ASU organizer to Nam

NEW YORK, March 3 — On February 28, 300 people rallied to the defense of Bruce McLean, an ASU member and organizer shanghaied to Vietnam last week. The rally was held at American Park, just off Ft. Lewis. Speakers at the rally were Denny Leonard and Stan Hoffman, both members of the Ft. Lewis local of the ASU. They called for the military to immediately return Pvt. McLean from Vietnam, where he was taken illegally. The rally was organized by the Seattle Liberation Front and ASU-Shelter-Half.

After the rally there was a march through Tillicum area, an off-base housing area for enlisted men. The march proceeded to a gate of Ft. Lewis and was stopped by a line of MPs. Then a "reactionary force" (riot control troops) were brought in as the group of marchers were leaving the area.

John Lewis, National Field Organizer of the ASU, said, "We protest the illegal shanghaiing of our Union brother, Bruce McLean. We of the ASU are determined to stop this kind of abuse of our organizers. The protest of the brothers and sisters at Ft. Lewis will not be the last voice of protest. We intend to spread this protest wherever ASU members are organizing. We demand the immediate release of Bruce McLean and all GI political prisoners of war."

mum financial resources." The independence leader added that a fund raising campaign has been launched to reconstruct the lost equipment immediately.

(In New York, the fund raising campaign will be coordinated by Mision Vito Marcantonio, P.O. Box 241, Peter Stuyvesant Station, New York, New York, 10011.)

Ramon Arbona
Political Committee of MPI
Delegate in the United States

Jose Antonio Irizarry
Coordinator of the Directive Committee, Mision Vito Marcantonio, MPI in N.Y.

Carlos Pineiro
Press Secretary
Mision Vito Marcantonio, MPI in N.Y.

Subscribe to

the BOND

newspaper of the A. S. U.

\$3 for six months

156 Fifth Avenue
New York City 10010 (Free to GIs)

Improving the war machine

By ELLEN PIERCE

When Nixon and the Pentagon first announced that they intended to replace the mixed volunteer-draft army with all-volunteer army forces, it appeared that this was merely a move to blunt the people's hatred of the Vietnam war by promising that nobody would have to fight in Vietnam unless he wanted to.

Now it seems that the government is seriously considering replacing the so-called civilian army with mercenary forces. A commission headed by former Secretary of Defense Thomas Gates recom-

mended a 2.5 million man well-paid professional army with a "stand-by" draft for "national emergencies," while eliminating the present conscription in favor of the stand-by system when the current law expires on June 30, 1971.

Just days before this report was released, the National Guard ordered that fewer volunteers without previous military service be accepted. In the last few years, most volunteers for the National Guard have been men who enlist in it to get out of the Army and possible Vietnam duty. A quota system has been established under which state Guard units can fill less than 50 per cent of their new manpower needs with inexperienced men. Even if a state Guard cannot get enough men with military experience, it still will not accept more than its quota of new volunteers.

National Guard getting ready to suppress Black people

National Guard spokesmen frankly stated that the new policy is an effort to "upgrade the readiness" of the half-million man force—readiness to put down the Black rebellions that have swept large, medium-sized and even relatively small cities since 1964.

What is happening in the National Guard is closely linked to the Pentagon's attempts to reshape the Army on a "volunteer"—mercenary—basis.

Draftees exposed Mylai massacre

Its experience in Vietnam has shown that a drafted Army is unsuited for fighting a long, drawn-out colonial war. The draftees are not prepared for the barbarity of the war they are forced to fight. They do "unprofessional" things—such as exposing the massacres at Mylai and other acts of genocide they

Claridad is published by the Puerto Rico's movement for independence, MPI, and appears every Friday. Its circulation is 20,000, very near the two smallest commercial newspapers, El Imparcial and El Dia (this one owned by Puerto Rico's millionaire governor, Luis Ferre). Besides these three, there are two other papers in the island, San Juan Star, published in English, and El Mundo, the largest publication.

During its eleven years of continuous publication, Claridad has been a decisive factor in the accelerated growth of the independence and progressive movement in the island. Several of its journalistic scoops have disclosed some of the latest political scandals in Puerto Rico and have awakened grave concern from the Colonial Government.

"Undoubtedly," said Pietri, "this is a severe blow to our already mini-

MPI Claridad office bombed in Puerto Rico

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico—The editorial and business offices of CLARIDAD, Puerto Rico's pro-independence newspaper, were completely destroyed by two incendiary bombs Monday morning. One staff member, Juan Mestas, was inside the building but miraculously escaped uninjured by crawling out of the building immediately after the explosion.

The fire started at three in the morning when the bombs were thrown through the glass-paned front of the building. Loses were placed at \$25,000 by the staff.

"This is an attempt," said Norman Pietri, editor of the 12 page weekly, "to silence the only paper in Puerto Rico totally owned by Puerto Ricans and the only effective opposition to the colonial establishment. But Claridad will continue to appear this very next Friday."

The emerging Philippine revolution: a heroic history

By P. MEISNER

A "people's congress" took to the streets in Manila last week to denounce American imperialism, domestic feudalism, and the rising fascism of the Marcos government. By nightfall, over 3,000 Philippine youths marched over the U.S. Embassy and made shambles of the new embassy building.

As the demonstrators smashed down the embassy doors and partitions, they shouted, "Down with the imperialists!" "Yankee go home!" and "Imperialist pigs!"

A rally on the afternoon of February 18 brought together 20,000 students, workers, and peasants into a "people's congress" called by the Movement for a Democratic Philippines, the National Association of Trade Unions, and the Socialist Party. Several speakers denounced U.S. imperialism for its military bases all over the Philippines and its special economic exploitation privileges as a result of the Laurel-Langley trade agreement.

Effigy of Marcos burned; five students killed

The recent revolutionary resurgence in the Philippines first burst into the capitalist press in the U.S. on January 26 when a mass demonstration of 20,000 people outside Congress laid in wait for U.S.-puppet President Marcos, who had just finished giving his State of the Union address, to appear out on the street. Marcos survived the wrath of the demonstrators, but a 3-hour clash between police and protesters resulted in 32 persons injured and 16 arrested. However, Marcos' effigy did not survive and was set aflame by students.

Four days later, another mass outpouring of 30,000 students, workers, and peasants demonstrated in front of the presidential palace. That evening, over 2,000 students stormed the presidential palace, but were met by heavy police detachments. At least 5 students were killed and 150 others were wounded, while several hundred were arrested. In doing battle with heavily armed police, the young demonstrators used rocks, slingshots and gasoline bombs.

President Marcos called the January 30 assault on the presidential palace "an act of rebellion and subversion aimed at the destruction and seizure of the seat of the central Government."

IMF bleeds Philippine economy

The revolutionary upsurge comes on the heel of a deep economic crisis facing the Philippines. The total domination of the Philippine economy at the hands of U.S. monopolies has driven the Philippines' balance-of-payments to a catastrophic deficit position and has virtually put the entire economy at the mercy of the U.S.-run International Monetary Fund (IMF). What the puppet Manila politicians fear at the moment is a forced (by the IMF, of course) devaluation of the Philippine peso—a tremendous boon for the U.S. monopolies and a severe blow to the standard of living of most Philippines—which could spark an even greater political upheaval against the colonial regime.

The rising student, trade union and peasant movement cannot, of course, be divorced from the resurgence of the Huk guerrilla movement, which was nearly defeated in 1954, but never completely crushed. The Hukbalahap organization was formed as a guerrilla resistance movement to the Japanese invasion during World War II. After the Japanese defeat, U.S. imperialism promised "independence" for the Philippines in 1946, despite the fact that the U.S. would control the entire armed forces and that it was to be awarded a 99-year treaty to use 23 military bases throughout the Philippines. Furthermore, the Laurel-Langley trade agreement would give U.S. corporations parity with native enterprises in exploiting the Philippines' natural resources.

Huks switch to parliamentary struggle

But the bulk of the Huk movement, despite many of its soldiers retaining their guns, decided to turn towards parliamentary struggle, and specifi-

cally towards the 1946 elections. Through the use of mass organizations, such as the PKM (National Confederation of Peasants), the CLO (Congress of Labor Organizations), and the Democratic Alliance—a nationalist-oriented party—the Huk movement got a minority of candidates elected to Congress, despite the fact that the election was rigged in favor of the pro-U.S. colonial forces. Nevertheless, the Huk congressmen, backed by the pressure of the PKM, pushed through some agrarian reforms. At the same time, the CLO was growing and organizing militant unions in American-owned industries.

But the U.S. and puppet Filipino forces immediately unleashed a repression against these popular organizations to roll back the reforms and restore the Philippine economy completely back into U.S. hands. In Central Luzon, where the Huk movement was strongest, indiscriminate terror was inflicted in villages, including mass arrests, murder, torture, and the razing of whole villages. Eventually, the colonialists outlawed both the PKM and the CLO.

National Army of Liberation organized in 1948

The Huk movement, however, with its mass following in the villages, successfully resisted the onslaught of the Philippine military. And in May, 1948, the Hukbalahap movement reorganized itself into the HMB (Hukbong Mapagpalayang Bayan—National Army of Liberation). However, the new Huk guerrilla movement was still oriented to supporting guerrilla actions only for restoring democratic rights in the Philippines. No programmatic policy existed yet among the Huk leadership towards seizure of power through the various stages of guerrilla warfare.

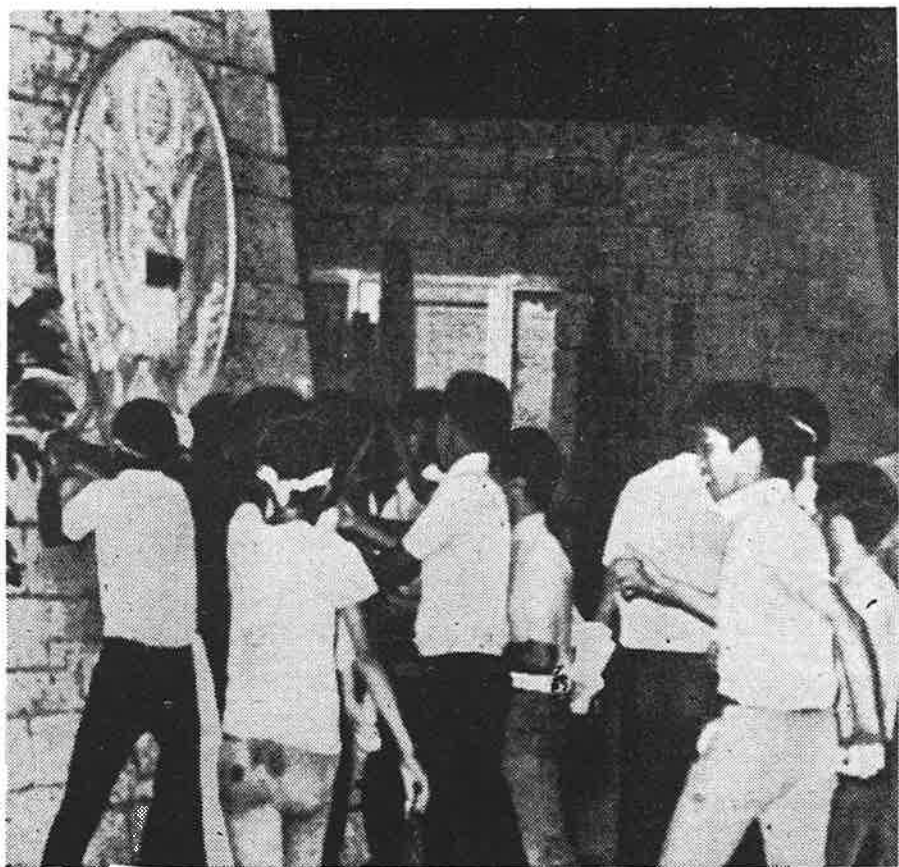
In January 1950, the Huks, now 15,000-strong, declared the existence of a revolutionary situation and called for the overthrow of the U.S.-puppet regime. But by October 1950, the Huk movement

had suffered a major setback, which made it unable to reorganize itself effectively. The Huk leadership had overexposed itself in the nation's capital, where the colonial enemy was strong. Government troops arrested the top leaders in the heart of Manila and captured highly strategic guerrilla documents. By 1954 the guerrilla movement had lost all its initiative and was forced back to defensive tactics.

Huks isolated from guerrilla wars on Asian mainland

Besides the heavy U.S. military support of the colonial armed forces, the Huk guerrilla movement was unsuccessful because of its lack of leaders with political and military experience in modern guerrilla warfare. It must be remembered that the Filipino guerrilla movement was completely isolated from the successful guerrilla wars on the mainland of Asia, namely in China and in Indochina. The Huks mistakenly tried to jump from a parliamentary struggle in mid-1948 to the last stage of guerrilla warfare by late 1950, that is, where Huk guerrilla troops were to change into regular army units for the insurrectionary seizure of power. A more correct assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the colonial regime should have pointed towards a protracted guerrilla war, rather than an immediate attempt at insurrection when the enemy was still strong in the cities.

But the Huk guerrilla movement, reorganized in the 1960s, has now absorbed the lessons drawn from the rich experiences of its post-WWII liberation struggle. It has also drawn from the revolutionary triumphs in Cuba, China and Vietnam. But even more important, the Huk movement is gaining day by day the allegiance of masses of oppressed Filipinos in some of the major cities. And it is the revolutionary union of these anti-imperialist forces which Marcos fears will take the "seizure of the seat of the central Government."



Tearing the emblem off the U.S. embassy in Manila.

Important new publication!

INDONESIA

The second greatest crime of the century

75cents 96 pages

By Deirdre Griswold

This pamphlet recounts the savage blood-bath of close to a million people in Indonesia after the fascist military coup of 1965. It delves into the clandestine but critical role played by the United States government, through the CIA, over a number of years culminating in the "ultimate pacification program" of 1965. The pamphlet also deals with the question of why such a powerful left movement suffered so overwhelming a defeat, and the lessons that must be learned by serious revolutionaries

everywhere.

The author was Editor of The Partisan, the magazine of Youth Against War & Fascism, and has written extensively on the subject of Indonesia. She also has actively protested the Indonesian massacres in demonstrations at the Consulate and inside the UN, and chaired the Public Inquest held in 1966. Miss Griswold served on the London Secretariat of Bertrand Russell's International War Crimes Tribunal and is presently a staff writer of Workers World.

WORLD VIEW PUBLISHERS

46 West 21 Street

New York, N.Y. 10010

Behind Roger's trip to Africa

Plans to intensify U.S. exploitation

By KENNY LAPIDES

U.S. Secretary of State Rogers recently completed his 15-day tour of 10 African countries. This was the first visit to Africa of a U.S. Secretary of State, and it is an ominous signal of new, intensified imperialist expansion there.

It was Rogers himself who announced that his trip was intended to "show a new interest in Africa on the part of the U.S." The 10 countries he visited are: Morocco, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Kenya, Zambia, the Congo (Kinshasa), Cameroon, Nigeria, Ghana and Liberia.

The Rogers trip to Africa, on behalf of the U.S. ruling class, was intended to gather information in order to evaluate the prospects for increased U.S. exploitation of the continent. In Southeast Asia, in the Middle East, and in Latin America, U.S. interests are coming under heavy attack. The situation is discouraging to the imperialists who desire the unhampered extension of U.S. economic penetration. To an increasing degree, the gathering of super profits from Asia, Latin America and the Middle East is felt to be hazardous by the Wall Street bosses.

In the context of these anti-imperialist struggles, the relative stability of Africa — at this time — makes it appear to the U.S. ruling class as "easy pickins." The prospect of relatively "peaceful" expansion affords the imperialists some welcome relief. (Naturally, they want to increase their stranglehold on Africa at all times, but this is an opportune moment given all their other difficulties.)

U.S. demagoguery vs. the facts

No one should be deceived by the Rogers statement that the U.S. is not seeking "influence" in Africa. President Tubman of Liberia (a U.S. colony), understanding that imperialists must sometimes say the opposite of what they mean, responded to Rogers' "denial" of influence in reference to Liberia: "You already have it."

This confirmation of Liberian dependence (bondage) on the U.S. was no surprise to Rogers. It is no secret that there are more than \$1 billion in foreign investments, predominantly U.S., "influencing" the Liberian economy. In fact, Liberia is so tightly in the net of the U.S. monopolies that the U.S. dollar is the official currency there. But the real sign of "influence" is that the Bank of Monrovia is directly controlled by the First National City Bank of New York.

The oil companies, who played a fundamental role in the attempt to break up Nigeria, are increasingly active in Africa. Chevron (Standard Oil of California), Union Carbide and Frontier Petroleum were granted exploration and exploitation rights by Liberia for offshore oil deposits last year. The rich iron deposits and rubber plantations (all U.S.-owned) of Liberia's heartland have long been a tremendous source of wealth turned to imperialist profits.

In Lusaka, Zambia (a country which supports the armed struggle against colonialism), Rogers again attempted to deceive with demagoguery. This high-ranking imperialist criminal said, "We deplore governments based on racial discrimination anywhere in the world...." That Rogers felt compelled to appease the pro-liberation feelings of Africans suf-

fering under the yoke of white-settler regimes in no way changes the fact that the U.S. is one of the primary supporters of these racist, colonial regimes.

It was not Rogers' purpose merely to make empty declarations. The rest of his statement contained this warning: "...we do not believe that violence is the answer." This is nothing less than a threat to the rising revolutionary resistance movement directed against the white-settler regimes in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), South Africa and the Portuguese colonies. The statement is equally a commitment to back the counterrevolution, which naturally dovetails with U.S. strategic interests in Africa. This counter-revolutionary support will be an additional lever by which the U.S. will win concessions on the continent.

U.S. intervention in Africa

Nixon is talking of "lowering the U.S. profile" around the world—not only is this a lie, but the U.S. is preparing to raise its "profile" in Africa. The last time the U.S. openly intervened in Africa on any large scale was in the 1960-1961 period (and again in 1964) for the purpose of crushing the revolutionary movement for national liberation in the Congo. It is in this sense that Rogers expressed a "new interest" in Africa.

Rogers said that the U.S. does not want Africa to be the scene of a struggle between the two camps of socialism and imperialism. This does not mean that the U.S. will withdraw its imperialist holdings in order to avoid a conflict. It is the U.S. intention,

Rogers African "pleasure"

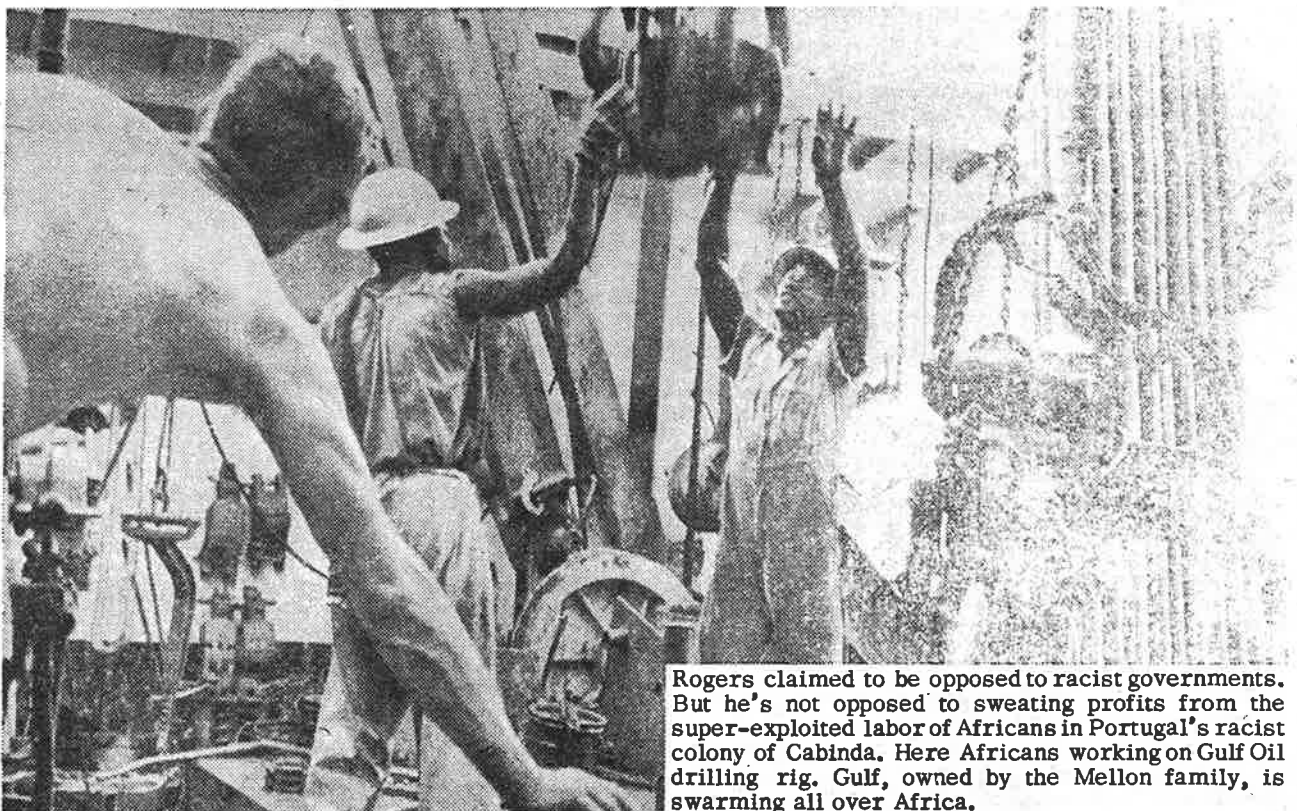
Secretary of State Rogers ended his trip to Africa and, in a news conference, "expressed pleasure with its results." Foremost among the results which Rogers took "pleasure" in, are the concessions he had won in Africa for the expansionary U.S. corporations. "In particular," concluded Rogers, the African officials with whom he talked "had shown interest in and sympathy for the concept of expanding American private investment...."

rather, as expressed by Rogers, to protect its enormous, accumulated interests in Africa from any revolutionary influence and support from the class enemies of imperialism in the socialist camp. The U.S. statement is a warning that it will not tolerate a challenge to its stepped-up economic penetration (aggression) of Africa.

In particular, it is important for the U.S. to assess the effect upon its position in Africa of its unsuccessful attempt to dismember Nigeria—to gauge the new fear and hostility which inevitably arise from such an attempt and to measure the impulse towards independence which the other African countries received from the Nigerian victory.

Although the U.S. was not successful in Nigeria, it has over the years gained control over various African countries. The coup in Ghana which removed Nkrumah, the direct intervention in the Congo, the economic takeover of Ethiopia and Morocco are all examples of the systematic imperialist aggression against Africa.

These political takeovers have laid the groundwork for the next period of U.S. expansion. The U.S. has regarded Africa as a rich reserve, whose surface can be skimmed but whose recesses are held for future plunder. The vast and incalculable wealth of Africa is now coming under closer U.S. scrutiny. The inevitable massive plunder of the continent by the U.S. will as inevitably awaken a vast new front in the world-wide struggle against imperialism.



Rogers claimed to be opposed to racist governments. But he's not opposed to sweating profits from the super-exploited labor of Africans in Portugal's racist colony of Cabinda. Here Africans working on Gulf Oil drilling rig. Gulf, owned by the Mellon family, is swarming all over Africa.

The formula for the penetration of classical colonialism was: first the missionary, then the soldier and finally the colonial overlord. Modern imperialism has changed the order of its emissaries. These days, it's the dollar first to be followed by the gun.

And the gun is inevitably following the dollar in Indonesia, where U.S. corporations have flocked to the feeding grounds after a fascist military coup in 1965, engineered by the CIA, slaughtered hundreds of thousands of progressives and turned the country's resources over to foreign exploitation.

Reports have recently come from Jakarta that "ex" Green Berets are now in Indonesia training villagers in "civic mission" work. This attempt to portray the Special Forces soldier as some kind of Peace Corps idealist with a Masters in anthropology and a PhD in agricultural science is worse than ludicrous. Certainly no Indonesian can believe that ex-Green Berets are in their country for humanitarian reasons.

Death is their profession

The Green Berets are known for just one thing. They are professional killers. They are specialists in assassination, torture and the "bag of dirty tricks." They are American imperialism's elite subversion and espionage force within the army, designed to circumvent the codes of warfare.

They are also a highly political arm of the military, and are assigned forward positions in its constant attempts at counter-revolution. Green Berets can be found in many Latin American countries, some actually engaged in combat in wars against popular guerrilla movements—wars that have never been acknowledged in Washington, let alone voted on by Congress.

Counter-revolution is their mission

The United States Embassy in Indonesia has the incredible gall to tell the world that these assassins are "teaching the Indonesians how to plan and carry out civic-mission work, to look for what the people need and the resources available—digging wells, building public toilets, etc." As though the Indonesian people haven't been digging wells and building toilets for a couple of thousand years! They need an American soldier to show them how to handle a shovel!

Whether it is stupidity or arrogance that is responsible for such a transparent cover story, the truth is that the Green Berets (who are supposedly retired from active duty but still wear the uniforms) can have only one mission in Indonesia.

They are continuing the job begun in 1958 with an unsuccessful coup attempt launched by the CIA that led to death for nearly one million Indonesians in 1965 when a second coup finally succeeded. Their

(Continued on page 11)

Green Berets in Indonesia

Facts and figures of imperialism

Why Wall St. sweats over Arab oil threat

By J. SHAPIRO

Despite the attempt by the major Western-owned international oil companies to diversify their sources of crude oil and reduce their dependence and that of Europe and Japan on Middle East oil reserves, the importance of Middle East oil has increased sharply over the past 13 years and even the past 2 years. The change is a crucial one and explains the shiver that ran through Western capitalist circles when the Arabs threatened to nationalize Mideast oil production at the Cairo Conference held the week of February 9, 1970.

The Middle East has witnessed three open confrontations in the past 13 years between Israel and Western imperialism on one side and the Arab nations on the other: in 1956, in 1967 and at the present time. In both the 1956 French-British-Israeli attack on the Arabs and in the 1967 Israeli assault, oil production in the Middle East was badly dislocated. However, in both cases the imperialist oil companies had readily available alternate sources of crude oil. These alternate sources were more intensively worked and the oil companies, if anything, made substantial, additional profits because of higher prices as a result of the closing of the Middle East.

In 1957 Venezuela played a crucial role in sup-

plying the demands of the European economy. The U.S. oil industry played a similar role at that time. However, because of the relatively lower profits that can be pulled out of Venezuela in comparison with the Middle East there has been next to no exploration or development drilling done to continue to increase Venezuelan crude oil reserves and producing capacity.

Prices would soar

At the present time it is safe to say that Venezuela could not increase its oil production much in excess of 500,000 to 1,000,000 barrels per day over its present production of somewhat in excess of 3,600,000 barrels per day. The United States in 1957 fulfilled the same function in that it also increased its production from year end 1956 to March 1957 (the period when the Suez Canal was closed) by substantial quantities. At the present time, however, United States reserves could barely sustain an increased level of production of even 250,000 to 500,000 barrels per day for even a three-month period.

The only other sources of crude oil available to supply European, Japanese and other smaller markets, are Nigeria, Indonesia, Canada and the Alaskan North Slope. The reserves and potential production in Alaska are academic at this time in that pipelines and related necessary producing facilities will require at least 2 to 3 years of intensive construction activity. Indonesia is an important oil-producing country, whose production has been increasing rapidly. At present, production from existing crude oil reserves, however, allows for only small increases.

Recent discoveries, although substantial, are still 1 to 2 years away from production. Nigeria, the third important alternate source, is producing oil at a rate of approximately 750,000 to 900,000 barrels per day. Production in this country could probably be rapidly increased to 1,500,000 barrels per day, but not much more. Finally, Canada could increase crude oil production in a very short time by 500,000 to 1,000,000 barrels per day.

Alternate sources limited

For the sake of clarity we would like to sum up the present production of all alternate sources of crude oil production and estimated potential increases which could act as a substitute for Middle East production should it be nationalized and embargoed.

Country	Available unused capacity
United States	250,000 to 500,000
Venezuela	500,000 to 1,000,000
Indonesia	250,000
Nigeria	600,000 to 1,000,000
Canada	500,000 to 1,000,000
North Slope of Alaska	0
Total	2,100,000 to 3,750,000

The importance of the Middle East can be seen from the following: Production from Libya is in excess of 3,600,000 barrels per day and from Iran close to 3,900,000 barrels per day. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia in combination produce approximately 6,200,000 barrels per day and Iraq 1,500,000 barrels per day. Egyptian production totals approximately 500,000 barrels per day. The Arab Sheikdoms in the Persian Gulf, in toto, produce in excess of 1,400,000 barrels per day. Algeria produces approximately 900,000 barrels per day. Altogether, Algerian, Libyan and Middle East production totals between 18,000,000 and 18,500,000 barrels per day.

In 1967 Western imperialism benefitted from the fact that certain Middle East countries did not shut off oil production at all, or for a very short period only, and acted as a substitute source for other countries that did shut down their production. At the present time with the Arab masses in a revolutionary ferment, with the overthrow of King Idris in Libya, with the rapid growth and increase in the strength of the Arab guerrilla movement, it is less likely that Iran, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia could continue producing their oil while the more militant Arab governments shut their's down.

MIDDLE EAST OIL PRODUCTION

Libya	3,600,000
Iran	3,900,000
Iraq	1,500,000
Saudi Arabia and Kuwait	6,200,000
Egypt	500,000
Algeria	900,000
All other Middle East sources	1,400,000
Total	18,000,000

Importance of Mideast

The crucial and overriding importance of Middle East crude oil to the capitalist world thus becomes readily apparent. The impact on imperialism is twofold. First, Europe's and Japan's highly industrialized economies simply must have the oil to operate from a purely technological point of view. Present oil inventories in Europe and Japan are sufficient to supply oil demands for a three-month period at most. Second, a cutoff of Middle East oil would undoubtedly cause oil prices to soar. The bill to the European and Japanese economies would be staggering and cause deep dislocation to these economies. With Europe's working class already in movement, as witness the events of May 1968 in France, massive general strikes in Italy and strikes in other European countries, the additional blow from oil would surely advance the proletarian revolution there.

Israel: Base of Western Imperialism

35¢

By Abdel-Wahab M. El-Messiri

Order this pamphlet, as well as CSME newsletter, from the Committee to Support Middle East Liberation, P.O. Box 948, New York, N.Y. 10027.

See if you can spot the difference



You have arrived at the correct answer if you have noticed that the picture on the left from El Diario, February 12, has in it the signature of Youth Against War & Fascism at the bottom of the Panther 21 banner and that the picture at the right from the Daily World of February 13, has everything else except the YAWF signature. The opportunist CP has some pretty talented touch up artists.