

"Will this war ever end?"

4-page special

Black and white, unite and fight for a

WORKERS WORLD

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25¢

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On this page are pictures of the Saigon branches of two of the largest U.S. banks. Banks are such peaceful places. The thick carpets, the heavy drapes, the high ceilings all hush and crunch of those new bills into a dignified rustle.

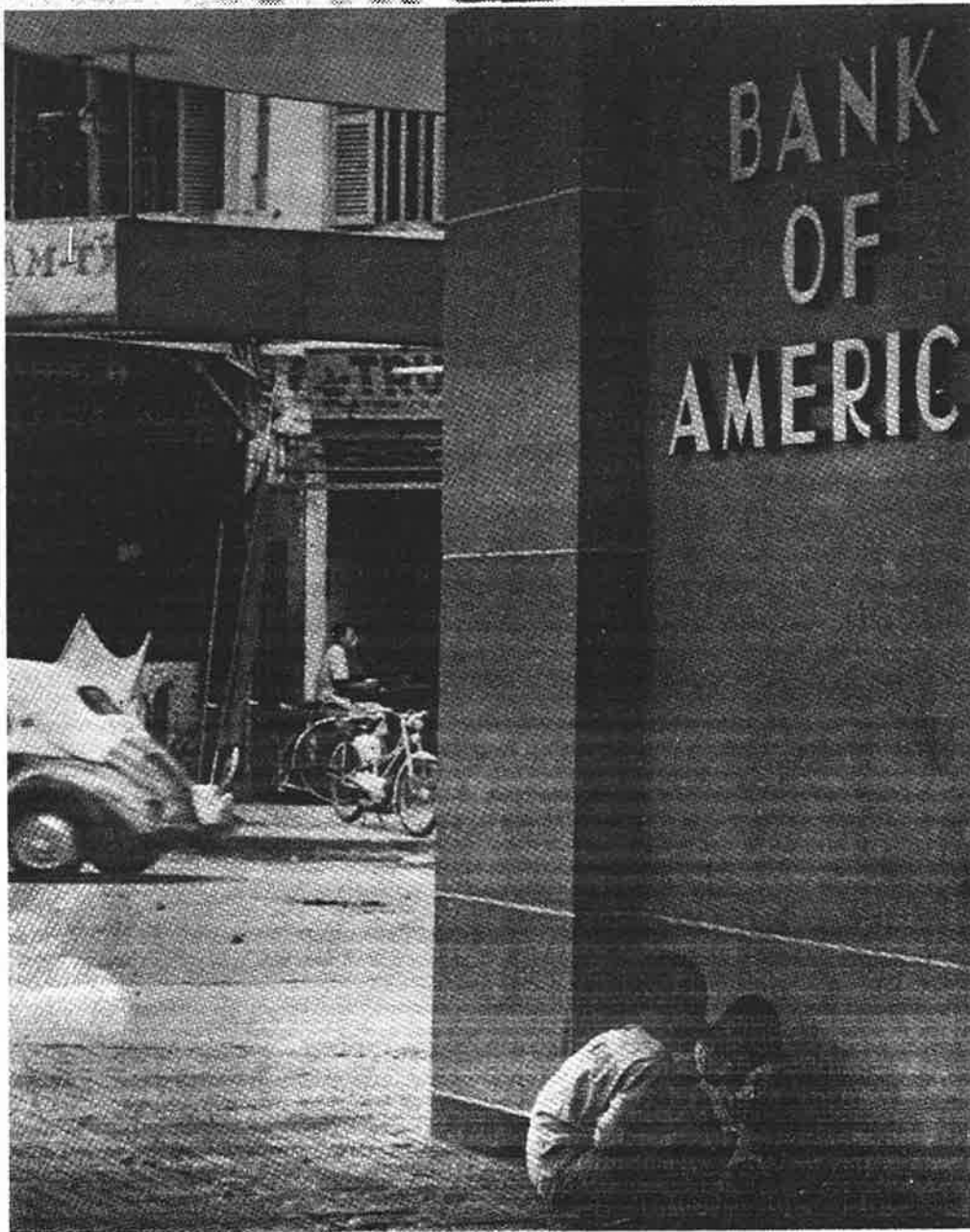
Soldiers come and go, live and die, kill or get killed. But the banks remain, solid as marble and enduring as bullet-proof glass. Even in Saigon, the rumble of war never penetrates those subterranean vaults. The lovingly protected bars of gold will not be tarnished by the mud of the rice paddy. The bundles of folding money are neatly stacked in dehumidified, air-conditioned chambers. No creeping mildew or jungle rot here!

Bank of America and Chase Manhattan—they are two of the very biggest. Through their worldwide operations sweat and blood, sinew and bone are all transmuted by the alchemy of the market into bankers' gold.

The banks used to be French. It was the Bank of France, not Bank of America, that cashed the soldiers' paychecks and made the loans to Michelin Rubber Company.

Things have changed, haven't they? Not for the Vietnamese, who have seen many, many years of war. But for Chase Manhattan, for Bank of America! A \$30 billion per annum war, and it's all theirs! Have they ever had it so good?

Opening new branches in Saigon, Bangkok, maybe Phnompenh. Lending money to the government at the highest interest rates in history to buy more napalm, more B-52s, more half-tracks from the companies they control. And these commodities will soon be used up, just like the soldiers who employ them. An endless market, the final solution to a bankers' woes.



Editorial

The significance of the Carswell rejection

All too many progressive-minded people are being led to see much too much in the Senate's rejection of Carswell's Supreme Court nomination. This is not to be wondered at. Some of the largest and most influential capitalist newspapers almost ran out of adjectives in their effusive praise of the Senate's action. The New York Post went out of its way to call it: "A triumph of the majestic processes of democracy." And the New York Times along with other metropolitan newspapers in the country were far more laudatory. They all had good reason to magnify the Carswell rejection way out of proportion to its real significance. The ruling class badly needs a molehill to be made to look like a mountain in the eyes of the broad masses of people. The Carswell rejection served just such a purpose.

At a time when their empire is crumbling, their basic political institutions under sharp attack and the facade of democratic processes becoming more and more transparent as repression and terror become the rule rather than the exception, nothing is more welcome to the capitalist politician than a popular issue which would prop up the declining faith of the masses in the virtues of imperialist democracy.

Want "competent" racist

This is not to say, however, that there was not a real struggle over the Carswell nomination. There certainly was. It is first necessary, however, to understand the nature of the real problem of which the Carswell issue is merely one political aspect. The problem is this: the country is in a deep social crisis. The Black liberation movement and the resistance against the war in Vietnam has made it incumbent upon the ruling class to embark on a policy of reaction and suppression. The imperialist establishment is in substantial agreement on the need for a broad policy that would stem the tide of rebellion and resistance. But they are divided on how best to carry out the policy. On the overall objective they agree. On the question of method, manner of execution of the policy and on who is best qualified to carry out the policy they have sharp differences. The way the issue is posed in the capitalist press, however, one would assume that

there is a difference over the fundamental objectives, when in reality there is almost unanimous agreement on the fundamental class content of the policy to be pursued.

The Nixon Administration favors, as evidenced by its choices for the Supreme Court, an outright, openly racist nominee for the Court. The opposition in the Senate is not based on a fundamentally different approach to the question of reaction and suppression. What the opposition is afraid of is that such a choice as personified in the nomination of Carswell would not stem the tide of rebellion but on the contrary would widen it and increase the resistance. As the New York Times in its editorial acclaiming the Carswell rejection says, it is OK to appoint "a conservative whose philosophies of the law are compatible with his own." What this means in plain language is that the Times concedes to Nixon the right to select a racist and a reactionary, one "whose philosophy is compatible" with Nixon's own prejudices.

The word conservative is a euphemism or a code word for a racist reactionary. And this is entirely acceptable to the liberal imperialist establishment. There is only "one irrevocable requirement" says the Times and that is "that the candidate's qualifications, ability and character are such that he will add to rather than diminish the quality of the nation's highest tribunal." In other words, it is perfectly all right for Nixon to appoint a racist, as long as he has the proper qualifications, ability and character, so as not to diminish further the stature of the Supreme Court which is already in disrepute with the bulk of the Black people and with larger and larger numbers among the whites.

Struggle over method only

In the minds of millions of people, however, the Carswell issue appears to be a straight up and down the line struggle between a liberal and reactionary approach to the Black liberation struggle. In reality, however, it turned out to be only a struggle over methods and character of personnel. Senator Bayh, who led the opposition to the Carswell nomination, was every bit right when he said that he "was not opposed to Carswell because he was a Southerner, or a conservative (meaning thereby racist and reactionary) but that he wanted somebody

who is not mediocre, someone who was distinguished by his abilities and competence." Senator Bayh was not the only one who harped on the theme of qualifications and ability. Indeed, there was not more than a handful of the opposition to Carswell that even so much as dared to say that they opposed Carswell because of his racist stand. Even Massachusetts' Senator Brooke, the only Black Senator, did not dare to rest his opposition to Carswell solely on the civil rights issue but covered it with "competence, qualification" and the rest of the gibberish that goes along with that sort of argument.

Panthers jailed under present court

Meanwhile, in the midst of the wild celebrations over the Carswell defeat the fact was forgotten that this very same opposition had for the most part approved the nomination of Judge Burger for Chief Justice, a man who differed from Carswell only to the slightest degree, if at all. What the Carswell rejection really means is that a substantial but variable section of the Senate believes that the Supreme Court as it is constituted at the present time is well able to legally validate whatever repression the Administration proposes without adding any new, more outright racists than are now sitting on the Supreme Court. In this connection it is well to remember that it is the present Supreme Court that denied the Panther 21 the elementary constitutional right to reasonable bail and approved their illegal detention in jail for more than a year on ransom-like bail. It has also indicated its approval of gagging political prisoners and their supporters who stand up for their rights in court. During their tenure in office Huey Newton remains in jail, so does Martin Sostre. Bobby Seale still faces the electric chair. And there are literally thousands of political prisoners in both civilian and military jails to whom the present Supreme Court has turned a deaf ear. The anti-Carswell coalition in the Senate says the present make-up of the Court is good enough for them and capable of stemming the tide of rebellion and resistance.

Each passing day, however, will demonstrate that neither the policy of the Nixon Administration nor the spurious opposition to him in the camp of the ruling class will suffice to roll back the historic turn of the masses toward resolute struggle.

12 ASU supporters barred;
2 arrested, at Ft. Dix

FT. DIX, N.J., April 12—Today twelve supporters of the American Servicemen's Union (ASU) were given bar notices at Ft. Dix for distributing the BOND, the ASU national newspaper.

Two others, who were also barred, Glenn Castro, a student at Princeton University, and Tom Doyle, from Connecticut, were turned over to civilian authorities in Trenton, N.J. where they will be arraigned on Monday morning for assault on an MP. ASU spokesmen say these charges are frame-ups, and that the MPs had beaten the students while they were being detained for the distribution.

The BOND, the newspaper being distributed, contained an appeal for GIs to participate in the April 15 Moratorium

activities by taking action on base such as sick-call strikes, mess-hall boycotts, or joint complaints to the Inspector General to protest the war in Vietnam, racism in the Military, and the repression of anti-war and union activists.

Andy Stapp, chairman of the ASU, said that, "These barrings and arrests are just another example of the violation of First Amendment rights for GIs. The BOND is a servicemen's newspaper, and we have the right to read it. The ASU, represented by Atty. Steven Fine of the N.Y. Military Law Panel, has begun legal action to gain back the constitutional right to distribute.

"The brass today showed their fear of the GIs' mood. The ASU will organize that mood into a fighting force."

2 Sharon steel locals
boo leaders: stay out

By MOSE PETERSEN

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, April 7—The plans of some conglomerate pirates to loot and gut the resources of some of the smaller local steel companies have unexpectedly run into the only force capable of stopping them—the Steelworkers.

The 5,000 workers at Sharon Steel rose up as one man against the N.V.F. conglomerate's wage-cutting, union busting plans nine days ago in the hottest "wild-cat" the Mahoning Valley has seen in years.

In mass meetings of over 3,000

at a time they have booed their union bureaucrats off the platform and caused the injunction-happy judges and snarling mill bosses to plead with the men to return to their slavery in the mills and end what the big bosses plaintively called today a "community tragedy."

Meanwhile an air of crisis is developing in the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company plants which were gobbled up last year by the Lykes Steamship Company, a holding company of Wall Street gangsters one-tenth the size of Sheet and Tube. Like thugs fighting in a blacked-out saloon, there are shrieks and screams of rage as another local executive's body comes flying out. Meanwhile, the local capitalist press, the Youngstown Vindicator, nervously wrings its hands and tries to reassure the dispossessed local stockholders that everything is being carried out by enlightened management.

However, the conglomerates' proposal last week for a steel plant in Puerto Rico plus rumors that the giant Brier Hill works here may be shut down, has suddenly alerted the steelworkers to the fact that they have a vital stake in the struggle and that even their pension fund may be in jeopardy.

The revolt of the workers at Sharon Steel has given pause to the gangster financiers, but the economics of their jerry-built empire may drive them into conflict with the 15,000 Sheet and Tube workers, and if that happens it will become clear that, as at Sharon Steel, the Steelworker giant is not dead but has just been sleeping.

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Lesson of strike against the meat packing trust

Karl Marx and the trade unions

It has been well over a century since Karl Marx, in an address to the International Workingmen's Association, analyzed the general relations of profits to wages in a pamphlet which has been passed down and been read by the millions throughout the world and which is popularly known as Value, Price and Profit. While the pamphlet is generally concerned with analyzing the economic relationship among wage, labor and capital there are also at the end of the pamphlet several concluding remarks made by Marx concerning trade unions which retain as much or possibly more validity and relevance than when Marx delivered his famous address.

"Trade Unions," said Marx, "work well as centers of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially," he continued, "from an injudicious use of their power." In what sense? In the sense that: "They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerrilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wage system."

Trade unions confined

to guerrilla tactics

Much water has run over the dam since Marx wrote this and the working class has undergone many transformations since then. The nature of the so-called free competitive forces of the capitalist system has long given way to the unbridled rule of monopoly capitalism and what was once considered as a more or less legitimate form of trade union leadership, in the sense that there was some correspondence between rank-and-file needs of workers and trade union leadership, has long given way to the monstrous growth of a trade union bureaucracy which in conditions of imperialist war and domestic reaction has become a political police of the capitalist government over the war.

Nevertheless, as Marx correctly observed over a century ago, trade unions are centers of resistance against the encroachments of capital and their singular failing, when in fact they are resisting the encroachments of capital, is that they limit themselves to a "guerrilla war." What did Marx mean by a "guerrilla war"? He did not use that term in the sense that we use it today in the contemporary world struggle as a tactic employed by the liberation movements in the struggle against imperialism. He used the term in the classical sense, in reference to sporadic, isolated and uncoordinated struggles with very sharply defined, limited objectives and not, of course, conceived with the ultimate objective of generalizing these disparate skirmishes into an overall assault against the citadel of capital.

Resurgence of militancy,

lack of union solidarity

Scarcely anyone who has had his eyes open at all can deny that there is a vigorous, general resurgence of trade union militancy throughout this country. It is not only the postal strike, the teamsters, the sanitationmen, but literally hundreds of smaller strikes are occurring with increasing frequency. In many cases they are of a protracted and bitter character with violence on an increasing scale and with the repressive

forces of the capitalist state coming to the aid of the employer in every case.

What becomes immediately apparent if one looks at the labor scene from an overall view is the correctness of Marx's observation that the unions are confining themselves to a "guerrilla" tactic. There is no national cooperation, no coordination, and almost an absolute minimum of mutual aid and assistance with only the barest minimum of a show of labor solidarity. And yet it becomes painfully apparent with each new strike that the workers are facing a common enemy in the capitalist class and that the various capitalist cliques are bound by a common class solidarity when they are in struggle against the workers.

Strike against the meat trust:

a significant struggle

Nowhere is the lack of general labor solidarity more critical than in the cases of the many long and bitter strikes that have been carried on by relatively smaller groups of workers against the powerful capitalist combine which can be called the meat trust.

A case in point is the strike of perhaps some 1,500 workers at the Dakota City, Nebraska, plant of Iowa Beef Processors Inc. The workers are led by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers of America. This has been a long and tough strike and, while the parent union has done as much as any union in its position can do, the most notable fact to emerge from the struggle is the lack of national working class solidarity from the rest of the labor movement, considering that this strike has lasted almost nine months; has gone through many arrests; has experienced so much repression at the hands of the local authorities in collusion with the company; and has seen the cooperation of all arms of the government, company, press and police. One truly marvels at the solidarity shown by the meat packing workers.

Often times it happens in the course of such a long strike that new issues between the workers and the company are developed which are almost as important as the demands for which the workers originally went out on strike. At this moment in the particular strike we are discussing, the company and the union have announced a pending settlement. It is too early for us to have a full picture of it and how it would affect the workers, but one aspect of it is of general interest to all the workers in the United States because it affects the character of the solidarity that is needed in any type of struggle like this.

Settlement important for

American workers

The union apparently won a 58-cents-an-hour wage increase for the first year followed by a 15-cents-an-hour wage increase for the second and third year as part of an overall attempt to gradually eliminate a wage differential between the slaughtering and processing divisions of the company. This may or may not be equal to the strength the workers feel they showed in the course of such a brutal struggle. The union leaders themselves have evaluated the increases as a compromise.



Marx

But the aspect of the settlement that is of general interest to all the workers in the United States is the one regarding the return of all the strikers to work. Here it appears that the union agreed that the names of those workers allegedly involved in "gross acts of vandalism or violence" are to be submitted to a so-called "impartial arbitrator" who will determine whether they will be permanently reinstated and his decision in turn may depend on what the capitalist courts decide on the many cases that are pending now. This goes to the very essence of the meaning of a union and of the meaning of labor solidarity. If the union leaders deliver the fate of the victimized strikers to the tender mercies of an arbitrator who in turn wants to see what the courts will decide first, then that is one of the worst blows to the spirit of the workers and tends to crush the very spirit that has enabled them to endure nine months with such exemplary unity. The need for the union to hold firm on the issue of protecting militant workers who gave their all against the company ranks equally with the economic issues.

Spirit of the workers more important than economic gains in long run

In the long run the economic issues don't even have the same lasting effect as does the spirit of the workers when they all come back together and united, undaunted by the terror of the local police authorities, the scabs and hired goons of the company. Maintaining unity and solidarity at the termination of a strike at this particular period in the struggle where many workers are waging struggles against employers has more lasting significance than most of the economic demands. Here it is necessary to again show what Marx said with regard to the economic victories that the workers may win.

"They," meaning the workers, said Marx, "ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects (economic) but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady. They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively absorbed in these unavoidable guerrilla fights incessantly springing up from the neverceasing encroachments of capital or changes of the market."

Marx's analysis is particularly pertinent to the situation today when galloping inflation literally eats up a wage increase long before the contract on which it is based expires. Today's capitalist economy is so full of falsely built-in supports of a war-oriented character that gives all economic gains a purely transient and temporary character, which at anytime can quickly evaporate. The fostering of unity and solidarity among the workers is most important because from this ultimately develops the political class consciousness necessary for the final emancipation of the working class which, in turn, will only come as the result of the overthrow of the entire capitalist system.

— SAM MARCY



Two women strikers on the picket line in the long and bitter strike against the Iowa Beef Processors in Dakota City.

5,000 march for New York Panther 21

People's power is Panthers' bail

NEW YORK—April 4 is almost exactly the anniversary of the predawn fascist raid on 21 members of the Black Panther Party, framed up by the police on charges of conspiracy to bomb and commit murder. But April 4 also marked, by far, the largest demonstration yet held on the East Coast in support of the Black Panther Party and its many courageous political prisoners. A crowd estimated at 5,000 gathered at the Central Park Mall and marched, chanted and sang to demand freedom for the New York Panther 21.

A conspiracy of silence reigned in the capitalist press when it came to reporting the event. Only the busts at the end of the demonstration were deemed newsworthy and the whole political content of the demonstration was suppressed. Furthermore, the radical press grossly underplayed the demonstration and its importance in building

support for the Panther prisoners.

The Militant, organ of the SWP-YSA, went so far in snubbing the demonstration as to limit its coverage to one picture while writing an entire story on an anti-pollution demonstration which took place simultaneously. (It is interesting to note that this is the exact same tactic which all the TV stations used to play down the Panther demonstration.)

The mood of the young people, Black and white, was exhilarating as the demonstrators filled Second Avenue from sidewalk to sidewalk, for several blocks. The people walked with arms linked and shouted, "Over the bridge, empty the jails, people's power is the Panthers' bail."

The march proceeded over the 59th Street bridge and five miles to the Queens House of Detention where 10 Panther brothers have been imprisoned



Second Avenue packed with marchers.

for over a year on \$100,000 bail. (Joan Bird has likewise been held in the Women's House of Detention since last April.)

Colorful banners of red, green and yellow floated over the heads of the demonstrators with the faces of the many Black political prisoners whose struggles inspired this mass outpouring—Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, Erika Huggins, Fred Hampton.

Headed by banners reading "Only the People Can Free the Panther 21" and "Free Bobby," the massive column of demonstrators moved in one of the most spirited demonstrations seen here

in a while. A women's contingent was also formed to show the solidarity of the Women's Liberation movement with the struggle to free the Panthers.

The demonstration was organized by the Committee to Defend the Panther 21 and The Conspiracy. Also supporting the action were the December 4th Movement, the Young Lords Organization, Youth Against War & Fascism and Newsreel. The infectious spirit of the march evoked many favorable responses from bystanders, young and old, who gave the clenched fist as the demon-

(Continued on page 15)

Cops ambush Young Lords

The Ministry of Information of the YOUNG LORDS ORGANIZATION has started a new service for our people: the Latin Revolutionary News Service. We feel that the Latin Colony of the united states is being misinformed (the few times we are informed at all) as to what happens in amerika, Latin America, and the world.

To counteract this, the Latin Revolutionary News Service will provide information to Latin people, primarily from Latin America.

EL BARRIO, April 6—Hundreds of police, most of them helmeted members of the Special Events Squad (S.E.S., or "Bossie Guys," Barry Gotterher's elite gestapo, assigned to destroy the YLO before the summer) ambushed forty members of the YOUNG LORDS ORGANIZATION Saturday afternoon, April 4, as the ORGANIZATION returned from a massive rally in support of the New York Panther 21.

The attack occurred at the Queens-

boro Plaza IRT station as the LORDS questioned transit patrolmen who were harassing a brother, and not while attempting to jump the turnstiles, as some "authorities" have claimed. With all the police at the station, it would have been useless to jump the turnstile. This is in keeping with the YLO's second rule of discipline which states "Any ORGANIZATION member busted on a jive tip which that member brought down on himself, herself, or others, can swim alone."

During the battle, at least twenty LORDS sustained injuries. All four of the LORDS who were arrested were injured, two seriously. The arrested warriors are Rogelio "Cano" Cruz, Staff Cadre; Umar "Muntu" Bakr, Defense Cadre; Lulu Carerras, Acting Finance Lieutenant; and Larry Loazau, Information Cadre. Larry was given youthful offender treatment and released on parole; Muntu and Cano were charged with felonious assault, resisting arrest, and \$1000 ransom each. Lulu, on similar charges, was given the severest penalty, \$5000 ransom, for allegedly fracturing Patrolman Edward Anderson's skull. The truth behind the charges were being questioned by the YOUNG LORDS ORGANIZATION at Brooklyn court the next Sunday as Larry, Cano and Muntu were ransomed out.

A "Puerto Rican-American" cop who was at the train station Saturday and said by "authorities" to be in the hospital as a result, was seen waiting in the lobby of the court as Cano and Muntu were freed, probably to continue where he left off Saturday. As the LORDS approached he and a partner drove off in a light blue two door fastback, New York license number QV-2244.

The YLO freed Lulu on Monday after she spent two nights at the notorious Women's House of Detention.

This brings to twelve the total number of LORD cases pending out of the 128 arrests made in the last three months. Police are still searching for two male LORDS in connection with the 111th St. incident of March 26 with illegal arrest warrants. The police have been told by the LORD lawyers that all they have to do is tell the lawyers who they want and the LORDS would surrender themselves. The police have refused to do this, and it is apparent that they are hopeful of a melodramatic midnight raid on someone's apartment that could only end in murder.



Analye Dahruba addresses rally. Afeni Shakur with her baby at right. WW Photo/Ed Collins



Demonstrators march over the 59th Street bridge. —LNS Photo

Buffalo high school youth send birthday greetings

Black Action Movement Tribute to Martin Sostre

Birthday Greeting to Martin Sostre—All Power to the People! Happy Birthday to the Man, the Revolutionary, the People's Fighter, the Political Prisoner; we say "Right On!" to you, for you have set a path for us to follow. At the end of this road is freedom for all the people. This letter is three years late, Martin, but we know you understand.

I'm Chief of Staff of BAM (Black Action Movement); also one of the leaders of the Inter-High Black Students Union. I know, Martin, neither of these were around when you were, but they are here now! Right on!

First, I will tell you about the IHBSU. The IHBSU consists of all the High School Black Student Union leaders. When one BSU has a problem they (pigs) have to deal with all of us. Isn't this what you were fighting for? I think so; my comrades think so; the community thinks so. "Unity is Power." The IHBSU's first move was to aid a brother who was offed by a white teacher; a cut over his eye required five stitches.

The story goes like this: The brother

had just come into school. The teacher thought he was skipping class. He grabbed the brother and threw him up against a wall. The brother told this pig to get off of him. The pig wouldn't, so the brother swung on the teacher. I think I should point this out to you, Martin: the brother is 5 feet, 2 inches, 105 pounds; the teacher is 5 feet, 11 inches and 200 pounds. Martin, there's going to be a big change in Buffalo, anytime you see that—that brother had enough guts to swing off on that big teacher.

The pigs in power told us that they would remove that teacher from our community, but they didn't. So the IHBSU took action. Our plan was to close a school per day until Dr. Manch came to a meeting with us (IHBSU). Pig Manch wouldn't come for three days, Martin, but dig this: In those three days, the IHBSU closed over nine schools. Right on! Big bad pig Manch is coming to meet with us now, and in our own Black community. Tomorrow is the meeting. If he doesn't act right then we're going to do our thing again.

There is a list of demands, too. I thought you would like to see them.

Martin, now you realize that this is the first time in Buffalo masses of Black students have joined together and protested. And we are sure damn going to win, or there will be consequences delivered by the people. That is our right. The people should have all the power, and the pig none. And we are the people, so we're going to move from there and get community control of our schools. "All the Power belongs to the People." The Youth make the Revolution.

Now what is BAM? BAM is a newly-formed organization created in and from the Black community. BAM can best be summed up in Huey Newton's own words: "The Black Panther Party is the people's party. We are fundamentally interested in one thing: that is, freeing all people from all forms of slavery in order that every man will be his own master." Martin, our main purpose is to meet the basic needs of the people—ALL the people. I think you can take it from there. I also have here a copy of our Ten Point

Program.

Martin, it has been almost three years since you were kidnapped off of the streets of the Black Colony. Yes, almost three long years, and the Black Community didn't even stand up for you. But time has changed, Martin, and we want Martin Sostre set free!! We want Huey P. Newton set free! We want revenge for Fred! And Bobby will not die!

Martin, the pigs have done everything to break your spirit, but they can't, because like Huey said: "The spirit of the people is greater than the man's technology." And Martin, you're a clear example of what he was talking about. Martin, I read the first issue of BLACK NEWS. It was—like, it was Right On! So, Martin, what you're saying to those lying, low-down, racist dog pigs is: "Prison, where is thy Victory?" because the prison can have no victory over the prisoners. So Martin, I think I will close it here. Please keep up the good work.

Right On! Power to the Vanguard!
3/16/70

Sostre sues warden for freedom of political mail

By ELLEN PIERCE

"...The Plaintiff is a black citizen of the United States and is serving a sentence of 30 to 40 years at Wallkill Prison, the result of a police frame-up because of his activities in the black liberation struggle...."

So begins a suit by Martin Gonzales Sostre demanding that the warden of Wallkill and the New York State Commissioner of Correction give Sostre the revolutionary and Black nationalist publications they have withheld from him.

The virtual life sentence imposed on Sostre (who is in his mid-forties) stems from his ownership of a bookstore in the Black community of Buffalo. The Afro-Asian Bookshop carried works by Malcolm X, Che Guevara, and so forth. When rebellion swept the community during the summer of 1967, the police framed Sostre and Geraldine Robinson, his assistant, on phony narcotics charges. Mrs. Robinson, a young Black mother of five, is now serving one year in jail in addition to the 15-year suspended sentence she received.

After 13 months in solitary confinement at Greenhaven Prison, Sostre brought a Federal suit charging cruel and inhuman punishment. He did all his own legal work in both suits,

under the most crushing conditions. Sostre's own words, despite the legal context of the suit, describe the situation best.

"Plaintiff (Sostre) was convicted after a kangaroo trial and without counsel in Erie County Court and was sentenced to 40 years...."

"Prior to being transferred to Wallkill Prison, and while Plaintiff was at Greenhaven Prison, he had subscribed to the following publications: Workers World newspaper; Liberator Magazine; Afro-America; Negro Digest; Criminal Law Bulletin; Muhammad Speaks newspaper; Buffalo Challenger."

At Wallkill he received some of his literature but Workers World, Muhammad Speaks and the Criminal Law Bulletin were all still withheld.

He later got subscriptions to Claridad, the Spanish-language organ of Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico, the Black Panther newspaper, Ramparts, as well as books by Mao Tse-tung, Kwame Nkrumah, and a pamphlet on his own case distributed by the Sostre Defense Committee. These were all mailed to him, but kept from him by the warden.

Confronting Deputy Warden Nevel, Sostre was told that he could not have Muhammad Speaks because he was not a Muslim. Sostre retorted, "That ex-

cuse is invalid because Plaintiff is not a Christian Scientist, yet he reads the Christian Science Monitor...."

"Upon this retort, Deputy Warden Nevel cleared his throat, dropped the religious theory...and abruptly ended the interview...."

Workers World barred for GI support

On September 2, 1969 the warden told him that Workers World was barred because of an article supporting GI prisoners who rebelled in the Danang brig. The warden denied having seen the Criminal Law Bulletin but admitted throwing away Muhammad Speaks because they were "old papers and some of them were dirty."

"All the obstructed publications set forth socialist-oriented views... and are highly critical of the growing white racist fascism in the United States and its expansion abroad in the form of militaristic imperialism."

"The Plaintiff subscribes to and identifies with the socialist views and sentiments... which comprise the political ideology that is relevant to him as an oppressed black man in this self-admitted white racist country...."

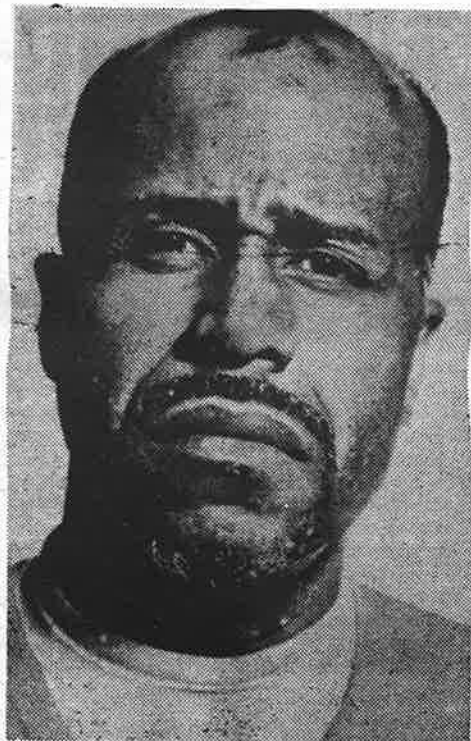
This obstruction by the warden is the "manifestation of their ingrained racism and of their reactionary right-wing political beliefs which have become the de facto institutionalized policy" in the prisons.

Sostre then lists right-wing publications allowed in the jail, including newspapers from South Africa and Rhodesia!

Like a Jew in a Nazi prison

"Plaintiff's position can best be described as analogous to that of a Jew in a Nazi prison, who is presented with the choice of reading the Nazi literature in the prison—which is insultingly anti-Semitic and inimical to him—or stagnating mentally by not reading at all...."

"That as a result of being subjected



Martin Gonzales Sostre

to political oppression by the deprivation of the political literature of his choice, the Plaintiff—who is deeply involved in the international liberation struggle against racist-imperialist oppression... is suffering extreme mental anguish and injury because of the restraint placed upon the development of his political and ideological awareness by denial of his right to read...."

In addition to all his other achievements, this heroic fighter is publishing a newspaper, "Black News" from jail, and has forced the state to institute classes in Black history for the prisoners.

BLACK NEWS

A community news service for the Black and Puerto Rican communities. Edited by Martin Sostre,

currently serving a 41-year sentence in Wallkill Prison.

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"You can jail a revolutionary but you can't jail the revolution."

Part I

The Woman in History

By DOROTHY BALLAN

There is a profound revolutionary upsurge going on today that is shaking the very foundations of capitalist civilization. It can be seen in all phases of life: on the campus, on the picket line, more recently in the ranks of organized labor, above all in the Black liberation movement, and even in the church.

So it is no surprise that there is also a widespread resurgence for women's liberation despite the campaign of the ruling class to ridicule and distort it in an effort to obliterate its very progressive character.

Many young women throughout the country are beginning to inquire into the origins of present day social relations of women, particularly as applied to the family.

Materialist view of origin of the family

It is really impossible to understand the origin or development of the present status of women without subjecting the question to a materialist view of history, that is, from a class point of view. If women in the leadership of this movement see the question in historical perspective, it would help a great deal to avoid suffering another decline in the movement such as happened to the suffragette movement.

There are few social institutions that are held to be as hallowed, as eternal and as unchanging in character as that of the family.

But Marxism teaches that all things in nature and in society are in constant, uninterrupted and everlasting change. Nothing is eternal; everything has a beginning, goes through a period of development, growth and decadence, and ultimately a transformation into other forms. And that, of course, applies no less to the development of the family.

Marx and Engels not only discovered the laws governing capitalist society in particular, but also the driving forces of social development of humanity since its rudimentary beginnings on earth.

Frederick Engels, in his remarkable book, "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," found that the family, like any other historical phenomenon, was by no means a frozen, ossified, permanent, changeless institution based on moralistic or religious conception. Quite the contrary.

Its development and transformation flowed from the material conditions of life and was most vitally affected by profound changes in the development of production.

The historical epoch of mother-right

For many hundreds of thousands of years, there was no such thing as a family as we know it today, anywhere on earth. The forms of organization that did exist were adaptations to the material needs.

To survive and develop in the struggle against nature with little or no tools, men and women lived and worked cooperatively, equally and communally, with a division of labor between the sexes that came naturally.

The period that began with the transformation of men and women from animal to human, and known as the period of mother-right, or the matriarchy, was a very long and complex period. If we were to reduce the many hundreds of thousands of years of human development to the scale of one year, the equivalent measurement would leave only a few days of historical time for the patriarchy; over 360 days of historical time belonged to the matriarchy.

Cooperative social basis of matriarchy

At the dawn of humanity, production was necessarily organized on a social and cooperative basis. Contrary to Hollywood stories of cave men who dragged passive women to their caves by the hair, and whose relations with each other was one of constant aggression and destruction — there actually was a high degree of social cooperation among all the people in a group which was reflected in the division of labor between men and women.

It was the only way for humanity to survive in a hostile environment.

Not only Hollywood, but all the religious and social institutions of today, including some anthropologists, can only see the development of primitive society through private-property-tinted glasses. But property in primitive society was communally owned. It was only after social production was transformed into private production that the nature of the family changed from a socially cooperative foundation as it existed under the matriarchy to the private property foundation of the patriarchy. And this transformation didn't happen until the most recent days of

historical time.

Engels' estimate of Morgan's discoveries

Engels based his conclusions of the origin of the family on the researches of Lewis H. Morgan whom he credited with rediscovering America in his own way. Morgan spent many years studying first-hand the system of kinship prevailing among the American Indians, most particularly the Iroquois. As a result, he discovered that the form of kinship that prevailed among the Iroquois, prevailed not only among all the aborigines spread over an entire continent, but also among numerous tribes in Asia, Africa and Australia, which indicated a broad historical development in many separate parts of the earth.

Group marriage and its role in the development of matriarchy

From what existed in his time, Morgan was able to deduce earlier, extinct forms of group or communal marriage.

Engels felt that Morgan's contribution was of such mighty importance that, in his own words, "The rediscovery of the original mother-right gens as the stage preliminary to the father-right gens of the civilized peoples has the same significance for the history of primitive society as Darwin's theory of evolution has for biology and Marx's theory of surplus value for political economy."

To prove this point, it becomes necessary to trace some of the historical development, even if only in a marginal way.

At the dawn of humanity, group marriage prevailed. Paternity was not even understood, let alone determined. It required no complex scientific reasoning to determine who the mothers were. Therefore children always remained with the mother. As the gens, a unit of blood relatives descended through the mother, developed and separated into differing units, the men would leave their gens to join the gens of the women, and descent continued through the mothers.

The only way for humans to survive and develop in the struggle against nature, with first no tools and later with very primitive ones, was to work cooperatively. The natural division of labor that

evolved at that time appears to have developed precisely because women are the childbearers. In most cases, the men did the hunting for big game to serve as food for the entire group. They all ate or starved together.

So dependent were they on each other, that out of this a code of morals and ethics developed where it was unthinkable for one person to eat and leave another hungry. Everything was shared. It should be mentioned in passing that occasionally, in some areas, women also became hunters and warriors.

Home was where all the people lived

But for the most part, women stayed in the home, took care of child rearing, food gathering or production, and housekeeping. But again, if these tasks are viewed through private-property-tinted glasses, they become impossible to really understand.

Home was not the individual, removed, isolated, stultifying arena where childbearing and housekeeping became a prison for each woman individually to grapple with dirt, dishes and individual cooking, virtually removed from all other areas of intellectual and social development except on the pettiest levels.

Home was the area where all the people of a gens lived in large buildings communally. The men left the home to hunt for food in the form of big game. Even when the men were fortunate enough to bring something back, it was the women who learned to use fire for cooking, develop utensils for eating, storing and preserving, processing leather for warm clothing plus an infinite variety of other necessary, useful and highly creative labor.

Because the men were not always successful on the hunt, the women found other forms of food, first as a supplement to the hunt and later as a replacement. They learned to dig for potatoes, yams and other roots. Later they learned field cultivation and consciously planted a variety of foods. They first caught small bugs, lizards and animals for food and later learned to domesticate animals and breed them. This barely even touches on the enormous development they brought about in production and tools and a variety of useful labor.

Engels: women first to articulate speech

Women worked together. A development or discovery of one was a development for all. They not only learned from each other but they taught the children and the men what they learned. Engels even speculates that it was probably women who first articulated speech. It was the men who were more isolated on the hunt and had to spend much time in silence. It was the women who were constantly experimenting and exchanging experiences and teaching the children who participated in the work as soon as they were old enough.

Women were never thought of as being unable to do heavy work. It has been established that it was they who physically built the large community houses.

(Continued on page 14)



Japanese women holding digging sticks. The digging stick was first developed by primitive women in the matriarchy for food gathering and land cultivation.



"Will this war ever end?" This is the question which millions and tens of millions of people are asking themselves. After ten years of war, the longest war in this country's history, with more U.S. casualties than in Korea, people are beginning to wonder whether their children, now struggling with grade school geography, will soon be dying in Southeast Asia.

People have seen thousands of demonstrations against the war, small demonstrations and mammoth demonstrations, militant protests and passive ones; they have seen long-haired youth oppose the war and they have seen conservative politicians oppose the war—yet the war goes on. They have seen the whole country recoil in horror at atrocities, massacres and declare, "Things have gone too far." Yet "things" go on. Even as this is being written the war is beginning to be referred to as the Indochina War.

And what of all the theories that have been offered—and have fallen apart. The power-mad President theory. Get rid of Johnson and Humphrey. Get someone new, who won't have to worry about saving face, who won't be beyond the credibility gap.

But the war didn't begin with Johnson, and didn't end with him either. Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon—Republicans and Democrats, hawks and doves, liberals and reactionaries, all made their contribution. The war drive seems to transcend personalities, parties and administrations.

And there's the theory that it's all either a mistake or an insane accident. That no one wants this war, it's ridiculous, a mad bloodbath that profits no one. Vietnam is a lot of rice paddies and swamps. It would take fifty years to get back

in profits what the war is costing.

But if it is true that the war is irrational, how can it be that seemingly rational men, highly educated and highly trained men, who have studied politics and foreign policy all their lives, who have all the inside facts available to them, who have computers and staffs of experts at their disposal—how is it that such men can continue to make one irrational decision after another and drag the whole country into an irrational war?

Everybody seems to be against the war—even those who started it, like Robert McNamara, Arthur Goldberg, McGeorge Bundy and those who helped to continue it like Hubert Humphrey, George Ball and Clark Clifford, people like Ramsey Clark, generals like Ridgeway and Gavin—even Nixon, they say, seems to want to end the war. Yet the war goes on.

The planes that used to bomb North Vietnam every day are not idle. They are now dropping their deadly loads on South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia where poor peasants fight for their freedom. The draft has been changed into a lottery. But the same fresh-faced, disbelieving young workers and students are being loaded into the trains and buses for that long trip to boot camp.

Should we be discouraged? Ten years is a long time in one person's life. Despite massive demonstrations, and a move to the left on the part of the people, the government does not change its course. If we had to rely on the politicians to end the war, the struggle might seem counterproductive. For the people who hoped that a change in personnel, or a mandate of the people through public opinion polls, would change the government's policies, there must be great discouragement.

But look. The anti-war mood is spreading among

the soldiers, the high school students and from them to the ordinary working people. They are coming into the anti-war movement and they want and need answers.

But are there answers to their questions? What about all the paradoxes and contradictions surrounding this war and its conduct? Does morality or the lack of it account for the war? Why do men who seem rational wage an irrational war? Why is it that everyone seems to want peace yet the war goes on? Is the war "beyond human control?" Most important of all, "Will this war ever end?" and if so, "How can it be ended?"

We say that there are answers to these questions; that these paradoxes and contradictions can be explained; that this war has a definite cause; and that it can be ended.

We have the answers to these questions and we would like to discuss these questions with you. We have been through the struggle against the war since its beginning. Way back in 1962, it was Youth Against War & Fascism that organized the first demonstration against the Vietnam war.

Hardly anybody noticed then. We were a handful of people. But in Vietnam they noticed—President Ho Chi Minh noticed and he sent us a message of encouragement. And we didn't get discouraged.

Since those days back in 1962 we have been involved in almost every significant struggle against the war that has taken place in this country and we have grappled over and over again with the problems of theory, with the problems of strategy, with the problems of tactics. An analysis of the war, why it goes on, what are the forces behind it, and how it can be stopped are life and death questions for millions. Let's discuss it.

I. Peace – an interlude between wars

In order to begin to answer these questions it will help to see the Vietnam war against the background of recent U.S. global activity. This will help dispel the widely held illusion that Washington's Vietnam adventure is somehow a departure from an otherwise peaceful relationship with the rest of the world.

Millions of people have been told by the establishment media that for America war is abnormal and that peace is the "normal" state of things which will be returned as soon as the Vietnam war is ended. The truth is that "normal" U.S. foreign affairs are anything and everything but peaceful.

The brief sketch which follows covers only some of the highlights of the "post war" period. That is the period when peace is supposed to have begun. In reality there hasn't been a minute when U.S. military might has not been used in an aggressive action somewhere in the world, sometimes clandestine, often open. Yet the cited examples will be sufficient to prove that "peace in our time" has been an illusion and that the respite from fighting have been periods of rearmament for greater conflict.

First of all, of those twenty-five years fully half of them, over three years in Korea and over nine years in Vietnam, have witnessed full-scale war in

which U.S. troops were fighting on a continuous basis against a foreign population. The other half could hardly be described as peaceful.

EUROPE—The ashes of Hiroshima had hardly cooled before the new wars began. In 1946 Winston Churchill delivered his famous "Iron Curtain" speech (given, significantly, in the United States) warning of "Soviet expansionism." It was a direct threat to the European workers. Having driven back the Nazis and Fascists, they were now turning their arms against their own rulers. The U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean was dispatched (Continued on next page)

(Continued from preceding page)

to threaten the Italian partisans, and under the Truman Doctrine nearly \$4 billion in military aid and advisors went to Greece and Turkey to crush uprisings there. In Greece (as in Vietnam, Korea and other countries) the U.S. re-installed the very same government that had collaborated with the Nazis (or Japanese) only months before—just as now the U.S., directly and through NATO, is the mainstay of Greek fascism.

NATO—The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was created in 1949 as Marshall Plan "aid," and "recovery" was followed by open military preparations. The launching of NATO set the arms race in motion with billions and trillions channeled to armaments manufacturers and the Pentagon.

KOREA—The fifties began with the Korean War. The U.S. government and military sacrificed GIs and Koreans to hang on to the Korean Peninsula and recoup the "loss" of China (as if it were theirs to lose). It cost the lives of one million Koreans and Chinese and 50,000 GIs. 1950 was also the year when Truman sent the Seventh Fleet to patrol the seas near China and the year when this country began to pay the bills for the French war in Indochina.

IRAN—In 1953 and 1954, the U.S. overthrew the governments in Iran and Guatemala for daring to nationalize their own resources. Mossadegh of Iran had nationalized the oil industry, then owned by British and now mostly by U.S. corporations. The CIA openly bragged of overthrowing him. One of its agents instrumental in getting rid of Mossadegh was later rewarded with a vice presidency of Gulf Oil.

GUATEMALA—The Arbenz government instituted moderate agrarian reforms which included some expropriations of United Fruit Company property. It was overthrown in a coup engineered by the U.S. The foreign-owned plantations were quickly returned to their exploiters by the military junta that took over.

PHILIPPINES—World War II ended only in 1950 for the people of the Philippines, and it ended in defeat after the U.S. directed forces of "counter-insurgency" to crush the Hukbalahap liberation army in a five-year Vietnam-type "dirty war." The liberation struggle has recently had a fervent rebirth in this long-time U.S. colony.

LEBANON—Following the Suez war in 1956, Eisenhower extended the "Truman doctrine" to the Mideast with aid to the monarchy in Jordan. Marines landed in Lebanon in 1958 to put down a revolt against the pro-Western policies of its government.

INDONESIA—The same year the CIA failed in an attempt to overthrow Sukarno, but continued working within the Indonesian army until it was able to engineer a successful counterrevolution in 1965 that led to a military take-over and the slaughter of up to a million people.

The decade of the sixties began with the U-2 spy plane incident over the USSR. Sixty-one saw the U.S. Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and threats



over Berlin. President Kennedy threatened atomic war during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis and denied that the steadily increasing forces in Vietnam were combat troops.

Cuban mercenaries and other agents of the CIA bombed the people of the Congo in 1964. In Stanleyville, thousands were killed in a massacre by troops flown in and led by the CIA.

By 1965 the bombing of North Vietnam was underway, and a massive buildup in South Vietnam was in progress. That year Johnson launched an invasion of 42,000 troops to put down a popular rebellion in the Dominican Republic.

In the last ten years, American military spending has gone from \$46 to \$85 billion a year. Military

manpower has been increased by one million GIs, nuclear attack submarines, ABMs and MIRVs, added to the already staggering arsenal of the self-appointed policeman of the world.

What sort of peace has this been? There has been no peace for the people in a large part of the globe, no respite from attacks by Washington or its agents. The 1945-50 and 1953-61 periods were used to prepare for wars in Asia. Should the Vietnam war end as a result of the victory of the National Liberation Front and its allies and should there be an interlude of "peace," Washington would surely use the time to make ready to send a new generation of American youth to kill or be killed on future battlefields.

II. The class roots of the war

How are we to explain a society which engages in perpetual war and smaller scale hostilities against the rest of the world? To call it immoral, irrational and to brand it as a garrison state is correct. But to explain it is another thing.

Over 50 years ago, at the outbreak of the first great world conflagration, Lenin, who was to become the leader of the first successful socialist revolution, analyzed this new development which brought mass death and destruction on a scale hitherto unknown in human history.

Lenin explained that the war was the inevitable product of contemporary European capitalism that had reached a decadent stage that he called "imperialism." He further explained that there were definite economic and class developments common to all imperialist countries which drove them irresistibly toward militarism and war.

These crucial characteristics were the narrowing concentration of great wealth into the hands of a small number of giant corporations; the merging with and control of these corporations by the great banking houses; the great increase in the export of finance capital and the consequent aggressive race by this new class of finance-capitalists to grab new areas for investment, new raw materials and cheap labor in order to feed their insatiable lust for profit.

If this sounds like "old left" semantics or outmoded rhetoric, take one look at the string of U.S. wars and the society that's waging them, and you will quickly see that Lenin's description fits this country like a glove.

For example, the top 500 corporations in this country own the vast majority of wealth. Their combined assets were around \$280 billion on the books in 1967. Of this \$71 billion is owned by the top ten—2 per cent of the top 500 own 25 per cent of their total wealth.

Look at the top ten industrials (GM, Ford,

Jersey Standard, GE, Chrysler, Mobil, Texaco, U.S. Steel, IBM and Gulf) and you will see that every one of them has several directors on its board from the largest and most powerful banking houses, Morgan Guaranty, Chase Manhattan, First National City, Chemical Bank, Manufacturers Hanover and other such Wall Street giants.

As for the export of capital and finance capital, the U.S. admits to owning the astronomical sum of \$125 billion abroad by the end of 1967. (This is vastly understated for tax and security purposes and is probably at least double.)

Since 1909 the total assets of U.S. businesses have multiplied 16 times. But the total foreign investments since 1909 have increased 27 times. In the 15 years between 1950 and 1965, U.S. investments in Asia multiplied 6.5 times. This fact alone speaks volumes about the war in Vietnam.

At the same time that the corporations are expanding, U.S. banks have been setting up branches all over the world through which they gain financial control of foreign countries and service their own U.S. corporate customers. In 1918 U.S. banks had branches in only 16 countries, and none of them in Asia. By 1967 there were 298 branches of U.S. banks in 55 countries. Sixty-three were in 12 Asian countries. And just as an example of the concentration of capital: 259 of those 298 overseas branches were owned by three banks—First National City, Chase Manhattan and Bank of America. (These three banks alone are worth more than \$40 billion, with control over billions more.)

Lenin explained that the fierce and predatory competition among the giant monopolistic dynasties of finance capital for global domination was the dynamic of aggressive imperialist expansion. The monopolies never reach a point at which they have enough. Every new expansion leads to more production and a greater need to expand their markets,

to reap their profits by selling their goods and to find new resources of slave labor and raw materials.

When the U.S. government goes to war it is not because of the irrationality or immorality of individual leaders. It is driven by the need of the ruling class for profits, by the need to dominate foreign resources and labor. And where the U.S. dollar goes, the troops are not far behind. The war in Vietnam is just such a conflict.

Over 50,000 young GIs were killed, the Korean people were slaughtered and their homeland destroyed so that Gulf Oil, Fairchild Camera, Continental Carbon, Macy's, Sears Roebuck and Montgomery Ward, among others, could pay 35¢ a day to the South Korean workers and reap super-profits compared to the profits made at home.

The story is the same all over Southeast Asia—Esso, Caltex, General Foods in the Philippines; Union Carbide, Brown & Root, Utah International, Ford, Singer Co. and Bank of America in Thailand; Chase Manhattan Bank, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Morgan Guaranty, Raymond International, Morrison-Knudson, Brown & Root and J. A. Jones Construction in South Vietnam—they're all feeding off of the resources and people of Asia, not to mention all the other U.S. monopolies that are enriched by bigger and bigger war contracts.

The forces driving the U.S. to war in Vietnam go deeper still. The inexorable drive of U.S. imperialism to expand is being challenged as never before, not by rival imperialists, but by liberation struggles breaking out all over the world. The Chinese Revolution of 1949 took back a market of 700 million people from U.S. imperialism. The Cuban revolution, the Vietnamese revolution, the Laotian and Cambodian liberation struggles have done the same—contracting the market just at a time when U.S. imperialism desperately needs to expand, to expand or die.



III. "War is the continuation of politics by other means"

Clausewitz, an authority on war, developed the idea that "war is the continuation of politics by other means." How thoroughly that maxim applies to the wars of Western imperialism!

The war in Indochina, the war in the Mideast, the war in Korea, the invasion of the Dominican Republic, Cuba and Lebanon, all these wars were in fact prepared long in advance, made absolutely inevitable by the political policy of Washington over the decades. They were all imperialist wars which were the continuation of imperialist politics which, in turn, were dictated by the class interests, the economic-profit interests of the monopolists who rule American society.

They have taken it upon themselves to set up pro-Yankee military juntas all over Latin America; to support white supremacist fascism in Africa; to prop up ancient feudal monarchs and establish a pro-U.S. white-settler regime in the Mideast; to install puppet dictators from Chiang Kai-shek to Ngo Dinh Diem to achieve "Pacific Power." They have supported reaction everywhere in Europe.

Can such a political policy lead to anything but war? Can a policy that, as its effect, turns continents into private preserves, turns seas and oceans into private lakes, turns whole peoples, whole races into colonial slaves—all for the benefit of the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Du Ponts, the Mellons, etc.—can such a policy lead to anything but global war?

But every country conquered, every people en-

slaved, every dictatorship installed has done nothing but sow seeds of future wars. In the language of Clausewitz, the politics of oppression must eventually be continued by wars of oppression.

There is, of course, no wall between foreign and domestic policy. On the contrary, one flows directly from the other. The voracious pursuit of raw materials, cheap labor and captive markets abroad is merely an attempt by the ruling class to extend the system of exploitation that exists at home—only to extend it in its most extreme form by the cruelest and most violent methods.

The United States is ruled by a definite social and economic class, which lives exclusively off the labor of the working class. Their sole purpose in social and economic life is to accumulate profits, not only to feed their gluttonous desire for wealth, estates, mansions, yachts, private planes, armies of servants and the like, but also in order to steadily increase their power over the working class, Black and white alike, which has nothing but its labor power to sell and, at best, a few personal possessions which require a lifetime of work to pay for.

The rulers own whole empires at home, exploit millions of workers and oppressed people right here; they have enslaved the Black colony; they engage in strikebreaking, pass laws for the suppression of the working class. Is not conquest abroad the most natural of all pursuits for this predatory class?

IV. The war and the role of bourgeois liberalism

Having discussed the background to the war, the nature of the war and the system which produced it, let us now turn to the question of ending the war. The first great problem in this connection is the attitude that should be taken toward the host of bourgeois liberal politicians of the Lindsay, Goodell, McGovern, Javits, Percy, Kennedy variety who are gravitating toward the anti-war movement.

It goes without saying that long before the masses of people ever hear of, or get a chance to vote for, any capitalist politician, he has been carefully screened and selected by one of the capitalist parties, which are completely bought and paid for by big business, on the basis of his loyalty to the capitalist class and to U.S. imperialism. This, of course, applies to a Lindsay as well as to an Agnew.

But if this is true, is there then no difference between a liberal and a reactionary? And if the Vietnam war is a war to extend the domination of U.S. imperialism, is not the liberal bourgeoisie violating class discipline by speaking against the war?

To take the first question, there is of course a definite difference between liberals and reactionaries. Only a fool could deny the fact that there is a difference between Lindsay and Agnew. But the crucial point is what are the differences and where do they end?

The primary difference between a bourgeois liberal and a reactionary is a difference in style and approach. They appeal to different audiences and attract different followings around them. They sometimes advocate different tactics. But that is where the difference ends! It is not at all difficult to demonstrate that the greatest differences between these two varieties of capitalist politician are in appearances and that the greatest simi-

larities are in common reactionary deeds.

For example, no irreconcilable difference prevented Lindsay, one of the most outspoken of the so-called anti-war "progressive" politicians, from nominating Agnew for the vice presidency and praising him highly after Agnew was already known as the candidate of Strom Thurmond who is the embodiment of rabid racism and militarism.

Take other examples. Agnew speaks openly for repression of the Black Panther Party while Lindsay just went to Berkeley to give a speech against repression. But it was Lindsay's Police Department that carried out the frameup of the Panthers in New York that has become infamous throughout the world.

Lindsay always tries to appeal to labor as its friend while Nixon openly flaunts his hatred for the workers. During the postal strike, however, while Nixon sent troops, Lindsay denounced the strikers and approved strikebreaking tactics. Lindsay loves to talk against "law and order" ideology while Attorney General Mitchell preaches it from the roof-tops. But Lindsay aped Mitchell by beefing up his police force by 5,000 men, modernizing it, and passing emergency laws of a truly fascist character against the Black community. Lindsay sheds crocodile tears about the poor while Nixon all but says "let them starve." But Lindsay, like Nixon, cuts welfare, raises taxes and cuts back on services to the poor all around.

The reason for the identity of deeds between a Lindsay, a Percy, or a Javits, on the one hand, and a Nixon, a Mitchell or a Daley, on the other, is that both political varieties are fully beholden for their organizational and financial backing to the same ruling class of monopolistic bankers and industrialists. This class, which is the wellspring of reaction, racism and militarism, has reduced all

other propertied classes and class groupings to economic insignificance. Consequently, it dominates all capitalist political life. In short, the liberal bourgeois politicians have no independent class base and must do the bidding of the ruling class at all times.

Behind the liberalism of Lindsay and a whole host of capitalist politicians is the fact that the anti-war movement is spreading to every segment of the population and they are rushing to use it as a vehicle for their own political ambitions. They are not really against the war but always ready to say that they are.

For a quarter of a century, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon have all pursued aggressive, imperialist foreign policy, intervening all over the globe. With remarkable continuity each one has picked up where the other left off. They have done this whether they were Democrats or Republicans, reactionaries, moderates or liberals; whether they came up the political ladder through the New Deal or as Cold War witchhunters; whether they were from the North, the South, the Southwest or the West Coast.

All of them, of course, made the most solemn promises of peace to the masses of people, but all of them, once in power, revealed themselves to be the absolute instrument of ruling class forces, regardless of background.

Should they get into the White House (which is what they are all aiming for) Lindsay, Goodell, McGovern and Co. would not be one iota different from any of the other politicians who have stood ready to take on the management of the affairs of U.S. imperialism—they would say they were for peace and then carry out the war plans of the ruling class. For the anti-war masses to put their faith in such "leaders" would be the most dangerous course possible. These liberals will betray such faith at the first test just as did all their imperialist predecessors.

And what about conservatives such as Senator Aiken or Clark Clifford, militarists such as generals Ridgeway or Gavin and open racists such as Fulbright and Cooper who also speak against the war?

They, like the bourgeois liberal demagogues, are only concerned with the well being of U.S. imperialism and fear that the whole rotten structure may tumble if the war in Asia continues. They fear that the whole empire is being weakened in the Mideast and everywhere. But while they are ready to complain against the war, there is not one of them who is ready to give up the profits that would be lost to U.S. big business if the U.S. pulled its troops out of Asia.

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V. The war and the official anti-war leaders

If the attempts by the liberal bourgeoisie to utilize the anti-war movement for its own advantages pose a danger, the attitude of the official anti-war leadership is the other side of this urgent problem.

The policy of the Moratorium Committee and the National Mobilization Committee in their conduct of the mass rallies that they have sponsored has been to throw the doors open wide to the Lindsays, the Goodells and the Percys while slamming it shut on any militants, any anti-imperialist forces.

It is perfectly fine to invite a liberal to give a speech for a good cause like ending the war. That can be helpful in building the movement, and no one could complain about that. But it is another thing altogether to subordinate the ideology, the program and the tactics of a mass movement, painstakingly built up from below, to make that movement suitable to the politics of the imperialist liberal!

Millions of people have become imbued with anti-war sentiment. They are angry with the war, they are suffering from it and they want it ended. They need a movement and a leadership which will help them learn the truth about the war so that they can know how to fight against it. They need to know of the intimate connection between big business, the drive for profits, militarism and the war.

The working class especially needs to know that this war is being waged for the benefit of the same bosses who exploit them, who give them speed-up, automation, lay-offs, inflation year after year. And above all, they must know that a struggle against the war must be a struggle against the ruling class behind it.

Racism and militarism are two faces of the same monster. A war is being carried out right here at home by the Nixon-Mitchell-Thurmond racist alliance. The masses urgently need to understand that the war against Black America is the same as the war in Vietnam—a war of oppression. They must learn to fight for the rights of the Black Panther

Party.

They must know that the Mideast war, looming larger and larger on the horizon, is a war of oppression against 100 million Arab people in the interest of the oil billionaires.

All this can only be understood if the class character of the war is made clear—the imperialist character of the war. The ruling class is the enemy.

But what has been the performance of the National Mobilization Committee and the Moratorium on this score? They have steadfastly opposed broadening the scope of the movement to take up the struggle against the war on Black America. They have absolutely refused to consider even the smallest discussion of the war in the Middle East, and they will not permit the message of anti-imperialism and a class analysis to get across to the people.

Instead, they ally themselves with and attempt to subordinate the movement to hypocritical, demagogic, bourgeois liberal politicians who themselves are carrying on the war against Black America, who are 100 per cent in favor of the war against the Arab people in the Mideast and who are utterly opposed to revealing the class roots of the war because their masters are behind it.

In April, 1967 the Mobe invited Lindsay to speak at a mass rally despite the fact that he had just passed emergency laws against the Black community. They have repeated this outrage this April despite the fascist frameup of the New York Panthers. In June, 1967 YAWF tried to get the Mobe to go on record against the attack on the Arabs. They tabled the motion — permanently!

We are all for a united front, even with the broadest variety of political tendencies and ideologies. But we can never approve the totally unfair and downright treacherous attempts by the so-called anti-war leaders to hand over this mass movement to imperialist liberals who want to use it as a vehicle for their own political designs.

VI. How to end the wars

How then can the war be ended? If you judge by the actions of the Moratorium and the Mobilization, the best way to end the war is to rely upon bourgeois liberal politicians to do the job, to muster support for them by assembling great numbers of people in a passive show of moral indignation, and then to quietly return home to wait for the next election to replace discredited bourgeois politicians with new faces.

Not that assembling large numbers is wrong. On the contrary, the only way the war will be ended is by drawing larger and larger numbers into the battle. To call mass rallies is good for the movement. It gives it a feeling of strength in numbers.

But numbers alone, moral persuasion and parliamentary methods have proved totally inadequate in influencing the ruling class. They operate by violence, Machiavellian methods of conspiracy, assassination and terror and are gravitating more and more towards the use of open fascist methods on the home front. The only anti-war tactic that can influence the ruling class in the long run is the militant mass struggle—the type of struggle the revolutionary youth movement in this country has so gloriously carried out—at the Pentagon, on the anti-draft demonstrations, at the Democratic Convention in Chicago, in the Columbia rebellion, on hundreds of campuses and most recently at the Justice Department.

The official anti-war leadership has tried to moderate the struggle, to confine it to pacifist tactics from the very beginning. They have opposed all militancy. They were opposed to the storming of the Pentagon and tried to sabotage the militancy of the anti-draft demonstrations. They denounced the November 15 demonstration at the Justice Department which was held to stop the war against Black America and free Bobby Seale. Their bourgeois pacifist tactics are entirely suited to their bourgeois liberal politics.

The student movement gave splendid tactical examples of militantly resisting the imperialist war machine. What their struggle lacked was a mass base and a mass following, but that was due to no fault of their own.

The resentment of the masses of workers over the hardships imposed by galloping inflation and the new assault on the general standard of living is beginning to merge with the growing anti-war sentiment and reach millions of people. The situation

is rapidly arriving in which it will be possible to carry out militant resistance to the war on a mass scale.

The only way to cripple an imperialist war is by deeds—by mass demonstrations, by anti-war strikes, by taking to the streets, by disrupting the war machine, by making the bosses pay for their aggression, and above all, by showing firm solidarity with the millions of oppressed Black people in their struggle to throw off the shackles of racism and end their colonial status.

It is important that whatever other tactics are pursued or whatever devices are utilized (and none should be overlooked), the masses become imbued with a will to struggle against the war, against the ruling class that wages it. They must be taught to understand that war is endemic to imperialism, that this war was prepared generations ago when the ruling class first embarked upon the acquisition of an empire of colonial slaves.

They must know that should this war end because the ruling class wants to cut its losses in Asia, other wars will follow it just as other wars preceded it. They must never cease to be vigilant until imperialism itself is abolished. They must know that the Vietnamese people are their class brothers and that the attitude of the working class and oppressed people, and all those progressives and revolutionaries who sympathize with them, must be not merely for an end to the Vietnam war in the abstract but for the defeat of the common enemy, the U.S. ruling class and its executive committee in Washington.

In 1914 at the outbreak of the first great imperialist war, when all the working classes of Europe were mobilized against one another for the great slaughter, Lenin took the firm position that the only way out of this disastrous situation was for the working class to try to take advantage of the struggle between the imperialists to turn the war around, for the soldiers to fraternize with their class brothers at the front and join with their fellow workers at home to overthrow their ruling class and put an end to war forever.

If that was the correct tactic for the working class and anti-war movement during an inter-imperialist war, it is certainly the correct approach in a war of colonial oppression. It was correct then; it is correct now and it is hard to improve upon the slogan which Lenin used to sum up the tactics needed in that struggle: "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war."

YAWF

Practice of Theory

YAWF has a reputation as an activist group. We mention below a few of the concrete struggles we have initiated that best illustrate our record of putting theory into practice.

* * * * *

VIETNAM (August 8, 1962) YAWF started the struggle against the Vietnam war. This street demonstration was first in the nation and first for us of hundreds more in an ongoing campaign to explain the imperialist nature of the war and organize opposition to it. Ho Chi Minh remarked on this example set by YAWF in an interview delivered to the American people through Wilfred Burchett in May, 1963.

BRING THE GIs HOME NOW! (November, 1965) YAWF fought for withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam at the National Coordinating Committee convention in Washington and the mass SANE march that followed. We provided thousands of signs calling for withdrawal to eager demonstrators despite arrest threats from SANE marshals, who insisted on negotiations and attacked the idea of a "pull-out."

THE ENEMY IS AT HOME! After many struggles, including "instant demonstrations," when Administration officials tried to appear publicly around the country and militant street battles following the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, YAWF hit the Stock Exchange in April, 1966. We stopped the trading with banners draped over the Big Board reading, "Big Firms Get Rich, GIs Die!"

INDONESIA (June and October, 1966) The massacre of one million people after a CIA-plotted right-wing coup in Indonesia was exposed at a Public Inquest at Columbia University organized by YAWF. The proceedings were later published as the pamphlet, "The Silent Slaughter." YAWF followed up this effort with demonstrations at the Indonesian consulate and a disruption of the UN General Assembly session readmitting the fascist regime (without debate!).

STOP U.S.-ISRAELI AGGRESSION! (June, 1967) The only group to demonstrate for the Arab people at the time of the June war, we supported the liberation struggle and the organizations of the Palestine Commandos while showing the pro-imperialist character of the Tel Aviv regime. YAWF introduced a resolution on this question to the National Mobilization, seeking to broaden the character of the movement to resist all imperialist wars, but Mobe refused to take up this question.

ORGANIZE THE ARMY (July, 1967) Two national YAWF leaders, Key Martin and Maryann Weissman, were sentenced to six months each for trying to attend the trial of Pvt. Andy Stapp at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. The Fort Sill GIs went on to build the American Servicemen's Union, and organize against the war, racism and class oppression by the Brass.

RESIST THE DRAFT (December, 1967) YAWF developed mobile tactics to outflank police encirclement during New York Stop the Draft Week. Two YAWF leaders active in this struggle were Eddie Oquendo and Joel Meyers, both now in prison for refusing induction. They illustrate YAWF's two-pronged attack on the military—resistance to the draft on the outside and resistance to the brass on the inside.

FREE THE PANTHER 21! (April, 1969) Within hours of the pre-dawn arrest of the Panther 21, YAWF was on the streets. We have distributed many hundreds of thousands of leaflets throughout New York City mobilizing support for every court appearance. National Coordinator of YAWF, Maryann Weissman, did 30 days for contempt of court after protesting the judicial farce during the pre-trial hearings.

DON'T PAY THE FARE! (January 3, 1970) YAWF conducted a mass campaign protesting the subway and bus fare hike by liberating dozens of subway stations and letting an estimated 25,000 people in for free. The 50 per cent fare increase was a direct attack on the working people.

SISTERS, LET'S UNITE AND FIGHT! (March 7, 1970) The YAWF Women's Caucus organized the first International Women's Day Commemoration in many years. Speakers from many Women's liberation groups, Young Lords Women's Caucus, and YAWF spoke before a march on the Women's House of Detention.

U Thant as a Leninist

By SAM MARCY

In his celebrated work, the 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, Marx said that great historical personalities frequently appear on the historic stage, once as a tragedy and once as a farce.

U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, is not likely to go down in history as a great personality. His career, however, as the nominal chief of the world organization he allegedly heads, has been characterized both by tragedy and now, as we shall presently see, by farce.

When U Thant became Secretary-General of the UN, it was observed in all the world's newspapers that this was the first time that a non-European and an Asian was elevated to this post. He became the focus of world attention because at the time when he took office, revolutionary developments in Asia and in Africa had reached a climax. The Indonesian people were in the throes of revolutionary upsurge. So was most of Africa.

The split between China and the Soviet Union, although ideologically definitive, had not yet fully reached the level of struggle between the two states. Indeed, it appeared that the role of U Thant would be that of a helping hand to restore to the People's Republic of China its rightful place in the UN and the ouster of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. But it soon

became obvious that far from being able to play any role independently, U Thant was in fact a puppet of the imperialists and in particular of the U.S.

U Thant a puppet of U.S. imperialism

As a result of the outbreak of the Vietnam war of U.S. imperialism and his failure to condemn U.S. aggression, U Thant became a despicable hated figure in practically all parts of Asia. And not only in Asia, for the longer he stayed on as so-called Secretary-General, the more it became obvious that his role was merely to run errands for the State Department or act as an intermediary between the U.S. and the Soviet leadership. The face is Asian, but the politics and diplomacy are strictly Western and imperialist. So many times has U Thant been humbled by the character of the errands he has to run that it is a wonder he still holds on. Therein lies the tragic aspect of U Thant's career.

But there is still the aspect of the farcical side of his career as UN Secretary-General. This aspect is not made and fashioned in Washington, but in Moscow. In preparation for the centennial of Lenin's birth, the Soviet leadership must at all costs tie in the immortal revolutionary contributions of Lenin with their revisionist politics, above all utilizing the centennial to embellish their own bureaucratic careers and more securely safeguard their social privileges.

In doing this they employ every means possible. It would be strange indeed if they overlooked the UN as a possible vehicle for just such purposes. It is utterly impossible, it seems, for Soviet diplomacy to ever get an arm of the UN to do anything of a progressive character, but to get them to do something of a reactionary character, that's not too hard at all.

Thus, the Soviet diplomats were able to arrange a symposium on the centennial of Lenin's birth in Tampere, Finland, entitled "V.I. Lenin and Questions of Development of Science and Culture," sponsored by UNESCO (United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization), with U Thant as the would-be master of ceremonies.

A more ludicrous role for U Thant is scarcely conceivable. But the Soviet diplomats don't think so at all. In the eyes of the Soviet hierarchy it's just another achievement of "international significance." The Soviet leaders couldn't, of course, get U Thant to preside over a UN Human Rights Commission to hear evidence on U.S. attempts to commit genocide against the Black people, as evidenced by the Panther trials and other atrocities.

They couldn't get him to preside over a UN commission to hear the war crimes of Johnson and Nixon in Vietnam, so perhaps the next best thing is to trot out U Thant in a role of a Leninist, who will preside over a motley crew of international charlatans from many parts of the world gathered

at Tampere, Finland, fare and expenses paid, with meals, hotels and all the paraphernalia that goes with that.

But who will be influenced by this crude comic opera attempt to show off Soviet influence? Does it even serve the interest of the bureaucracy? Certainly none of the revolutionary youth throughout the world have anything but contempt and hatred for the UN. And trotting out U Thant to mouth phrases about Lenin is simply revolting. Fortunately for the working masses of the world, for the oppressed everywhere and the youth in particular, there are millions of people now who know enough about Lenin, and what he stands for, that any kind of attempt by the revisionists and the bourgeoisie to co-opt Lenin into the camp of reaction will fall flat on its face.

Lenin called League of Nations

"Den of thieves and robbers"

Lenin is the symbol of world proletarian revolution. He regarded the League of Nations, of which the UN is merely a space-age version, as a den of thieves, of robbers and imperialist exploiters whose main function was to camouflage imperialist wars in the name of peace, promote the counter-revolution in the name of freedom and disseminate imperialist lies and slander as "eternal truths."

The younger revolutionaries throughout the world know this well, and they also know on the basis of Lenin's teachings how great revolutionaries throughout history invariably get their teachings falsified by the ruling classes, their agents and minions and all who are interested in maintaining the old order against the rising tide of revolution. As Lenin himself said, in "State and Revolution":

"What is now happening to Marx's teaching has, in the course of history, happened repeatedly to the teachings of revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes struggling for emancipation. During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their teachings with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander. After their death, attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say, and to surround the names with a certain halo for the 'consolation' of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time emasculating the essence of the revolutionary teaching, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it."

"At the present time, the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the working-class movement concur in this 'doctoring' of Marxism. They omit, obliterate and distort the revolutionary side of this teaching, its revolutionary soul."

Indeed, that is exactly what the Soviet bureaucracy has done.

Political kidnappings:

New form of struggle develops in Latin America

The growing number of political kidnappings by revolutionaries throughout the Latin American continent has not only revealed the great weakness of each of the U.S. puppet regimes in Latin America, but exposed the imperialist powers, and especially the U.S., as foreign oppressors of the Latin American people.

The first and most dramatic of the recent wave of kidnappings took place late last summer when U.S. ambassador C. Burke Elbrick was captured by Brazilian guerrillas to be exchanged for the release of 15 political prisoners being held in Brazilian jails at the time. The guerrillas forced the Brazilian military junta to publish and broadcast a manifesto, which stated in part:

"With the kidnap of the Ambassador we want to demonstrate that it is possible to defeat the dictatorship and the exploitation if we arm ourselves....Mr. Elbrick represents in our country the interests of imperialism, which, allied to the great bosses, the big ranchers and the big national bankers, maintain the regime of oppression and exploitation."

Guerrillas free scores of

political prisoners with kidnappings

Since the Brazilian kidnapping, guerrillas have staged kidnappings in Guatemala, Colombia, Argentina, the Dominican Republic, Uruguay, and again in Brazil. In each of these countries a police dictatorship currently rules under virtual martial law. Torture of political prisoners is widely practiced in these countries and is common knowledge throughout Latin America.

The revolutionary boldness of the guerrillas has enabled them to obtain the release of 15 political prisoners in Brazil in exchange for Elbrick; 20 Dominican political prisoners in exchange for U.S. military attache Lieut. Col. Donald Crowley; 4 Guatemalan political prisoners in exchange for Sean M. Holly, political secretary in the U.S. Embassy in Guatemala; Guatemalan guerrilla leader Jose Vicente Giron Calvillo in exchange for Guatemala's Foreign Minister, Alberto Fuentes Mohr; and 5 political prisoners in Brazil in exchange for Japanese Consul Nobuo Okuchi.

After every kidnapping, the guerrilla movements have gained more sympathy from the populace, while the U.S. puppet regimes lose face. Even in Argentina, where the Argentine Liberation Front released a Paraguayan diplomat without the Ongania regime releasing two Argentine revolutionaries, the guerrilla movement has earned tremendous support and respect in all of Argentina. The guerrillas decided to release the diplomat after it was confirmed that one of

the two political prisoners had already been murdered, while the other was being tortured. Also, the fascist Ongania and Stroessner governments had already publicly agreed to "sacrifice" the life of the Paraguayan diplomat, and therefore, the release of the diplomat could only help to expose the barbaric character of the military "gorillas" in Argentina.

Argentine guerrillas

vow to execute police

However, the Argentine Liberation Front vowed to capture police and government officials and execute them in retaliation for the torture and murders of their comrades. For the first time in years, police in Buenos Aires feared for their lives and placed barbed-wire in front of every police station.

Last week, Guatemalan guerrillas captured the West German ambassador to Guatemala and demanded the release of 17 political prisoners. The U.S.-puppet Guatemalan regime attempted to follow the Argentine example and challenged the guerrillas by declaring a war on rebel movement, imposing martial law and proclaiming a state of siege. This failed to intimidate the guerrillas as they added another demand of \$700,000 in exchange for the ambassador. While the West German government announced its willingness to furnish the \$700,000, the Guatemalan government refused to give in and would also "sacrifice" this ambassador.

U.S. does not intervene

to save West German

The guerrillas did not back down and executed the West German envoy as a symbol of their determination to free their imprisoned comrades. The Guatemalan regime was now in a diplomatic crisis with the West German government. It is also ironic that West German Chancellor Willy Brandt was in the U.S. at the time and that Washington, which has controlled every regime in Guatemala since the ultra-right wing CIA coup in 1954, did not intervene and make the Guatemalan puppets accept the exchange demanded by the guerrillas. It is important to remember that U.S. diplomatic officials themselves had already been exchanged for political prisoners in Guatemala.

Thus, the kidnappings have not only weakened the already vulnerable U.S.-dominated regimes and strengthened the revolutionary movements, but they have sharply exposed U.S. imperialism, along with its West German and Japanese rivals, as the main enemy of the oppressed masses of Latin America.

Behind false debate over Washington's Mideast policy

In Mideast, as everywhere, U.S. "backs" itself

By NAOMI COHEN

"We have no permanent allies. We have only permanent interests." This is a well-known maxim of the rulers of the British Empire in its heyday. The words may be old, but the idea is perfect to describe the position of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East today.

The recent White House rejection (temporarily) of Israel's request for U.S. jet fighters has sparked one of those periodic, manufactured debates in the bourgeois press—which side is the U.S. government on, Israeli or Arab?

The paid political sages of the capitalist press are feverishly writing about how a powerful Zionist lobby has kept the U.S. government on Israel's side. On the other hand, we are told, the giant oil, banking, airline and shipping interests are secretly "pro-Arab" but dare not say so publicly. This was the gist of an article in the New York Times of April 6, headlined "Mideast Lobbies Active in U.S."

But U.S. imperialism, like British imperialism before it, knows only one side—the side of the monopoly capitalists and their "permanent interests." The imperialists have huge oil holdings in the Arab world, it is true. But since the resurgence of the Arab revolution and the drive of the masses to take back their land and oil, there is not a single Arab government that the U.S. can fully count on to protect its interests. Israel, however, is a creature of U.S. imperialism, set up as a watchdog to crush the Arab revolution wherever it arises. This is the only interest the U.S. has in Israel. As for the people, the oil barons and their government couldn't care less!

To bolster their theory, the Times quoted a State Department official who spoke admiringly of the pro-Israel lobby. "They are articulate, they are organized, they are terribly public-relations oriented and they are smart," he was reported to have said.

"The most powerful forces," continues the Times reporter with his tale, "sympathetic to the Arabs—oil, banking, airline and shipping interests—work quietly behind the scenes, pulling back when their activities are detected."

"Friends of Mideast" bleed it dry

"The oil companies are major contributors to organizations staffed by strongly pro-Arab Americans. These organizations include the American Friends of the Mideast, which, since its exposure as an indirect recipient of Central Intelligence Agency funds, has cut its budget more than half...."

We are supposed to believe that the vocal pro-Israel lobby has more influence on the U.S. government than do the oil companies which have admitted to \$1.6 billion invested in Middle East oil, not to mention all the other financial hooks the U.S. banks and corporations have in the Arab countries. And on top of that, we are expected to swallow the theory that men like David Rockefeller, chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank (a bank with vast sums sunk in Mideast oil), John J. McCloy, former president of Chase Manhattan, and Robert B. Anderson, former Secretary of the Treasury and a director of Dresser Industries Co. (with oil investments in Kuwait and Libya) are really "pro-Arab."

"American Friends of the Mideast" is a CIA front created to uphold every reactionary, pro-U.S. leader in the Arab world. This is the extent of friendship that U.S. businessmen have for the Arab people. These men look upon the Mideast as a fabulously rich piece of property to exploit. Every ounce of oil taken out of the land is oil robbed from the Arab people, wealth drained from their land, keeping them poor and enslaved.

Israeli My Lai

The victims were children. Just like the small crumpled bodies in those full-color "Life" photos. The bombs were made in the U.S.A. Just like the M-14s that sprayed hot lead into those confused and frightened villagers. The target was no more military than the thatched huts of My Lai.

But this time it wasn't My Lai, Vietnam. The place was a school in Bahr el Bakar in the United Arab Republic. A different war, different faces, speaking a different tongue. But the stench of My Lai was there, the unmistakable stamp of U.S. imperialism's terror tactics meant to tear the heart out of an oppressed people's will to fight.

Regardless of who pulls the trigger—GIs, Vietnamese puppet troops or Israelis—the thing we in the U.S. must realize is that techniques of mass murder as used in My Lai, against Vietnamese refugees in Cambodia, and now in Bahr el Bakar, are part of a strategy devised in Washington to be used against popular movements.

The raid by U.S.-made Israeli jets on April 8 killed 30 elementary school pupils and one teacher. Another 46 persons were wounded, 36 of them children. Foreign newsmen reported seeing hospital rooms in the nearby town of El Husseinia filled with children from the age of about 7 to 12.

The latest raid is part of a campaign to terrorize the Egyptian population and force the UAR into total submission. The atrocity on

Bahr el Bakar follows the February 13 raid on a scrap-metal processing plant in a Cairo suburb which left 70 Egyptian workers dead. Despite the world outrage after the slaughter of those workers, the Israeli warhawks repeated their criminal raids on the defenseless children and teachers of Bahr el Bakar.

The neo-fascist Israeli Defense Minister, Moshe Dayan, shrugged off the murder of the 30 children by making an outlandish statement in effect saying that UAR officials had deliberately put school children in a military structure. El Ahram, the Cairo newspaper, stated that "the school is surrounded by open fields on all sides and there are no military targets anywhere near it." In defending the raid on the metal plant Dayan had called it a "technical error."

Although the U.S. State Department has already "deplored" the Israeli raid on the Egyptian school, very few will be fooled by the imperialist crocodile tears over the death of Arab children. In both raids U.S.-made Phantom jets committed the massacres and no amount of State Department statements can deny this fact. At the United Nations, the United Arab Republic delegate, Dr. Mohammed H. Ey-Zayyat charged that U.S. Phantom jets and other forms of U.S. military assistance enabled Israel to carry out her "barbaric act."



School destroyed by Israelis flying U.S. Phantom jets.

When the Times reporter says the oil men are pro-Arab, he doesn't mean pro-Syrian or pro-Iraqi or pro-Arab liberation. No. Rockefeller is interested in such "democratic" places as the feudal sheikdoms and monarchies of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Jordan. "Pro-Arab" is just a codeword for the fear the bosses feel over losing their oil to the Arab masses.

So much for the "Friends of the Mideast." Who are the friends of Israel? We are told that the great political impact of the 5.8 million Jews in this country (assuming all of them are for Israel) accounts for the government's consistent pro-Israeli stance. This seems strange when it is remembered that millions of people have lobbied, demonstrated, petitioned and even implored the U.S. government to end the war in Vietnam without much success at all. Add to this the fact that among the almost unanimous pro-Israeli votes in Congress are included many anti-Semites, from North and South alike, in this notoriously anti-Semitic country.

Chase Manhattan is Israel's bank

The piece de resistance, however, is saved for the very end of the above quoted New York Times article. Here we are finally told the little-known fact that Chase Manhattan Bank, with all its branches in the Middle East and ties to Standard Oil there, is also the leading bank for Israel in this country. Ever since May 1951, it is revealed, Chase Manhattan has been the only fiscal agent for Israel Bonds and handles other banking matters for Israel. (When David Rockefeller called for an even-handed policy in the Mideast, he meant it literally. He's got a finger in every pie!)

Being the agent for Israel Bonds in this country is no small matter. The sale of bonds here, in fact, is Israel's largest source of outside income. In addition, contributions are tax exempt, making the sale of bonds tantamount to a government subsidy to Israel of about \$250 million a year.

U.S. government support for Israel, however,

goes beyond this covert economic aid and all the bills for aid passed in Congress. It is openly admitted in the Times article, for example, that the CIA and the Israeli intelligence agency work together. It is no secret that when a Soviet-built radar station fell into Israeli hands, it was as good as being dropped in the middle of the Pentagon.

U.S. military behind Israel

During the June war of 1967 the Sixth Fleet was readied in the Mediterranean and U.S. paratroopers put on alert just in case the Israeli army couldn't do the job for Washington by itself—that is, crush the revolutionary government in Syria and try to stem the tide of the Arab revolution sweeping the Mideast. U.S. satellites photographed the area and supplied reconnaissance information for the Israeli bombers that staged a blitz attack on the UAR, Syria and Jordan.

In the power play to set up Israel as a state in 1948, the suffering Jewish people were used as the cannon fodder; they were sent to fight for leaders who set up what has amounted to a white-settler, colonial regime with all the racist characteristics of a South Africa. The compassion of the U.S. rulers for the Jewish people could not have been more eloquently or tragically expressed than when the Truman Administration turned back thousands of Jewish refugees of W.W. II from U.S. shores and shipped them like cattle to a death trap in the Middle East to conquer someone else's homeland.

The U.S. government, then, has no interest in either the Arab or Jewish people. The question is not whether you are for the Israelis or the Arabs in the abstract, or for one nationality or another. That is the way the imperialists pose the question in order to inflame national hatred. The question is are you for the struggle of all oppressed, super-exploited, colonial people in Asia, Africa, Latin America and right here at home, of which the struggle of 100 million Arab people is an integral part, against imperialism, its stooges, its puppets and all its instrumentalities?



"...the open and criminal intervention which U.S. imperialism has exerted on all Latin American countries for more than a century." (From the Declaration of Havana) —Las Vegas Free Press/LNS

of the Republic and the souls of all Dominicans."

Balaguer murders opponents of regime

As Trujillo's "spiritual son," Balaguer has terrorized the Dominican people and kept the Dominican economy in the hands of U.S. monopolies. One of the recent Balaguer atrocities was on March 14, when his police executed four persons in the city of Barahona. PRD officials claim that 19 of their followers have been killed in that city in recent months. On March 31, police opened fire with automatic weapons on a demonstration of dock workers and students in Puerto Plata and killed three persons and wounded 17.

The current political crisis in Santo Domingo has further been aggravated by the announcement of the 7 bourgeois opposition parties to boycott the May 16 presidential elections if Balaguer insists on staying on the ballot. Washington and Wall Street view the Dominican situation as very shaky, especially in light of the recent kidnapping of a U.S. air attache in Santo Domingo and the subsequent exchange for the release of 20 political prisoners, including the 25-year-old leader of the Dominican Popular Movement (MPD), Maximiliano Gomez.

The MPD and the June 14th Movement were the two main revolutionary organizations which fought alongside the forces of Col. Caamano against the U.S. invasion troops and the puppet Dominican military in April 1965. The hatred for U.S. imperialism still runs deep among the Dominican people, as N.Y. Times correspondent in Santo Domingo, Juan de Onis, explains why: "In the civil war here in 1965, 20,000 United States troops landed to put down the fighting. This allowed right-wing military commanders, raised on General Trujillo's brand of law and order, to retain control of the armed forces."

Pentagon plans new invasion

But the Nixon Administration can be expected to invade the Dominican Republic to crush another popular uprising, if necessary to save U.S. monopoly interests, since military contingency plans already exist in the Pentagon for a new Dominican invasion. However the Dominican people will not be denied their day of liberation from the Yankee oppressor. As Francisco Ramirez, reporter from Prensa Latina, the Cuban press agency, concluded his February 19 dispatch:

"The first shots were fired at noon in April 1965, but the last shots can be heard any moment in Santo Domingo, in Santiago de los Caballeros, the mountains, or the seacoast."

Terror to prepare U.S.-rigged Dominican vote

By P. MEISNER

Elections in the imperialist world, we are told, signify an atmosphere of democracy, peace and political stability. However, the fact is that the opposite is true in the case of the Dominican Republic. The 1970 Dominican election "campaign" has already taken its toll in police terror against progressive opponents of the Washington-created Balaguer regime.

As in the presidential election farce of 1966, the neo-Trujillo forces have beaten, tortured and killed many students and workers, members of militant radical organizations, as well as leading members of Bosch's Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), a more moderate but nationalist political party.

With the complete backing of U.S.

imperialism and the allegiance of the Dominican military, Balaguer was able to amend an article in the Dominican constitution which forbids the re-election of a president. This further discredited Balaguer even within conservative Dominican circles and has led to bitter factionalism within Balaguer's own Reformist Party and also within the military.

Popular revolution in April 1965; U.S. invades

Despite the brutal repression, progressive Dominican organizations have carried on a resistance campaign which now threatens the very survival of the puppet Yankee regime. The weakness of the Balaguer regime has its origins, of

course, in the popular revolution of April 24, 1965, which was victorious over the puppet-U.S. dictatorship of Reid Cabral until the Yankee invasion turned back the reins of power to the "gorilla" military.

The U.S. State Department was hard put to find a new puppet figurehead for the Dominican Republic and had to force upon the Dominican people the much hated loyal Trujillo aide, Joaquin Balaguer. Dominicans have never forgotten the words of Balaguer at Trujillo's funeral on June 2, 1961:

"Dear chief, good-bye. Your spiritual children, veterans of the campaigns which you led for more than 30 years to stabilize and improve the country, will look at your grave as a symbol. We will never allow anyone to extinguish the flame which you have lit in the altars

NEW YORK, April 11—Two hundred people demonstrated today in front of the Dominican Consulate in a militant protest against the repression in the Dominican Republic. The action was called by the United Front for Dominican Liberation (FULD), a coalition of organizations struggling against the Yankee puppets in Santo Domingo.

The Dominican dictator, Joaquin Balaguer, who was installed with the bayonets of U.S. troops, is pushing for re-election on May 16, but the Dominican people are resolutely opposed to Balaguer. In order to smash all opposition, Balaguer has launched a campaign of terrorism, not only against revolutionary organizations, but against workers, students, peasants and intellectuals. Balaguer recently ordered the military occupation of the headquarters of two labor unions, also the closing of the National University by soldiers with tanks and the suspension of classes for two months in the city high schools. In addition, the Balaguer regime has executed a number of people including students.

Today's demonstration was for solidarity with the people in Santo Domingo. Demonstrators marched and chanted for more than three hours carrying placards in both English and Spanish. Some of the placards read, "Stop the May 16th Election Farce," and "Repression Brings Revolution." Toward the beginning of the demonstration, it was joined by a delegation from Youth



Against War & Fascism.

Mid-point in the demonstration, everyone stopped and with clenched fists raised sang the Dominican National Anthem, which was followed by 60 seconds of silence in honor of a young liberation fighter who was killed during a recent demonstration in Santo Domingo, and for all those who have died in the struggle against the Balaguer regime.

The demonstration continued with constant chanting, mostly in Spanish.

(WW Photo/Ed Collins)

Translated, some of the chants were: "The people are fighting, Balaguer is trembling"; "Struggle, yes — election, no"; "Yankees out of Santo Domingo!"; and "Revolution, Revolution, Revolution, Revolution."

The demonstration ended with a Dominican spokesman restating the strong feelings of solidarity which exist between the Dominican people in New York City and the Dominicans who are suffering and fighting under the heel of the Balaguer regime.

Protest: "Down with Balaguer, Yankees out!"

Douglas and the gag ruling

By DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

When a Supreme Court Justice starts talking about revolution, a lot of people naturally are startled and, depending on their political coloration, either enraged or intrigued. So when the publication of Justice William Douglas' book, "Points of Rebellion," was announced, it immediately raised a storm of debate.

Already there is a move afoot among the ultra-reactionaries in Congress to impeach Douglas. Some of his assertions which the Congressmen must find particularly subversive are:

"We must realize that today's Establishment is the new George III.... The redress, honored in tradition, is also revolution."

"... When grievances pile high and most of the elected spokesmen represent the Establishment, violence may be the only effective response."

"American protesters need not be submissive. A speaker who resists arrest is acting as a free man."

Coming from student protesters or any movement activist, these statements wouldn't raise many eyebrows. However, when said by one of the "nine old men" of the Supreme Court, they sound daring and audacious in the extreme.

At a recent Brooklyn Law School symposium where Douglas spoke, the students enthusiastically crowded around him. People want to think that a man in such a prestigious position as Douglas can do much more than the ordinary person to bring about progressive social change. When he warns the Establishment that its policies are leading to revolution, many eager readers will interpret this as a call for revolution.

Now, we have no sincerometer. Douglas may very well be honestly appalled by the horrors produced by U.S. imperialism as it wallows in

its own decadence. At any rate, he has very bluntly told the ruling class that its policies may rekindle the fires of revolution in this country.

To the Thurmonds, Stennises and Gerald Fords, such bluntness is equivalent to treason. To them, Justice Douglas might just as well be a Weatherman or a Yippie, and in their campaign to impeach him those are practically the charges.

And then the fascist gag ruling

... Then why did the Justice just vote that defendants can be gagged and bound in court? Why, when the image of Bobby Seale's taped-shut mouth and manacled hands is still burning in millions of minds, should Justice Douglas help uphold what amounts to a fascist law?

The Supreme Court's ruling was made just as Judge Murtagh announced that the pre-trial hearing of the Panther 21 — another judicial farce like the Conspiracy trial designed to intimidate political opposition — was going to resume. The Supreme Court ruling was on a case that originated in 1956, but was conveniently brought before the Court to coincide with the Panther trials.

The Court's ruling was unanimous. Justice Black, another famous liberal, wrote: "We believe trial judges confronted with disruptive, contumacious, stubbornly defiant defendants must be given sufficient discretion to meet the circumstances in each case." The first recourse listed was "bind and gag him."

How could Douglas, who seems to counsel "stubborn defiance" of the Establishment, go along with this?

There is a deadly serious lesson contained in the answer to this question. It is particularly

important now when, despite much revolutionary rhetoric, large sections of the movement still hope the problems of war and racism will be solved by the liberal wing of the ruling class, that is, without revolution.

Does the man make the office?

Douglas stands on the far left of the bourgeoisie. But he is a prisoner of his class. The truth is that it is far, far more difficult for a member of the ruling class to take a progressive action than it is for an ordinary person. The idea that there is power in the office of judge, or Senator, or President, is an illusion. The power comes from the common agreement of the rulers, and when one of their members or representatives acts contrary to their wishes, the office he holds becomes an obstacle to his carrying out his own convictions rather than a vehicle for putting them into practice.

The history of class politics has proven time and time again that the state is the organized violence of the ruling class. The courts, the police and the army are the instruments by which the ruling class wields its power and secures its privileged position in society. In the evolution of the state, the possibility that one of its components will be used against this purpose has been systematically weeded out. Today, in twentieth-century America, the system has become about as foolproof as possible, and the chances for basic social change coming about through any instrument of the state are virtually nil.

Thus it is that the most left liberal can succumb to the pressures of unbridled reaction. And it also illustrates why the Panther slogan, "Power to the People!" is truer than ever. For only the mass of the people, the workers and the oppressed, can change this rotten society.

-Woman in History

(Continued from page 6)

There appears to have been no competitiveness between the sexes. Women worked extraordinarily hard as well as remarkably creatively. Not only did this not appear to cause any loss of femininity in the eyes of the male or female, but on the contrary, earned her equal respect, and because of her child-bearing capacity, greater than equal respect. And particularly the most respected members of primitive society were the old women whose advice and consideration were considered of prime importance in every significant undertaking.

Development of pairing family

Engels explains that natural selection operated to gradually reduce the circle of marriage between large groups to its last unit, one man and one woman, known as the pairing family. Although this sounds like the modern family unit, we must remember once again not to look at primitive society through property-tinted glasses. This pairing family existed within the gens which meant that the women was not materially dependent in any way on the man. The gens was responsible for the material subsistence of all its members, and also mother-right still prevailed.

The marriage tie was very loose and could easily be dissolved by either party. If they separated the man would go back to his own gens (that of his mother or his sister) and could take his personal property which most likely consisted of his instruments for procuring food. The household goods, the most important property, stayed with the woman in her gens, and so did the children. There was a similar procedure if one of them died. It provided no material problem for the woman. In this way their choice was as free as the man's on whether to live with him or not.

The pairing marriage, Engels points out, placed at the side of the natural mother, the authenticated father for the first time.

"If," he continues, "no new social (his emphasis) driving forces had come into operation, there would have been no reason why a new form of the family should arise out of the pairing family. But these driving forces did commence to operate."

Development of surplus —

beginning of wealth

There came a point when the men no longer went hunting. Learning from the women to domesticate and breed animals, they applied this knowledge

to the larger animals. They developed herds of horses, camels, donkeys, oxen, sheep, goats and pigs.

Such possessions required merely supervision and only elementary care. The animals could be bred in larger and larger numbers and provide much more than enough milk and meat than was needed for immediate or imminent use. Hunting was no longer a necessity. It was now only a luxury.

To whom did this new wealth belong? Undoubtedly, says Engels, to the gens. At the time of the first available written literature, the Bible itself, as well as other literature and art, it becomes clear that everywhere herds were already the separate property of the family chiefs.

After the herds developed, more people were needed to tend the cattle. And as field cultivation developed, more people were needed to care for the fields. The development of production had led to the development of a surplus of the means of subsistence. For the first time in history, they produced greater than what it cost to maintain themselves.

And so slavery was invented. In earlier times, when wars broke out among tribes (a multiple grouping of gens) the vanquished were either killed or adopted with their wives and children into the victorious tribe. Slavery was unheard of.

Origin of private property —

destruction of mother-right

Near the end of the development of primitive society, people found that not only were slaves useful to tend cattle and fields, but they could be bred like cattle.

The accumulation of riches, "once they had passed into the private possession of families and there rapidly multiplied, struck a powerful blow at a society founded on pairing marriage and mother-right gens. The old social system could no longer accommodate the new forces of production." (Engels)

This accumulation of wealth increased the importance of the status of the man. But as long as mother-right prevailed, he could never bequeath his wealth to his children. It went instead to his sister and her children.

Development of father-right

This became intolerable and as we know all too well, mother-right was overthrown and replaced by father-right.

Engels' superb formulation on the passing of mother-right is one of the great gems of Marxist analysis.

"The overthrow of mother-right," he says, "was the world historic defeat of the female sex. The man seized the reins in the

house also; the women was degraded, enthralled, the slave of man's lust, a mere instrument for breeding children. This lowered position of women... has become gradually embellished and... clothed in milder form, but by no means abolished."

Inheritance

And so as property was transformed from public to private, and descent through the male was instituted to authenticate the heirs for purposes of bequeathing the property, the institution of the family was established.

Despite all the protestations of state and church to the contrary, the origin of the family is rooted in material conditions and the development of private property—and not in religious or spiritual conceptions.

The origin of the word "family" meant slave, and the family included a man, his wife, children and slaves. The women were acquired into this economic unit for the purpose of procreating heirs to whom to bequeath private property—and as such, the family served the interests of the possessing class.

This was the real origin of the family. When social production became transformed into private production, the nature of the family changed from a socially cooperative foundation as it existed under the matriarchy to the private foundations of the patriarchy. This does not mean that human nature was more humane under the matriarchy. The material conditions required productive cooperation for survival, which was then reflected in the social relations.

How private property made slavery

The conversion of social property to private property eventually meant even the conversion of humans to private ownership.

For primitive women, childbearing not only provided a greater impetus for her to participate in social production, but was virtually a form of social production itself. The husband had no authority over her, and she was never dependent upon him economically or materially.

This became transformed into its opposite, with marriage and childbearing isolating and insulating women from social production, making her totally dependent on her husband, and reducing her to the role of procreation for inheritance, and to the role of servant for husband.

Only if one understands the historical conditions which brought about the condition of servitude of women, will we be able to find the road to complete liberation for women.

We expect to pursue this question in a subsequent article.

A trip to the beach in anytown U.S.A.

By V. GREY

"You'll have a beautiful trip," the ticket seller told me.

The bus, he said, did not go directly to the beach, which was just twenty miles from Savannah, but meandered through a couple of the city's loveliest and most park-like suburbs.

Fine, I thought. It was still much too early for the beach anyway. And I'd see a little more of this flowered, tree-blooming city. I vaguely wondered why the bus left only at 8 a.m. and 4 p.m. Would there be customers to fill the bus that early in the morning?

But sure enough the bus company knew what it was doing. The bus started filling up. When we left the station it made stop after stop in the city to pick up passengers. Before we hit the outskirts it was full to overflowing.

There was something special about all the riders. Each was a woman and each was Black, and they all seemed to know each other. They must have gone to the beach often together, I thought. And this was logical because they did not look very rich, or even well-off, and the trip cost just seventy-eight cents.

This verified what I had heard — that Savannah Beach was no longer segregated. (In this Southern city, unlike Georgia's small towns, the high schools had been integrated for five years.)

"Hello, everybody," each woman would say as she got on.

"G'mornin', sister," several would chorus

back.

Most of the women were nearing middle age, with one quite old lady who I thought might be taking her daughter or granddaughter for a day's outing. There were a couple of vivacious young girls who could have been skipping school for the day. And who wouldn't skip school for the beach, with the sun shining so beautifully?

The conversation and murmurs of all the women reminded me of my family's going to the beach when I was a child. Every year we went from Buffalo to Erie Beach on opening day—Memorial Day. Everybody would be bubbling with excitement when we took the excursion boat across Lake Erie. That was a million years ago before the lake was polluted, but I remembered it now because May 30th there was very like April 5 in Savannah.

I soon shifted my attention from the women to the suburb we were riding through. The station master had not exaggerated. It was really out of this world. Wonderful gardens blooming with hundreds of blossoms. Great oaks trailing cascades of spanish moss made a bewitching background to the lush magnolias and filigreed mimosa, whose sweet scent swept right into the windows of the bus. And set back hundreds of yards from the highway were—not the old white-pillared mansions, but sprawling ranch-style houses. Ah, the modern South, I thought. No sign of the field slaves, the overseers whip

or the lynchers rope. Only the beauty remained. Then the bus stopped.

The oldest lady got out alone. She hadn't brought her granddaughter. And she wasn't going to the beach.

"G'bye, sister," three or four of the women sang out. "See you tonight."

"G'bye," she said. "G'bye."

I turned and looked at the gardens again. They just went on and on. Where did all the wealth come from to carve such a fairyland out of the South?

At the back of my mind I noticed that the bus stopped three or four more times to let people off. Then I sat up and noticed that more and more were getting off, and always the cheery goodbyes. How many would actually stay on all the way to the beach? But the exodus continued. Even the young girls, full of high spirits—you would have bet ten to one they were going to the beach. They got off too.

The bus meandered on. And I kept hearing the "G'bye sister, see you tonight."

How well the bus company had plotted the route—and how well it figured the schedule. Every fine home was supplied with its "domestic" soon after eight in the morning, and the bus would get them back to town by five-thirty in the evening.

Finally we arrived at the beach. There was the glistening white sand, the golden sunshine and the blue sea. I got off alone. The driver turned the empty bus around and headed back to the city.

The saga of an unsung billionaire

By RICHARD CORDEN

Cynics would have us believe that America, the land of opportunity, the great nation where streets are paved with gold and where an industrious youngster may rise to the top through hard work, is dead and gone forever. They whine that the era of Thomas Jefferson has been superseded by the age of Willie Loman, that pathetic non-hero in Arthur Miller's "Death of a Salesman." Great monopolies, they tell us, huge aggregations of wealth controlled by banks in New York, Chicago and California, have killed the dream of "every man a king" and have replaced it with a society in which each of us must by necessity become the wage slave of some great corporation.

But a man named John MacArthur appeared upon the scene in the nick of time to give the lie to these embittered peons who feel that America has become a closed society, where only the rich get richer.

William Hoffman's latest book, "The Stockholder," traces the inspiring career of John MacArthur, son of the Reverend William Telfare MacArthur, a poverty stricken fire-and-brimstone preacher, a Bible-spouting, prayer-murmuring evangelist who saw wickedness everywhere and believed the Gay Nineties were a presage of doom.

Here was a family so poor that one cabbage would be stretched to cover twenty plates, a quart of lemonade watered to fill twenty glasses. The Reverend MacArthur believed he had a pri-

vate hot line to the abode of the Deity. When his wife Georgiana asked him to shovel snow, or stoke a fire, or repair a leaky roof, he would reply solemnly: "I don't think the Lord wants me to do that." And from these humble beginnings, John MacArthur, the youngest son, was able to pull himself up by his own bootstraps and fulfill the promise of America.

Today John Donald MacArthur is a billionaire. He owns Bankers Life & Casualty Company of Chicago, the second largest stock accident and health insurance company in the world. He owns Bankers outright—lock, stock and barrel. He is the stockholder. The sales force of Bankers Life numbers 3500, and in 1967 the company had admitted assets of more than \$35,000,000. If shares of Bankers Life were offered on the open market they would bring in more than \$1,000,000,000.

John MacArthur also owns outright eight other insurance companies. John MacArthur built and owns the town of Palm Beach Gardens, Florida. Palm Beach Gardens is the home of the Professional Golfers Association and the huge RCA computer-building plant. MacArthur owns the PGA golf courses and clubhouse and, of course, a large block of RCA stock. John is the largest landowner in Florida.

His billion-dollar empire is rounded out with the ownership of toll roads, TV and radio stations, extensive farm and ranch lands in Illinois, Arizona, Georgia, Colorado, and Michigan, along with

a salvage operation in Alaska, a record company in New York, oil wells in New Mexico, resort land in Wisconsin, real estate property in West Germany and Argentina, a chain of restaurants and a fleet of airplanes.

Skill is its own reward

Be reminded, ye of little faith, that our hero did it all on his own. Nothing had been given him, he didn't even inherit a dime. But being an enterprising young man, John found a way to use the great democratic laws of property, which recognize that those more skillful than the rest of us should be rewarded according to their merits. And John showed his skill in ways most of us lesser beings would never think of.

Like the policy he drew up for one of his largest insurance companies that went on for pages and pages until buried in very small print at the bottom of the last page he inserted a section completely annulling all the coverage the policy promised the purchaser. When the government finally got around to bringing a fraud suit and demanded MacArthur print this disavowal in ten-point type, John complied, printing the entire contract in ten-point type and keeping the disavowal unrecognizably hidden in the text.

Luck: the indispensable ingredient

To get ahead, however, a man must reckon on more than pure skill. There

is that one important factor that is indispensable to the making of every great American fortune: Luck. And MacArthur is lucky. Asked why his Bankers Life for two years in a row paid claimholders only one per cent of premium revenue (the industry's average is near 60 per cent), he said, "Must have been a good year. Those things happen, you know, times when nobody gets sick."

John's wealth has helped him avoid unpleasant publicity. Reader's Digest a few years ago planned to run an expose of John MacArthur and the growth of Bankers Life. Higher-ups in Digest, however, discovered that Bankers Life was a big advertiser in their publication and decided that anybody in that category couldn't be all bad.

As John MacArthur's star rose high in the heavens, those who had trod the road of skill, hard work, and luck to fame before him showered recognition on his genius. The Saturday Evening Post called John MacArthur "shrewd and witty... a sort of Hildy Johnson... sentimental." Look praised him for hiring the handicapped. Colliers said he was "public spirited." Fortune found him "refreshingly honest." The Miami Herald lauded his "drive, guts, belief in self."

Billy Graham an admirer

The American Museum of Natural History honored him for public service. Eleanor Roosevelt and President Eisenhower called a MacArthur company (Bankers Life) "tops." The governor of Minnesota, the Miami Police Department, the FBI, the Department of Labor, a United Nations committee, all have commended him. He was given the Horatio Alger Award. Nixon's spiritual adviser, Billy Graham, wrote MacArthur, "I have followed your Christian career for many years and am certain that God has had much to do with your good fortune", (which "good fortune" Billy was trying to flatter his way to a piece of—with no success).

John MacArthur, despite his great wealth, remains self-effacing and plain spoken: "I'm broke... I haven't any money... what little I have goes to support Cathrine and me in our retirement."

Has dizzying success brought happiness to this great man? Or is he perhaps tortured by doubts when he ponders some of the rather ingenious ways he made his pile? "They see all that money and figure I've got to be crooked," he says bitterly. Then he smiles, his eyes twinkle, and he says, "Of course, they're right."

—People's power is the Panthers' bail

(Continued from page 4)

stration passed.

The rally took place about 1,000 feet from the prison. Both Analise Dahruha and Afeni Shakur (two of the Panther 21 who have recently been bailed out) spoke. As Afeni Shakur spoke, she turned to the jail where her brothers are held and greeted each one by name. "Hello brothers, there's some people come here to free you!" Big Man, from the Panther National Headquarters, spoke of the necessity to build a strong revolutionary movement that will free the Panther prisoners. On everyone's minds was the question of the fate of Bobby Seale, presently imprisoned in Connecticut and facing

possible execution. Lennie Weinglass, one of the lawyers for The Conspiracy, also addressed the rally.

When the rally was over, everyone felt that it had been a good action, but there was also a residual anger and frustration at not having been able to storm the jail and take back the brothers and sisters who have been torn from their people by the racist ruling class.

As thousands of demonstrators descended on the subway stations to go home, the cops pulled an ambush of the Young Lords delegation (see article page 4). Many youths who jumped the turnstiles were clubbed and beaten by cops in the station. Once on

the trains, the demonstrators angrily ripped down the gross advertising placards and scrawled Free the Panther 21 on everything in sight.

At Times Square in Manhattan, the police had massed and were waiting to attack the demonstrators. The people were caught in the narrow corridors of the subway and brutally clubbed. After one transit cop was roughed up by the angry crowd, the cops began pulling their guns in an attempt to terrorize the defiant crowd.

Seventeen people were busted in the fighting, most of them on heavy charges including felonious assault, harassment and resisting arrest. Several were beaten further in the police station and required hospitalization.

Anti-war sailor facing 39 years in Smith Act case

Roger Priest vs. Navy war criminals:

D.C. court-martial beginning

On Tuesday, April 14, just one day before the mass demonstrations against the Vietnam war take place, Seaman Roger Priest will go on trial in a general court-martial at Washington D.C. Naval Headquarters. Priest's trial will be of great significance not only to the growing anti-war struggle that has erupted within the military, but also to the broad mass of people fighting against the imperialist war in Vietnam, racism and repression.

Roger Priest's trial is much more than the run-of-the-mill kangaroo court-martial that scores of servicemen are subject to daily; Priest is charged with two violations of the Smith Act, that infamous thought-control gag law the ruling class employed so widely against progressives in the 1950s. The Smith Act has not been used against civilians in this country since 1957, and in Priest's case the conspiracy to prosecute him was initiated by no less than the fascist chairman of the House Committee of the Armed Forces, L. Mendel Rivers.

Last June 6, Rivers wrote a letter to Rear Admiral Means Johnston at the Pentagon, saying in part: "Today I received a copy of a publication identified as having been prepared and published by 'R. Priest, U.S. Navy.' The publication, which is enclosed herewith for your information, reflects a gross abuse of the constitutional right of free speech. I would appreciate being informed as to what action you contemplate taking."

What was it about Roger's newspaper OM that infuriated Rivers? What kind of controversial statements could Priest have made that angered Rivers so, especially when we remember that this racist, militarist politician from South Carolina has made a few inflammatory statements himself, like praising Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch Society, as "courageous and perceptive" and hailing Spanish dictator Franco as "the best ally we've got... we should have

a hundred more like him."

Priest's crime was nothing less than that he used the pages of OM to attack Rivers himself, ridiculing him as a "hog" who was befouling the stream of history. And originally Roger Priest was charged with "Disrespect to L. Mendel Rivers" as well as the two phony Smith Act charges of attempting to overthrow the government. The ruling class had second thoughts about this charge, however, when they began to picture Rivers stumbling into court, probably half drunk, to face cross-examination from Seaman Priest's civilian lawyers. Even sober, Rivers would have had to face embarrassing questions about his record that could prejudice the government's charge. They withdrew the charge. Anyway, Priest still faces 39 years on the other charges. The brass can be pretty confident about the outcome of this trial with an all-officer jury, an officer for the judge, and Captain Thomas Jefferson Jimmerman prosecuting.

The Pentagon wants to make an example out of Priest to terrorize other Navy men who are putting out their own anti-war papers, the largest of which, Potemkin, has a circulation of 3,000 on ships of the Sixth Fleet. But this scheme has already failed. Potemkin, put out by members of the American Servicemen's Union on the aircraft carrier Forrestal, dedicated their first issue to Roger, himself a long-time ASU member.

In the March 18 issue of the Bond, national newspaper of the ASU, Roger wrote defiantly, "One reason for my trial is that I was speaking the truth about the Amerikan war in Vietnam. Another thing; I never minced words about my disgust and contempt for the lying politicians and the other war criminals in the Pentagon who give the orders, make the policies, gain the promotions, the medals and the money while our blood and Vietnamese blood is shed to make profits for a few and poverty for the many."

Priest on the significance of the GI struggle

Below we reprint excerpts from Roger Priest's statement on his court-martial entitled, "The Great Disloyalty Trial," published in the latest edition of OM.

... As the editor of "OM"—the first anti-war, anti-brass paper put out by a Navyman in the U.S. Navy's long and inglorious history, I will be the first serviceman to face court-martial solely for statements written in a GI newspaper. For this dubious distinction I face up to 39 years in the brig and a Dishonorable Discharge when tried by a General Court-Martial "Kangaroo" Court on April 14, 1970 here in Washington, D.C.

WHY? One reason was that I was speaking the truth about the Amerikan war in Vietnam. Have you ever heard that the "truth shall make you free?" Don't believe it. Pentagon dictionaries define truth as something to be hidden or manipulated. I also never minced words in conveying my disgust and contempt for the lying pig politicians in Washington, the industrial complex and the other war criminals in the Pentagon who give the orders, make the policies, gain the promotions and the medals and reap the money while OUR blood and Vietnamese blood is shed to benefit these few "leaders" who see progress in body counts.

"OM" said in very plain language that you didn't have to take it—that there was another way. And the way was through ORGANIZATION. "OM" showed GI's

that they had nothing to lose by organizing but their stripes. The paper further pointed out to servicemen that NOW was the time to speak out against the war, racism and oppression; not after they got out.

But the war criminals—the military, government and the war industries—need the big lies to survive. How else would we ever fight and die for them in their bloody wars? They want and need us silent about our fate so as not to rock the boat or spoil the profits....

The Pentagon is scared shitless. They are afraid of the anti-war GI. They are afraid that he has "infected" the ranks of servicemen with "subversive" ideas like peace and freedom. And they are right. For right now the cancer has spread throughout the body of the Monster. And soon the Monster will die.

You know, if one person starts a paper, they'd think he's crazy. If a couple of papers were started, they'd think it was a Conspiracy. But if a lot of papers were started, they'd think it was a Movement... and that's what it is! A Movement that has grown to over 70 newspapers reaching hundreds of thousands of GI's—on land and on the sea. And to paraphrase the founder of the U.S. Navy, "We have not yet begun to fight."

A specter is haunting the Amerikan military—the specter of a mass movement of GI's declaring in solidarity with each other the end of their complicity with the Pentagon war criminals. The GI movement is realizing that its powers lie in the collective might of servicemen standing up and refusing to be used any longer. And if enough start affirming their basic rights; then courts-martial will no longer be possible. There is strength in numbers... and we've got the numbers. Now we've got to get it organized and "together."

Anytime you engage in struggle, you run the risk of losing. Losing what? Your life? Your freedom? If you are in the service then you have already lost your life and your freedom. You have lost it because someone else is in control of it. And if you struggle for your life and your freedom what can the Pentagon do to you? They can't take away what they already have. What they are doing now is to imprison those who dissent. But you can't imprison an idea. This has been the lesson all totalitarian regimes have failed to learn.

You can be handed a paper that says, "Undesirable Discharge" or maybe if you are lucky one that says, "Dishonorable Discharge." What an honor! You might lose that clearance or even be transferred for joining the struggle. So what! Types of discharge or prison records will not be the currency for OUR society. Only in this Alice in Wonderland society that we live in do you receive "Honorable Discharges" for participating in the rape and murder of a people 10,000 miles away from us. And for that "honor" we are told (never asked) to give our lives? Bullshit.

So I will face trial for editing and publishing 1,000 copies apiece of the three issues pictured on this page. What a crime! Things have got to be really bad. The Pentagon is truly paranoid. By singling me



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out, they have caused a reaction just the opposite of what they wanted. My circulation has increased to 10,000 and several more papers are being put out by Navy men. Keep up the repression, Pentagon. Our numbers and our determination are increasing....

What chance does an enlisted person have when tried by a court of officers? You know, being tried by an all-officer jury is like being a Jew tried in Nazi Germany. My request to be tried before a jury composed of E-2's and E-3's was turned down by the Commandant. What's more, to top everything else, it only takes a 2/3 vote to convict!

But all the charges and all the legal maneuvering is just BULLSHIT! Correspondence which I have obtained between the Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, L. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina and Rear Admiral Means Johnston, Chief of Legislative Liaison, Pentagon, clearly shows that it was Rivers who was instrumental in bringing about this court-martial.

In a letter dated June 6, 1969, Rivers wrote Rear Adm. Johnston that "OM" reflects a "gross abuse of the constitutional right of free speech." He then demanded to know just what the Navy planned on doing about it.

So the Navy toadies tried to interrogate me on June 12; they transferred me to the Processing Division, Washington Naval Station, on June 17; and formally charged me on June 20, 1969. Fast reaction time, huh?...

The issues that my trial are concerned with are much broader than the personal vendetta between Rivers and the Navy over my newspaper. The whole question of a serviceman's right to dissent without fear of punishment will be at stake. The stakes are heavy. You either have the freedom to voice your concerns during your off-duty hours, off-base, out-of-uniform and with your own funds or you don't.

The Navy will maintain that I went "too far" and that what I said should be punished since it is "disloyal" and undermines morale and discipline. My answer to that is that you can't go "too far." There is no way that you can abuse the constitutional right of free speech; except by not exercising it. And that is precisely what the Pentagon wants.

Every lifer knows that when you enter the Armed Services you give up your constitutional rights. It's all unwritten though. The illusion is maintained that you have "rights." The illusion is shattered when you exercise those "rights." This trial should pull the veil of lies back even further and shatter a lot of illusions that people have about themselves and their precious Bill of Rights.

I believe in freedom of speech and of the press. They are fundamental rights that should not be given up. If I should have to go to prison for standing up for my rights, then that is what I am prepared to do. Others can pick up the pen that I have used and continue the fight. By struggling together we shall win the peace and freedom that is rightfully ours. SEIZE THE TIME.