

# New Haven:

## A call for a People's Assembly to free the Panthers

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*Black and white, unite and fight for a*

# WORKERS WORLD

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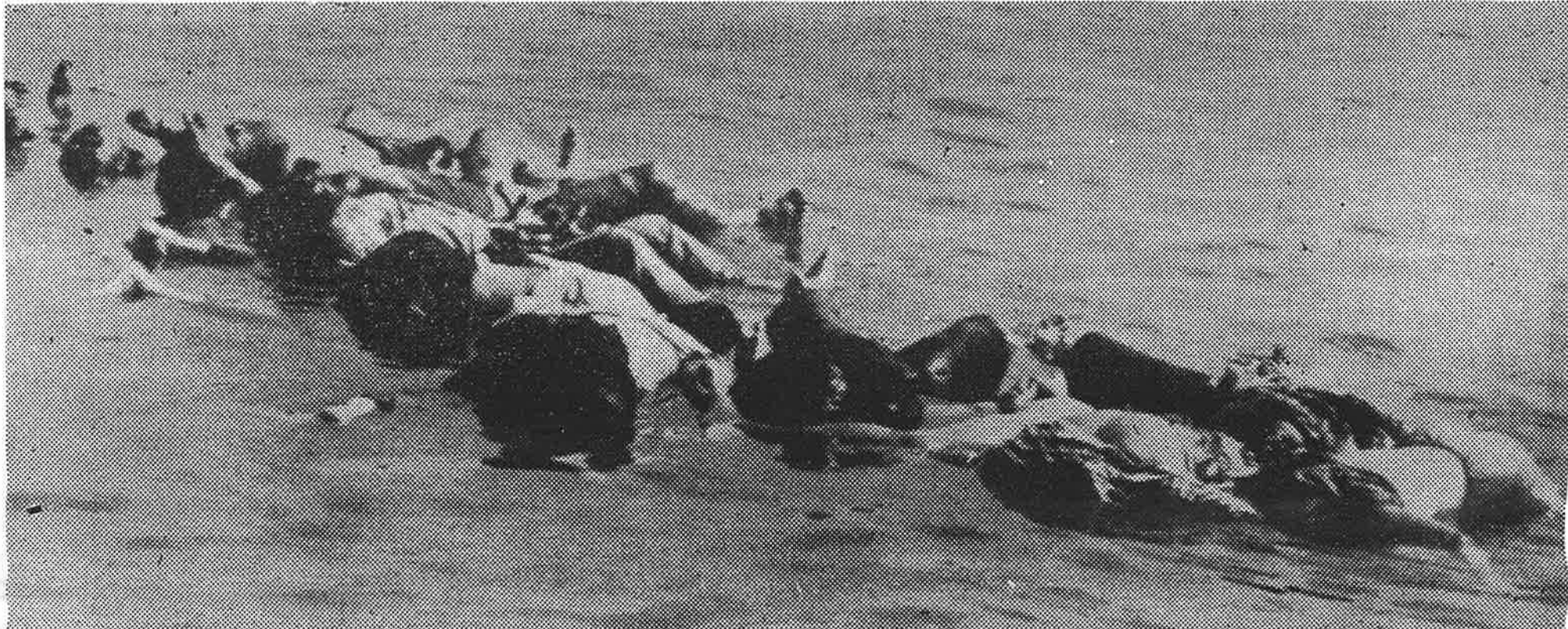
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## Socialist revolution only answer to imperialist war

The presence of U.S. troops on Cambodian soil has now become a reality. The Nixon Administration was utterly incapable of disguising the fact or withholding it from the people. It had to openly admit it. And it matters little that the U.S. troops are called "military advisors" or that the invasion into Cambodia is called a "foray." The truth is plain to all who have eyes to see that this is not just another escalation. It is a change in the character of the war. It has definitely turned into a war against all Indochina. Furthermore there are few indeed among ruling class politicians who will deny this.

### A major turn in the war

This major turn in widening the war to cover all Indochina came against a background of the deepest fears of some sections of the ruling class and a general deterioration in the position of U.S. imperialism all over the globe. The turn by the Nixon Administration came also amid a heightening crisis in the U.S.-Israeli aggression against the Arab people and growing ferment and revolutionary struggle in Latin America.

The Cambodian invasion could not have come at a worse time in the fortunes of American finance-capital. Every capitalist politician is only too well aware that larger and larger sections of the general population are becoming fed up with the war, the resulting casualties and the galloping inflation--all of which cause a decline in the living standard of the people.

### China as a nuclear and space power

Because the Vietnam war has been of such a protracted character, some of the most significant events since the inception of the war have been lost sight of or cast into the background so that their relation to the war is not immediately apparent. Take the fact, for instance, that when the war began almost a decade ago, the People's Republic of China was not a nuclear power. Today China is both a nuclear power and also one of the great powers that has a proven space flight capability--as was shown by the launching of its first space satellite last week.

The press of the ruling class makes no attempt whatever to show the intimate connection between China's newly won achievements in outer space and atomic energy and its relationship to the fortunes of U.S. imperialism in Asia. When People's China exploded its first A-bomb in 1965, at a time when the Vietnam war was already several years old, it constituted a real setback psychologically, politically and militarily for the Pentagon planners.

### "Fall-out" help for Indochina

But the launching of the satellite by China last week far outstripped the significance of China's achievement in exploding a nuclear bomb in 1965. For it is not so much the military value of the achievements--which, of course, are enormous and spectacular--but what is regarded as the "fallout," which is equally important. The "fallout," or the so-called side effects, are the economic, social and political benefits that come in the wake of such achievements. What these must mean in terms of China's capability of rendering more assistance to its besieged neighbors in Indochina is tremendous.

This is so because every advance in technological development can be applied in most cases to peaceful purposes as well as for self-defense. The fact that the Pentagon and the press don't talk about it openly does not diminish its importance. The peoples of Indochina today have a greater and stronger ally in the People's Republic of China than at the beginning of the war. People's China has also consolidated the political influence of the revolutionary wing in the government. Its hands are freed so that it can deal with imperialist aggression more easily. The general population is also better prepared, not only to defend the geographical and political integrity of China against the encroachments of imperialism, but also to render friendly help on a greater scale to its beleaguered neighbors.

### Both China and USSR continue help

Nor can it be said that there is any indication that the Soviet Union will diminish its economic and military assistance to Indochina. On the contrary, there is every indication, at least for now, that the

Soviet Union will support the United Front of the Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian people which was forged just recently at a summit meeting of the three heads of state from the three peoples of Indochina. Of course, the Soviet political line differs sharply from the requirements of a thorough-going revolutionary anti-imperialist position. Nevertheless, it is plain that both China and the Soviet Union, each motivated by different political considerations, are continuing military and economic assistance. It is very significant that President Nixon, in his address to the nation justifying the Cambodian invasion, was fearful of even mentioning China or the Soviet Union, lest the true peril of the Cambodian adventure be made more clear to the people. The People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union, it must be remembered (particularly in the light of the Cambodian invasion), are both first class powers possessing nuclear and space capabilities.

### Forces beyond control make revolution inevitable

How can the Nixon Administration in the face of this and in the face of its disastrous position in Latin America, in the Middle East and in Africa, not to speak of the growing rebellion at home, undertake such a wild new adventure as the one in Cambodia? It must be that the Nixon Administration, like the previous Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, is driven by forces beyond its control. These forces are deeply imbedded in the entire fabric of American economic life. They are born and bred by monopoly capitalism which is the life-source of the ruling class. The motor which drives it on is the lust for super-profit from which it cannot free itself, in spite of all its fears, its sanctimonious moralizing and even its own will.

When a ruling class reaches a point where it is uncontrollably rushing to its own doom and is dragging all the rest of society with it, it is time that a truly socialist revolution be put on the order of the day. This is the only solution for all of the ills brought about by ruling class domination over all society. Only in this way will true peace be brought about in America and the rest of the world.

# Editorial

## Hour of decision for the Movement on the Black Panther Party

After many months of bitter, protracted and heroic struggle by the Black Panther Party—in which they have shown inflexible determination not to surrender to the unprecedented repressive assault by the capitalist government, its courts and its police—hundreds of thousands and possibly millions of progressives have awakened to the genocidal peril which faces the leadership of the Black liberation movement in America. At last the trial of the Black Panther Party leaders has become the center of national attention. All of the problems, all of the issues, are concentrated and summarized in one issue, which is likely to become the decisive one for all the others and that issue is: what will happen to Bobby Seale and the New Haven Nine and what will the movement do about it? That is the crux of the problem. Everything now depends upon what will be done.

The bourgeoisie has long realized that this is the issue. At first, they tried to cover it up, to make believe that it didn't exist, to kill it first by silence and then by vilification. But they have failed. Against their will and in spite of all their diabolical efforts, the issue has broken through to the surface and they have been forced to deal with it.

### Liberal bourgeoisie terrified

The liberal bourgeoisie realizes that the crisis is at hand and is terrified by its magnitude and possible consequences. In the first place, they are fearful that the Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell Administration has overreached itself in its attacks upon the Black Panther Party and are panic stricken by the prospect of spontaneous reprisals which would result from a conviction of the Panther defendants. The liberal bourgeoisie is stretching out one hand to the movement and the other hand to the reactionary, conservative, racist ruling class elements who are bent on genocidal destruction of the Panther Party. It straddles the fence on each and every occasion. It talks out of both sides of its mouth. It gives token support and lip service

to the movement, on the one hand, while desperately trying to control, dominate and bring the movement into the fold of the imperialist racist establishment, on the other hand.

Just look at the astonishing example of the liberal bourgeoisie personified in Kingman Brewster, Jr., president of Yale University. Only the other day he declared in New Haven that he was "sceptical of the ability of Black revolutionaries to achieve a fair trial anywhere in the United States." He said that he was "appalled and ashamed" that such a situation had developed. He even pointed the finger at the police and the courts. But what conclusion does he draw from all this? That the frameup trial should be stopped? No! And that is the crux of the whole matter.

### Brewster's double-talk

Brewster admits, in his own words, that the inability of Black revolutionaries to achieve a fair trial "has been created by police actions and prosecutions against the Panthers in many parts of the country." And yet he concludes, and this is the punch line, that "doing anything to inflame the community would be the worst possible service to the defendants."

"Their chance of being able to raise and prevail on the many real legal and constitutional issues raised by the arrest and indictment would be smothered if political passion were allowed to dominate the scene of the trial."

This is the double-talking liberal bourgeoisie incarnate. On the one hand he tells you that the Panthers haven't got a chance, that the police have virtually framed them. On the other hand, don't do anything and let the fate of the Panthers be decided by the very courts which framed them up in the first place!

Just at a time when hundreds of thousands of people are beginning to realize that only mass action can free the Panthers, just at a time when there appears to be a real possibility for a movement (especially on the East Coast) to exercise a tre-

mendous amount of power over the New Haven trial by an overwhelming presence there, it's just at this time that the double-talking spokesmen for the liberal bourgeoisie are trying to dampen the enthusiasm of the movement and divert it into harmless channels of passive, debilitated dissent. Meanwhile the judicial frameup moves steadily onward toward its ultimate objective--the electric chair for Bobby Seale and the other defendants.

### Sacco-Vanzetti and the Rosenbergs

This is exactly what happened in the Sacco and Vanzetti case in approximately the same New England setting. A great deal of passive dissent, world wide protest, in fact, took place. But the liberal bourgeois elements and those who followed them were merely confining themselves to one tactic, a strategical outlook which permitted the process of judicial frameup to take its course. The millions who were outraged at the frameup and genuinely wanted to free the defendants were forced to look on helplessly.

Yes, the protest took place—but so did the executions! Wasn't the case of the Rosenbergs merely a repeat performance?

It is one thing if the movement is so small and weak in relation to the forces that the class enemy can muster, that it can do nothing but register a passive dissent. But that is not the case today. Aside from the fact that there are millions of Black Americans who have a totally different outlook upon the Panther frameups than the white liberal bourgeoisie, the white radical movement is in a state of tremendous ferment. It is growing daily, becoming ever more militant, constantly searching out and experimenting with new revolutionary tactics in spite of floundering here and there. White revolutionaries are grasping the class nature of the struggle more and more. They are coming to recognize the true character of the class enemy, and the vile, reactionary institutions that serve it.

Yes, indeed. The movement is strong and getting stronger daily. If it can project its power onto the New Haven trial in a united and conscious manner, the frameup will be stopped.

## Panthers, vanguard supporters of Arab liberation

By RITA FREED  
Chairman of the Committee to  
Support Middle East Liberation

One of the most important contributions made by the Black Panther Party to the development of the revolutionary movement in the United States has been its consistent spirit of solidarity with all oppressed people. This is perhaps best shown by the Party's support for the Palestine national liberation movement.

The question of Arab self-determination has been a crucial test of internationalism for American radicals in the present period, and one which far too many self-styled revolutionaries in America and Europe have failed, falling victim to the ruling class barrage of pro-Israel propaganda.

The Panther Party, victimized by constant fascist repression since its inception and therefore under far greater pressure to avoid taking an unpopular stand than any white revolutionary party has faced, has nonetheless re-

fused to be opportunistic on the Middle East issue. On the contrary, the Party has devoted much energy to explain that the Arab struggle is part of the world anti-imperialist effort and that Zionism, far from representing a progressive solution to oppression of Jewish people, has instead served as an instrument of U.S. exploitation.

The Panthers' support of Arab liberation is particularly impressive, and should serve as an example to progressives everywhere, because it shows how political consciousness develops in the course of struggle. Eldridge Cleaver, for example, spoke in Algiers in July, 1969, condemning the Zionist regime as a "puppet and pawn" of the U.S. which had "usurped the land of the Palestinian people" at the imperialists' behest.

The exiled Panther leader had previously incorrectly equated the Zionist aim of building a "homeland" in Palestine with the Black nation's need for self-determination. The mistaken assumption of Zionist "progressivism"

was reversed once the facts became known, i.e. that Israel was from the first an appendage of imperialism to be used against the Arabs, and that its first victim was the Palestine nation which it usurped.

The Panther Party has made these facts available to the readers of its press in a lengthy article by Field Marshal Don Cox (January 3, 1970). Numerous other articles have appeared in the Panther Paper on the Palestine national liberation movement. These include reprints of statements by Fateh as well as other guerrilla groups such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Eldridge Cleaver spoke at the December, 1969 conference on Palestine held in Algiers, where he again voiced the Party's support for the "Palestinian people's just struggle." Masai Hewitt spoke on behalf of the Party at a Palestine teach-in in Montreal, March 11. This meeting was the culmination of a several week-long Mobilization for Palestine, organized by the Que-

becois Palestine Solidarity Committee in cooperation with various Arab student groups.

The right-wing has seized upon the Panthers' anti-Israel position as a device to create a mode of hysteria in the Jewish population, to smooth the way for the legal lynching of the Party. Their charge of "anti-semitism" is as ridiculous as the police fantasy that an organization like the Panthers, which exists to serve the people, feeds breakfasts to children, etc., would blow up botanical gardens and department stores. The Panthers oppose Zionism, not Jews. As Eldridge Cleaver said: "We are anti imperialism and slavery because these are the things we have suffered from." He referred to the Israeli leaders' cynical use of Jewish suffering, saying, "No longer can Zionists point to the bones of the victims of the Nazis and blind us to the pile of bones they are making out of the Palestinian people."

For the Black Panther Party, the indivisibility of the global struggle is a basic article of revolutionary understanding. This was recently illustrated in a simple but telling way when the Panther Paper carried a story on scientists in the Palestine guerrilla movement, under the headline "A Practical Application of Juche." Juche is the expression for self-reliance coined by Kim Il Sung, leader of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea.

The gains made by the DPRK, or by the Palestinian revolutionaries, are gains for Black liberation. Phantom jet strikes against the Arab people are aimed equally at the Black Panther Party. If militant anti-imperialism is to have any meaning, it must include defense of Arab self-determination. And it is equally the duty of every supporter of the Palestine cause to actively aid the Black Panther Party in its life-and-death struggle with U.S. imperialism.

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## The Moratorium and the role of the SWP

# The art of political deception

In time of war and social upheaval, the art of political deception becomes more subtle as its practitioners become more cynical and even impudent. Practically on the eve of the new escalation in Cambodia, the leaders of the Moratorium Committee folded up their organization and closed shop. At a news conference explaining the reasons for the demise of their organization the national coordinators — Sam Brown, David Hawk, David Misner and Marge Sklencar — said that "large mass demonstrations have become a political fad and they have run their course."

Whatever else large mass demonstrations may be, they certainly are not new and never have been a fad. Large mass demonstrations are a world-wide phenomenon. Whenever and wherever large masses of people take to the streets, it is with a serious purpose—not as a fad. The leaders who call the demonstrations may be doing it as a fad, but it is not so regarded by the people who answer the call. In giving this as the principal reason for disbanding the organization, the coordinators of the Moratorium not only showed that they were lacking in candor, but also demonstrated a cynical disregard for the many hundreds of thousands of people who responded to the call of these very same Moratorium leaders for the giant demonstrations last October and November.

### Masses go beyond leaders

Had the Moratorium leaders ventured to say that the real reason for going out of business was a decline in anti-war interest by the masses, that, at least, might have been understandable. However, a Gallup poll published the week of April 12 showed that only 48 per cent of the people interviewed in April approved Nixon's war policy, compared to 65 per cent who supported Nixon in January. In other words, the very week in which Brown & Co. decided to fold up their organization was precisely the week showing the highest amount of popular opposition to the Administration's imperialist war policy. The reason for dissolving the Moratorium must be sought elsewhere than in the coordinators' explanation of its demise.

The truth is that the Moratorium found itself in an exceedingly uncomfortable position immediately after the great success of last November when it was able to claim that more than 250,000 people gathered at the Washington Monument under its leadership. The Moratorium leaders, most of whom worked for Senator McCarthy for President, are true and faithful servants of the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie. Their political patrons are the McCarthys, the Lindsays, McGovern and others of like political ilk. They are a loyalist bourgeois opposition to the war and their methods of protest are in the classical tradition of the liberal politician: subdued, polite dissent. Until last September, it had never occurred to them to call upon the mass of the people to take to the streets in huge demonstrations.

Calling upon the masses to take to the street is always a risky venture by a capitalist politician. The masses sometimes take the opportunity to go beyond what the politicians intend for them. And more often than not, the politicians themselves are forced by the very nature of a huge demonstration, its militancy and its fighting spirit, to go beyond what they originally intended to say.

### Attacked from left and right

Last October and November when anti-war sentiment reached a peak, liberal politicians, under pressure from the people, promoted the idea of calling upon the masses to take to the streets. But the very success of October and November was the principal cause of the undoing of the Moratorium. The savage attacks mounted by the Nixon Administration frightened many of the liberal figures in the Moratorium. They thereafter became fearful of repeating such large-scale massive demonstrations this spring. At the same time they found themselves under increasing attack from ever larger sections of the anti-war movement that have become more radicalized and increasingly disillusioned with the token opposition of the liberals. The Moratorium Committee found itself in the classical dilemma of being hit both from the Left as well as the Right.

Liberal politicians in periods of peaceful evolution can generally well sustain themselves and absorb blows from both Left and Right, and even thrive upon them as long as there is no serious social crisis in the country. But this is just the point. There is a very severe crisis that is actually shaking the very foundations of U.S. imperialism. Calling upon the masses to hit the streets in large numbers has therefore become a really big risk for the liberals.

The folding of the Moratorium is thus the direct result of the pressure exerted upon it both from the Right and from the Left. The liberals have learned that they can no longer control the masses once they are on the streets. They therefore cooled towards this spring's anti-war protests and in many ways

actually sabotaged the struggle. More than anything the Moratorium leaders feared that the more militant elements in the movement would get the upper hand in any new large demonstrations. Under these circumstances they thought it best to scotch the whole effort. And that's the real reason for the demise of the Moratorium.

In the course of the press interview on the dissolution of the Moratorium, Sam Brown, its leading light, blurted out that the Committee's funds had run dry and that the Committee's "...larger supporters had been hurt by the decline of the stock market." A truly commendable admission!!

### SWP hypocritical attack on Moratorium

In this connection we must take cognizance of an unusual note of opposition to the liberal line of the Moratorium. It appeared in a paper in which we thought we would least likely find it, The Militant, since that paper has so splendidly cooperated, organizationally and politically, with the Moratorium leaders and covered them with leftist-sounding phrases. In the May 1st issue of The Militant, which is the organ of the SWP, we find this extraordinary paragraph:

"From the outset, the main objective of some of the prime movers of the Moratorium was not to organize mass demonstrations against the war, but to organize anti-war sentiment in such a way that it could be effectively marshalled behind various capitalist 'peace' candidates. They discovered that mass street actions against the war set into motion an independent force which cuts across the objectives of the capitalist politicians, and that is why those particular forces in the Moratorium decided to throw in the towel."

How true! How true! But nothing could be more deceptive, nothing could be more cynical and impudent and nothing could be more misleading than to think these words have any relation to the actual, practical political line of The Militant and its party, the SWP. What was the real role of the SWP and its youth organization, the YSA, in the New York Moratorium demonstration on April 15, the key Moratorium demonstration of the nation, even if

as the chief marshal to police the militant anti-war protestors and protect Lindsay from hostile protest manifestations.

(It should be added that the collaboration of the CP with the Moratorium leaders was even more extensive than that of the SWP. Whereas the SWP felt obliged to work clandestinely on the Lindsay appearance, the CP supported it openly and enthusiastically.)

### YAWF exposes Lindsay

However, thousands of militant anti-war demonstrators, particularly among the youth, came to the demonstration not merely to protest the war but to protest Lindsay's use of anti-war sentiment in the interest of capitalist politics. As it says in the Guardian of April 25, "At an April 4 rally in New York for the Panther 21, Youth Against War & Fascism announced its support of a position taken by the Panther 21 which was to refuse to share the same platform with Lindsay. YAWF was joined at Bryant Park by the December 4th Movement and a number of other radicals...."

Following the April 4 Panther rally YAWF gave out thousands upon thousands of leaflets throughout the entire city of New York. In those leaflets YAWF exposed Lindsay for his role in the Panther frameup and as the man who nominated Agnew for Vice-President at the last GOP convention. They called upon the anti-war movement to come to the Moratorium rally and protest the war as well as Lindsay's appearance. It was a most effective propaganda job and well organized to the point where many thousands of demonstrators at the Moratorium rally came fully prepared to denounce Lindsay. Many had banners. In particular there was a YAWF banner not more than 20 feet away from the podium, so huge that it could be seen by the entire demonstration and for blocks and blocks away. The demonstrators approved of the slogan on the banner which said, "Lindsay, stop your repression against the Panther 21." In the face of this situation, Lindsay, after being advised of the mood of many of the demonstrators, failed to show at the demonstration. This was a signal victory for the anti-imperialist forces at the

## Agnew to Speak at Moratorium Rally

No, it won't quite be Agnew himself who will be there. But it will be the man whom Agnew entrusted to nominate him for the vice presidency at the last Republican Convention. You guessed it. It will be none other than the "liberal" Mayor John V. Lindsay. In nominating and endorsing Agnew for the vice presidency, Lindsay said that Agnew was "a great American who would render a great service to his country," and to all the people.

Out of the hundreds of corrupt and reactionary politicians who attended the Republican Convention, the Nixon-Mitchell-Thurmond alliance could not have found a better man to make Agnew's nomination.

To put over Agnew on the ticket — the very symbol of Nixon's "southern strategy," the symbol of the most rabid racism and unbridled militarism only a figure with a liberal reputation would fill the bill. Strom Thurmond couldn't make the nomination, Sherman Cooper from Kentucky wouldn't do it, even Rockefeller turned it down and so did Javits. But our shining knight of liberalism, the "anti-war" leader, rendered his services and he'll be in Bryant Park as the leading spokesman against the war. And you're supposed to be there, listen and applaud!

### Liberals And Reactionaries:

#### Different Approach to a Common End

But don't think for a moment that we would overlook the difference between a bourgeois liberal politician like Lindsay and a die-hard reactionary bourgeois politician like Agnew. Oh, of course there is a difference: a difference in approach, a difference in method, a difference in the nature of the following each of them pursues or gets. But this is merely a matter of form. The fundamental class content

(This is part of the leaflet YAWF handed out.)

not its largest one? In preparation for this demonstration, Mayor John Lindsay — who unquestionably is "a capitalist peace candidate," as it says in the above paragraph from The Militant, and whose "main objective... was not to organize mass demonstrations against the war, but to organize anti-war sentiment in such a way that it could be effectively marshalled" for him as a "peace candidate" in the coming Presidential election — was scheduled to be the principal speaker at the rally and use the rally, as it says above, for his political purposes.

What was the role of the SWP in this? They collaborated with the Moratorium leaders, not only to have Lindsay speak, but actually planned with him on how to insure and safeguard his appearance from the thousands of anti-war demonstrators who were outraged at the idea of this mayor coming to speak peace while he carried on a merciless war against the Black Panthers, whom he has held in his jails for more than a year as a result of a monstrous frameup. Fred Halstead, the SWP's so-called Presidential candidate, went as far as pledging to the Moratorium about 30 marshals and acting himself

demonstration and for the Panthers in particular, all of whom were revolted at the idea of Lindsay speaking at the rally.

So it appears that the SWP, along with the Moratorium leaders and Lindsay, as the Militant correctly observes, "...discovered that mass street actions against the war set into motion an independent force which cuts across the objectives of the capitalist politicians...."

So intense was the feeling against Lindsay at the demonstration and against the Moratorium leaders who connived with the SWP and other groupings to have Lindsay there, that some of the youth stormed the podium. It is possible that there were some moments of confusion. If so it was a very minor aspect of the demonstration. On the whole the significance of the event was that a crushing defeat was handed to the liberal bourgeois politicians and their tools who tried to manipulate the anti-war movement for their sordid ends. And it was of course a resounding victory for the anti-imperialist forces and the thousands of sympathizers who responded to their call.

# Nixon and the draft: everyone goes!

By EMILY TARASOV

President Nixon has announced the abolition of all future parental and occupational deferments and has proposed that student deferments be eliminated. All peace demagoguery and all talk of "lowering profiles" to the contrary, this measure is an unambiguous expression of the future plans of U.S. imperialism.

With one measure Nixon has suddenly wiped out all permanent, non-medical deferments from the armed forces. Student deferments are only temporary. The only way a student or anyone else for that matter can remain permanently exempt from the draft aside from medical reasons or hardship is for fatherhood or occupational deferment.

The Pentagon has apparently calculated its counterrevolutionary tasks ahead in Asia, Africa, the Mideast and Latin America, measured the enormity of these tasks against the fact that over four and a half million men are unavailable for the imperialist war machine because of these two types of deferments and decided to put an end to them.

Nixon said that this order is a move toward a volunteer army and an answer to the critics of current draft laws who call any deferments, but the most crucial, inequitable. (But, in fact, all conscription in an imperialist army is illegal for it constitutes involuntary servitude for purposes of aggression.) To the millions of youth and their war-weary families who are affected, this move toward "equity" is understood as nothing but a further extension of the war—and they are right!

## Nixon's withdrawal of troops—not an act of peace

If the plans of an imperialist government are for less war, that government reduces the size of its army. If a government desires more war, it increases the size of its army. It is all a matter of simple arithmetic. Thus, Nixon's announced troop withdrawal of 150,000 men from Vietnam by the end of next year is only a crumb thrown to deceive the people. He is not

reducing his army by 150,000 but making the manpower available for another arena of war.

Only the most dire necessities of war could cause a slick politician of Tricky Dick's ilk to proclaim such an unpopular measure in an election year.

The fact is that the need to expand the draft is directly related to the whole crisis in Southeast Asia, and to other crises all over the world that the ruling class consciously anticipates but dares not talk about. The recent U.S.-backed invasion of Cuba and immediate readying of U.S. troops to suppress the rebelling Trinidad people (reminiscent of the 1965 invasion of Santo Domingo) are but two examples of the ruling class' willingness to enter wars.

## A volunteer army is an international pig force

Nixon, his generals, the conservatives and the so-called moderates would like nothing better than an all volunteer (i.e. mercenary) army. The people's opposition to an unpopular war like Vietnam would be dampened if they did not have to fight in it. A mercenary army would carry out the barbarous repression of the oppressed at home and abroad without questioning its politics, tactics or morals. A volunteer army would not be susceptible to rebellious and politically aware soldiers who do such "unprofessional" things as expose massacres like My Lai, raise the consciousness of their brother GIs and organize them into an anti-Brass, anti-imperialist union for enlisted men.

But Nixon cannot now implement a volunteer army. U.S. imperialism has over-extended itself and it needs more men than would volunteer for a mercenary army in war time. These new measures making fathers, teachers and new millions eligible to become cannon fodder can only serve in the long run to further disintegrate the morale of the army and increase the ranks of the resisters, rebels and union organizers against the Brass.

## The 18-year-old vote:

# Lowering the age for non-struggle

"Assemblyman Solarz (D-Brooklyn), who at 29 is one of the youngest men in the Assembly, congratulated his colleagues yesterday for 'encouraging' young people to stay within the system for a change rather than working outside to destroy it."

So said the New York Post on the 16th of April in a report from Albany.

It seems that the New York State legislature is very close to passing a bill to give 18-year-olds the vote, although such a proposition will still have to be submitted to voters in a statewide referendum because the state constitution will have to be amended in this case.

Of course 18-year-olds should have the vote and should have had it long ago. They are drafted to fight and die for imperialism and not even permitted to choose which imperialist politician will draft them.

But the reason the capitalist mouthpieces in Albany have suddenly grown liberal on this question was clearly stated by Mr. Solarz as reported in the first paragraph of this article. The purpose of enfranchising them is to get them off the streets and out of the struggle. It's as simple as that.

Those perennial candidates for bourgeois honors in the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Workers Party



— LNS

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geois parliamentarism.

There are occasions when the oppressed may use their oppressor's electoral apparatus to some relative advantage. But these occasions are fewer and farther between nowadays, as the corruption of the system (both the capitalist system itself and its parliamentary offspring) increases.

The fact that the bill for the quadrennial farce in the United States now passes \$250 million in legally admitted expenditure is proof by itself that no representatives of the oppressed proletariat can ever conquer the oppressor by parliamentary means—or even win a nose-count that way, much less smash the real power of the imperialist butchers.

Nine times out of ten, if not more often, the mere participation in the bourgeois election has the effect of giving it a certificate of validity from the participants. The young lackey, Solarz, understands this better than lots of others.

The 18-year-olds and all other revolutionists up to the age of 80 and over can reserve the right to use the ballot for some time when they can use it effectively. But for the present we can all take Mr. Solarz's implied advice and keep working "outside the system to destroy it."

(not to mention the eternally trustful CP revisionists who back Reform Democrats and only the very best Republicans) will say that Mr. Solarz does not really know whereof he speaks. They will say that the 18-year-olds can use the new voting law in an effective way, when or if it is ever passed, to challenge the ruling class.

Whatever theoretical value or possible future validity there may be to their arguments, the fact is that they would all love for the struggle to be confined to the ballot box and the TV panel show—as would the ruling class, too.

These vote-worshipping "radicals" like the college presidents, hanging judges, clubbing cops and the corporation-owned government want "the young people to stay within the system," although if someone other than themselves ruptured and smashed the system, they would be glad to offer their services to explain how to run a new one.

There have been tactical errors in many street struggles. And not all the new movements have found their way to the broad ranks of the oppressed. But one of the healthiest and most correct views of the youngest revolutionaries generally is their contempt of the bourgeois electoral process and their refusal to "work within the system"—meaning the system of bour-



# April 15

## GI strike day

(Reprinted from The Bond)

The response to the ASU international strike day, April 15th, was widespread. All over the world Union brothers carried out actions against the Brass. The predominant action was sick call. Brothers went on STRIKE against the military by saying they were sick of the war, of racism, military injustice and the fact that the Brass pigs have jailed 25,000 of our brothers for resisting the illegal authority of the Brass.

### Ft. Dix

SPB (Special Processing Battalion), Ft. Dix, N.J.—Sgt. Rivera, A Co., SPB said, "Never in my 20 years service in the army have I seen one whole platoon go on sick call and another whole platoon go AWOL."

Many others went AWOL and the ones that didn't go on sick call or AWOL went on strike --they refused to work that whole day. GIs in SPB shut their entire unit down for April 15th.

The lifers and the Brass were really up tight. They told the guys that everybody who went on sick call would be charged with malingering. The guys said, "Bullshit! I'm sick and I want to go on sick call."

One guy said, "I've been in this thing for 26 months and I know that I have a right to go on sick call." And he went.

### And the day after...

The day after STRIKE day, the

lifer pigs hit back by declaring that April 16 was "National Stockade Day." In Dix SPD they threw guys into the pound for any little mess up.

Is this lifer repression going to work?

No.

For instance. They threatened me—"If you go on sick call, you go to the pound."

"Then put me in the pound," I told them.

They didn't put me in the pound but then they threatened me that they'd take my pass.

"That doesn't stop the busses from running," I said.

Guys said that the lifers can call it National Stockade Day or whatever they want to but it doesn't make any difference.

By the way I just signed up 18 new members—from one platoon.

Pvt. Fort Dix, N.J.

### Ft. Lewis

Post Stockade (Post Concentration Camp), Ft. Lewis, Wash.—Over 100 men imprisoned in the stockade boycotted the mess hall in solidarity with their GI brothers all over the world as part of the ASU STRIKE action for April 15th. In a unit outside, the guys could have gone to a snack bar and gotten something to eat. But inside the pound to boycott the mess hall means to go without a meal—to go hungry. We say right on to those brave brothers that were in on the action.

Wade Carson, ASU member and organizer doing 6 months in the stockade for distributing FED UP at Lewis, was

put in solitary confinement for organizing the boycott.

### Ft. Carson

Ft. Carson, Col.—1,200 GIs went on sick call to protest the Vietnam war. They had been organized by about 12 ASU members. The "sick" GIs were also supported by the Home Front coffee house which organized about 40 civilians to march on base to the dispensary where the anti-war GIs were pouring in. Among the civilians was Jane Fonda.

### New York City

The ASU marched in New York City along with some 45,000 people to protest the war in Vietnam and the repression of the Black Panther Party. Union brothers from Ft. Lee, Va., and others from the national center carried banners calling for the end to the court-martial of Seaman Roger Priest.

Tom Doyle, Marine reservist and ASU member, spoke to a large crowd of people at Bridgeport, Conn., on April 15th. He talked about the goals of the Union, the STRIKE, and the kangaroo court-martial of Roger Priest.

ASU Chairman Andy Stapp spoke at the University of Buffalo on April 17 and also at Cornell University on April 18. Andy talked about the history of the ASU and some of the struggles that we have been in. He called for protest against the frame-up of Roger Priest.

Reports from local ASU chapters and organizers are still coming in at this writing.

# Roger Priest trial ends; victory for antiwar sailor

BY RICHARD CORDEN

WASHINGTON NAVAL AIR STATION, April 27—Mendel Rivers, the Navy Brass and the Nixon Administration lost a big battle here today when they were forced to back down in their conspiracy to imprison anti-war sailor Roger Priest.

Priest, a seaman apprentice stationed at the Pentagon, was indicted in June 1969 on multiple charges of subversion, sedition, attempting to cause insubordination, soliciting desertion and "disrespect" to Lucius Mendel Rivers and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Wheeler. He was also charged with two violations of the Smith Act of 1940, that is, "urging the overthrow of the U.S. government." He faced up to 39 years in prison.

At the time of Roger's indictment almost a year ago, it seemed to be a David and Goliath contest. One low-ranking sailor against the united strength of the whole Pentagon Brass and Rivers, the head of the powerful House Armed Services Committee. But the appearance was deceiving. A growing movement was springing up among servicemen in the imperialist armed forces. There were dozens of anti-war newspapers put out on bases and ships around the world. One of the most popular of these papers was OM, edited by Roger Priest. The suppression of OM was one of the main purposes of the court-martial.

After Priest was charged, many of the other newspapers put out by servicemen wrote extensively in support of Roger. This was particularly true of the Potemkin, American Servicemen's Union (ASU) newspaper put out on the aircraft carrier Forrestal and distributed by the thousands in the Mediterranean Sixth Fleet. And of course there was the large anti-war movement of civilians that stood in opposition to the fascist-minded Brass.

This set the background for the scene in the courtroom on April 27, the day of Priest's sentencing. Two days earlier Roger had been acquitted on almost all charges (including the Smith Act counts) but found guilty on

two counts of subversion under Article 134 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice. He could get six years confinement in Portsmouth Brig.

### Supporters fill courtroom

About thirty movement people crowded into the small spectators' section. Many were from the New Mobe; others were students. Roger's family was there plus a small delegation from the national ASU (Roger is a union member) including Chairman Andy Stapp and National Field Organizer John Lewis.

All low-ranking sailors had been forced from the area of the building and its adjoining snack bar by Naval Police. Earlier in the day we had talked with these men and they showed a great deal of sympathy for Priest.

"Priest has accused the United States of being Nazis in Vietnam," intoned Prosecutor-Commander Thomas Jefferson Jimmerson, Jr., in his summation to the officer jury.

"Priest sees the Navy as a huge dinosaur. This sailor has written in OM that the dinosaur is headed for extinction. The dinosaur will die because a tiny mouse will eat the dinosaur's eggs, and eventually wipe out the species. He has openly stated this was the purpose of his newspaper. OM is to nibble away at the power of the Navy the way the mouse ate the dinosaur eggs."

### "Not the only one"

"And, gentlemen, Priest's newspaper is not the only one. There are fifty other papers put out by servicemen like him. If you let Roger Priest off with a light sentence, you'll see things escalate. On the other hand, if you stick Roger Priest away for six years you'll see a de-escalation to zero. GIs and sailors who are publishing similar papers are watching the outcome of this trial."

Prosecutor Jimmerson's closing speech was interrupted continuously by catcalls from the audience of "oink" or "pig" or "right on" (when he said that Roger was considered a hero by many) or by just plain laughter when



ASU Chairman Andy Stapp (left) carries banner supporting Priest during April 15th anti-war demonstration in New York City.

he made statements like: "Priest has the power to do great good or great evil. He has chosen to do evil."

At one point Prosecutor Jimmerson asked rhetorically what made Priest get so much publicity compared to a Medal of Honor winner in Vietnam, when Priest was "safe in Washington, far from the fighting." Herb Blenner, an ASU brother of Roger stationed at Ft. Knox and on leave, stated, "You've been safe in Washington for the last six years, Jimmerson, prosecuting sailors."

Earlier in the day Roger himself had taken the stand to say that he had a "duty to put out the paper in opposition to the Vietnam war."

The officer jury was out for about four hours and then returned with the sentence. No time in the Brig! Roger Priest was given a bad conduct discharge, reduced to the lowest rank and reprimanded. Sailors on duty in the courtroom grinned with relief and Roger was on his feet with the biggest smile of all. Commander-Prosecutor Jimmerson was not smiling. The Brass had disregarded his plea to jail Priest for six years.

### Brass afraid to jail Priest

They apparently felt that such a

move at this time would only inflame the rank-and-file servicemen even more. In many ways this was their victory. These rank and file soldiers, sailors, marines and airmen had made it impossible for the Brass to jail Priest.

Lest anyone think that this sentence shows that there is justice to be had in military courts, we should remember the case of Ken Stolte and Dan Amick, who were found guilty of violating, like Roger, two counts of Article 134 of the UCMJ. Accused of passing out an anti-war leaflet to other soldiers, they were railroaded to four years in the stockade. Stolte and Amick had received scant publicity when their trial was held two years ago, and the GI movement, still in its infancy, had been unable to give a real response to the frameup.

The verdict in Roger Priest's case was not a verdict of justice but rather a verdict of fear. The Brass set a precedent in his case that a sailor who puts out a militant anti-war paper can be convicted of subversion. But at this time they are afraid to carry the sentence to its logical conclusion—prison.

The Brass were forced to compromise. Priest, however, stated after the verdict that he himself had no plans to compromise: "We certainly plan to continue putting out the newspaper."



## Part II Women's liberation: a Marxist view

# Love, marriage, and monogamy

By DOROTHY BALLAN

Despite all its exploitation and brutality, the capitalist system, more than any of the preceding social systems, is dependent on constantly revolutionizing the productive forces, even where this flies in the face of its most cherished religious and moral prejudices. Capitalism constantly perfects its technology, not in the interest of social progress, but rather of super-profit.

The development of the contraceptive pill, like many previous inventions and discoveries, has brought about a virtual revolution in the social relation of many women, particularly as it affects the younger generation.

### The Pill — weapon against involuntary procreation

The fact that the Pill may not yet be fully perfected and may subject the user to hazards is another matter. The significant fact is that its simplicity of use has enabled the woman to control to a large degree her procreative function, and with little or no effort or discomfort.

It is in fact, for her, a technically revolutionary development in her centuries-old struggle to achieve release from the slavery imposed upon her by her inability to control this vital body function.

Despite the fact that this country is steeped in ancient prejudice and warped by what Marx called the "malignant furies" of private material interests, a wide variety of statistics show how fully and quickly women understood and welcomed the Pill.

It is interesting that a substantial number of young women in particular have taken this new opportunity to venture forth into the world and participate in all phases of life with the same freedom from unwanted pregnancy as men.

The development of this simple contraceptive has enabled many more women to break through the overgrowth of prejudice and hypocrisy and gain greater freedom in sex relations, more nearly equal to that of men.

For women, the accessibility of the Pill is in the nature of winning a civil right in the struggle for the rights of women. It obviously does not end oppression and discrimination against women, nor does it put an end to the ideology of male supremacy, but it helps clear some of the ground for the further development of the struggle.

### "Free-love" vs. freedom to set love free

Much of the attack by bourgeois elements on the use of the Pill centers on the alleged fear of the growth of promiscuity, as well as the fear that it will injure the "sanctity" of the bourgeois family. Substantially the same arguments were used in earlier controversies on what they called "free love."

It is easy for most women to see that what is for the most part being attacked is the possible promiscuity of women. Promiscuity for men has existed as part and parcel of the monogamous family since its

inception and has never been considered as affecting the so-called sanctity of the bourgeois family to any substantial degree. What enrages the bourgeoisie about "free love" is nothing more than the ability of women to participate in sex, and like men, without fear of pregnancy. This bourgeois hypocrisy is rooted materially in ancient tradition, as we will show.

On the question of love, Marxists seek to focus not on "free love" but on how to set love free, that is, to emancipate love from the outmoded, artificial, social restraints which are the heritage of social systems based on class domination and class oppression.

The Pill may provide a relaxation in sex relations. But love, which implies full freedom in human relations—whether with a marriage contract or not—cannot be the result of a mere relaxation of sex relations. Sex relations will always remain distorted as long as class oppression throttles human relations in general and relations between the sexes in particular.

As Simone de Beauvoir says in her well-known book, *The Second Sex*, "The fact is that today neither men nor women are satisfied with each other. But the question is to know whether there is an original curse that condemns them to rend each other or whether the conflicts in which they are opposed merely mark a transitional moment in human history."

"The battle of the sexes is not immediately implied in the anatomy of man and woman."

"Society, being codified by man (i.e., ruling class men — D.B.), decrees that woman is inferior.... This condition has been imposed upon her. All oppression creates a state of war. And this is no exception."

Under capitalism, freedom in sex no more emancipates love than freedom to work for wages emancipates the worker.

### Transformation of the primitive communal home

The modern bourgeois family can best be understood in the light of its historical development. In an analysis of this question, it is of great importance to know that in primitive times the family was the community; that is, everything was organized and produced cooperatively, communistically—quite the opposite of the capitalist world.

With the development of wealth and its subsequent transformation into private ownership, the home declined as the center of social public production which it had been in primitive, matriarchal times. Women as child-bearers and-rearers were forced by nature to remain in the home. But social production more and more developed outside the home. Out of virtual necessity it was the men who were in the better position to pursue the new drive to accumulate wealth and further develop the means of production. And these did develop with accelerating speed.

The home became more private, more insulated from social life. The wealth—in many cases consisting of large herds—was developed by the men. Because the men developed this wealth, they became more dominant and eventually became the private owners. As women became more isolated, they be-

came more dependent for survival on men.

The very dependency itself created an entirely new relation between husband and wife. No longer did they mutually cooperate as independent beings. The woman now needed the man for economic survival. And so, as Engels said, the final transformation of mother-right to father-right (descent through the father rather than the mother) marked the world historic overthrow of the female sex.

### The origin of bequeathing wealth to heirs

This now powerful father was stimulated to bequeath his wealth to his heirs. To ascertain his heirs, he demanded complete fidelity of the wife under pain of death, while he pursued his own polygamous and adulterous adventures unendingly.

And so the primitive pairing family of communal social relations under the matriarchy became transformed into the individual, monogamous family under the patriarchy. This development was the beginning of a new social and economic unit in the history of humanity.

Marx said that this family unit contained in embryo form not only slavery, but serfdom also, since from the very beginning it is connected with agricultural services. It contains within itself in miniature all the antagonisms which later develop on a wide scale within society and its state.

In his *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Engels traced the origins of, and analyzed the concrete conditions of the ancient Greek family, supposedly the most civilized and highly developed people of antiquity. He said this study showed monogamy "was not in any way the fruit of individual sex-love with which it had absolutely nothing in common, for the marriages remained marriages of convenience as before.... The rule of the man in the family, the procreation of children who could only be his, destined to be the heirs of his wealth—these alone were frankly avowed by the Greeks as the exclusive aims of monogamy. For the rest, it was a burden...."

"Thus monogamy does not by any means make its appearance in history as the reconciliation of man and woman, still less as the highest form of such a reconciliation. On the contrary, it appears as the subjection of one sex by the other, as the proclamation of a conflict between the sexes entirely unknown hitherto in prehistoric times."

Engels says that from an unpublished manuscript by Marx and himself he found the following: "The first division of labor is that between man and woman for child breeding."

He then adds: "The first class antagonism which appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamous marriage, and the first class oppression with that of the female sex by the male."

### Monogamy as a historical advance

"Monogamy," says Engels, "was a great historical advance, but at the same time it inaugurated, along with slavery and private wealth, that epoch lasting until today, in which every advance is likewise a relative regression, in which the well-being and development of one group is obtained by the misery and repression of the other. It is the cellular form of civilized society, in which we can already study the nature of the antagonisms and contradictions which develop fully in the latter."

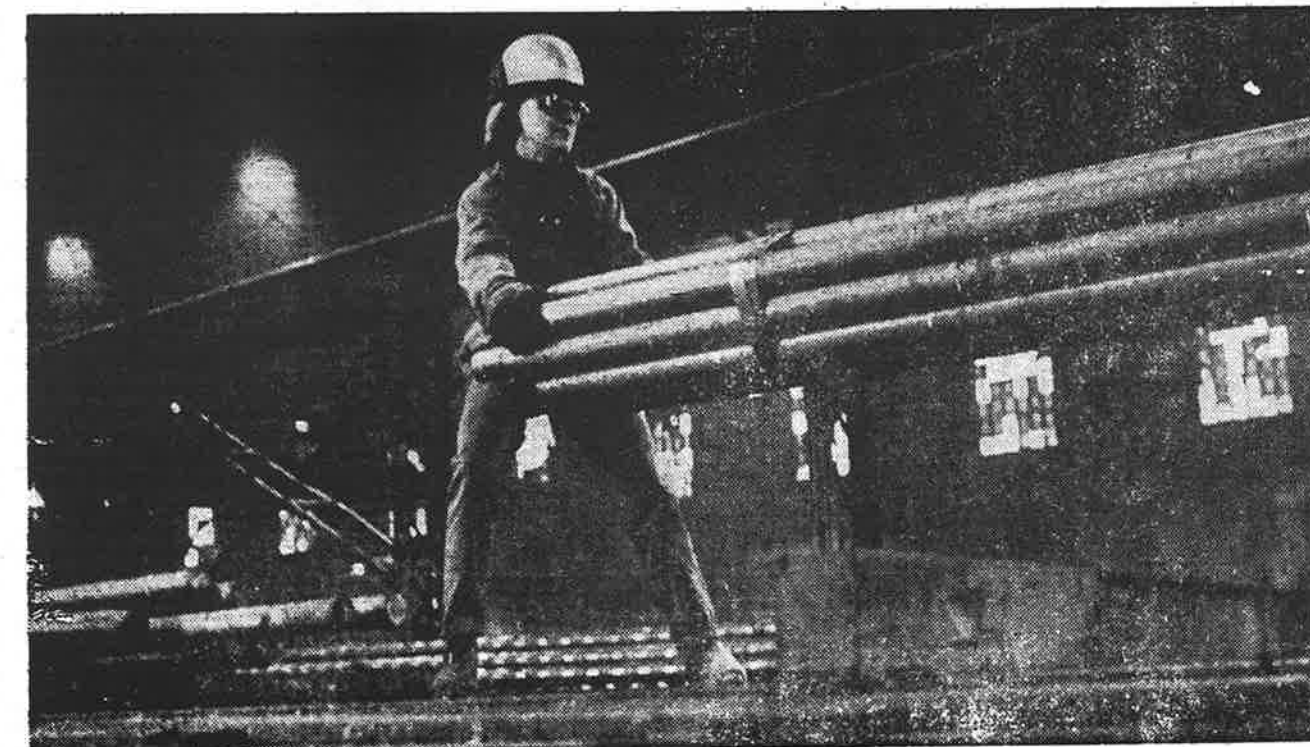
Thus we can see that the modern family today is not what it is preached to be—a unit of sex-love, marriage and fidelity. Rather it is the bourgeois outgrowth of what Engels describes about Greek antiquity.

The modern monogamous family, like the ancient one, contains within it all of the class contradictions and class antagonisms which are characteristic of class society as a whole. It is in no way divorced from the incubus of private property in the epoch of imperialist decay. On the contrary, all the contradictions rampant in capitalist society are projected into the family relationship.

### Transformation of the family

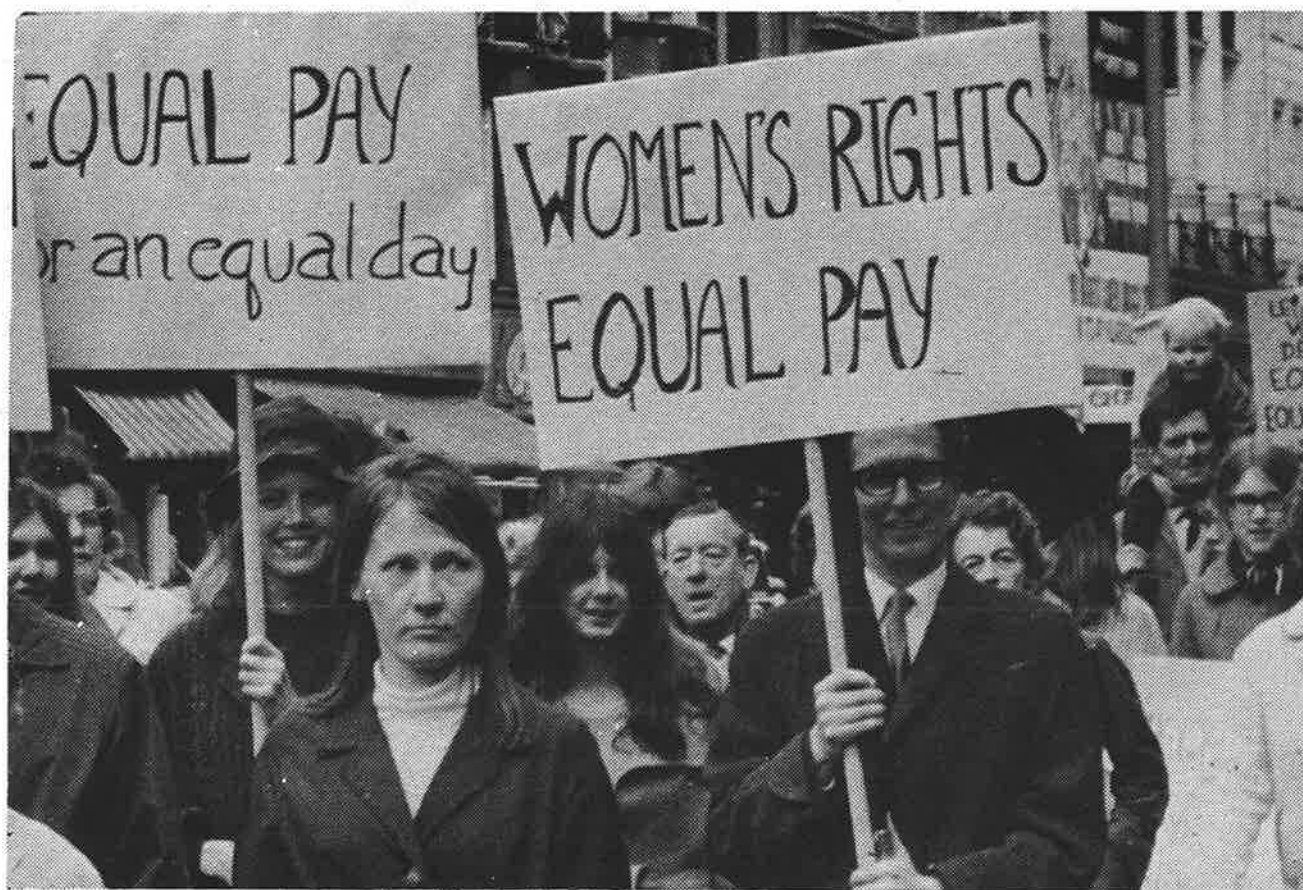
The family has of course undergone changes, and these changes are concomitant with the stages of development of class society. Just as class society has been transformed from slave society to feudal society, and then to capitalist society, each stage demarcated by a qualitative advance in the development of the means of production, so it is that the family, as an economic unit of private property, has also changed.

(Continued on next page)



Woman steelworker in Buffalo





Working women in Britain demonstrate for equal pay

(Continued from preceding page)

Initially women were purchased by men for the purpose of procreating heirs to inherit the wealth of the owners of property. For the ruling class today, for the bourgeoisie, this basic purpose has not changed. Few indeed are the rich who marry outside their class.

For the workers, however, the situation is different. They do not have the problem of procreating heirs, since they do not own the great sources of wealth. But their marriage relations nevertheless conform to the norms of bourgeois society, as very often do their aspirations. Marx explained that the ideas of any epoch reflect the ideas of the ruling class. And the norms of bourgeois society are based upon the private ownership of the means of production.

Just as slave labor eventually was transformed into the "free" labor-contract (modern union contract) between the capitalist and the wage-laborer, so the bride who used to be literally purchased has now become transformed into a "free" partner to the marriage contract in the system of capitalist society.

### Sex-love develops outside of monogamous family

For those who delude themselves that sex-love in marriage and monogamy is an eternal verity from time immemorial to the current bourgeois marriage, Engels makes an interesting observation: that although monogamy began about 5,000 years ago, all indications point to the fact that sex-love, as we understand it today, didn't arise until the Middle Ages (considerably less than 1,000 years ago), and at that time it arose outside the monogamous family, not within it.

This can be seen, according to Engels, from the abundance of literature of the period dealing with the passionate loves of knights and ladies, always having amorous love affairs with someone else's husband or wife. It is extremely difficult to find a story of love within the marriage.

In this country, we might assume, that when two people marry who are not of the ruling class, they do so because they love each other, and so they become parties to the bourgeois marriage contract. (They get a license and marry under the law.)

### Legal and actual relations

#### between the sexes

Engels points out that under the most advanced bourgeois law, for a marriage to be legal, "it must be a contract freely entered into by both partners, and secondly, that also in the married state, both partners must stand on a common footing of equal rights and duties." If both these demands are met, the law has been complied with, and presumably women have all they can ask.

He then proceeds to blast this kind of argument and says that bourgeois jurists consider the contract freely entered into as soon as it is entered on paper. He cites the labor-contract (i.e., union contract) entered into between the bosses and the workers and shows that "the power conferred on the one party by the difference of class position, the pressure thereby brought to bear on the other party—the real economic position of both—that is not the law's business." In other words, equality before the law on paper does not provide equality in life.

"In regard to marriage, the law, even the most advanced," says Engels, "is fully satisfied as soon

as the partners have formally recorded that they are entering into the marriage of their own free consent.

As regards the legal equality of husband and wife in marriage, the position is no better."

The legal inequality of the two partners need not be written on paper because it is bequeathed to us from earlier social conditions. This original inequality did not come about because it was written into law. On the contrary, the early laws flowed from the actual economic oppression of women. Now, as the bourgeois state is wont to do, the laws on marriage have proclaimed equality, but the heritage of the monogamous marriage under capitalism bequeaths the oppression of women.

Engels reminds us that when the monogamous family household lost its public character, it no longer concerned society. It became a private service, and the wife became the head servant excluded from all social production. Only large-scale industry has opened social production to the proletarian wife.

"But," he says, "it was opened in such a manner that if she carries out her duties in the private service for her family, she remains excluded from public production and unable to earn; and if she wants to take part in public production and earn independently, she cannot carry out family duties. The wife's position in the factory is similar to the position of women in all branches of business right up to medicine and the law. The modern individual family is founded on the open or concealed domestic slavery of the wife, and modern society is a mass composed of these individual families as its molecules."

### Lenin: Woman - a domestic slave

On this very question, Lenin, after the Russian revolution, had this to say: "Notwithstanding all the liberating laws that have been passed, woman continues to be a domestic slave, because petty housework crushes, strangles, stultifies and degrades her, chains her to the kitchen and to the nursery, and wastes her labor on barbarously unproductive (our emphasis), petty, nerve-wracking, stultifying and crushing drudgery. The real emancipation of women ... will begin only when a mass struggle is started against this petty domestic economy, or rather when it is transformed on a mass scale into large-scale socialist economy."

Does what has been said heretofore mean that we ought to raise the slogan calling for the abolition of the family? Some students of the question point out that Marx in the Communist Manifesto did just that. Yes, Marx did call for the abolition of the family in the Communist Manifesto. But the call made in the Manifesto was made on the same level as the call for the abolition of wage-labor.

### On the slogan of abolition

#### of the family

The slogan calling for the abolition of wage-labor is a call for the overthrow of the capitalist system. Marx could not possibly have meant the abolition of wage-labor without overthrowing the capitalist system. Any other form of the abolition of wage-labor would either be meaningless or a throwback to feudalism.

The abolition of the family can only be accomplished by the abolition of private property. The abolition of wage-labor is merely the negative side of

the question. It implies its replacement—the socialization of labor, as well as the means of production, and its centralization in the hands of the former wage-working class.

The abolition of the capitalist family—the nuclear family—similarly implies a new and higher form to replace it. Engels explains it as follows: "With the passage of the means of production into common property, the individual family ceases to be the economic unit of society. Private housekeeping is transformed into a social industry. The care and education of the children becomes a public matter. Society takes care of all children equally, irrespective of whether they are born in wedlock or not."

### The coming transformation

#### of monogamy

On the question of monogamy, he says, "the impending social revolution, by transforming at least the far greater part of permanent inheritable wealth—the means of production—into social property, will reduce all this anxiety about inheritance to a minimum. Since monogamy arose from economic causes, will it disappear when these causes disappear?"

To the question, he provides his own answer. "One might not unjustly answer; far from disappearing, it will only begin to be completely realized. For with the conversion of the means of production into social property, wage-labor, the proletariat disappears, and therewith, also, the necessity for a certain statistically calculable number of women to surrender themselves for money. Prostitution disappears; monogamy, instead of declining, finally becomes a reality—for the men as well."

Monogamy will then be finally purged of its antediluvian and anti-social encumbrances. Women will once again, as in primitive times, be able to freely participate in all phases of public life including industry of every kind. But this time it will be on the basis of a new highly organized cooperative social system. For the first time in history, monogamy will really come into its own without its previous heritage.

As De Beauvoir points out, "when we abolish the slavery of half of humanity, together with the whole system of hypocrisy that it implies, then the 'division' of humanity will reveal its genuine significance, and the human couple will find its true form."

Since it is not possible to do away with wage-labor and consequently the bourgeois family without overthrowing the capitalist system, does this imply a renunciation of the struggle to ameliorate the conditions of wage-labor or to improve the lot of the mass of the people who live in bourgeois family units as presently constituted? To pose the question is to answer it.

### Relation of immediate demands

#### to ultimate liberation of women

We must fight in every way possible to improve the conditions of the workers, knowing full well that this in no way changes the fundamental character of the capitalist exploitation of wage-labor. In the same way, we fight for the right of every man and woman to earn a living to maintain the family, and we resist the brutal attempt to dissolve the family by crushing poverty, political and social repression, and the ravages of imperialist war and galloping inflation.

This is part of the struggle for immediate demands under the capitalist system. Hand in hand with these are the many demands that must be raised for women's liberation—and raised particularly by women—despite the fact that women will never be really free as long as capitalism exists.

Such struggles as the right to free divorce, the right to free, full-time day care centers for children—particularly for working mothers—the right of free abortion, the right of equal pay to women for equal work with men, the struggle against the ideology and practice of male supremacy—all these demands and many more are part of the struggle for women's liberation.

And as Lenin said in this connection when calling for the right of free divorce, "Only those who are totally incapable of thinking, only those who are entirely unfamiliar with Marxism will conclude that...freedom of divorce is of no use, that democracy is of no use, that self-determination of nations is of no use. Marxists know...that the more complete freedom of divorce is, the clearer will it be to the woman that the source of her 'domestic slavery' is not the lack of rights, but capitalism. The more democratic the system of government is, the clearer it will be to the workers that the root of evil is not the lack of rights, but capitalism."

"Democracy" is nothing but the proclaiming and exercising of rights that are very little and very conventionally exercised under capitalism. But unless these rights are proclaimed, unless a struggle for immediate rights is waged, unless the masses are educated in the spirit of such a struggle, socialism is impossible."



# New level in Boston struggle to free the Panthers

BOSTON, April 15—A new level of struggle was attained today as thousands trashed Harvard Square in Cambridge chanting "Free Bobby." Today was supposed to be Moratorium Day with the usual ruling-class speakers, but a Bobby Seale Contingent led by banners saying "Free Bobby," "Avenge Fred Hampton" and "Free the N.Y. Panther 21" marched separately to the Boston Common rally site.

Today's action was preceded by a rally yesterday, attended by 7,000, at Post Office Square in support of Bobby Seale and the New Haven Panthers. Among the speakers were Panthers Doug Miranda and Artie Seale. Following the rally, a march to the police headquarters was led by women. Bread and Roses, a women's liberation group in Boston, played a leading role in organizing the day's activities.

The mood on the Common was different from that of Moratorium Day last October. Panther speaker Doug Miranda was cheered by a substantial part of the crowd of over 50,000. Representative James Shea, sponsor of the Massachusetts "Vietnam war bill," tried to open his speech with a phony appeal to revolution and youth culture: he even used the phrase "Power to the people." The mostly young crowd stared back as if to say, "Who's this guy?"

By the rally's end one thing was clear. Bobby Seale was two hours and one dull Mobe rally closer to the electric chair. At dusk, 6,000 struck out for Cambridge behind the YAWF banners in a spirited march. As soon as the crowd got to Harvard Square the bank windows went. Every window of the six banks there was broken and one, the Cambridge Savings, was partially burned.

Certain petty-bourgeois establishments were pretty much untouched but jewelry stores, camera shops, expensive clothing stores and especially the avaricious head shops were all trashed and looted.

The pigs moved in after half an hour. They easily cleared the Square but for the next five hours a political-military

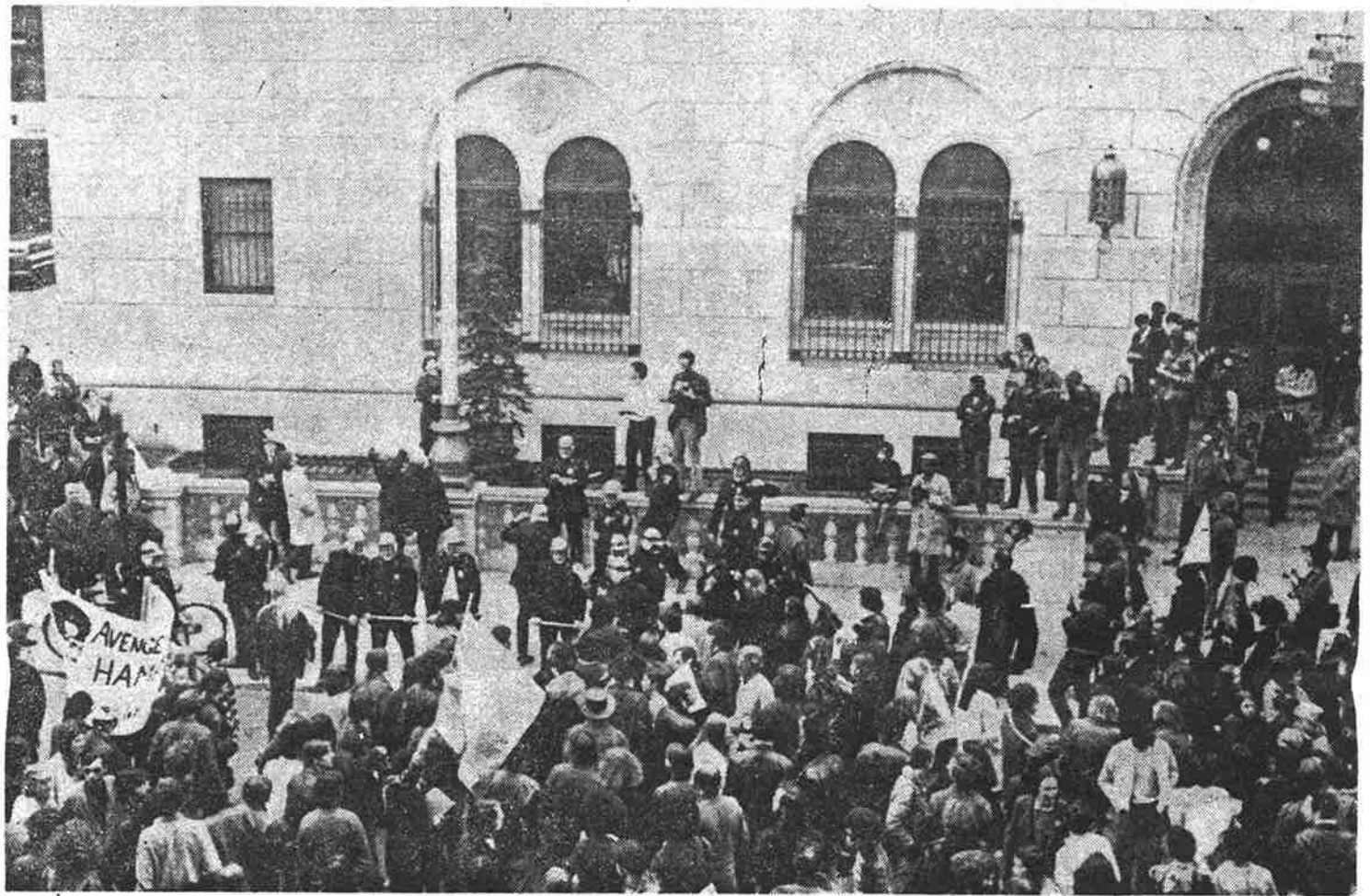
situation ensued. It was political because the roving groups of hundreds, chanting "Free Bobby now!" faced gas, dogs and tactical cops. Many went back to the streets after being treated for gas and clubbing several times. It was military because the masses held entire city blocks, driving the pigs back again and again with bricks and bottles. Two police cars were burned and 20 or so trashed.

The pigs, defeated by the revolution-

ary masses, responded by beating anyone they could find. Two hundred and fifty people were hurt. Fifty-eight cops also got it, including one who got the end of his nose cut off while being pushed through a bank window.

The bourgeois press howled for days (so did their "radical" friends) but refused to acknowledge that the action had been in defense of Bobby Seale. Massachusetts Governor Sargent claimed the battle was a "threat to dissent" and would "turn off the people." The newspapers selectively interviewed Cambridge residents who had lost sleep from the noise of the "riot." They didn't interview residents who had been clubbed or the Black Community which wants an end to the frameup of the Panthers.

This summer will see increasing militancy in the streets as the ruling class continues its plans to send Bobby to the electric chair. Today's struggle here shows that Boston people are ready for it.



BOSTON: Demonstrators besiege police headquarters.

## 2,000 battle Cleve. cops to hit AT&T

CLEVELAND, Ohio, April 15—Over 2,000 youths demonstrated at the National Shareholders Convention of American Telephone and Telegraph Co. at the Public Auditorium to show their opposition to the war-makers and their determination to struggle against imperialism. This action was initiated by Youth Against War & Fascism and organized by the Ad Hoc Committee for Action at AT&T, a coalition of anti-war groups.

What began as a picket line quickly changed to the mobile tactics of confrontation. Well-dressed shareholders were forced to walk through a crowd of protesters to get to the war-planning session in the Auditorium. Not even the Student Mobilization Committee marshals could prevent the youths from gathering at the ramp, where they could see the shareholders and chant "Big firms get rich, GIs die!" as well as jeer at the numerous cops who tried to get them to move along.

The crowning moment came when, under the NLF flag, some demonstrators smashed up a wooden billboard announcing the AT&T meeting and dumped it on the entrance ramp in spite of the SMC marshals. "Two-four-six-eight—We don't want a fascist state!" they chanted. Even the mounted cops failed to break up the hundreds of angry young people who refused to run, took over the street, and forced a stand-off with the cops. The young people showed their determination to stay, and the cops left.

An SMC counter-shareholders rally was supposed to be held in mid-afternoon, but when the anti-war shareholders failed to materialize, the micro-

phone was seized from the SMC leaders, and the demonstrators got their own representatives to speak.

In sharp contrast to the AT&T demonstration, the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council conducted a march and rally to the Public Auditorium under the slogan "Protest is Patriotic." These representatives of the official anti-war movement also carried American flags. The few young people who were present were unaware of the recent battle at AT&T, and none of the speakers even mentioned it although some were there at the time. The only people to put up any fight against the political tone of this rally were militants from the Welfare Rights Organization, who engaged in hand-to-hand combat in order to get their speaker on the platform. Nobody opposed the presence in the audience of a group of men wearing swastikas. Nobody chanted, except an occasional "peace now." "Bring the troops home now" was not even mentioned! Just like the SMC, CAPAC provided almost no anti-war picket signs for the day's events. There were, of course, no arrests.

Eight people were arrested, however, during the AT&T action. It is clear that they are all victims of a political frameup by the police. One man, who is crippled with a broken leg and uses crutches, was nevertheless charged with "assault on a police officer." These arrests were due mainly to the general retreat of the picket marshals during the confrontation. Only the conscious determination of the participants themselves made the struggle a success and deterred a great deal of police violence. At their court appear-

ance, the victims indicated their desire to fight AT&T to the finish by organizing a struggle against police and court repression.

The broad press coverage of the demonstration at AT&T is an indication of the value of militant mass actions that are directed against the class enemy—many people become aware of the opposition to the war machine and gain their understanding of the nature of society. The press barely mentioned the CAPAC march but talked for days about AT&T.

The main political lesson from the struggle on April 15 against the bosses' war is vividly illustrated by the wildcat of the radical youth against the politically conservative SMC leadership. On the one hand, the official anti-war movement has adopted the American flag—symbol of U.S. oppression around the world—as their banner, negotiates with the police during an action, and begs for a permit before they will sponsor a stroll on the streets. On the other hand, the youth are willing to engage in confrontation if necessary to expose the war-makers, to chant to better bring their message to the people, and to take over the streets to demonstrate.

In short, the masses are moving to the left—as seen in the militant actions of the teamsters, the postal workers, and the GE workers against their bosses, of the students in shutting down their schools, and of women organizing against their oppression. But the official anti-war leadership is trying to drag the movement to the right, if only by abstaining from struggle.



# Seattle

## "Free Bobby"

### Brigade



The Free Bobby Brigade marching in Seattle.

SEATTLE, Washington—Federal warrants were issued on April 16 for eight members of the Seattle Liberation Front on charges of conspiracy to incite riot during a February 17 demonstration here protesting the sentencing of the Chicago Conspiracy defendants. Five of those indicted were immediately arrested (the others were being sought) and held under high bail to keep them away from the mass anti-war demonstration planned for the following day as part of the nationwide April 15 activities.

The demonstration on February 17 was one of the most militant in a wave of protests that swept the country after the Conspiracy and their lawyers were sentenced to unbelievably long jail terms for contempt of kangaroo-court proceedings. The Federal Courthouse in Seattle was attacked by angry young people. Paint was thrown and windows broken there as well as in the banks and other businesses in the area. The "dignity" of the courthouse was also attacked as its august chambers got a whiff of teargas provided by some protestors.

Eighty people were arrested at the February demonstration, and three are still in jail, unable to post the high bail set on them.

#### Why Seattle?

It is interesting that the Justice Department has chosen Seattle as the scene of the next conspiracy case. It

was in this city that federal authorities were prevented from staging a raid on the local Black Panther office by the mayor who feared such action might enrage rather than terrify the Black community. (This was shortly after the Fred Hampton—Mark Clark assassinations in Chicago and the five-hour battle between police and Panthers in Los Angeles.) Apparently, the feds in Seattle have decided to go after the white militants instead. The Seattle 8 are Susan Ellen Stern, Michael Justesen, Roger Lippman, Michael Lerner, Joe Kelly, Chip Marshall, Jeff Dowd and Michael Abeles, the last four being veterans of last year's struggle at Cornell University.

The Seattle Liberation Front, a coalition of youth with the aspiration of aiding the revolutionary process, massed 1,000 people in a "Free Bobby Brigade" which assembled separately from the moderate Student Mobilization Committee for the April anti-war demonstration (held in Seattle on April 18). "Bobby" refers to Bobby Seale, jailed Chairman of the Black Panther Party facing a possible death sentence in New Haven. GI helmet liners were worn by a large proportion of the brigade, all with "Free Bobby" written on the front and the SLF symbol on the back. The contingent was led by GIs, including organizers for the American Servicemen's Union.

The Free Bobby Brigade was organized despite the fact that several key people in SLF were arrested for conspiracy the previous day and others were busy getting bail and lawyers for those in jail.

#### Brigade banner on stage

The Brigade assembled at the Federal Courthouse, scene of the heavy protests against the Chicago frame-ups, and was addressed by speakers from various collectives and by Maurice Wade, an active-duty ASU organizer.

When the Free Bobby Brigade and the SMC contingents met, rival chants began. "Free Bobby, off the pig," and "Revolution now" competed with the "Peace now" dirge of the pacifists.

At the "official" rally site, someone on the platform asked Brigade

members with a 20-foot banner reading "Solidarity with Vietnam" to come up on the stage. A fight broke out between SMC marshals who wore pink tags saying "Practice Non-Violence" and the banner bearers. The banner finally went up.

Despite the pacifist talks of the SMC speakers and the presence of the Democratic candidate for senator, the appearance of two of the Conspiracy defendants gave the rally an anti-imperialist tone. Lerner, who had been unexpectedly freed on \$5,000 bail, had to be allowed to speak by the Mobe organizers. Then Chip Marshall, one of the eight who had not yet been caught, had to be given a spot also.

#### A psychedelic wall

A veteran of the Cornell struggle, Marshall told the cheering crowd that Youth Culture was groovy but it wasn't enough and it could be co-opted by the enemy so that someday we might find ourselves being lined up against a psychedelic painted wall to be shot. What is needed, he said, is the revolutionary determination to overthrow the imperialist system. He also stressed widening the base of the revolutionary movement to include young workers through a powerful attack on the Boeing stockholders meeting on April 27 and an assault on the taxes levied against poor people. Several hours after the rally Marshall was arrested.

#### APRIL 15 IN MADISON

### IBM, campus pigs trashed

MADISON, Wisconsin, April 18—As in many other cities, the April anti-war protest here actually consisted of two distinct demonstrations. There was the official peace gathering in Capitol Square and the militants in the streets.

According to the Milwaukee Journal, "The quick hit and run tactics (of the militants) left the police far behind." Demonstrators blocked several intersections with overturned cars and trash cans and dragged debris back into the streets after police had cleared

the intersections.

This group of about 300 had gathered at Madison's Peoples Park on Mifflin Street to rally before marching to Capitol Square. Two plainclothes cops spotted at the Park were driven away with rocks and chains.

Staying at the official rally briefly the militants then moved into the streets, breaking windows in the IBM building, the Army Math Research Center and the Security Headquarters of University of Wisconsin campus police.



Some of the 300 Milwaukee people protesting the Vietnam war and repression of the Black Panther Party during the April 15 demonstration. Other signs read, "Nixon's the One—the Number 1 War Criminal" and "Avenge Fred Hampton."



# **What is needed in New Haven: A call for a People's Assembly to free the Panthers — NOW!**

The pigs murdered Fred Hampton in his bed; they murdered Mark Clark and little Bobby Hutton; Huey is in prison and Elbridge was hounded out of the country by racist dogs. The time to stop them is NOW!

They've taken the New York Panther 21, the New Haven 9, the sisters and brothers in Chicago, Los Angeles, Jersey City and everywhere that the Black Panther Party has raised the standard of Black liberation and thrown them into concentration camps in true Hitlerite fashion.

Now they want to go all the way and execute the Chairman of the Black Panther Party as a symbol of terror against the whole Black liberation struggle from coast to coast. Millions of people have awakened with indignation, outrage and hatred for the Nazi-like atrocities and have come to realize that the hour of decision in New Haven is approaching. The time to free the Panthers is NOW!

The war of extermination against the heroic Black Panther Party by the Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell Administration is of national and international significance. It is of the gravest concern to the 25 million Black people and to the people everywhere who oppose racism and support the Black liberation struggle.

Bobby Seale might have been kidnapped in any town in the U.S.; Panthers have been

which it was constituted--freeing the Panthers NOW--and it should function continuously until its objective is achieved.

The PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY will in fact have derived its authority from the popular will of the millions of people throughout the

# **FREE**



in any town in the U.S.; Panthers have been framed up all across the country; the hour of decision in the struggle for the existence of the Panther Party is coming in New Haven. There can be no valid local restriction upon the struggle; it is the duty of everyone everywhere to do their utmost to see that the Panthers in New Haven are freed. Mere ceremonial demonstrations, even large ones, have their time and place. However, the burning need of the hour is to establish in New Haven a popular organ of the people which will do what is needed NOW! This PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY will in fact represent the millions across the country who really want to see the infamous, racist frameup ended. The PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY should be so constituted as to have the broad confidence of the masses so that it can effectively counteract the conspiratorial clique of racist, imperialist usurpers who masquerade as the representatives of the people in New Haven but who are persecuting, in a fascist manner, true representatives of the people, such as the Black Panthers.

What is needed in order to insure that we do not witness another protest followed by an execution—as in the cases of Sacco-Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs, et al.—is for the movement to immediately establish in New Haven a center which would become a magnet to draw thousands upon thousands of people from all over the country. By their overwhelming presence they could exert great power and influence in New Haven to see that this outrageous frameup is ended—NOW!

A broad coalition of groups firmly united on one common objective—on the willingness, determination and ability to see that the legal lynching of the Panthers is stopped now—should convoke a PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY. This would let the New Haven pig structure know that the people aren't going to permit a frameup. The ASSEMBLY would summon the people together to deliberate upon measures to achieve the objective for

have derived its authority from the popular will of the millions of people throughout the country and the world who share its convictions. The ASSEMBLY will be in sharp contrast to the reactionary clique of New Haven conspirators, the cops, courts and politicians who do the dirty work for the exploiters.

The PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY will have the confidence of the millions because it will function publicly and democratically in order to carry out the will of the people who don't want to leave the Panthers to the tender mercies of the Ku Klux Klan in black robes and pig uniforms. Again, this will be in contrast to the racist authorities who are widely discredited among the people. It is they who have connived and conspired with the Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell forces behind the backs of the people to carry out the racist frameup of the Panthers. They secretly plotted to tear to shreds the democratic rights of the people.

The PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY will take vigorous measures to countermand and undo the illegal, unconstitutional assaults upon the Black Panther Party. By their direct participation, all who attend the ASSEMBLY will in fact be delegates for the millions who want the Panthers free. It will be a legitimate authority precisely because it seeks to reverse the illegitimate measures by which the police and the courts conspired to illegally transport (kidnap) Bobby Seale from San Francisco without a warrant; to illegally extradite him into the waiting arms of the New Haven racists who were known in advance to be bent upon the destruction of the Panthers; to indict the New Haven Panthers through an illegally constituted grand jury that was handpicked by the local sheriff from his own pack of cronies.

Participation in the PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY should be based upon one criterion and only one—the genuine will to devote all energies and resources to see to it that this frameup is ended NOW!

Let us call the people together in New

Haven and stay there, STAY THERE, STAY THERE for as long as it takes and do whatever is necessary to free the Panthers. No more genocide, no more lynchings, no more frameups, no more Panthers in jail!

BUILD THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY!  
BUILD THE PEOPLE'S POWER!  
SEIZE THE TIME NOW!

# A proposal to the movement by Youth Against War & Fascism

May 1, 1970

58 West 25th St.

New York, N.Y. 10010

Tel: 242-9225, 675-2520



# Ironclad solidarity in a truckers' mass wildcat

By TED DOSTAL

The truck drivers in Cleveland, Toledo, Akron, Chicago, Los Angeles and many Midwest cities have put on one of the greatest displays of workers' solidarity ever seen in recent years. They have been on strike against their bosses since April 1, in defiance of the union leadership, and have withstood pressure from all sides for over three weeks. The strikers refuse to accept the wage increase of \$1.10 per hour for the next three-year period plus a \$4.00 per week raise in contributions to the Teamsters' welfare fund (this was already agreed to by the international officers of the union).

When this agreement had been consummated in Washington on April 1, the Chicago drivers—50,000 strong—immediately refused to accept the package because it really is too little money. And since the Chicago locals have in the past negotiated their own agreements, they felt they should refuse this package and get a better contract. (In 1967, the Chicago drivers also refused the national package and forced a 15¢ raise at that time, a raise that was then negotiated for all the over-the-road drivers.) Drivers in many cities immediately followed the lead of the Chicago drivers and hit the bricks. Those in Akron, Cleveland, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Los Angeles, St. Louis and many other cities closed things down pretty tight.

In the face of this rank-and-file defiance, the union bureaucracy immediately proceeded to put the pressure on to end the strikes. Mass meetings of workers were called and in many of the cities drivers were pressured into returning to work. But not so in Chicago, Cleveland, Akron, Los Angeles, Toledo and maybe many other places. (The press conspired to keep all strike news localized so drivers would not see their true strength.) Drivers in Chicago, by their very determination, won 55¢ in addition to the wage package for three years, and an additional \$6.00 per week on the welfare fund for about 10,000 of the 50,000 drivers in the Chicago area. The remainder were locked out and shortly thereafter also forced to strike.

## Injunctions can't move the trucks

Cleveland drivers went to a mass meeting, 3,000 strong, where only six voted to go back to work as demanded by union leaders. In Akron the same thing happened. At these meetings the strikers refused to vote by secret ballot, fearing some shenanigans in the offing.

Since these gimmicks didn't get the rebelling workers back to work, many other schemes were tried against them. The courts were called upon to

issue an injunction against picketing. This a loyal judge did immediately, and it was one of the most sweeping ever seen. He ruled that since this was an illegal strike, he had the right to restrict picketing on such a broad scale that he had to admit he couldn't have done it if it were a legal strike. But this piece of paper failed to move the trucks. So, the head of the Ohio Teamsters, Mr. Presser, thought of the great idea to deputize Teamsters as "protectors" of those drivers who may want to go to work and scab. That move also had no effect on the strikers, and also did not help the scabs, and so class justice still prevailed.

Then the mayor and the president of Cleveland City Council also got into the act. They proposed some sort of negotiations compromise if the workers would first go back on the job. These politicians were treated the same as any other faker who would try to bust their strike. Seven hundred workers practically booed them off the platform for their audacity in thinking that the workers would fall for any such plan. And then the same Mr. Presser suggested that the National Guard of the State of Ohio should be called to get the trucks moving. So the governor, the head of the National Guard, the head of the City Safety division, and the mayor got together. They decided that this hot potato should be left alone until it cooled. AND STILL NO TRUCKS WERE MOVING. One here and there would try but that did not last long. No drivers have been arrested for violation of the injunction. Truly the ruling class is a bit afraid of the situation—it fears even to unleash the police against these daring fighters.

## Strikebusting techniques fall flat

In the meantime, the striking drivers were perfecting their organization. They sent a committee to Washington, demanding of the Teamster leadership that it renegotiate the contract to include more pay in the agreement. And they also began going to the local welfare department, demanding relief for their families. And this created another crisis—in the welfare department. County welfare was strained to the hilt to meet the demands but did not dare say no to the driver applicants.

And they continued to keep up the pressure on their local union leadership. Led by their wives, many of the drivers marched down the main street

of Cleveland, more than 500 strong, and then marched to the union hall to demand that the leaders come out and explain themselves. But the "leaders" were nowhere to be seen. They could not face the wrath of the fighting drivers.

Thinking that threats of firing would force the workers back on the job, the bosses decided that they could pull something by sending telegrams to individuals informing them that they would have to report for work or be fired. Workers in many instances showed up on the job but demanded protection all day, not only for themselves but for their families. This request was of course denied, so nobody drove trucks anywhere as usual.

After three weeks of this strike, many industries, being dependent on trucking, had to close down. Many businesses were adversely affected, and many workers have been laid off and forced onto the unemployment rolls. Over 20,000 workers have been laid off and certainly as many more are affected indirectly, all because of the obstinacy of the trucking bosses and their lackies in the union bureaucracy.

To add ammunition to the bosses' arsenal of strikebusting techniques and to play into the hands of the union bureaucracy, an adventurist ultra-leftist organization distributed its literature at one of the huge meetings of the rank-and-file truck drivers. They were initially ignored by the workers, but Mr. Presser seized this grand opportunity to smear the strikers with a dripping red brush, charging that hard-core reds were running the strike. But fortunately red-baiting failed to divide or intimidate those in the struggle. All were justifiably angered at these imposters who played so easily into the hands of the enemies of the strikers.

This massive demonstration of workers' power, solidarity and determination against all the forces of the bureaucracy, the courts, the government and the politicians is an indication of the rising rebellion in the ranks of the working class. Following so closely on the heels of the postal workers' strike, there is no doubt that it will serve as an inspiration to other workers whose struggles lie ahead with the expiration of their contracts. It will indeed serve notice on the ruling class that the American workers are not so weak and will not be pushed around at will.



Angry teamsters protest sellout proposed settlement at union headquarters.

## "I'm no scab" and clenched fist in Chicago

CHICAGO, April 22—Today marks the second week of a strike by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters fighting for higher wages. The workers are united and determined to win against the big truck bosses. Three years ago by going out on strike, the truck drivers here in Chicago forced the firms to give them a higher settlement than the national settlement. Walkouts and wildcat strikes, then and now, have indicated the militant mood of the workers and their refusal to accept their leadership sellouts.

Because of the unity of the truck drivers, the trucking firms that do have contracts must put large red signs in the truck windows, which indicate a wage settlement. One is struck by the class consciousness of the truck drivers when one notices the great number of trucks with this sign in the front window reading, "I'm

no SCAB."

In an apparent attempt to end the strike, the Illinois Chamber of Commerce has called on strikebreaker Nixon to impose the anti-labor Taft-Hartley law, which calls for a forced 80 day cooling off period and federal mediation. Probably remembering the tactics Nixon used against the postal workers, these big businessmen expect the same—call out the Army. There would be no need for this to happen if the trucking firms paid the drivers a suitable wage to compensate for runaway inflation.

In another week the strike will influence many other businesses, and many thousands of workers may be without jobs. In this highly exploitive society, the power of the working class is clear to the bosses and the rank and file truck drivers are raising a clenched fist of unity against the bosses and sellout national leadership.

## Expanding Empire

by Vincent Copeland

The global war drive  
of big business and  
the forces that will  
stop it

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**YAWF**

# Fascist frameup in Buffalo



pigs off campus  
crush racism  
stop ROTC  
arson riot assault  
conspiracy

The heaviest charges to come down in the repression at Buffalo University have been on Dan Bentivogli, 21, who faces over 20 years on 15 charges (giving him the dubious distinction of being the white revolutionary facing the most time in this country), and Kevin Blackford, who faces over 10 years on seven charges.

Dan is chairman of Buffalo Youth Against War & Fascism; Kevin is a 17-year-old Black member of YAWF who has been active in the campus and high school struggles. They were both charged with riot, felonious assault, conspiracy and criminal mischief on March 17 and were then rearrested a week later when another two counts of criminal mischief and inciting to riot were tacked on. In addition, Bentivogli has been arrested three other times in the last few months and charged with criminal solicitation, conspiracy, arson, burglary, criminal mischief, riot and criminal tampering. He was also arrested for contempt of court (violating an injunction banning dem-

onstrations on campus) and sentenced to thirty days.

Dan and Kevin have been singled out because they have continued to help organize and lead the thousands of Buffalo students who have been involved in the struggle against the racism and militarism of the University. The pigs, including the chief pig Rockefeller, and the University authorities have worked out a plan to behead the leadership, and that is why they have heaped charge upon charge against those who have given the most consistently militant political guidance to the struggle.

The arrests of Buffalo students have been carried out in Gestapo fashion. Armed with a grand jury indictment, the pigs came to Dan's home at 3:00 a.m. last month. At Dan's arraignment, Kevin Blackford was arrested in the audience on the same charges. They hope with these terror tactics to demoralize the movement. The Buffalo pigs are in so tight with the right-wing that two years ago known Minutemen accompanied federal marshals and city police in the

arrest of draft resisters in a church sanctuary.

Another indicted individual is Don Sherman, a GI who was in Buffalo to speak to the students about the struggles of the American Servicemen's Union. There was an anti-ROTC demonstration that night, and Sherman was arrested a few days later and charged with criminal solicitation, conspiracy, arson and possession of weapons. The "evidence" against him and several others arrested on the same charges consists of the story of a fink employed by the sheriff's department.

These brothers can't be allowed to rot in jail! They are political prisoners whose "crimes" consist of organizing into a cohesive force the mass discontent with the imperialist war in Vietnam and with the blatant racism of the Establishment. The cops can't put everybody who fights this system in jail; there aren't enough cells. So they try to pick off the most effective leaders. Kevin, Dan and the other Buffalo defendants must be set free!

# "Military Out!"

"Drive the military off campus" has been a central issue in the Buffalo struggle. The arrests of Dan Bentivogli, Kevin Blackford, Don Sherman and the others arise mainly from demonstrations against ROTC and Project Themis, a Navy-sponsored research program in undersea warfare.

The military-industrial complex is what Buffalo, New York, is all about. Steel, auto, electric, chemicals and aircraft are the basic industries. The same people who run the city have their representatives on the board of trustees of the University. The Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the State University is Mrs. Maurice Moore, director of, among other companies, General Dynamics which gets over \$30 million a year in Navy orders.

How interesting that Project Themis is a Navy program!

Other trustees are directors of the biggest banks — Chemical, Manufacturers Traders & Trust, First National City, Marine Midland Trust. The influence of the Rockefellers is very strong in most of the companies these people represent. Their connections with the war industries and its financiers are organic and undeniable. Infighting against the ROTC program, therefore, the students have taken on the biggest capitalist interests.

Project Themis is probably the most-trashed building on a college campus. As a matter of fact, it was the target of several militant demonstrations last year when it wasn't even a build-

ing yet—just a hole in the ground and some construction sheds. The sheds were torn down by a crowd of hundreds of angry students after the conviction of one of the Buffalo Nine, a case involving draft resisters.

ROTC has seen its share of the students' anger at being used to turn American and Vietnamese youth into cannonfodder. Last October 15, Moratorium Day, a large rally in downtown Buffalo was followed by a march to the campus. A crowd of about 200 demonstrated at the Department of Aerospace Studies, demanding that the ROTC program be abolished. The militancy was high, and before the demonstration was over, a trophy case was smashed and the ROTC trophies painted red, files and recruiting posters had been taken outside and burned, the walls were painted with slogans, and furniture and file cabinets in the ROTC administrative offices left in a shambles.

Twenty indictments followed this demonstration. To some, the vindictiveness of the authorities in pinning felonies on students for a mass demonstration may have come as a shock. However, those who understood how deadly serious the ruling class is about perpetuating its sacred military institutions were not surprised. The bosses who try to bury the Vietnamese people under a mound of TNT, napalm and white phosphorus can be trusted to act like despots at home too when they feel threatened.



# On Strike!

An invasion of cops onto the campus in mid-February triggered a struggle that culminated in the University being closed down completely and the pigs driven physically off campus.

The issue that started the struggle was racism. The Black athletes boycotted a basketball game, demanding fair treatment from the University; when support for their demands spread to other students, the police tried to stamp it out by invading the Student Union and breaking up a meeting in progress.

As the pigs emerged from the building, however, they found themselves surrounded by several thousand fed-up students. A three-hour battle followed, with the students throwing whatever came to hand—ice, snow, rocks, bottles. At the end, it was ten pigs and two students in the hospital.

When more police were sent in the next day to subdue the campus, the news of the police

brutality in the Student Union arrests had spread and an angry mood prevailed. Two thousand students trashed the administration building and the offices of the campus police.

As the demonstration moved across the campus, all the hated symbols of repression and militarism became targets of the students' anger. At Project Themis a generator was blown up and a truck burned.

That day belonged to the students. The pigs, who had been sent in to crack heads, found themselves surrounded and outnumbered ten to one. One group of about 55 campus and city cops was spotted near the gymnasium and backed clean across the campus. ("We gracefully and very rapidly got out," alibied one police lieutenant to the press.)

Another group of 100 tactical police and sheriff's deputies were surrounded by several thousand booing students. Twice they tried to

move onto campus, and twice they were run off. By that night, the campus was liberated.

An end to racism, militarism and "pigs off the campus" became the issues as the struggle developed. After the students' temporary victory over the police, the Administration used the injunction, suspensions, indictments and even blatant frameups to try and break the movement.

"Left, right, on strike, power to the people" was the students' reply as they organized new tactics to meet the situation—snake dances that could move demonstrators quickly from one area to another; a student strike that closed down the campus; a Women's Caucus that united the various factions in militant actions.

The struggle and repression that has followed are forging a new political consciousness for many in Buffalo: an awareness of the enemy, who he is and how to fight him.







# Mass jailing of faculty

Forty-five members of the faculty at the State University at Buffalo have been sentenced to 30 days in jail for contempt of court. It isn't often that professors are committed to "putting their bodies on the line." It is an indication of how deep the struggle in Buffalo has gone.

The forty-five sat in at the office of UB president Martin Meyerson. Their action was in protest against a court injunction that had banned all political activities on campus—a move taken by the school administration to try and crush the student strike then in progress.

The action of the court in sentencing the 45 (sentence was suspended 90 days pending appeal) has brought further protest and involved new support for the struggle. A noted professor of sociology, Dr. Friedenbergh, has resigned over the jail terms, and the American Association of University Professors has gone on record in support of the 45.

# A billion dollars

A billion dollars is at stake. That's why the repression is coming down more heavily in Buffalo than at any other university campus in the country. That's why leaders of the struggle against racism and militarism at Buffalo, Black and white, face such long jail terms and harsh penalties.

Actually, a billion dollars is just the immediate price tag on the Buffalo struggle. That's the estimated cost of the new Amherst campus—a building program that will make the State University at Buffalo the Berkeley of the East. For students, this means the biggest campus east of the Mississippi. For the real estate interests in Buffalo and the banks that are behind them (read ROCKEFELLER), it's the biggest bonanza to come their way in the history of this steel city.

No wonder Rockefeller, the "liberal," is acting like Reagan, the fascist, in brutally repressing the movement in Buffalo. A few months ago, the students had converted Buffalo into a pig-free campus. They physically drove the cops off campus in mass demonstrations. But today, after massive arrests of students and faculty members, the Buffalo campus is like a police state. The cops feel free to make arrests right in the Student Union, and the place is patrolled like a concentration camp.

The Amherst campus is one factor. But there are lots more reasons for the ruling class being so intransigent in Buffalo. One is the dynamic of the Black struggle. Buffalo has a large Black population, and this year of recession means

conditions in the ghetto are going to be worse than ever, with wholesale layoffs in the steel and auto plants adding to the already explosive mass of unemployed.

The other is that the industrialists and bankers are haunted by the potential alliance between the students and the Buffalo working class. Last year, there was a brief moment when this alliance surfaced in the South Buffalo Railway Strike. The rail workers, faced with an injunction, called on the students to man the picket lines. For several weeks, the youth were out there for every shift change, braving zero temperatures to prove their solidarity.

Buffalo is a tough city. The reaction hit it hard during the witchhunts, driving the militants out of the plants. It's a strategic city, manufacturing the things that the military and industry need. When the tens of thousands of students start to pour into the new campus in a few years, the bosses want to be sure that the experience of the South Buffalo Railway isn't duplicated on a mammoth scale.

Buffalo needs the help of the movement. As Dan Bentivogli, a leader of the campus struggle who now faces over 20 years in jail, wryly puts it, "Buffalo is in the vanguard of the repression." Students are being dragged out of their homes in the middle of the night on new warrants provided by the grand jury, which continues to think up more charges. Even 46 faculty members have been sentenced to 30-day jail terms for contempt for their support of the student struggle.





# The Black struggle and Martin Sostre

The repression hit the Black community of Buffalo in 1967, when Martin Sostre, the proprietor of the Afro-Asian Bookshop, and his assistant Geraldine Robinson were arrested. The store had served the community with books and pamphlets from Africa, Cuba, Vietnam and China, as well as the publications of the Black nationalist movements here. When the Buffalo Black community rebelled in June of 1967 as part of the uprisings that swept the nation at that time, Sostre's bookstore was kept under obvious and constant police surveillance, nearly destroyed by firemen and then closed for good when the police staged a phony "drug" raid.

Today, Martin Sostre is in a New York State prison serving a 41-year sentence (only Ahmed Evans, facing the electric chair, has received a stiffer sentence). But his inspiration lives on in the community. He edits from jail the newspaper Black News, and the youth who were still in grammar school when Martin was arrested have demonstrated again and again in his support. Geraldine Robinson, his co-worker and the mother of five children, is also in jail on a lesser sentence.

Sostre's name has become a rallying cry in

the Black community because he has continued to struggle from his jail cell. In addition to putting out a newspaper, he has instituted a suit against Rockefeller and the jail authorities charging that solitary confinement is "cruel and unusual punishment." Sostre was held in solitary for over a year after his arrest.

Everything was done by the Buffalo pigs to make the case of Martin Sostre a warning to any future Black militants. Sostre was gagged and bound at his trial when, as Bobby Seale was to do just a year later, he demanded the right to defend himself. The jury was all-white, in a city that has a large Black community. Sostre was shipped out of Buffalo within hours of the sentencing and immediately put into solitary.

But today the meaning of Sostre's struggle is appreciated and emulated in the Black community as never before. Particularly among the high school youth, a new fighting spirit has arisen. Far from being intimidated, the youth have taken militant actions including a wave of strikes this winter when high school after high school was shut down after a white teacher beat a student.

The Black Action Movement (BAM) wrote to

Martin in prison. BAM is an organization of high school students that has been barred from any activity in the schools by a court injunction. But BAM can't be gotten rid of that easily by the pigs because BAM is the high school students. Their letter to Sostre shows how the Buffalo youth feel about the man who risked everything to bring them revolutionary ideas:

"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.

"...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."



Martin Sostre



Geraldine Robinson

## Martin Sostre in Court

50¢

Edited by Bob McCubbin

This pamphlet contains Martin Sostre's testimony at his trial as well as his comments to the courtroom spectators. Sostre's highly political exposure of his frame-up is available, along with his Letters from Prison, from the Martin Sostre Defense Committee, P.O. Box 382, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, New York 14205

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



# The Earth Day Hoax and Mr. Hickel

By V. COPELAND

## EARTH DAY

The biggest polluters in history are trying to get the masses of the United States interested in the subject of pollution. Why? To restore health and beauty to a planet which they, the corporations, have pillaged? No!

They're doing it to take the people's minds off the imperialist wars abroad and the imperialist repressions at home. They're doing it to make the people think "We're all in this thing together." And that's a LIE.

Earth Day was an attempt to unite the whole population, that is, unite the two irreconcilable classes—get the oppressed together with their oppressors (with the oppressors still on top, of course) into a campaign against what is supposed to be the common enemy. It was in reality a diversionary attempt to make the masses forget who the enemy really is!

The ruling class is not remotely serious about preserving the atmosphere, restoring the wilderness and beautifying the globe. These may seem to be realizable goals even under this corrupt system. But they are not. The accompanying story about the U.S. Secretary of the Interior, the most powerful figure imaginable in any conservation campaign under the present capitalist system, should make this point abundantly clear.

\* \* \*

## MR. HICKEL

Earth Day. Don't buy detergents. Get a new automobile (with your small change) and bury it in the ground. Sweep the sidewalk with special brooms handed out by the public spirited multi-million dollar corporations. (Hand back the brooms at the end of the day.) Listen to the warmakers and polluters tell you that you're to blame for it, but YOU can turn it all around. Don't pollute; don't procreate; it's all up to YOU.

Yeah?

Before Earth Day was over, Walter J. Hickel, U.S. Secretary of the Interior, announced that he was definitely going to issue a permit for an 800-mile oil pipeline across the whole of Alaska, in spite of the two-and-a-half-year agitation against it by the whole conservationist and ecological fraternity who just wrote the script for Earth Day.

Ecologists have proved over and over again that this pipeline would not only interfere with the wildlife by warming up the snows and streams in the area, but might change the ecology in unexpected ways and interfere with life on the whole planet.

## Bananas and billions

But the ecologists didn't seem to understand that it's one thing to preach about banana peels on the sidewalk and it's quite another to interfere with what Mr. Hickel says is "the largest private construction project ever undertaken in the history of man."

The pipeline, its offshoot refineries, petro-chemical plants and other components would revolutionize the Alaskan economy, he said. Postponement of the project, especially the 375-mile road needed to service it (which the whole U.S. will pay for), could ruin a number of businessmen, he added. (The number must be all of fifty.)

Furthermore, big construction companies have already invested a lot of money in equipment up there. A local company has procured 244 giant tractors which are now sitting outside Fairbanks. And altogether, \$50 million worth of equipment has been moved north of the Yukon with a lot more on the way. And something must be done about that—must it not?

So you've had your Earth Day, and you've picked

up the banana peels. And you've vowed to restore the balance of nature too and save the whole green earth from pollution. But how are you going to do it, when the very man most responsible for stopping pollution, the man who is in direct charge of hundreds of thousands of square miles of government land, presumably your land, is an outright creature of the oil companies, the worst polluters on the face of the earth? (That is, not counting their corpse-creating servants in the top ranks of the army and navy and the whole police force.)

## Oil wells and reindeer

Ecologists, sincere as well as fake, and all the stage managers of Earth Day too are well aware that Hickel's motto as Governor of Alaska was "More oil wells and less reindeer" and that even when he was being considered for his present post, he defined conservation as "one tree looking at another." He did not even bother to cover up his design to keep on plundering the country's resources for big business.

"Help Yourself Hickel," as he was called in Alaska, openly told the senators who had to confirm him that "Conservation should not conflict with industrial progress," meaning, of course, the oil companies' and other big polluters' progress in amassing profits. "And," he said, "water pollution policies should not conflict" with corporations' policies too much either. (This may explain why Alaska was one of seven states whose anti-pollution programs for water were not okayed by the government up until that time.)

The Senate received about 150,000 letters objecting to his confirmation—the greatest number in the case of a Cabinet officer in the whole of U.S. history.

## Right qualifications

And yet he got the job.

What tremendous qualification could he have had that would override the opinions of so many conservationists and cause the senators to overlook his own statements?

He had exactly the qualifications he said he had—that he subordinated conservation to the interests of big business.

However, other men could do that too. He had a very special qualification beyond this. The big business he subordinated the whole country to was not necessarily the 500 Largest U.S. Corporations. No, it was an even more intimate circle than that.

The man who got him the job, who in fact insisted on his getting the job and told Nixon that he had better put him in the job, was chief Republican campaign contributor, billionaire Robert O. Anderson, chairman and leading stockholder of the Atlantic Richfield Oil Company.

Atlantic Richfield is the company which made the main oil strike on the north slope in Alaska on July 18, 1967, when Hickel was still governor of that state.

## Loyal to his bosses

At that time, Hickel had already made several important accommodations for the company together with other oil companies. He had appointed oil company executives to command the state's natural resources. He had sacrificed the Indians' and the Eskimos' interests (who are 20 per cent of the present population and are guaranteed certain very important rights by treaty) to the big fisheries and the oil predators.

But before the real green light could be given for the super-colossal exploitation of the north slope, either Congress or the U.S. Department of the Interior had to give permission because this is all government or Indian land.

So the willing governor was made Secretary of the Interior!

A short summary of his known activities as governor gives more of a breakdown of his qualifications.

First, his campaign to be governor.

When, in 1922, the Sinclair Oil Company bribed Secretary of the Interior Albert K. Fall to get leases on government-owned Teapot Dome oil lands in the West, they gave the Secretary \$100,000. But the oil companies gave Hickel \$400,000 just for his gubernatorial campaign. Atlantic Richfield, by the way, now owns the relatively small Sinclair outfit and is paying bribes on a far, far higher—and safer—scale.

## Million dollar plumbing

Hickel himself was in the gas, oil and construction business along with the hotel business. His plumbing company got a million dollar sub-contract for work at the Anchorage Airport while he was governor. His, of course, was not the low bid.

Obviously a man with vision.

As governor, he ignored a public highway construction bond issue of \$1 million and used the money to make a winter trail to the north slope for the oil companies.

He had to investigate the complaint that the Collier Carbon Company was dumping 3.5 tons of ammonia into Cook Inlet every day. At the end of the investigation his hand-picked committee announced: "Ammonia is good for the salmon."

He cheated the Indians and the Eskimos in order to give the corporations completely illegal rights.

Now as Secretary of the Interior he is robbing the Eskimos wholesale, taking away the last remnants of their birthright and ruining the land in the process.

## Eskimo protest

An Eskimo leader named Charles Edwardson went to Washington to see Hickel early in 1969 and after getting no satisfaction whatsoever, told the press:

"The north slope of Alaska contains 58 million acres.... The Eskimo has been hunting and fishing on this land for hundreds of years. Then the white man wants to come along and take it because of the oil."

"Twenty years ago the Bureau of Indian Affairs (under the Department of the Interior) sent a real estate man up here to tell the natives that they should file for mineral rights. But the Bureau didn't supply the man with any money for travel so he couldn't get around to tell the natives of their rights. As a result, out of the total 58 million acres on the north slope, the Eskimo staked out only a few hundred. Yet we hunted here before Leif Ericson knew how to row."

"The white man makes a killing; then he leaves. They'll take it the way they took gold and there'll be nothing left. In Nome there were 45,000 inhabitants



No, not Mr. Hickel but Robert O. Anderson, the real Secretary of the Interior

in 1910. Now there are 2,500. It's the worst slum in the Arctic."

Apparently Charles Edwardson knew a great deal more about ecology and conservation than did Walter Hickel, the businessman's protector of natural resources and the most important figure of Earth Day. But nobody proposed him for Secretary of the Interior.

Hickel is supposed to have "learned" a great deal since he has been wheeling and dealing in Washington and been "humbled" by the task before him. Like the "New Nixon." But his final approval of the Alaska pipeline deal, regardless of what "provisions" he makes for conservation, just shows that he is doing exactly what the major polluters want him to do.

## The real secretary

As for Robert O. Anderson, the individual power behind the Interior throne, and in fact the real Secretary, he had, of course, to share the new multi-billion bonanza in Alaska with his fellow cutthroats and rivals in the Standard Oil Empire. A recent Business Week story says that he counts David Rockefeller among his friends. (Anderson himself is a Texas man, who incidentally makes \$50 million a year from the cattle business alone and has the largest ranch owned by any private individual: one million acres.)

The liberal Nelson Rockefeller opposes Nixon on integration, education—and conservation. But the Rockefeller family's business goes hand in hand with the anti-conservationists in backing the Secretaryship of a man who is even worse than Nixon himself, if that is possible.

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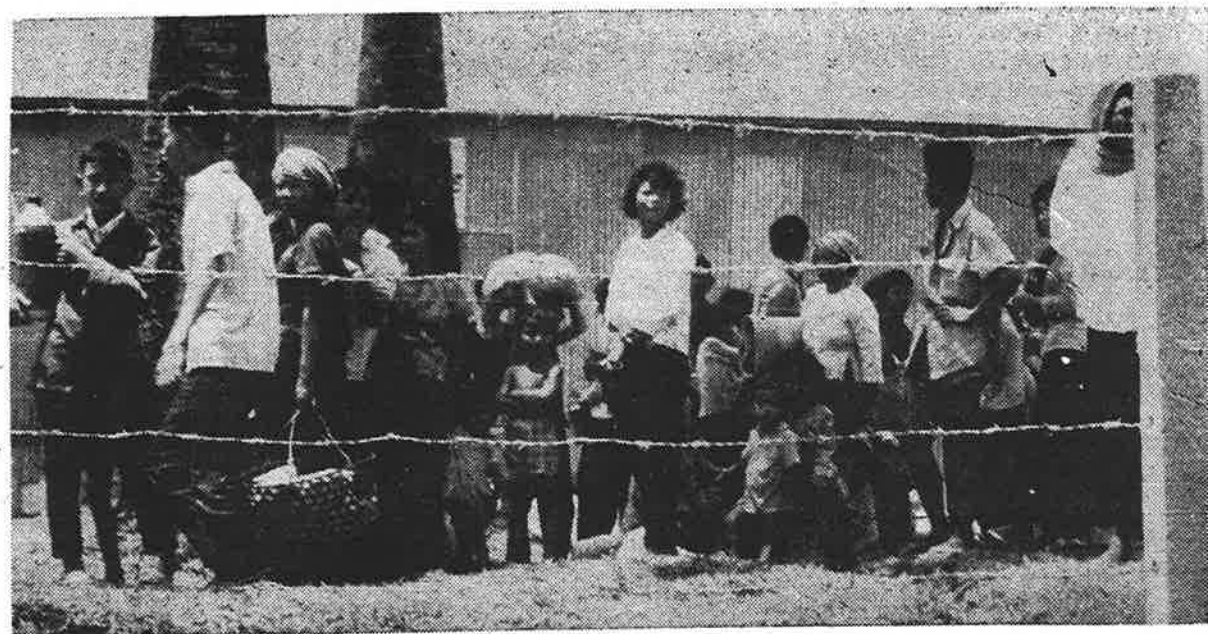
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# Cambodia massacre: stamp of the CIA

By P. MEISNER

"It's a real question mark whether the Cambodian army could make effective use of large quantities of U.S. arms unless U.S. military advisers went with the arms."

The Pentagon statement quoted above cuts through much of the diplomatic smokescreen set up by the Nixon Administration on U.S. policy in Cambodia. These words are almost reminiscent of statements made in Washington at the beginning of the war in Vietnam some nine years ago.

The first "controversy" in the Nixon Cabinet was whether to send arms to the new CIA-installed Cambodian regime. The White House stated that the U.S. would send only captured Soviet-made rifles to the Cambodian military. Within a few days the Pentagon was sending over American-made rifles. The Pentagon had already made Washington's escalation plans quite clear.

## Nixon lies about a "neutral" Cambodia

But the lies spilling out of Nixon's mouth still include, incredible as it sounds, Nixon's "desire" to maintain a neutral Cambodia—at a time when the Cambodian puppets are massacring Vietnamese civilians and are continuing to assist U.S. and Saigon troops against NLF forces. However, the Pentagon is more open about U.S. imperialist plans in Cambodia and told the press exactly what it thinks about a "neutral" Cambodia:

"We've given a lot of blood and treasure to save South Vietnam. Now, with just a little more, we could get Cambodia to be our ally."

The "blood and treasure" the imperialist generals are referring to is, of course, not their own but the blood of American GIs and the tax dollars of the American people. The Nixon Administration has also quietly served notice to its liberal opponents in Congress that it would not ask for Congressional approval of any decision to expand the war into Cambodia. In fact, the Administration and the "liberal" Fulbright Senate committee have already worked out a deal behind the backs of the American people. According to the

New York Times of April 23:

"Senator J. W. Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, told reporters on April 2 after a four-hour closed-door session on Indochina that Secretary of State William P. Rogers had given assurances that the Administration would 'consult' but not necessarily seek the approval of the committee before any decision was made to extend military aid to Cambodia."

## Cambodian coup, a CIA conspiracy

Following Nixon's cue to portray the neo-fascist Lon Nol military clique as neutralist, the U.S. imperialist press has flooded its newspapers with articles denying that the U.S., and mainly the CIA, had any role in overthrowing the Sihanouk government. But the ransacking of the NLF offices in Phnompenh just days before the coup already gave away the CIA conspiracy to install a pro-U.S. puppet regime. CIA-paid hooligans actually held up placards in front of U.S. press photographers with slogans written in English—in a country where absolutely no English is spoken!

It is also worth noting that Senator Mansfield, a moderately liberal opponent of the Nixon Administration's Vietnam war policy, had been as close to Sihanouk as he had been with Diem, the puppet installed and later executed and replaced by the CIA and the Pentagon. One of the first pronouncements of the new military regime was the denunciation of Sihanouk, Sukarno and Diem!—almost as if ghost-written by the CIA.

## Vietnamese civilians massacred

Also carrying the CIA-Pentagon trademark were the massacres of Vietnamese civilians living in Cambodia just after the right-wing coup. Similar massacres were carried out in Indonesia just after the 1965 CIA-organized military coup d'etat. The rivers of blood left by the CIA seem to follow every pro-U.S. reactionary coup, whether in Brazil, Indonesia, or Cambodia.

But the military strategy of U.S. imperialism behind the Cambodian coup, that is, the expansion of the war into any area where sanctuaries exist for the Vietnamese liberation forces, has backfired into provoking the greatest united Indochinese resistance movement since the French imperialists were driven out of the Indochina peninsula. The Lon Nol paper "government" hardly has any control of Cambodia outside of the capital, Phnompenh, as a result of mass resistance throughout the countryside by the Khmer Liberation forces. In Kompong Cham city, even Lon Nol's brother, Hin Nil, the city's police commissioner, was killed by Khmer revolutionaries during a mass street demonstration.

## "Indochinese People's United Front"

On April 21, Truong Chinh, head of North Vietnam's National Assembly, stated at a celebration of Lenin's centennial birthday that the people of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia had formed an "Indochinese People's United Front." Le Duan, First Secretary of the Vietnam Workers Party said:

"In order to defend sacred national rights, the peoples of the brotherly countries of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos will carry on the struggle against the common enemy, the American imperialists, and by strengthening their cohesion they will tighten their ranks in order to undermine decisively the adventuristic plans of aggression in Indochina. The peoples of three countries will undoubtedly be victorious."

With the Cambodian coup the Nixon Administration had hoped for quick military victories over South Vietnam's National Liberation Front forces on the premise that the loss of the Cambodian sanctuary would be a fatal handicap. However, the logic of revolution in Southeast Asia has prevailed over the blueprints for imperialist counterrevolution on that continent. The Lon Nol military puppets will soon be overwhelmed by the Cambodian peasants and workers and U.S. imperialism will be forced into battle with a united front of Cambodians, Laotians and Vietnamese—which spells defeat for the warhawks in Washington and Wall Street.

# The day the liberals "forgot" to protest U.S. arms to Greek fascists

What has Czechoslovakia to do with exposing U.S. hypocrisy on the question of opposing the fascist junta that now rules Greece?

Simply this: that the U.S. stepped up the arms "aid" to the Greek fascists by 50 per cent right after the Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia in August, 1968, and not a single bourgeois organ, liberal or reactionary, made one critical peep about the matter.

On April 17 of this year, however, the New York Times revealed for the first time that the Pentagon is now giving double the amount of military aid it was authorized by Congress to give. (Congress authorized \$24,498,000 in weapons, etc., and the Pentagon is delivering about \$48,000,000 worth.)

The exposé also brought out that the Pentagon was doing the same thing with respect to the Chiang Kai-shek clique on Taiwan and the militarist cabals

in South Korea and Turkey.

The very same exposé added blandly that "Following the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Soviet-bloc armies in August, 1968, the United States temporarily lifted the Greek embargo as it sought to encourage the allied countries to build up their defenses."

And about this there was no criticism at all.

The casual assurance that all readers were of course in agreement with the necessity of arming fascists against Communists should tell volumes about bourgeois democracy itself as well as about the true "democratic" attitude toward Greek fascism. And of course it tells much about what class Dubcek and the Czechoslovak "rebels" really served.

The torture of Greek progressive and Communist prisoners does not really bother the imperialist liberals, any more than last week's release of

the distinguished leftist musical composer, Theodorakis, along with 300 other political prisoners, really delights them. They only criticize the Pentagon for tactical reasons (as they criticize the conduct of the Vietnam war). And even if the criticism reaches to the crescendo of a crisis, which it is far from doing in this case, it still has nothing to do with really fighting fascism.

The liberal Times observed on Sunday, April 19, that the European countries were more opposed to the Greek junta than was the United States government. (The paper did not explain that this was because the class-conscious European workers are so aroused against the junta.) It commented sadly that:

"Such steps toward isolating Greece in Europe have made American support even more vital for the regime.... Be-

cause of Greece's strategic value as a staunch NATO ally, the United States has limited its pressures for a return to democracy to subtle nudges."

The semi-editorial ended by stating with inappropriate sarcasm: "Regime officials say that when the time is ripe, when the mentality of the 8 million Greeks is changed, when political chaos no longer threatens, Greeks will again be allowed to go to the polls. But they say elections are a long way off, a statement everybody believes."

By democracy, the Times means the return of the king and his anti-labor prime minister, Karamanlis, with the present fascist junta leading the army as before, but subordinate to the bourgeois parliament.

If and when the Greek masses establish their own democracy, whether or not with the help of the Soviet-bloc countries, the Times and all the rest of the liberal Establishment will be screaming at the Pentagon to send more guns faster and shoot down the promoters of "political chaos" more efficiently.

This is a fair conclusion from their attitude on military aid to Greece during the Czechoslovak crisis, even if we knew nothing about their hatred of the oppressed or their mortal fear of communism and workers' rule.



MAY 1, 1970



the people and land has been exposed as a totally bankrupt program. In 1968 unemployment in Trinidad-Tobago was 14 per cent—today it has nearly doubled.

Events in Trinidad have been building toward rebellion for years. What the bourgeois press here refers to as the "Black Power" movement has, in fact, included East Indian workers (many of whom were on strike against the sugar plantation owners at the time), students, civil service workers, oil field workers and unemployed workers. Demonstrations, rallies and marches of up to 20,000 have been mounting for weeks. One march through the sugar belt, heavily populated by East Indian workers, was organized to show "unity with our black Indian brothers." What began with protests over the trial of 10 West Indian students in Montreal last year has turned into a mass, largely proletarian uprising against the continued domination of the political and economic life of the islands by U.S. imperialism and its British underlings.

### Workers unite against imperialism

One of the most significant achievements of the revolt has been the amazing degree of class solidarity manifested in the cooperation of many diverse parts of the population which is made up of approximately 46 per cent Blacks, 36 per cent East Indians and smaller numbers of Chinese and Syrians. This coalition has been achieved in spite of over 100 years of British indoctrination and division of the population of nearly one million along racial lines.

Government officials moved quickly to arrest the four principal leaders of the revolt—Geddes Granger, chairman of the National Joint Action Committee, a coalition of militant groups; Clive Nunez, an official of the Transport Workers Union; George Weeks, chairman of the Oil Field Workers Union, and Chan Maharaj, an East Indian leader of the National Freedom Organization. In the course of the uprising, crowds of people vented their anger against U.S. imperialism by attacking a branch of Chase Manhattan Bank and Singer Sewing Machine Co. in Port of Spain.

Under pressure of the revolt, Prime Minister Williams was forced to accede to some of the demands of the rebel soldiers in negotiations. Whatever the outcome of the events, however, whether there is a compromise or even a setback for the revolutionary forces, Trinidad will never be the same. The struggle has raised the possibility of revolt; it has posed the question of mass sentiment against colonial domination (raising the demand for nationalization) in which the Williams government is an accomplice and has prepared the way for struggles in the future.

## Rebellion in parasites' paradise

BY NAOMI COHEN

Nowadays, the ads exhort us to fly down to the sunny Caribbean, stay in plush hotels, lie on the white sand beaches. And in each case the image of a widely grinning "native" waiting to greet us is conjured up. The uprising in Trinidad, which began April 21 and resulted in 4 killed, with an unknown number of soldiers in open mutiny, should have cracked this grotesque caricature which U.S. imperialism has etched to cover over its basic role as the new slave master of the West Indian people. Six U.S. warships, 2,000 Marines and a plane-load of arms hastily dispatched to the island "paradise" spoke volumes about the "interests" of U.S. imperialism in the Caribbean.

Underneath all the attempts of the capitalist press to dismiss the revolt as simply a series of anti-white demonstrations, was the unmistakable mark of an anti-colonial, liberation struggle. The rebellion was rooted in the unemployment of over 25 per cent of the people and the estimated "underemployment" of 25 per cent more. Indignation boiled over against the white slaver attitudes of the foreign bosses and tourists who exploit and degrade the population. And the people exploded over the sellout by local leaders of the country's rich resources to foreign investors.

The system of chattel slavery in the British West Indies outgrew its

usefulness for the British Empire in the beginning of the 19th century as capitalism and industry developed. The slaves were officially freed at the beginning of the 1830's, but only after several million were kidnapped from the shores of Africa between 1562 and the time of emancipation. Slavery in the West Indies did not end there, however. The developing capitalist class just needed a new kind of slavery—wage slavery.

As soon as the Africans were freed, the British began to import East Indians to work in the fields and factories. Almost 150,000 were brought to the West Indies between 1833 and 1917. The old British imperialist trick of setting one nationality against another was carefully transplanted to the New World.

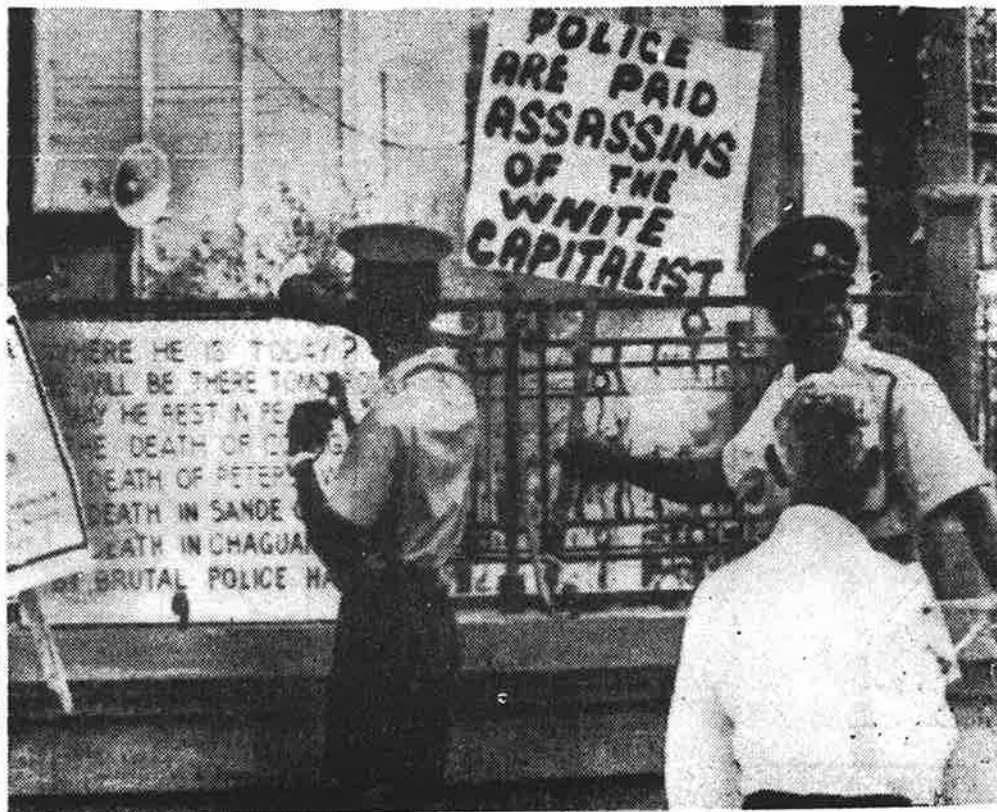
It is against the background of 270 years of chattel slavery and 130 years of colonial oppression that the uprising must be viewed. Political independence for Trinidad-Tobago in 1962 in no way freed the islands from foreign domination. In recent years the only shift has been a lessening of British influence in favor of huge U.S. investments.

In November, 1968 Pan American Oil Co., a subsidiary of Standard Oil Co. (Indiana) announced the discovery of a vast natural gas deposit off the south-east coast of Trinidad. This find, it

was immediately suggested, could be the basis for synthetic fibers, fertilizers, plastics and many other industries. The largest U.S. investor in Trinidad is Texaco Oil which has huge producing and refining facilities there. Of course, tourism and gambling make up a great deal of the income of all the Caribbean islands. U.S. hotels and casinos dot the islands. In Jamaica, Anaconda Co., Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp. and Reynolds Metals Co. spent over \$175 million to build an aluminum plant in 1966.

### Foreign investment and unemployment

Trinidad's leaders have persisted in the policy of granting tax exemptions and great economic concessions to foreign capital. In the Bahamas, Prime Minister Pindling went so far as to promote a "friendship campaign" to encourage the Bahamians to be nicer to the white tourists. It seems the people were tired of being insulted, stared at and exploited. But in spite of the flow of Yankee dollars to the Caribbean, the position of the people is steadily worsening. The policy of encouraging imperialist exploitation of



## INDONESIA

### The second greatest crime of the century

By Deirdre Griswold

75cents 96 pages

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

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# Book Review

## Another lynching in Arcadia

ARCADIA, by Mark Lane  
Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York, \$6.95

The ancient Greek land of Arcadia, celebrated by poets for its harmony, innocence and idyllic simplicity, is not the subject of this book.

The Arcadia Mark Lane writes about is in Florida. Its grade schools are still segregated; its only movie-house closed down when Black Arcadians demanded to be seated; its only public cafe bears the sign: "This is a Privately Owned Business....We Reserve The Right to Seat Our Patrons or Deny Service to Anyone. Any Person Creating a Disturbance on These Premises After Being Denied Service Will be Prosecuted."

Lane says in summing up his chapter on the town, "It might be unfair to say of Arcadia that its major industry is mental illness, its history is marked with constant community rejection and violence, its cancer is almost total Black degradation, and many of its white residents have guns. Unfortunately, it would not be that unfair."

Two Black residents of Arcadia, on October 25, 1967, were picking fruit on one of the large orchards near the town. They were James and Annie Mae Richardson, who picked fruit for a living during the season. At noon they received a message that one of their seven children was ill. Full of apprehension, they left work together, were taken to the Arcadia General Hospital, and found that six of their children were dead. The seventh died early the next morning. All children had been well when the parents left for work at 6:30 in the morning. Shortly after their noon meal, all had suffered convulsions, severe abdominal cramps and coma. One by one, they died.

The cause of death was found to be poisoning from very powerful insecticide, parathion.

National news magazines covered the funeral, as did the television and radio networks. A great deal of publicity was given to Sheriff Frank Cline, who investigated the tragedy, and who, incidentally, was running for reelection that year. Two days after the funeral Sheriff Cline charged James Richardson with seven counts of murder in the first degree—with having murdered his own children. Arcadia's Police Chief Barnard said, "There just is no case against that man." But Sheriff Cline made a case, and he knew the kind of passions that could easily be aroused in a white Florida jury. He knew the kind of opinions expressed by one of the jurors might well be that of any of the others: "Well, somebody killed those children. And niggers are all liars anyway."

On the evening before the children died an insurance salesman had tried to sell life insurance to James Richardson for his whole family. (Anyone familiar with ghetto life knows that insurance salesmen haunt the ghettos and find them a rich source of sales. Fear of catastrophe, with no cash on hand to meet it, makes the poor vulnerable to the smooth talk of insurance salesmen, who arrange for weekly or monthly payments.) But James Richardson, on this occasion, asked the salesman to return next week, for he had no money and his family would have to remain uncovered by insurance for a while longer. Sheriff Cline ignored this simple fact in his charge and asserted that Richardson's motive for the murders was greed—that he had hoped to collect insurance on each of his seven children. In the trial that followed the insurance salesman was never called on to testify!

Three cell-mates of Richardson were set to testify that they heard him say in jail he was guilty of the murders. They were all in debt in one way or another to Sheriff Cline. The third one, in fact, did not testify at all, since he had been killed in a barroom brawl between

the time he was freed and the time of the trial, but his testimony was given by a deputy with never an objection from the judge!

The neighbor who had given the children their lunch on the day they died and who had helped to find the bag of parathion in an out-house was never called on to testify. (Mark Lane later discovered that she had been accused of poisoning her second husband, that she had a grievance against the Richardsons, and that the prosecution probably did not feel she would make a very creditable witness for their side.)

Without one shred of direct evidence having been presented during the entire trial, the jury took ninety minutes to find James Richardson guilty of murder in the first degree. He now sits in Death Row in the Arcadia jail awaiting execution in the electric chair.

When Lane learned the appalling facts about this case, he spent eight months interviewing over 150 people in Florida and reported on his findings in this book. Told with simplicity and great clarity, it is a moving document. Mr. Lane, who is himself a member of the bar, and author of the famous book "Rush to Judgment," is able to throw light on the ways of lawmen in court—on their subterfuges, their artful twists and dodges and their behind-the-scenes deals.

When a murder involving a rich or well-known public figure breaks into the news, the whole world follows and remembers its every detail. But when a poor Black fruit-picker in a small Southern town is accused of murder, even such a sensational one as this, his case is soon forgotten.

America's jails—both north and south—are filled with forgotten James Richardsons, not all of them accused of murder, but most of them unable to answer their accusers and all of them prejudged because of their poverty or the color of their skins.

— ELIZABETH ROSS

### PROTEST MARKS ANNIVERSARY OF GREEK FASCIST COUP



300 demonstrate near mission of U.S.-backed Greek fascist government in protest organized by Demokratia

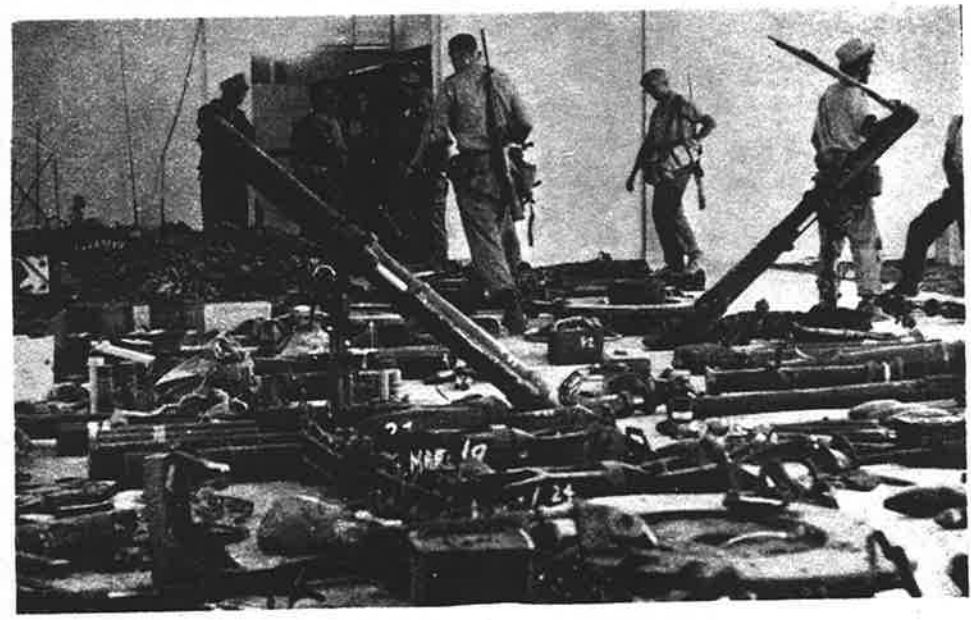
### Cuba hunts down CIA-trained invaders

While the attention of the world's people was riveted upon events in Cambodia, U.S. imperialism dispatched a group of armed mercenaries against the Republic of Cuba. On April 19, at least 40 counter-revolutionaries landed in the mountainous region of Baracoa in Oriente Province. They were equipped with U.S.-made plastique explosives and automatic weapons.

At a funeral held for five soldiers who were killed by the invaders, Fidel Castro stated that the purpose of the attack was "part of the imperialist plans to hinder and make difficult the sugar harvest." The Cuban Premier also said that Nixon has given the Pentagon the responsibility for organizing anti-Cuba provocations and invasions. John Hugh Crimmins, formerly an officer in Military Intelligence Service of

the U.S. Army and now with the CIA, has been working out of Santo Domingo, Rio de Janeiro and Miami as coordinator for subversion against Cuba and was undoubtedly overseeing the activities of Alfa 66, the organization that claimed credit for the invasion.

Since the Bay of Pigs attack in 1961, there have been over twelve landings on the island by American-trained Cuban mercenaries. Apparently the Cuban people have run out of patience with Wall Street's efforts to "liberate" their country for the American sugar companies. Fidel said that this time there will be no exchange of traitors for tractors. "The invaders will be turned over to the revolutionary courts and then sent before the firing squad," he stated.



U.S.-made weapons captured by Cuba during the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961

### Today Vietnam, TOMORROW KOREA?

an interview with  
**KIM IL SUNG**

President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

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