

*Black and white. unite and fight for a*

# WORKERS WORLD

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## Editorial

## Suggested US-USSR "peace force" a betrayal

The Nixon Administration has proposed that a "peace-keeping" force of U.S. and Soviet troops patrol in the Middle East to enforce a settlement there. This was revealed in a closed-door briefing of editors and publishers by an undisclosed White House spokesman.

What does this mean for the embattled Arab people, and what is its significance for opponents of U.S. imperialism inside this country?

First of all, it is clear that Washington got the agreement of the Soviet leadership to such a proposal before "running it up the flagpole." There has been no subsequent Soviet rejection of the plan.

The force, according to the U.S., would only be used "with the consent of the Arabs and Israelis." It is hard to imagine such a thing happening. But that's not the point. The mere proposal that U.S. and Soviet troops cooperate in a Middle East force is a terrible betrayal of the Palestinians and the revolutionaries of the world.

It is a "police" measure one could expect from the imperialist butchers in Washington. But the collaboration of the leaders of the USSR is

what gives it such a shocking aspect of sellout.

Seen in a global context, it would mean military cooperation between a socialist country and the butchers of My Lai, the invaders of Cambodia, in short, the most counter-revolutionary general staff in the world.

But in addition, the U.S. motive for seeking a "peace settlement" in the Middle East to begin with is to preserve the status quo—that is, a political and military climate where U.S. corporations can go on extracting vital and vast profits in the Middle East, principally from oil.

What role would Soviet troops play in preserving such a peace, enforcing the imperialist status quo, except to be a disciplinary force against the revolutionary commando groups and even the "moderate" Arab regimes?

That is certainly why the U.S. proposes such an arrangement, and it would be a stab in the back of the whole Arab people for the Soviet leaders to become accomplices to it. Furthermore, any "police force" to impose a settlement in the Middle East would not only be in opposition to the revolutionary Arab masses but would also be against the interests

of the Soviet Union itself.

"War is politics by other means," but so are peace negotiations, too. When the U.S. pushes for a "settlement" in the Middle East, it is to further its political, that is imperialist, goals.

Bourgeois press analysts are already pointing out that the UN Security Council Resolution on which the present peace talks are based does not call for Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territories. They mention Jerusalem, the Golan Heights and Sharm el Sheik as occupied areas Israel will not give up. And, as a subtle hint of where Washington stands on this question, articles in the press here are already beginning to speak of "Cairo and Jerusalem" when referring to Egypt and Israel, instead of "Cairo and Tel Aviv."

Any international "police force" that would enforce this state of affairs would simply shove the 1967 war down the throat of the Arab people while binding them hand and foot to the "peace" table.

Fortunately for the world revolution, it simply will not work.

## A TRIP WITH JESUS

by Elizabeth Ross

"Gimme that old-time religion," the song began.

"It was good enough for Jesus  
And it's good enough for me."

But if that old-time religion meant an unadorned church, with a droning parson reading from the "good book" and the congregation alternately napping and singing hymns, it never was good enough. Not good enough, that is, to pack them in the way the parsons, priests and rabbis wanted them packed in. There always had to be plenty of trimmings.

In rural America the nineteenth century strawberry festivals and church bazaars were the trimmings. And they gave way in this century to bingo games, and to the antics of high-paid clowns like Billy Sunday, Aimee Semple McPherson and Billy Graham. But all that isn't good enough either, it seems. There are still too many people, the church fathers say, who spend Saturday night in a bar and Sunday morning in bed instead of attending religious services.

Some reverends wonder if they mightn't have done better by emulating the Catholic Church, with its awesome rituals and gilded pageantry. But that

takes a lot of money and centuries of experience. And anyway, "good" Catholics, too, have begun to tire of the old show and are hankering after something newer and more exciting.

But now the problem may be near to a solution.

Robert E. L. Masters, a former philosophy teacher, and Jean Houston, who received her doctorate in philosophy of religion at Columbia University, "using psychedelic sounds, lights, pictures and other devices have concluded that ordinary people can have profound religious experiences like those of the great Eastern and Western mystics..." and that these delightful trips could "become a normal part of American church life."

Mr. Masters and Miss Houston used to get these same effects with LSD (which might be unacceptable to most churches), but now that the drug is no longer available legally they have hit upon several much cheaper and more acceptable devices such as:

"... a metal swing or pendulum that suspends normal contact with the physical world and where the individual experiences vivid dream-like fantasies. This has been nicknamed the 'witch's cradle' after the reported witches' practice of suspending themselves from trees in bags when 'traveling' to the Devil's sabat." (New York Times, 8/26/70)

What a blessing such devices might be for enterprising churches of whatever denomination! Their congregations could have the combined joys of "profound religious experience" and Black Magic all on the same day. Wouldn't such a prospect jerk them out of bed on a Sunday morning? And it

might even keep them out of the bar on Saturday night, too, because they'd be getting the same kind of fun in the House of the Lord as they formerly got in some "den of iniquity".

Churchmen tremble when they hear Marx's famous maxim "Religion is the opium of the people," because they know that if enough people believe it, it's all up with the church. But in recent years a new fear assails them. Competition from the drug trade could also put them out of business. And their fear could be expressed in a new maxim "Opium is the religion of the people."

However, if Masters' and Houston's psychedelic devices really work, competition from the rival stuff will be a thing of the past, and pipe dreams will come free and easy—on Sunday mornings, anyhow.

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Carl Hampton, Chairman of Peoples Party II, a black revolutionary group with platform and program similar to the Black Panther Party, was assassinated by Houston Police snipers on July 26.

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# Right On with the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention!

Why did the Philadelphia police—armed with shotguns and submachineguns, and protected by bullet-proof vests—shoot their way into three Black Panther headquarters in that city on August 31?

They did it because the Panthers were preparing a Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention in the "city of brotherly love" to be held less than a week later. They did it because they wanted to prevent the Black people from ruling their own lives and determining their own destiny. They did it because the ruling class of Philadelphia

everything he wanted in the way of more repressive force.

Rizzo initiated a curfew in Black neighborhoods (the city is over 40 per cent Black) several years ago, conducted raids against youths whose only offense was to distribute leaflets; he put his men in black leather jackets, drilled them against Black revolutionaries and inculcated and encouraged openly racist attitudes. And his policies are the official policies of the City of Philadelphia.

The Black Panthers are resisting this totalitarian overthrow of democracy and opposing this threat to the lives of Black people. The Black Panthers are fighting fascism in Philadelphia, as well as trying to establish Black Freedom there.

## Fascist police chief

So Rizzo calls the Panthers "fanatics—psychopaths—imbeciles" and on one occasion, "yellow (!) dogs."

To the cheers of the capitalist press, he announced after the raids: "We're cancelling days off. We're going to be loaded and ready for bear." But with a note of defensive uncertainty, the triple-armed gauleiter added, "They've named the game and it's going to be a rough game."

He is a racist, but he is inclined to treat revolutionaries of all colors with equal ferocity. He calls the workers of underground Free Press of Philadelphia "creeps" and "the most dangerous people in the community."

Where the police chief is so open in his hates, the higher officials are seldom far behind. The respectable judges of the town—only Rizzos with black robes and university degrees—are trying to finish the job the police have begun.

They set bail at \$100,000 on each of the 14 Panthers who were seized. This is the same bail as that set on the Panthers framed in New York City on phony charges of conspiracy to commit mayhem and in effect, mass murder. But the charges on the Philadelphia 14 is essentially that they defended themselves against the police and the bail is the same!

The 14, like the New York 21 did nothing at all—and less than nothing, compared to the crime of the cops who unconstitutionally broke into three of their headquarters.

Judge Weinrott, who set the bail, said repeatedly that he believed in "preventive medicine," thus telling the world that he knew there was no crime, and that actual crime had nothing to do with the matter, nor did constitutional rights apply where battlers for the oppressed were concerned.

Furthermore, Philadelphia's Mayor Tate, presiding over this city of two million, endorsed Rizzo's demand for continuation of the "emergency" rule that it is a crime for 12 people to gather for any street meeting or rally—in the Black neighborhoods.

## They want to destroy the convention

Is it possible to go "higher up" in the democratic apparatus to get such fascist rules reversed? If it is, than Pennsylvania Governor Shafer and New Jersey Governor Cahill don't know about it.

Mayor Tate called upon them to strengthen "security measures" at arsenals and armories in their states. And they seem to have agreed. This is supposedly to prevent the people from seizing the arms (that the people themselves paid for) in those places. But it is actually an alert to use these weapons against the people as they always have been used.

The purpose of the police terror in general is of course to break the will of the oppressed. But the purpose of doing these things at this particular moment is to intimidate the people from attending the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention on September 5 through 7 this week.

We feel confident in predicting a strong turnout for the Convention at Temple University Gym. From fascist cop to racist Governor—and President, of course—they are all helpless to stop the march of the people's struggle, which is irresistible.

As Zayd Shakur, Deputy Minister of Information for the Panthers in New York declared: "We will hold the convention even if we have to hold it in the streets!"

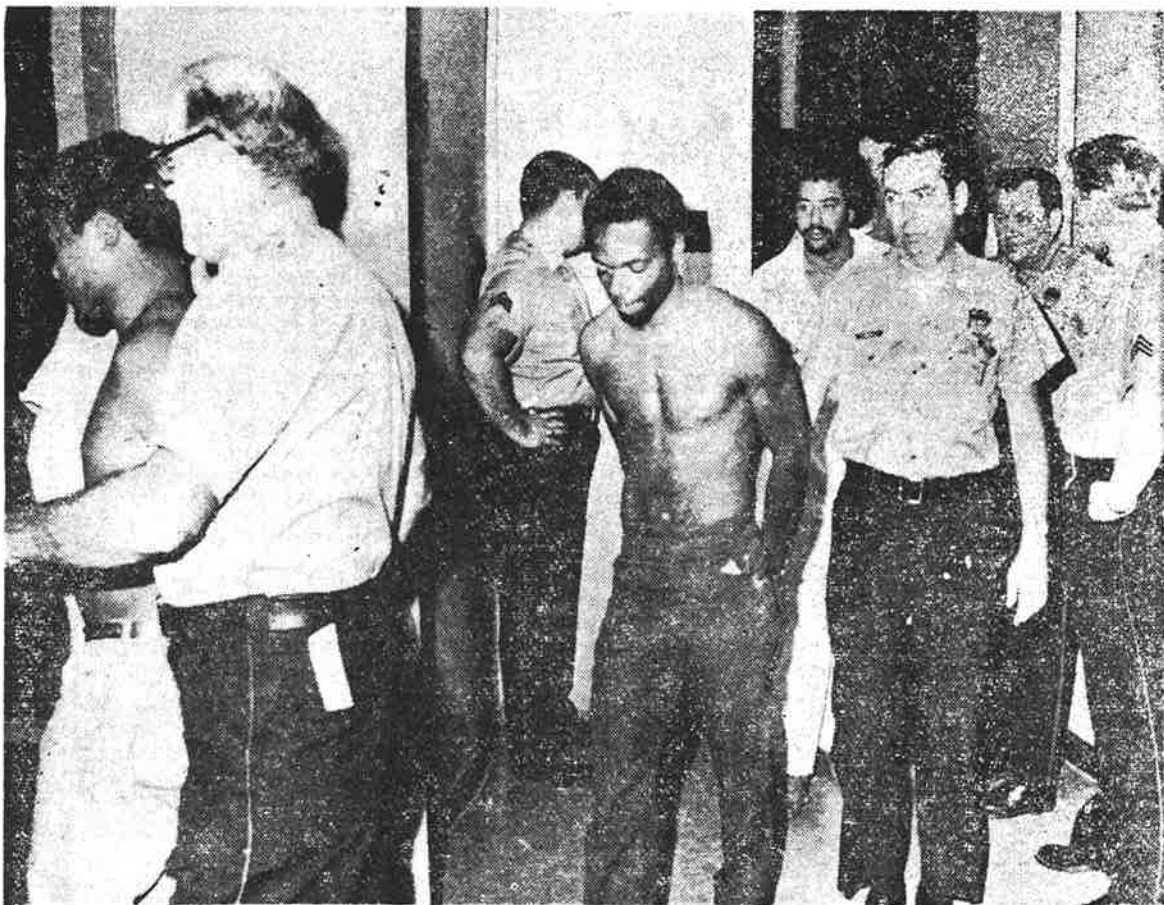
## Phila. raids on Panthers won't stop People's Convention

and the ruling class of the United States wanted them to do it.

They took 14 men and women from the Panther offices to be locked up in Philadelphia's prisons for no crime but the crime of defending themselves when they were purposely provoked to do just that. And the cops created a hysteria where there was only latent racism before; they created wild fear where there was ignorance before.

The ruling class used a force carefully groomed for this fascist role over the last ten years and more.

Take Police Commissioner Frank L. Rizzo. He is a vulgar, bullying, loud-mouthed, vicious, fascist thug. But the gentlemanly rulers of Philadelphia are proud of him. They have kept him at his trade for years and given him



Panther prisoners in Philadelphia.

## Remember the Panther 21 Trial! IT BEGINS SEPT. 8



At 100 Centre St. New York



# Huey Newton on Liberation and Black Nationalism

—plus a bold proposal  
to FIGHT IN VIETNAM!



NEW HAVEN, Conn. (LNS)—The following interview was conducted by John Bancroft and David Fenton of Liberation News Service on Aug. 21 in New Haven. Huey had just spent the day in court; he watched the close of the Lonnie McCluskey trial, and met with Bobby Seale for the first time in three years. Charles Garry, Huey's lawyer, was also present. (We print excerpts below.)

\* \* \* \* \*

LNS: There's so many trials coming up in September—the Panther 21 trial, the rest of the New Haven cases—and you go to court for a setting for a trial date. I wonder how you think we should relate to so many trials at one time?

HUEY: It's going to become more and more difficult to relate to the court system and the trials at all. I think that right now we're at a turning point and that in the very near future we won't need to have that type of educational thing—it will be on a higher level. And what level that is I think the people will decide. I think that the Marin courthouse event, a colossal event, was some indication of what might happen in the future.

LNS: On a recent radio broadcast, you spoke about the New World Liberation Front. Could you explain what this is all about?

HUEY: The New World Liberation Front will really be a new International. It will be a coalition of many groups within this country—many ethnic groups. The Black Panther Party will be a caucus within a broader front. The NWLF will represent all struggling people throughout the world. Actually, it's already been launched through the conference that was held in Korea.

LNS: The one that's going on right now?

HUEY: Yes, so we have high hopes that this will be a structure that will be able to construct a viable revolutionary movement.

LNS: This is actually going to be a formal kind of group, one that you think is going to encompass all different kinds of revolutionary people in the United States? Is it going to be a formal organization?

HUEY: Oh, yes. Right. It's already being structured. In a few more weeks—our embassy opens in Algiers in two weeks—I'm going to try and go for that. I don't know if they'll renew my passport. But there's no restrictions on me. There's no legal reason for them not renewing it. But right after that we can deal with putting the New World Liberation Front together. Because we will have a center for it.

LNS: What would you say has changed most from when you got into jail till when you got out?

HUEY: The consciousness of the people has really increased. People generally are much more aware. The younger kids—high school kids—I think they are nearly the most revolutionary class at this time. It's really impressive because I can see the difference between, say, just 33 months ago and now. I probably can see it clearer than somebody who's been out. Because when I was out I knew what was happening, and then I was absent, and now, suddenly, I can see the big leap—which wasn't a leap really; perhaps you saw the transformation as a very gradual thing—but it seemed to me like one giant leap forward, you know.

LNS: Do you think there's a revolutionary potential for youth culture, or do you think that it is a kind of sidetrack?

HUEY: Well, I think that the drug culture and the drop-out movement is in a transitional stage. I think that the youth will drop out and then they'll

start dropping in again after they see they can't find any peace by separating. I think that the youth movement at this time is another manifestation of the separatist idea that many black nationalists preached just a few years ago. The youth drug culture is another manifestation of this—you know, like "we'll get out of the whole thing."

But we're starting to find out that we can't separate, because imperialism won't allow us to separate. Imperialism won't allow developing countries some 10 or 15,000 miles away to live in peace, and they're already separated even on a geographical level. If imperialism won't let those countries be free 15,000 miles away, it surely won't let a group of people right here in North America separate.

We won't find any salvation until we're rid of the small ruling clique within this country. Then there won't be any need to separate at all anyway—matter of fact the whole concept of nationalism will be settled.

Right now the Black Panther Party supports all nationalist wars of independence, because we feel that these countries haven't exploited any one, and they are nationalistic on a self-defense basis. They have a right to independence. But we view them as no more than liberated territory or a base to operate from in order to destroy imperialism.

After imperialism is destroyed, then there won't be any need for nationalism, so we won't support it. At this point we take a stand that we think that blacks within this country have a moral right to separate. The revolutionary nationalist idea is a moral thing. After so many years of abuse we have a right to do this. On the other hand I feel, the Party feels, that history has bestowed an obligation upon us. And that obligation is to transform the whole society, and as a matter of fact, the whole world.

Because if this society is moved, then the whole world will be transformed. While we have a moral right I don't think the political strategy is correct. Because if we don't serve as the vanguard in this transformation, then someone else will. So the Party accepts this role as the vanguard—not with any arrogance, but we feel that history has bestowed this task upon us. In many ways, it's a natural thing that Black Americans are the vanguard of the revolution. Because our history was destroyed. We were kidnapped from the Mother Country, brought here, and our national attitude was destroyed by slavery.

The people are looking for salvation not from the past really but always to the future. So we're progressive by necessity—a very pragmatic people. You're less likely to have ethnocentrism when your history has been destroyed. So we end up being a very dynamic people. We end up being a people that's been dispersed all over the world, so therefore we're internationalists by our very heritage. Because we're not hung up in this national chauvinism, not really historically...it's only natural that we'll be internationalist and it will be easier for us to give up those chauvinistic ideas of nationalism.

LNS: About the NWLF, do you think that people

from that drop-out culture, as they become revolutionaries as you described, are they going to be a part of this NWLF; do you conceive of that?

HUEY: Yes, I think they'll drop back in and when they drop back in they'll be very political. Because then they will have experienced everything short of violence—running away through drugs, and so forth—but when they come back they'll come back very serious, and they'll see that the only solution is to transform what's here and they can't go anywhere else.

LNS: Can you tell us about the plans to send people to fight in Vietnam?

HUEY: We kind of put the cart before the horse, or something like that—because after making the statement to the press we sent the document to the Vietnamese. The document should have been sent first, I guess. We sent the document to the PRG (Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam), to the Paris peace talks, one to the National Liberation Front, and one to the North Vietnamese government. We're now waiting for a reply. We are willing to commit troops. We offer troops to the Vietnamese people in the spirit of revolutionary solidarity and internationalism. On one level, it's a friendship gesture. On another level, it's a very real act, a very political act in the sense that it will go to the very foundations, strike at the very roots of the war.

We expect to be indicted for treason or whatever. But if we are, we welcome this, because then they will have to put the war on trial to find out if the Vietnamese are really the enemy, and, as the second question, whether this country has the right to make war where no war has been declared. These questions will have to be answered if they charge us. And also, this country has a history of sending troops—there were American troops fighting in Spain, in the Canadian Army before the U.S. entered World War II—there's precedents for this. Not only will we send troops to Vietnam, we'll send troops to any of our friends who are fighting against imperialism.

Our first group will probably be from 30 to 50 men. It will be a very decisive thing on the battlefield, because many of our buddies will come over and fight with us against the cowardly American aggressors, you see. And this will change that whole relationship there, and I think it will change the whole attitude of this country. Certainly it will show the Vietnamese how we feel about it, and also show that the conflict cannot be settled through negotiations. It could be a turning point where the whole American revolution, the whole world revolution will be kicked off from that point. I think it has these possibilities. Of course, I'm only speculating. I only know that it will be a colossal event if the troops are accepted. There's been a certain amount of feedback after last week when we made the offer and all of it has been very favorable. The Vietnamese at the various embassies are overjoyed at this offer. But of course it will have to go to the very top for a decision to be made. We're waiting now to see what it will be.



## NEW HAVEN

# "The issue is not a fair trial... there should not be a trial at all"

NEW HAVEN, Aug. 31 — After six days of deliberation, the jury came in with a verdict in the frame-up trial of Black Panther Lonnie McLucas. The young revolutionary was convicted on the charge of conspiracy to commit murder and acquitted of the charges of kidnapping and binding. Despite the fact that three of the charges were not upheld, McLucas now faces 15 years in prison as a result of the historic New Haven frame-up.

The verdict today brought to a close a week-long vigil that had been called by the Panther Party to bring supporters to New Haven while the jury was deliberating. The vigil had been kicked off on August 25 with a rally on the New Haven Green in front of the courthouse. Over 1,000 Panthers, Black people from this city and white supporters came to the rally to show solidarity with Lonnie and the other New Haven political prisoners on trial for their lives.



Michael Tabor addressing rally

A strong delegation of activists from Youth Against War & Fascism came here from New York City, Boston and Buffalo to participate in the demonstration outside the court. Their colorful banners demanding "Free Lonnie" dotted the crowd. The YAWF Women's Caucus was also present with a banner which read, "Women—Support our Panther sisters and brothers." On the side was a drawing of Erica Huggins (one of the prisoners) with her fist raised defiantly.

## Test case for ruling class

This trial is only the first one, the test case by the ruling class in its attempt to railroad the rest of the New Haven defendants, including Chairman Bobby Seale, to the electric chair. When the verdict came down, the reaction among the 100 or so supporters outside the courthouse was mixed. In reply to some of the white youth there who thought the case was a success because Lonnie had not been convicted on three of the counts, a Panther spokesman said that this was not a victory at all. Lonnie was innocent and should have been acquitted on all charges. The demand is still—Free Lonnie McLucas, free all political prisoners.

To add to the political confusion, McLucas' lawyer, Arthur Koskoff emerged from the courthouse and told the crowd that the trial had been a victory for the American jury system and showed that a Black revolutionary could get a fair trial in New Haven. This statement contrasted sharply with the protests of the Panther Party throughout the trial that Lonnie was not being tried by a jury of his peers.

During the rally August 25, John Froines of the Chicago Conspiracy called for revolutionary youth to come to New Haven to organize so that Lonnie could be set free, "by any means necessary." Andy Stapp, Chairman of the American Servicemen's Union, related the struggle of Black GIs against the racist Army brass to the struggle of the Black people for liberation against the same enemy. He told how the stockades were just like the Tombs

in New York City where prisoners rebelled against the inhuman conditions and racist brutality of the guards. "The ASU is part of the common front in defense of the Panther prisoners," Stapp concluded. "Free all political prisoners, free Lonnie McLucas."

Among the Panther speakers was Frances Carter, who until recently had been one of the defendants in the New Haven case. She, along with Rose Smith, Ericka Huggins and Peggy Hudgins, was held in solitary confinement for over a year. During that time she and Rose were pregnant. They were given no medical care and were forced to give birth under armed guard.

The main speaker of the day was Michael Tabor, one of the defendants in the New York Panther 21 case which goes to trial September 8. He is a very impressive speaker who radiates the deep feeling he has for the oppressed. He himself was an addict before he joined the Black Panther Party and wrote an essay while a prisoner in the Tombs entitled, "Capitalism & Dope = Genocide."

## "The crumbling of the empire"

Tabor began right off with a declaration, "The issue is not a fair trial; the issue is that there should not be a trial at all... America is nothing but one big concentration camp for Black people, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, Chinese-American, Japanese and poor white people."

"We are witnessing the crumbling of the Babylonian empire," Tabor said. "But Nixon, Agnew, Rockefeller, Ford and Mellon won't sit back and see it fall. They are willing to drag all of humanity into oblivion if they can't exploit and oppress the people."

Tabor continued, "The people of the world are looking at us.... They know that the possibility of defeating this (U.S.) military by themselves is slim. The only group that is capable of destroying this monster is the people who live within the beast...." Tabor concluded by calling for everyone to go to the People's Revolutionary Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, September 5, 6 and 7 to draw up a new document that will serve as "our declaration of independence." "The laws of this society were designed by the ruling class to perpetuate their exploitation. The oppressor has no laws which the oppressed are bound to respect."

The rally ended and the long week began. Daily picket lines were set up; people were urged to go to court and at the end of each day the crowd would march over to the exit of the courthouse to say goodbye to Lonnie as he was taken back to jail. It was a rough week and morale often sagged. Several marches were held and on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, members of Youth Against War & Fascism began spirited picket lines across from the court



Being taken back to jail.

Lonnie McLucas shows defiant fist

with banners and chants of "Free Lonnie, power to the people."

The day the verdict came down, YAWF again organized a picketline to denounce the guilty verdict. They marched in front of the court chanting, "Protest this fascist frame-up" and "Free Lonnie McLucas."

If anything is to be learned by the white youth who participated in the demonstrations for Lonnie Mc-

"Our experience told us that no doubt the case would be tried on the lines of 'conspiracy'—the modern and ancient dragnet for encompassing the imprisonment and death of men whom the ruling class does not like."

—Clarence Darrow,  
Story of My Life

Lucas, it should be that the fight to free political prisoners is a long, hard fight which requires dead seriousness and determination. Some white youth here did get sidetracked into thinking that the verdict was a victory.

As Michael Tabor pointed out, there is no possibility of reforming this system. He praised the example of Jonathan Jackson and the Tupamaros of Uruguay in order to show that the only way political prisoners will be freed is when the people storm the jails and free them. "Next year we aren't going to be talking about excessive bail," Tabor pointed out. "It will be no bail at all—preventive detention. We will have to kick down the doors of the jails."



Panther supporters in front of New Haven courthouse

Photo/Andrew Skolnick

## A REPORT FROM THE MIDEAST

## Guerrilla War and Social Revolution

This eye-witness story of the Middle East conflict was written by Mr. Cliff Holland. The writer was in Amman when the cease-fire was announced.

Jordan, with Amman the capital, qualifies in many ways as the heart of the conflict in the Middle East. This is a flash-point city, where the situation changes from day to day. Here the future will be decided, and indeed, is being decided at this moment.

For the Palestinians the conclusive struggle against the Zionists will most likely be preceded by a struggle against those Arab governments—of whom Jordan is one—which hardly qualify as shining examples of progress and democracy for their peoples.

These so-called "moderate" governments, as the U.S. loves to term them, have been pushing the Palestinians around like cattle for years until the very force of events like the 1967 War united the revolutionary aspirations of the Jordanian masses and their Palestinian brothers. We must never forget that in the partition of Palestine the Jordan state gained a little of the spoils, even if the Zionists got the lion's share of what was a nation.

I have met quite a few people—both Jordanians and Palestinians—who have known the hospitality of the "moderate" governments' prison cells—whose only crime was to protest the destruction of the Palestinian nation and to expose the weakness, complicity, and un-democratic nature of the so-called "moderate" government and its link with United States imperialism.

Even as I write, some of the commando groups are clashing with each other as a result of the acceptance by Jordan and Egypt of the U.S. cease-fire proposal. The conflict between some of the smaller radical groups and the dominant group, Fateh, is an indication of the real democracy among the Palestinian commandos—there may be a disagreement about tactics but none on the necessity of liberating the homeland.

Whatever the reasons for Nasser's acceptance of the U.S. proposals, there is a feeling among the bulk of the Palestinians that they have been short-changed in some way by the "moderate" Arab governments. The rank and file of the Palestinians are standing fast in their determination to keep up the fight and not allow themselves to be split.

The average Palestinian, who has suffered most at the hands of Nazi-Zionism, who has had his family and friends killed, tortured or imprisoned by the Israelis, who has suffered abject poverty, deprivation and humiliation during his long exile in the "moderate" host country, is not concerned with ideology at this point in time.

He is concerned with keeping his Kalashnikov in good working order for the great battle that lies ahead. His morale is high despite all difficulties.

These people have lost everything—they have nothing left to lose—that is why these men and women, young and old, boys and girls, are united in their unshakeable determination to liberate the homeland that they love and to right the injustice that an unjust world has refused to comprehend.

Of all the hundreds of Palestinians I have spoken to in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan, from the humblest farmer to the president of The Arab Bank in Amman, I have not heard one dissenting voice. All say the same thing: "First we must liberate our homeland."

Their affirmation cuts across class interests and presents the phenomenon of a determined, united, patriotic national entity. These are the Palestinians—the "faceless people," the "non-people" whom Golda Meir claims do not exist.

They exist all right—they exist in the shining eyes of a 14-year-old girl called Fatima who I saw complete her commando training at a base somewhere in Jordan, leaping through a fire, crawling under barbed wire, and firing her Kalashnikov like a veteran.

"I like my Kalashnikov," she smiled shyly, "it's light enough for a girl to handle." But then her face tightened and a determined woman spoke in a voice of steel. "I am ready to die for my country—but believe us, we shall liberate our homeland!"

They exist in the 8-year-old boy "cubs" doubling up the steep hill at a tremendous pace in the blazing noon sun of Amman, shouldering their Kalashnikovs and singing a commando song. They exist all right. You will live to eat those words Mrs. Prime Minister.

While Syria and Iraq present a united front with the commandos, the Jordan government has the jitters. While the Fadayeens stand united with the Jordanian masses and seek to avoid provocation, the Palace in the form of King Hussein threatens a showdown



George Cavalletto LNS

To create more and more Fatimas, this young woman teaches the use of small arms to the women in the Al Baka refugee camp.

with the commandos. Significantly, he has sent his wife and children to London, like many a big shot before him on the eve of his fall from power.

Both sides are on an alert as the King seeks an opportunity to demonstrate to the U.S. that he is still master in his own house and can call the shots. To everyone's consternation, he has brought back into Amman Sherif Zed Ben Shaka, the Jordanian Army Commander who is hated by the Palestinians.

Ben Shaka was fired by the King on the insistence of the commandos only a month ago for shooting directly into the refugee camps during the recent clash between the Fadayeens and the Jordanians.

If the King moves, his government has threatened to resign—which indicates grass-roots opposition from the Jordanian people. The role of the Army will be decisive in any confrontation with the commandos. It is known to be split in its support for the latter.

(continued on p. 11)

## Ireland: The storm gathers

by Pam Kirkland Meyers

In early July (3rd and 4th) 3,000 British troops invaded the Falls Road area of Belfast in a vicious, pre-meditated attack. The Irish Republican Army Volunteers/Auxiliaries and the people fought back for five hours to defend their community, with only a limited arsenal. The event resulted in at least 3 Irishmen dead, 300 arrested and many British troops wounded.

It is said this was the biggest military confrontation between the IRA and British troops since Dublin, 1916.

In the aftermath many homes and shops were looted and ransacked by the British troops. No photographers or newsmen were allowed into the area throughout the whole night and next day. The following is a statement by the Council of the Irish Republican Army shortly after the fascist attack:

"The behaviour of British troops within the Falls area is reminiscent of Black-and-Tan days, assaults on Cypriots, maltreatment of Kenyans, and gross viciousness towards the working classes everywhere."

Cathal Goulding, at the same conference said:

"The British Army is now being used in the same manner as the R.U.C. (Royal Ulster Constabulary—a fascist storm-trooper type state police) was used during the Civil Rights campaign. The people are now being disarmed, the R.U.C. are being re-armed and the U.D.R. have been brought into service."

Goulding asserted that the new Tory government of Britain was obviously bent on

making their policies of crushing the Irish resistance more open than ever before.

Northern Ireland was partitioned by Britain in 1921 in an attempt to set up a watchdog over the Irish nationalist struggle which has raged for decades. A similar example can be found in the partitioning of Palestine, so that Israel could defend U.S. imperialist oil interests against the rising Arab revolution. Most progressive Irish organizations have realized this and solidify themselves with the Palestinian and all other wars of national liberation against the treacherous imperialists.

There are 11,000 British troops stationed in Northern Ireland. There are a million and a half people in Northern Ireland (it and the Republic of Ireland are the only European countries where the population is declining). Unemployment is growing as is inflation. Of course the Catholic minority is hit hardest. It is one of the last remaining openly controlled colonies of the enfeebled British "empire."

In fact, the only thing keeping the British imperialist system alive is U.S. imperialism. As is the case all over the world, U.S. imperialism is either directly or indirectly responsible for holding up every reactionary government and economy, and therefore is responsible for trying to crush every national liberation struggle fighting the dying imperialists, including the heroic struggle of the Irish people.

One thing is clear—the Irish people (both Protestant and Catholic) will never have freedom so long as British imperialism con-

trols the North (and Ireland, for that matter). For, as the IRA and other progressive organizations see it, Ireland is one country and is in one battle against Britain.

Northern Ireland and Ireland are all but completely owned outright by foreign capitalists. Their national industry is very small and underdeveloped. Britain's scheme to bring both countries (one as a colony and the other as an "independent" country) into the European Economic Community is meant to insure this state of affairs and eventually to drive out any national industry that does exist. As if to show the total hypocrisy in saying Ireland is independent of British control, the "independent" Irish government is going right along with this national suicide.

The North Ireland government, acting out Britain's orders, is openly a police state. The Special Powers Act enables them to arrest people without warrants and to imprison indefinitely anyone "suspected" of "rebellious activity."

The reactionary government is now using a campaign of "law and order" in much the same way Britain and the U.S. are using it, as a racist catchword for smashing the Black liberation movement. Just as the Black struggle is a dangerous threat to U.S. imperialism, so too is the Irish liberation struggle to Britain.

Here in the U.S. the Black people are oppressed as workers by the capitalists, but also as a national minority. So too, the Irish are oppressed as workers, but also as a nation trying to stop the robbing of their resources and labor by foreign imperialists. They want their land, their rivers, their culture, to be owned by the people.

The Irish struggle is yet one more arm in the world wide fight against world imperialism. Its eventual victory can be glimpsed in the successes of China and Cuba. It can be seen in the heroic struggles of the Black people in the U.S., of the Vietnamese and Koreans, and the Palestinians in the Middle East.

This is Ireland's future. Tied up with the international struggle of working and colonial peoples, this future is very bright.



# Chicago YAWF pickets Daley

## in support of Black P. Stones

by Mary Jo Wuetrich

CHICAGO—The Black P. Stone Nation has been the latest victim in the continuing war against Black America. When white pig James Alfano was killed in Chicago's Black community, it was used as an excuse to shoot up and raid the Black P. Stone Cultural Center, to arrest and beat up several members of the Black P. Stone Nation and to generally terrorize the Black community.

Many people, even many so-called "progressive and revolutionary people," do not see this brutality as political repression. They listen to the accusations of the ruling class and ignore the fundamental question of self-determination for Black people.

Youth Against War & Fascism called for a demonstration demanding that cops get out of the Black community and that Black people be able to police their own communities and decide for themselves how they want to run them.

The demonstration was held August 22 at the City Hall building, Chicago and Milwaukee chapters of YAWF participated, as well as the Champaign Collective from Champaign, Illinois, and the American Servicemen's Union chapter from Chanute Air Force Base. The group picketed and chanted, "Cops Are the Tool of Fascist Rule," "Free the Black P. Stone Nation Political Prisoners," "Arm the People—Disarm the Pigs," "Free the Panthers—Free the Stones—Cops out of the Black Community," "Walk and Talk Means Shoot to Kill." (Walk and Talk refers to the pig program which is supposedly an attempt to build better relations between pigs and the community, but in reality is a subterfuge to spy on Black people.)

The demonstration then proceeded

to the Civic Center Plaza for a rally where Mary Jo Wuetrich of Chicago YAWF explained the purpose of the demonstration to the crowd which had gathered there. Jim Miller of Milwaukee YAWF spoke about the case of the Milwaukee 3 and encouraged people to go to Milwaukee to support them in September. Then Hank Graber of Chicago YAWF indicted the pigs as scabs and strikebreakers and natural enemies of the working class.

To our knowledge this was the first predominantly white demonstration in support of the Black P. Stone Nation. It will not be the last. We will continue to support them as we support

all who struggle for their liberation. Below we reprint the leaflet distributed by YAWF for the demonstration.

### YAWF leaflet

The killing of Detective James A. Alfano has produced an all-out hysteria against the Black community of Chicago. As with the previous killings of police, the latest act of self-defense has been used as an excuse for an indiscriminate attack upon all Black people.

At a press conference called to defend themselves against the police allegations, leaders of the Black P. Stone Nation detailed a list of brutalities committed against Black people in general, and the P. Stone Nation in particular, since Alfano was shot on Friday. One of these was the wrecking of the Black P. Stone Nation cultural center at 1408 E. 67th Street. Several members and leaders of the Nation have been brutally beaten, one of whom suffered a fractured leg.

This is nothing new to the Black community. In Chicago alone, the police have murdered Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, and framed-up scores of Black Panther Party members. In the same way that the U.S. government is attempting to destroy the Black Panther Party with murders and frame-ups, it is now launching a vicious attack against the Black P. Stone Nation. The govern-

ment harasses and tries to discredit all organizations that truly represent the Black people while its crimes against the Black community are legion. What is Alfano's death as compared with all the various and insidious ways that the ruling class murders, maims and brutalizes Black people and all poor and oppressed people?

### Free our Black brothers!

Youth Against War & Fascism demands an end to these atrocities immediately. We also reaffirm our stand that the occupying army of white, racist police in the Black community leave at once. We further demand the immediate release of our Black brothers—Charles Edward Bey, William E. Troope, Lee Jackson and Tony Maurice Carter—all of whom are being held illegally by Daley and his paid assassins.

### Self-determination for the Black community!

Alfano's death was as foreseeable as it was inevitable. As long as the police occupy the Black community illegally, the community has a perfect right to defend itself from the police assaults. There can be no compromising of the rights of an oppressed people. We are determined to see justice done!



# Chicago women's strike

by Jill Cantell

CHICAGO, Aug. 26 — Fifty years ago Congress ratified the 19th Amendment forbidding states to deny suffrage because of sex. Nevertheless, reality contradicts legislation, for women remain oppressed vote or no vote and today marked Women's Strike Day in which sisters throughout the country bore witness to their shackled existence.

A three-hour rally, beginning at noon, at the Chicago Civic Center Plaza, organized by NOW (National Organization of Women) drew a crowd of some 5,000 people to hear presentations by a number of spokeswomen on the issues of equal rights, abortion, the need for client-run day-care centers and organizing working women. The atmosphere of enthusiasm and the spirited responses to the speeches was sufficient to reduce heckles and jeers to frail caterwaulings in the wind, and many a male smirker was seen skulking away from the rally with his tail between his legs.

Participation by the Women's Caucus of Youth Against War & Fascism from Chicago and Milwaukee and women from the Champaign Collective, lent even more impetus to the rally through distribution of Workers World newspapers and two different sets of leaflets. Both leaflets pointed out the necessity for continuing the struggle against the arrogant, racist and imperialist policies of the fascist U.S. Government. In particular, however, a leaflet printed by the Women's Caucus of YAWF on Black sisters—Joan Bird,

Frances Carter and Ericka Huggins, members of the Black Panther Party—received such a heartening and positive response that one Black sister at the rally requested a number of the leaflets to distribute herself!

The leaflet was entitled "Free Our Sisters—Free Ourselves!" It summarized events leading to the illegal incarceration of the Panther sisters, their suffering under torture and inhuman conditions in the racist concentration camps in this country and their courageous revolutionary zeal to remain united and carry on the struggle for themselves and for their people. Further, the leaflet called for support of the Black Panther Party by attending the Conference to End Police Terror Against People, September 1, here in Chicago. In addition, a YAWF banner was displayed, which bore the slogan, "SISTERS—UNITE AND FIGHT!" Beside the slogan was a drawing of a woman bursting forth from an outline of the U.S., fists clenched, breaking the chains of her oppressor.

Immediately after the scheduled speakers had finished, the mike was open, and Mary Jo Wuetrich, representing the Women's Caucus of YAWF, spoke on the paramount necessity of freeing all oppressed people before sisters anywhere could be free. (See the full text of her speech below.) Although the tenor of the rally was determined, at the mention of YAWF shouts of "Right on" and clenched fists arose. There was a definite reason for such a spontaneous reaction,

for radical groups had been totally excluded from the program. Mary Jo's militant speech injected new life and fresh awareness into the people as to the nature of the real oppressor in this country—the small ruling clique of imperialist, racist, male supremacist exploiters. Mary Jo's speech was later reprinted in part for inclusion in news coverage of the Strike on a local TV channel.

The evening rally at the Grant Park Bandshell (a landmark for police brutality and oppression) continued from 8 through 11 p.m. and added a lighter touch to the day's events. Skits were

performed by the Body Politic (a group of doctors and health workers) on the general derogation of women by the medical profession, their specific oppression in the area of abortion, and the obvious absence of women doctors in this country. The Women's Lib Rock Band entertained and interspersed speeches with music and song.

Hard work and long hours went into preparing for Women's Strike Day. The labors were infinitesimal, however, when compared to the struggle ahead if, indeed, we are to liberate women and all oppressed people. We welcome that struggle.

## WE MUST FIGHT FOR ALL THE OPPRESSED

Below we print a statement read by Mary Jo Wuetrich of the YAWF Women's Caucus to a rally of over 5,000 women in Chicago on August 26. Mary Jo Wuetrich recently returned from the Venceremos Brigade in Cuba.

\* \* \*

Women are oppressed. We all know that. That's why we're here today. One thing that wasn't learned by the women's movement 50 years ago, but is being learned now and if you don't know it yet, you'd better learn it quick, is that we will never be free until all oppressed people are free. If the women's movement doesn't fight to stop the war against Black people in this country today and fight to stop the war against Vietnam, we will never have freedom.

We have had the vote for 50 years. It hasn't made any real difference. We can all see this but to understand why, we must understand who our real

oppressor is. We can vote all we want, but we still have the same capitalist ruling class controlling this country and that's who is oppressing us. It's in their interest to keep women tied to the home, kept there as a reserve supply of labor, to be called upon to work at half wages when their husbands are laid off.

In Cuba, women have free day-care centers, they have free abortions and free medical care. There is no discrimination in either education or jobs. Cuban women got these rights not by voting for them but by fighting for them.

We have sisters in jail right now, who are there because they are fighting for freedom and rights. If the women's movement doesn't make freeing our sisters—Joan Bird, Ericka Huggins, and Frances Carter, members of the Black Panther Party—a primary goal, you can be sure that our movement will never win anything. SISTERS—UNITE AND FIGHT! ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

# The day women took to the streets

by Naomi Cohen

NEW YORK, August 26 — For all of us who took part in the Women's Strike here today, the single most significant fact about the day's action was indisputably the enormous number of women who poured out onto the streets in response to the call. Tens of thousands came out in an overwhelming show of strength to demonstrate their commitment to the struggle for Women's Liberation. In spite of all the snide remarks, the chauvinist comments in the bourgeois press, women, recognizing their oppression as women, came in a serious mood to demand 24-hour childcare centers, free abortion on demand and equal job opportunities.

The turnout was far beyond the expectations of the organizers of the march and particularly took the police and city administration by surprise, who up until the last moment were insisting that the women could only have part of Fifth Avenue for the march. But as the marchers lined up, snaking their way deep into Central Park at 60th Street, it became clear that there was no way the cops were going to confine this enormous crowd to one lane. And as we marched out of the park we could see women marching shoulder to shoulder and curb to curb down Fifth Avenue as far as the eye could see.

The crowd was for the most part young, with many, many women of high school and college age. But there were also older women, working women, mothers with children and groups of Black women. Although the vast majority were women, some men did come, one group with a sign, "Men Support Women's Liberation."

We marched down Fifth Avenue with arms linked, chanting and carrying banners. The street was lined with spectators. Often the women among them were friendly, but most of the well-dressed businessmen types along the way seemed to regard the demonstration with a cold hostility which gripped them during this day for women.

There were also the usual fascist hecklers. One group held up a sign in German — Children, Church and Kitchen—Hitler's slogan to keep women enslaved in the home!

The most militant section of the march gathered around the banner of the Third World Women's Alliance. It read, "Hands off Angela Davis." This contingent of Black, Spanish and other women of oppressed nations chanted, "Ho ho, hey

hey, Angela Davis is here today." Behind them a group of women from the YAWF Women's Caucus carrying banners, "Support our Panther sisters and brothers" and "Equal pay for equal work."

Bryant Park filled up quickly as the marchers poured in. Organizers of the event estimated the crowd at 50,000. The rally began with a spirited message delivered by Jo O'Brien, a militant working woman from Nottingham Women's Liberation in England.

Journalist Gloria Steinem, who chaired the rally, then introduced a representative of the Third World Women's Alliance. This Black sister, whose name was never announced, gave by far the most revolutionary speech of the evening and in doing so explained to the largely white audience there exactly how Black women feel about the women's movement and what their relationship to it will be.

She began her speech by stating, "Third World women are the most oppressed....Neither Third World women nor other women can be liberated until this capitalist, imperialist system is destroyed."

Addressing herself to the white women she continued, "Until you can recognize your own racism and address yourselves to poor women, you cannot expect us to ally with you.... We are the women who are the slaves in the garment center, work for the telephone company and in the factories."

"The difference between white women and Third World women is the difference between exploitation and slavery... We cannot worry about petty problems like who is going to put out the garbage. We don't have garbage because we don't have enough food to eat!" And she ended her speech by saying, "Revolution and not reform is the only answer."

Most of the speakers were the usual bunch of politicians you would expect to find at any large rally of this kind. There was a woman from Mayor Lindsay's office, Bella Abzug plugging for the Reform Democrats and an SWP candidate pushing her own election. Betty Freidan of NOW and Kate Millett, feminist and author of "Sexual Politics" also spoke.

It goes without saying, that the leaders of the August 26 action have no class line, that they are tied to bourgeois, parliamentary politics. Nevertheless, this was an enormous demonstration of the fact that women do recognize their oppression as women and want to struggle against it. In any huge outpouring like this, the consciousness of women grows and once women are on the streets, they will be susceptible to a class approach to the revolutionary struggle of women.

## YAWF Women's statement

# Women's Liberation and the Black Panther Party

The following leaflet was distributed by the Women's Caucus of Youth Against War & Fascism on August 26 at the massive rally in New York City as well as in New Haven where nine members of the Black Panther Party are on trial for their lives. In New Haven it was handed out in the face of an attack by feminists against Panther men and women for alleged chauvinism at the very moment when the jury was deliberating on the case of Lonnie McClucas.

Many women in Women's Liberation are deeply concerned about the savage persecution to which the Black Panther Party is being subjected by the government. And many Women's Collectives and groupings are trying to show solidarity and support for the Panther men and women in a variety of ways. Of particular interest to many women are the Breakfast Programs, Child-Care and Health-Care programs initiated by the Panthers.

As a matter of fact, many attribute the rapid growth of Women's Liberation itself, at least in part, to the inspiration derived from the Black Liberation struggle.

However, at all too many Women's Liberation meetings where the question of support to the Black Panther Party is raised, a disagreeable trend is developing. No matter how enthusiastically support for the Panthers is first raised, it often degenerates into an attack on Panther men for alleged male chauvinism. And the issue of support to them in their life and death struggle against government attack becomes blurred.

Why is this so?

## Are all women

### in the same boat?

There is a current of thought in Women's Liberation that starts with the premise that ALL women—Black and white—are in the same boat. That they are, to one degree or another, oppressed—and that all men are oppressors.

It is true we are told, that there are differing degrees of oppression. But that is supposedly of secondary

importance. What is of primary significance, it is alleged, is the common oppression we are all subjected to regardless of degree of oppression. And that is the bond which ought to unite ALL the women, Black and white, in one common struggle against male supremacy.

In formulating this particular view of the general emancipation of women, Women's Liberation obviously DID NOT CONSULT THE BLACK WOMEN. What the above view of Women's Liberation does is to totally ignore the significance of the tremendous exploitation to which the Black woman is subjected. The white woman is not in the same boat with the Black woman and should not be appropriating the right to speak for her as the formulation "ALL WOMEN" implies.

## Same sex—different worlds

Evidence of the fact that Black women view the question quite differently than Women's Liberation (white women) can easily be seen by examining a newly published book entitled "The Black Woman," which is described in the preface by Toni Cade as "a collection of poems, stories, essays—that seem best to reflect the preoccupations of the contemporary Black woman in this country."

They (the Black women), says the editor of this extremely revealing anthology, "seem to use the Black Liberation struggle—as their yardstick, their gauge, their vantage point." (Our emphasis.)

In other words, the primary struggle as voiced by this writer, is not, as she says "the experiences, the findings of the white woman." And she adds, "I don't know that our priorities are the same, that our concerns and methods are the same or even similar..."

Toni Cade by no means dismisses Black Women's Liberation, but she sees the context of the Black woman's relations to the Black man within the broader context of the struggle for Black Liberation.

To show how little relevance the Black woman finds in white feminism, the author notes, "In the whole bibliography of feminist literature, litera-

ture immediately and directly relevant to us wouldn't fill a page."

## The aim: A working alliance with Black women

Many women in Women's Liberation are distressed by the lack of numbers of Black women in the ranks, and they even castigate themselves for failure to attract Black women.

But it is precisely because Women's Liberation represents white women that it is unable to attract Black women. The aim should be for a working alliance with Black women.

But the basis for that alliance with Black women is not a common struggle against male supremacy, but support to the struggle for Black liberation against racist imperialism.

To clarify this further—in our relations for example, with Vietnamese

women, we can surely agree that when our women's representatives meet with Vietnamese women, our primary concern should be to forge an alliance to combat U.S. imperialist war against the Vietnamese people. Surely that is what our Vietnamese sisters want of us.

The U.S. is conducting a ruthless, predatory war against the Black people in this country that's fundamentally no different than the war being conducted against the Vietnamese. In any working alliance with Black women for Black Liberation, why should we raise the question of male chauvinism?

## Black women will win their own liberation

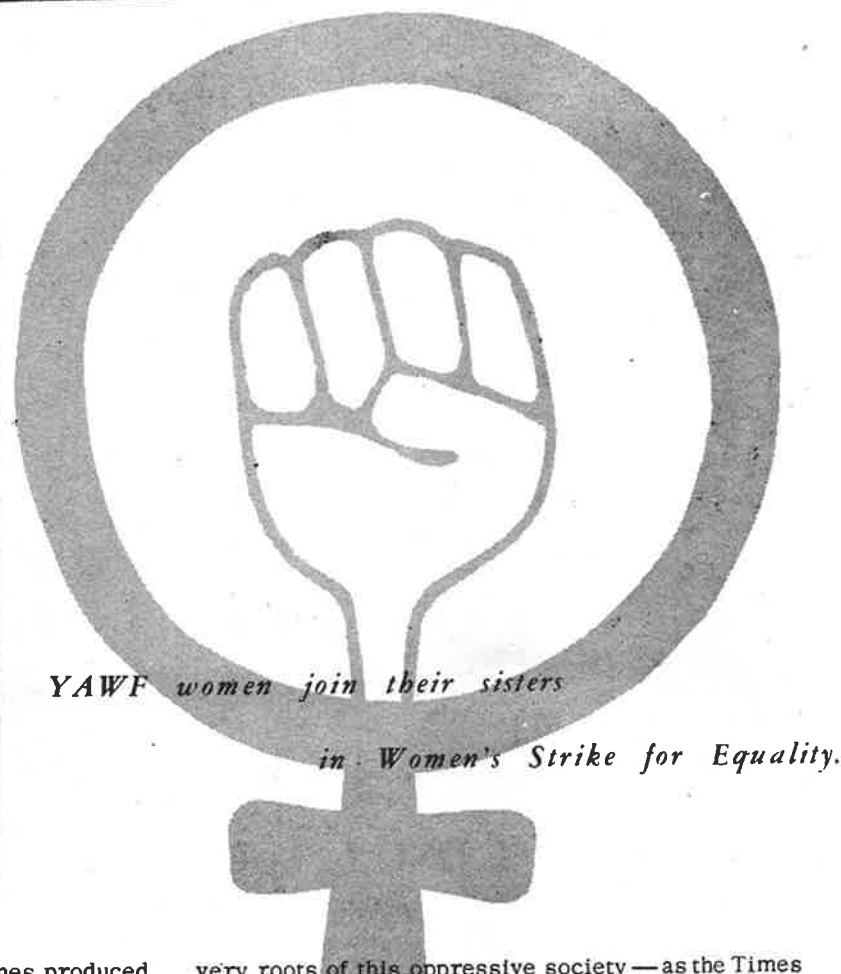
The relations between the Black woman and the Black man is something for the Black woman to deal with in the context of the struggle for Black Liberation. It is interesting to note that in the preface of "The Black Woman" there are indications that that is exactly what the Black woman intends to do.

YAWF WOMEN'S CAUCUS  
(of Youth Against War & Fascism)  
58 West 25th Street, N.Y.C., N.Y.





*Shoulder to shoulder and curb to curb,  
women take all of Fifth Avenue.*



## **"There'll always be a family" — The Times' smug contribution to women's struggle**

by Deirdre Griswold

You've come a long way, baby, was the essence of the New York Times editorial comment on the August 26th Women's Strike. There has been "a revolution in the status of women" and now "all that remains is for laws and popular attitude to catch up with the new facts of equality."

The Times has spoken, and you can be sure that this represents the line of the most authoritative imperialists in this country, which makes it doubly ironic that the sharpest of the ruling class liberals can't come up with a better line of male-chauvinist propaganda than the purveyors of "feminine" cigarettes.

Is women's liberation all over but the recognition of it? Obviously, the editors of the Times didn't consult the women who scrub their floors, their typists and secretaries or switchboard operators. They probably didn't even poll their wives on the subject.

Sometime in the early 60s, the Times produced a remarkably similar editorial on the rising Black movement. Freedom and equality were admirable goals, they said. Hadn't the Times advocated just such things for years? The liberation struggle should be understood as merely a reflection of the fact that Black people's conditions have markedly improved, and the problem is that society just has to recognize this new de facto equality. Etc., etc.

The rebellions that have followed these platitudes of America's most "respectable" newspaper make it abundantly clear that the Black people, at any rate, are not fooled. And our sisters who are beginning to strike out at male supremacy also cannot swallow the Times' Never-Never-Land view of contemporary American society.

The Times talks about wealth and science in the "Western" societies having liberated "their" women (a subconscious use of the possessive?) from most of the drudgery of farm and household work. This is like saying that the great wealth produced in this country has eliminated the slums of Bedford-Stuyvesant, Harlem and Watts.

Of course, the Times has a point. Social inequality of any kind—racial, sexual or class—has no place in a world where technology can provide an abundance of what everyone needs. Starvation in the United States in the 1930s, when "surplus" oranges were dumped in the sea and potatoes burnt or left to rot in the ground, was ludicrous, the ultimate insanity.

Yet it happened.

It is ridiculous that in an age when enough is understood about the human body that children can be planned, and machines can take the place of muscle, and child psychology is just as much the province of men as women, that women should be chained to diaper pails or typewriters. (The fact that the majority of women in the world do not yet have either of these inventions, of course, makes their chains still heavier.) Yet these are but a few of the anachronisms that haunt us and make a hell out of what should be a paradise.

A look at the Times' masthead reveals that there is not one woman among the executives and editors of that institution. It explains a lot, yet is only a symptom of what is wrong. The cause goes to the

very roots of this oppressive society—as the Times very well recognizes. And they pin their hopes for the future (a future that would leave their status as kingpins in a worldwide empire intact) on the basic unit of this society, the family.

"The family has proved to be a tough, durable human institution in many different social settings. Many women will continue to find their most satisfying fulfillment in bearing children and raising them. Like other revolutions in human history, the revolution in the status of women will change much and will leave much else unchanged."

This is the Times's way of saying "Pass a few laws, give women a few more interesting jobs, but don't threaten the rule of this imperialist and male chauvinist society." Their real hatred and fear of a militant movement comes out in their harsh words (in an otherwise bland style) for the actions of the women: "publicity-seeking exhibitionism," "attention-getting antics."

Behind their tut-tutting is the arrogance of those whose power is so entrenched that they hardly need raise their voices to be heard and obeyed around the world. They are used to giving commands in refined voices to "their" women, "their" Blacks, "their" servants.

The family, as we know it, has been a vehicle for such domination for centuries, through every type of class society.

But class domination, and with it, private property, is now under attack all around the globe. The basic social unit that best facilitated the private ownership of property—the family—is not such a tough, durable institution as the Times would have us believe.

New socialist countries are experimenting with arrangements for child care, etc., that broaden the narrow responsibility of the family to the collective, the commune, the society as a whole.

The family as an economic unit is in the process of being replaced in much of the world. Women's emancipation is intimately tied up with this revolution. The panaceas of the New York Times notwithstanding, the drive for women's liberation reaches into the very marrow of the system, and is one of the forces that will lead to the total reorganization of society.



# Deep in the Tombs

By one who was there

The author of the account below (Key Martin, chairman of Youth Against War & Fascism) spent 12 days in the Tombs this year for "disorderly conduct," after having been acquitted on the charge of "inciting to riot." Arrested on numerous occasions for defending the oppressed, he has also spent six months in federal prison for his part in supporting the right of GI's to public courts-martial.

They put me on the tenth floor of the Tombs. The cell was a 5x7 foot steel box with bars on the end. It had originally been built for one inmate but a second bunk had been added above the first.

When I walked in, there were already two brothers there. I thought there was some kind of mistake, but later on I found out that every cell was the same and had three occupants. A few had four.

The extras slept on the concrete floor. One of my cell-mates got a dirty old blanket from a friend in another cell so at least I had something to sleep on. When there was a fourth guy, he would roll under the lower bunk. When someone had to use the toilet it was like musical chairs. Only about ten per cent of the guys had mattresses and you never knew what was in them. They don't give you anything when you come—absolutely nothing.

One of my cell-mates got cut loose after my first week so I graduated from the concrete to the steel springs. It wasn't much of an improvement.

About two in the morning they threw a Black man in—it was dark and he was quiet so I just handed him the "extra" blanket and rolled over back to sleep. When the lights came on (6 a.m.) I could see that he was sick. His ankles and wrists were all swollen as if he had some kind of kidney disease. He was in pain and had trouble moving. Yet they still threw him in on the cold concrete with nothing in the middle of the night.

The guards didn't give a damn—just so long as you didn't die on them and make them work carrying out a body.

## A grim musical chairs

The tenth floor, like most of the others in the building, had two separate wings—50 or so cells each arranged on two rectangular tiers one above the other. There were over 150 guys on each wing built originally for only 50. The guards kept us moving around so the population on the two wings never mixed—they rotated us in and out of the day room for meals and for so-called recreation (play cards, chess—there were 5 chess sets for 300 men—write letters, etc.) for 45 minutes at night at mail call.

From 6 a.m. to 10 p.m. they played musical chairs with us—locking us into the cells and then getting us out again, packing us into the corridors, and then back—keeping us moving maybe a dozen or more times a day. I guess that was to keep us from sawing through the bars—they probably thought the routine would keep us pre-occupied and deter us from rebelling against their hellish jail. It may have postponed it, but when accounts were settled last week, the brothers were together and strong. The postponement just let the grievances accumulate.

## Sick call a farce

The other wing of the tenth floor was for those inmates requiring medical attention or regular medication. Sick call was a farce. Some hack in a white suit they claimed was a doctor would come around once a day (if we were lucky) and give out pills. It was clear he didn't give a damn for any of the guys.

Most of us were Black and Puerto Rican. Most of the whites, except for myself, were hippies or on drug related busts.

This so-called doctor would make the most superficial examination and give out some pill or other. The best doctor in the world couldn't find anything the way he gave you the quick once-over, much less this quack.

He would always give out a pill. Never any special good food or special care or anything. Always a pill. At best he might recommend some bedrest on a nice comfortable concrete floor. But then you can't stay there long because they lock you in or out of your cell every hour or so.

## Epileptic Panther suffered most

Every night they'd come to the other wing and give out pills. One of the guys on the other end was

Brother Lee Berry from the Black Panther Party. He was busted in the Panther 21 frame-up. He had gotten epilepsy from wounds he received in Vietnam.

Epilepsy is a serious thing. Untreated, a person can have a black-out without warning. In one of those steel cells it means to collapse onto the concrete floor or against the sharp edges of the steel bunks. You know you have to be hurting.

The only way for an epileptic to avoid these black-outs (seizures) is to have constant medication. I remember one night when they didn't bring any medication around. We could hear the chanting till late at night from the other wing: "We want medication."

Brother Lee Berry was severely injured during his stay on the tenth floor. He was injured from the blackouts, hurt from falling again and again. And probably he was beaten too by some sadistic guards taking advantage of his unconsciousness. The month before I got there, some of the brothers on the floor circulated a petition asking that this brother be taken out to Bellevue prison ward for proper medical treatment.

Lee was finally taken out a few months later in a deep coma. Many months later his bail was lowered from \$100,000 to \$15,000 and he was taken to a private hospital to recover. I guess it would have exposed them too much if he died on them.

## Food and the company store

The food was another thing. It was so bad that I thought about not eating it. It was better than nothing—but not much better.

They gave us four slices of bread (the plastic spongy stuff) and some slop for every meal. Many inmates get fat in jail because they are fed nothing but starches. What little vegetable and meat there is is cooked to a useless pulp. After a while even the most energetic brothers get rundown from the lack of vitamins and protein and even a lack of exercise or a place to stretch out. I did push-ups every night—and that involved a game of musical chairs to get enough room to do them in.

The only other food available are cookies, candy bars, etc., which we could buy from the commissary—a prison variety of the old company store. It was also the only place to get (i.e. buy) soap, tooth paste, pencil, paper, envelopes and stamps and occasionally a newspaper. Again, the prison gave us nothing. Brothers who had no money or ran out of money after being there for a long time had to scrounge, borrow from friends or do without. The commissary was the only source of cigarettes or tobacco.

We got to go to the commissary twice a week, one day in the morning and one in the afternoon. There were never any newspapers left in the afternoons. In twelve days I saw three newspapers. Since newspapers are often an important source of materials to prepare a defense with, it was another obstacle designed to make the brothers meekly submit to being railroaded.

These were some of the conditions that made the Tombs explode last week.

## The crime begins in court

But the conditions are only half the crime. How we got there in the first place is just as much a crime against the people as the Tombs themselves.

I was arrested when 2,000 of us demonstrated against Humphrey at the Waldorf Astoria two years ago. It was a year between my arrest and my trial and sentencing. Once my case was postponed because

there were 181 other cases on the docket in that court—for five and a half hours of court time that's two minutes each. It takes a minute to get up to the bench when you're called, that leaves one minute for disposition. Had I not been able to meet the \$1,000 bail, which was raised by comrades and friends in the movement, I would have spent that year inside as most of the guys in the Tombs do—just "awaiting trial." It's a class question, the poor rot on bails they can't possibly meet.

The pigs have a way of upping or piling extra charges on in order to coerce a defendant to cop a plea (i.e., to plead guilty to the original and now the so-called lesser charge). The additional charges also mean a higher bail. This was one of the things which frustrated the brothers in the Tombs most—out of one incident they would end up charged with three or four separate and usually higher charges.

## Never saw a pusher or a landlord

For instance, many addicts automatically get charged with pushing. Since they don't pick up the real dealers, convictions of ordinary addicts on this charge makes their statistics look good.

To fight these higher charges with a legal aid attorney—the only kind of attorney available to poor defendants—is tantamount to suicide. Most legal aid attorneys don't even know your name, much less know the facts of your case or go out to look for witnesses. They usually end up as a go-between from the DA to the defendant arranging a deal.

Most of the guys were in for drug related busts. Many were addicts—the poorest addicts who had to hustle for every fix.

Missing from the Tombs were the pushers and the dealers (non-addicts) who make their regular runs in their plush Cadillacs or Lincoln Continentals stopping on their scheduled corners with impunity in broad daylight. These dealers are obvious to all the people, but somehow the pigs—pigs who according to the New York Times frequently gross \$1,000 a month in payola on top of a \$1,000 a month salary—these same pigs never seem to catch up with them.

I never saw any of these fancy dressed dealers held in the Tombs on a bail he couldn't meet. In all the times I've been in a lock-up waiting to appear in night court, I never saw one then either, only lots of the dealer's victims, the addicts.

I never saw a pig there caught running a protection racket or with his hand in some-one's till. Nor did I see any numbers bankers. Nor any landlords or bankers who are the real criminals responsible for the rats and terrible conditions in the ghetto housing.

I want to clear up one thing here and now. The largest number of guys were in for dope—heroin, smack, scag, horse, whatever you want to call it. And for speed.

But you must take a class view of it. It is a form of pacification program (psychological and biological warfare) used against the oppressed and especially against the super-oppressed Black and Puerto Rican people and against the youth to divert them from rebellion against the system.

The ruling class knows that when you're strung out and always hustling for a fix, there's no way you can be involved with the kind of discipline needed for a protracted struggle and an organization for resistance, defense and survival. There are two tools of the oppressed for liberation, our organization and our lives. To deprive us of the first makes the

(continued on p. 11)

# Jail the rich; free the poor!



OUTSIDE THE TOMBS—While prisoners in New York City's Tombs concentration camp were rebelling, Youth Against War & Fascism supported their demands with a demonstration outside the jail (above) on August 10. Shouts of "thank you, thank you" and clenched fists came out of the broken windows of the prison as the demonstrators' chants of "Jail the rich, free the poor, power to the people" and "Jonathan Jackson—live like him, dare to struggle, dare to win" reached the men inside.

A delegation from the Young Lords Party joined the demonstration.



# 1,000 Black rebels hit racist steel union

LACKAWANNA, N.Y. — Black workers are in rebellion against a callous union leadership here. Over a thousand in the great Bethlehem Steel plant have signed statements to stop the automatic withholding of union dues from their paychecks by the steel company. These Black steelworkers are badly represented by white union leaders. And on the shop level, the white committeemen and white local presidents — no

great battlers even for their own white constituents — are less than perfunctory when pleading for the rights of Black workers.

There are Black stewards on the shop level, too, but they are often shunted aside in the bargaining sessions with top management.

Stanley D. Murphy, a steward of Local 2603 and leader of the Black Caucus here, announced on August 16

that the thousand rebels will increase very rapidly. And he added:

"We recognize that we have nothing whatever going for us in the Steelworkers Union."

But he said the new group would remain within the union and try to get genuine representation — their own Black officers. Originally the group demanded a separate Black local. And that may still emerge as an outcome of the present situation.

"We are people, and people with needs," declared Murphy. "We have to have an equal share, especially when we are paying our money" (to the union).

There are a few good jobs for Black workers in Lackawanna and of course all Black workers get more or less of a living wage just like the white workers do (because of more than thirty years union struggle in which they themselves fought the hardest and suffered the most).

But the kind of work Black men do in the steel plant is hotter than most white men do. It's also heavier. And dirtier. And gassier.

But the struggle to eliminate the inequalities of work has never been seriously taken up by the union as a whole. (There was an ambitious "wage inequality program" more than twenty years ago. But it never really settled the job inequities.) That is why the Black caucus is being formed.

If the white union leaders really start to do their duty, or if the white workers come halfway toward the Black, the Black Caucus would be the first to transform its fight to one for all of the workers together. These men, in spite of all the history of racism here, are remarkably sensitive to the class question — the need for unity against the company.

But while nobody is coming halfway, they are going ahead and they are getting other Black caucuses' support, including that of the president of the United Construction and Trades International Union, Calvin Stubbs of Detroit, as well as Donald Dade, president and the membership of his local, 124-A, the Black Construction Workers of Buffalo.

Squad will become even more efficient; it will serve the interests of Milwaukee's ruling class better.

Sergeant Miller hasn't given up, however. On Thursday night, August 13, he led a group of eight pigs in invading the West-side office of the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM), one pig holding a 12-gauge shotgun. The area of the RYM office is a poor Black, Brown, and white area south of Milwaukee's ghetto, where RYM has been engaged in a number of programs to aid the community, including an anti-lead poison campaign, much like the Young Lords' campaign in New York City.

Miller is quoted as saying, "Tell all the kiddies that Sergeant Miller is resurrected. There will be no revolution in the Third District."

The pigs left after harassing people for 20 minutes, then proceeded to close down the newly opened Women's Center in the area, allegedly because of the lack of an occupancy permit.

It is clear that this shakeup will amount to an increase in police action against revolutionaries in Milwaukee. At the same time the people are beginning to get together for the coming struggles around the trial of the Milwaukee Three (Black Panthers) starting September 21.

## More repression follows Milwaukee pig "shakeup"

MILWAUKEE — A month ago, on July 17, three detectives from the Milwaukee Police Department murdered Randy Anderson and wounded Don Rubin after the alleged fire bombing of a store in a Milwaukee suburban area. (See August 1 WORKERS WORLD)

In the last week, information has come from a reliable source close to the Milwaukee Police and Fire Commission that the stakeout of the A & P store on July 17 was planned completely by the FBI.

According to the source, when it was discovered that Rubin had only been wounded, the FBI ordered the Milwaukee pigs to shoot and kill him so that there would be no witnesses. The Milwaukee police, who were only too glad to shoot Randy to death when

they could claim "self-defense," apparently backed off at this order fearing a direct possibility of a leak which might establish that they murdered him.

They subsequently charged Rubin with arson; he is still in the hospital undergoing treatment for nerve damage which may last six months or longer.

In addition to this there has been an increased amount of FBI presence in Milwaukee. Several people have been subjected to lengthy interrogation by the FBI in the last few weeks.

These facts should be seen in the context of a major shakeup in the Milwaukee Police Department. On August 8, Sergeant Frank Miller, the head of Milwaukee's Tactical Squad, and 12 other members of this fascist grouping, were removed and put to other routine

police duties. Miller has been the visible target of many of the city's radicals, as he has been the most vicious person in attacking the Black community and militant demonstrations.

The others who were demoted were some of the crudest on the squad, indicating that one purpose of the shakeup was to get a smoother image for the Tactical Squad so that it will be better able to work in the eventuality of a Black rebellion in the city.

(Another factor is that for several months there has been a conflict between Miller and his immediate superior, Lieutenant Beste, who recently was convicted of police brutality in the beating of a Black woman. Beste apparently wanted to be up front in the cracking of heads.)

What this means is that the Tactical

## — Mideast report

(continued from p. 6)

During the last few days I have seen Army units with light armor moving into Amman and taking up strategic positions about the city. On a trip south to Aqaba we passed over a half-dozen check points where the Army made stringent security checks for arms and weapons. Other check points are manned by both commandos and the regular army.

In Aqaba itself I viewed Israel through binoculars, half a kilometer away and saw cars moving through the streets of Eilat — a "no-man's land" divides both countries. The only TV they can receive in Aqaba is from Eilat as the strange and rugged landscape dominated by the Wadi Rum makes it impossible to receive from Amman in the absence of microwave.

In contrast to Amman, Aqaba is quiet and the commandos are not in evidence. But they still talk of the Israeli air raid at 5 a.m. one morning that was in retaliation for a Fadayein raid, in which the Dutch Protestant church and a school were hit with rockets, nine people died and some were injured.

But despite the uneasy quiet and the paradox of Israeli TV, my friends were busy constructing a deep air raid shelter with their neighbors.

Back in Amman — some distance from the enemy — you could have cut the tension with a knife. The only question now is when will the big clash occur and the rotten kingdom fall? If Fatima has anything to do with it, it may be sooner than any of us think.

## — The Tombs

(continued from p. 10)

second less effective.

While the dope diverts consciousness, it also more ruthlessly oppresses the addict, driving him to the edge of survival and rebellion. The Tombs question is the dope question. If the youthful addict (a friend of mine grew up on 143rd Street and was the only one on his block over 15 who wasn't strung out) gets out of line, the dealer or pusher can have him arrested. Usually the threat is enough.

Just the idea that it costs ten or twenty dollars for a tiny pinch of stuff that only costs a few cents to produce is absurd on the face of it — and gives you an idea of the tremendous profits involved, and the tremendous monopoly and high prices involved. Prices that are maintained by the terror structure — the syndicate gunman and the cop — just as the cops protect the "legitimate" robbery by the Rockefellers and the du Ponts, etc., and if you cross either one of them, you end up in the Tombs.

The desperation of the guys in the Tombs is evident from the suicides and suicide attempts. There are two reasons for guys to hang up. One is

to get a transfer out to a hospital; the other is to end it all. Both derive from the desperation brought on by intolerable conditions over a long period of time.

I don't know how many suicides or attempts there are. I remember one lunch hour when two guys hung up within half an hour of each other. A few days before I got there an 18-year-old kid jumped from the upper tier right near my cell to his death on the concrete below.

That's what the mood was when I was there. The men are different now. They would still rather die than go on living under an oppressive system. But now they are willing to die trying to destroy it.

There is no doubt that the Tombs Concentration Camp and the 100 Center Street Pig Sty next door are the most hated buildings in New York City, just as the Bastille was in Paris. In the words of the songs of Marat/Sade about the Bastille and the French Revolution, "screaming of the rights that we grabbed with our own bleeding hands we smashed down the bosses and stormed up the walls they said would outlast us all..."

The real criminals are in their plush offices and Rolls Royces. The Tombs are filled with their victims.

The only answer is to punish the criminals and let the victims go.



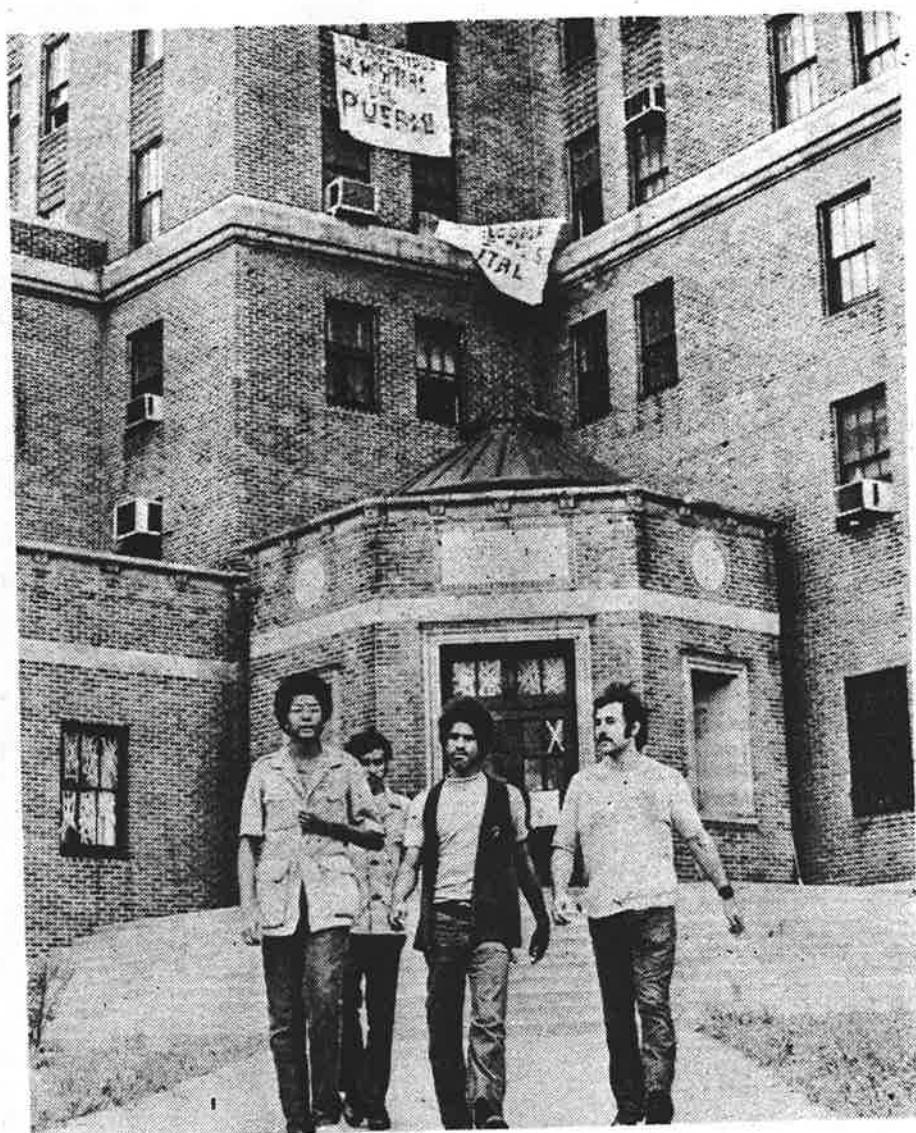
Arab commandos/fisinhua

### correction

The author of the Allied Chemical strike story in our last issue was not Dan Bentivogli, but TERRY HANNON.



## Young Lords Party: Lincoln Hospital belongs to the people!



Yoruba, Felipe Luciano and other Young Lords at Lincoln Hospital.

NEW YORK, Sept. 3—Months of struggle for decent health care at Lincoln Hospital, which is located in a largely Puerto Rican area of the Bronx, culminated today in a rally of over 500 people at the hospital and a march through the community.

Sponsored by the Young Lords Party, the Health Revolutionary Unity Movement (HRUM) and the Think Lincoln Committee, the rally presented a number of demands. These included a day-care center for the children of workers and patients, door-to-door community preventive health service, minimum wages of \$140 a week for hospital workers—all under control of the community.

Gloria Cruz of the Young Lords Party addressed the crowd in both Spanish and English to explain the meaning of the take-over of the obstetrics-gynecology section by the YLP on August 24. The hospital was renamed the New York 21 Free People's Hospital in honor of the imprisoned Panther 21.

The groups which sponsored today's rally had set up a table inside the hospital several months ago at which patients and workers could register their complaints. The hospital responded by getting an injunction to bar them from the building. The death of a Puerto Rican woman, Carmen

Rodriguez, while undergoing an abortion made the groups intensify their actions for better care, leading to the seizure of the obstetrics division in August.

A Panther speaker emphasized that the Lords had seized the hospital to serve the people, and a Black clerk called on his fellow clerks to strike in support of the demands. Sharon Martin of Youth Against War & Fascism, an emergency room nurse, spoke of struggles at Gouverneur Hospital for community control of preventive medicine like TB tests and work on anemia and malnutrition. She called hospitals "repair shops" where broken down people are patched up and sent out again to be exploited on their jobs.

Cleo Silvers of HRUM, a young man from the Republic of New Africa and a representative of the Women's Center also addressed the rally.

The march that followed was joined by many from the neighborhood and chants in Spanish and English rang out.

"A Vietnam yo no voy, porque Yanqui yo no soy," (I will not go to Vietnam because I am not a Yankee) and "Despierta Boricua, defende lo tuyo" (awake Puerto Ricans, defend what is yours) and "Free Puerto Rico now!"

## Chicago conference vows to fight police terror

by Jim Coatsworth

CHICAGO, Sept. 3—In anticipation of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, a Conference to End Police Terror Against People of Color was held at the People's Church, 201 South Ashland, here today. Sponsored by the Black Panther Party, the conference drew over 400 people.

The conference was called to document specific instances of the ruling class atrocities committed against people of color in Chicago. Testimony was taken from relatives of those who have been victimized by the police terror.

The agenda was an international one with speakers from all oppressed peoples and organizations in the country testifying on the crimes of imperialism. Odinga of the Illinois Black Panther Party presided.

Raoul Lugo of the Young Lords Organization spoke first. A recent participant in the Venceremos Brigade, he expressed solidarity with the upcoming convention and pointed out how "all oppressed people are moving in a revolutionary direction." A speaker from the Native American Council differentiated himself from the nation of U.S. imperialism and identified with

the Sioux nation of which he is a member.

Sasha Hour, a Japanese-American representing the Third World, pointed out the crimes of imperialism with respect to China and Japan. "The U.S. figure for those killed at Hiroshima," she stated, "is 140,000 while the Japanese figure is 500,000 to 600,000 killed."

Afeni Shakur of the New York Panther 21 received a standing ovation when she was introduced. She called on all those who could to come to the Panther 21 trial starting September 8. Referring to Philadelphia Police Chief Rizzo's challenge for the Panthers to have a duel out in a field, she said, "We will choose our own battleground." She called on everyone at the church to come to the convention, "if you have to walk."

Michael Tabor, Captain of the Black

Panther Party's Harlem branch received the greatest response from the audience by paying tribute to the marksmanship of the Black community here.

A surprise speaker was Chester Evans of the Black P. Stone Nation who read a passage from Revelations in the Bible that "Babylon will burn" and stated that on that day "the people in power will weep and moan because they will no longer receive their money and jewels."

Big Man of the California Black Panther Party read a press release on Philadelphia denouncing the raids against Information Centers and making clear the determination of the Black Panther Party that the convention will go on "by any means necessary."

LNS: What kind of reaction did you get to your letter to the Party about Gay Liberation and Women's Liberation?

HUEY: They were very happy that this should come from the Party, out of all people—people seem to be very surprised.

LNS: Who was that?

HUEY: The women's liberation people. They were very happy that the party was attempting to relate to them. Within our party we're not completely rid of male chauvinism. I think that we're trying, we're making an honest effort. Women in our party can participate at any level in the party. We're constantly fighting those bourgeois attitudes of male chauvinism. We are advancing, we try to keep our ranks open—there are women ministers in the party. All women are trained, just as the men, with the revolutionary tool. At every level I think that the women should be included.

LNS: How do you react to other Black groups that object to women's liberation on the grounds that it interferes with the self-assertion of the Black male?

HUEY: Well I think if we went along with that we'd be going along with the old values and we would be adhering to the old situation—which we are trying to break away from. This would be freedom for people you see. I think it would be backwards to try to build male chauvinism at this point. It's not really true, but if the women in our ethnic group appear to have some objective superiority, being the head of families and so forth, it's a thing that we should also fight.

I know that throughout our historical experience women have been the head of our families, a lot, but at the same time because of that you get male chauvinism among Blacks as a real problem. Because males come in with this attitude of "I have to show this woman that I am strong, and I won't follow that stereotype." So you really have a real problem of male chauvinism among us Blacks, because of our history. We're working on that, and I think we'll solve it.

LNS: Do you think that women should be among the troops that are being sent to support the Vietnamese?

HUEY: Women definitely will go.

## Huey on Women's Liberation

This is taken from the same LNS interview as the excerpt that appears on page 4.



# Why poison gas is out but herbicides are in

by Emily Tarasov

Everybody knows the Army fouled up—as usual—with its trainload of nerve gas, endangering the lives of millions and finally disposing of it in a manner of dubious effectiveness, 283 miles off the coast of Florida.

But the question few commentators, capitalist or communist, have seriously raised is why the Army did this, rather than how.

The U.S. is destroying its nerve gas because it is no longer to its advantage to hold the threat of such a weapon over the people of the world. The more deadly chemical warfare has become, the more obsolete it has become, because the attacking nation is afraid the attacked will respond in kind. Even the Nazis, who developed the GB or Sarin gas that the U.S. just sank, concluded that they could not use it against England, because they did not know what nerve gas the British might use in retaliation.

After WW II the Pentagon and the American chemical companies could hardly wait to get the secret of this and other macabre chemicals and weapons developed by the Nazis. In fact,

they wanted Otto Ambros, Nazi Germany's foremost authority on toxic gas to come to the U.S. so they could gain from his diabolical experiments and developments.

Although Ambros was tried and imprisoned as a war criminal, his employer, the I.G. Farben Chemical Company, was only too happy to share its research with the duPonts of America and the Imperial Chemical Industries of Britain, since they were all partners in the same international chemical cartel.

## Nixon uses protocol to own ends

Nixon's decision (in 1970) to sign the 1925 Geneva Protocol (banning such poisons), which has already been signed by over 80 nations, stems from reasoning similar to Hitler's decision not to use GB against the British—he is afraid of retaliation. As long as the U.S. felt it had the upper hand by retaining the option of using chemical warfare, they would not sign the Protocol.

However, true to form, Nixon is now dictating "conditions" to signing the Protocol. Despite the fact that in December the UN voted 80 to 3 that the Geneva Protocol did ban tear

gas and herbicides, Nixon insists on their continued use by the U.S. because they are important weapons in Vietnam—and of course in demonstrations, uprisings and prison rebellions at home.

As the New York Times blatantly admits, "The U.S. took the position that a General Assembly vote did not have any force in interpreting international agreements."

## The irony of the nuclear age

There is bitter irony in this problem for the U.S. Nerve gas in and of itself seemed like the ultimate weapon, but in this nuclear age, as the victorious struggle of the Vietnamese has proven, it is still the power of the people that prevails. Even with all the napalm, rockets, infra-red detectors and other apparatus of modern military technology, the U.S. cannot win a military victory over the Vietnamese.

In the imperialists' insatiable drive to develop the power of so-called "overkill," they have forced the socialist nations to use their money and technology to develop similar weapons to balance out the doomsday technology of the imperialists.

As this recent episode with the nerve gas has shown, the final result is a stalemate which has literally withered away the power of these super-weapons. And furthermore, increasing numbers of people are revolted by such things and want to abolish them altogether.

Amid all the super-weapons of an imperialism gone mad, it is becoming clear that people, not gas or bombs, will prevail.

# How judges get "guilty" from "reasonable doubt"

The judges of this country are dictators—dictators who work for bigger dictators—but dictators, nevertheless.

It is already clear—to Movement people, at least—that the corrupt courts of the United States never give an opponent of the system an even break. And even the president of Yale University said he doubted whether a Black man, especially a Black Panther—could get a fair trial in this country.

But new evidence has now been uncovered showing that even when a jury shows doubt about conviction—and the law is supposed to be very precise that a defendant must be found guilty "beyond all reasonable doubt" or else be set free—the judge can still hang his victims anyway.

In the trial of the Chicago Eight, four jurors were against conviction on any count. And when they made this known to the judge after a whole day of deliberation, he sent them back to sweat it out some more.

The marshal who took the message to the judge told the dissenting jurors when he came back, "The judge can keep you here as long as he wants."

This and much more was told in the September issue of Evergreen Review by two of the jurors in the Chicago Eight trial—Mrs. Jean Fritz and Mrs. Shirley Seaholm.

The long vicious display of heartless antagonism to the militant defendants by Judge Hoffman was punctuated by the ruthless incarceration of Bobby Seale for four years for "contempt of court."

Hoffman had Bobby bound and gagged and beaten up right in court just for

demanding his constitutional rights to a lawyer of his choice and to cross-examine hostile witnesses. This was enough for the judge to give him four years in prison!

Later, he gave five years and ten thousand dollar fines to the other seven for the crime of exposing the Democratic Convention in Chicago.

Hoffman's conduct was obviously that of an enemy of the people and an instrument of the imperialist pigs.

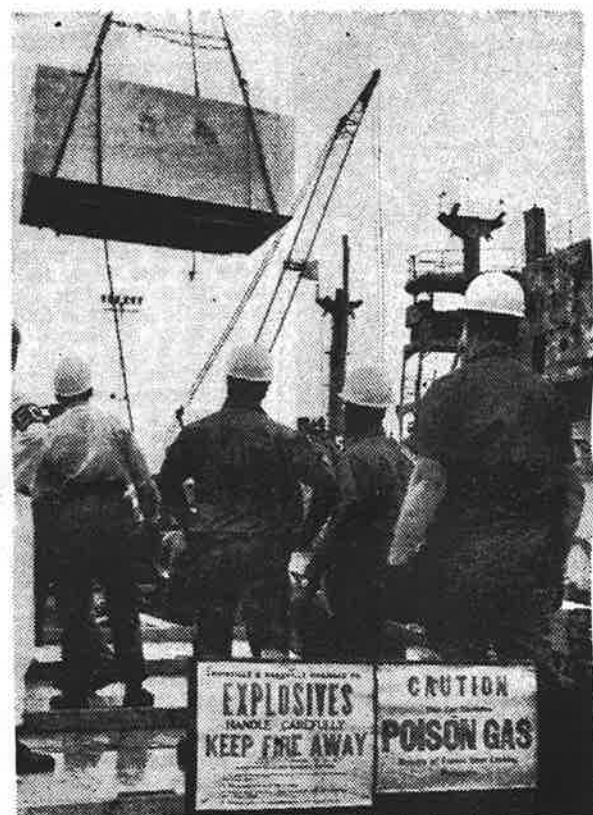
But judges do this and similar things all the time. They intimidate whole juries as well as witnesses for the defense and attorneys for the defendant. And they sustain objections of the prosecuting attorneys and slant a trial in a hundred ways that are within their power to do against anyone whose politics they disagree with.

Judges can also issue injunctions against strikes, demonstrations and rallies, putting down the power of the people with the edict of one man. And yet they are often appointed to their jobs, usually in return for political favors, campaign contributions and the like—or they get juicy ten-year and fourteen-year terms in office, nearly always nominated by the "boys in the back room" of the venal capitalist political parties.

They wear black robes to cover up their bloody deeds and to help them assume an air of impartiality which they never really have at all. An increasing number of them are outright crooks who take payoffs from their corrupt pals in the ruling class.

But even those who are "honest" are honest dictators against the poor. They are crucial links in the machinery of capitalist dictatorship in general.

The Pentagon only decided to dump these nerve gas rockets when they no longer had any military value.



# Black leader kidnapped

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—Ed Johnson, 20, a founder of the Malcolm X United Liberation Front, was kidnapped on his way to work June 2, and is still held by the pigs on trumped-up charges of possession of a firebomb and arson. Evidence has never been produced! The arrest, part of an effort to undermine the liberation of the Black community, instead, united the community behind the Front.

Following the slaughter of Black people in Augusta and Jackson this spring, the Black community of Tallahassee was invaded by red neck pigs—a repeat of the invasion which followed the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968. Black men in Tallahassee were again falsely accused of fire-bombing! "I got kidnapped," Johnson said.

Earlier, in April, Roland Mitchell and Jimmy Jefferson of the Front were arrested allegedly for displaying rifles in public, and then released on bond. Later, pigs harassed sister Gail Perkins. "Sheriff's deputies came to the house...questioned me and fingerprinted me without charging me... They called me stupid. 'Look at your ugly face,' they said." "They also said we come from another planet, which I took to mean that Black people are not human."

The sheriff's department is using

these frame-ups to escalate intimidation in the entire Black community. According to the Front, "This intimidation is not a local idea. This is a national idea—to jail, harass and kill the leaders in the Black community all around the country—stretching from Nixon down to Hamlin (county sheriff). The poor whites and Blacks of this county elected Hamlin and we can unelect him."

MXULF was organized January 1970 to serve the community with a liberation school and breakfast program. The Front has mobilized the community against the expansion of Florida State U. Florida State, "where Blacks attend to the service labor and whites to their education," trains pigs. The Community Patrol of MXULF put an end to a vicious cycle which plagued the Black community. "Pigs bootlegged liquor in and then busted the brothers for drinking. And the only way a brother could get out of jail was to call his racist boss who bailed him out." The boss never pays again, because a Black man in his debt is treated like a slave. "We stopped this... Brother Johnson did this." And, for this, brother Johnson was constantly tailed by the pigs before they kidnapped him. FREE ED JOHNSON, Bail is \$12,500, send checks to: Malcolm X United Liberation Front, 317 N. Macomb, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301. (904) 222-1733

# The Crime of Martin Sostre

By Vincent Copeland

The frameup of a political prisoner dissected and his framers indicted with their own words.

Available from Workers World

\$1.95 postage paid

# Architects of world counterrevolution at work in New Mexico

by Ellen Pierce

The Ford Foundation has many faces. It is a tax dodge and a patron of the arts. It sponsors studies and funds various projects. In New Mexico it is working hard to convince the oppressed Raza population that it has a product better than struggle for ending poverty.

In 1967 a group known as the Alianza, which has been fighting to regain land stolen from them by U.S. courts and businesses, raided a federal courthouse at Tierra Amarilla to make a citizen's arrest of a district attorney who was persecuting their people.

The government, which has faced many kinds of courtroom disruptions since then from its would-be victims (from birthday cakes in Chicago to an executed judge in San Rafael) was alarmed. So were the corporations

exploiting the land and people in the fifth largest state.

These corporations include timber companies, which cut 154 million board-feet from U.S. forests in New Mexico last year, and the oil industry. Over \$600 million worth of oil came out of this state in 1969. Atlantic-Richfield Oil, the company that made the first strike on Alaska's North Slope, has its headquarters in Roswell, New Mexico.

So the Ford Foundation has moved in with a two-pronged attack and about \$5 million.

On the political front they created well-funded puppet organizations to steer Mexican-Americans away from the militant Alianza and its demands for land and justice. On the economic front, Ford built an ultra-modern 200 acre feedlot in La Jara which was sup-

posed to help poor ranchers and farmers in a proposed "South-Southwestern Producers Cooperative."

The federal government chipped in another million dollars through its Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and lent \$1.5 million more.

The feedlot's manager—the brother-in-law of a Ford Foundation executive—refused to do business with the Chicano ranchers or farmers. He quietly set up his own corporation to receive the assistance supposed to go to the small local farmers under the government-Ford Home Education Livelihood Program (known as HELP).

HELP was an OEO brainchild which Ford pumped money into in order to build an "alternative" to the struggles of the Alianza. Although HELP was squeezed out of the deal by nepotism and shady maneuvers, it was too closely tied in with the whole operation to expose the swindle.

The foundation has been quite open about its goal of pacifying the people even though it is naturally quiet about the unsavory money matters surrounding the feedlot.

"We're going to show these people like (Alianza leader) Reies Tijerina, we're going to show these advocates of violence that Ford has a better way," said Boudinot P. Atterbury, Ford executive and brother-in-law of feedlot manager Claude Lowry.

McGeorge Bundy, former advisor to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson and now Ford Foundation president,

put it even more bluntly. He praised the various puppet organizations set up as having "taken the first steps toward converting the long pent-up anger and frustration of its people, even in danger of explosion and violence, into beneficial programming and planning. We are glad to assist in this pioneering effort to provide constructive direction to the growing energy and momentum of the Mexican-American movement."

But it was McGeorge Bundy who drew up the great master plans for conquering Vietnam and Cuba. His colonizing plans for New Mexico are about as likely to succeed as his earlier ones. The struggle of the Spanish-speaking millions in the Southwest has only begun, and all Ford's pacifying projects cannot stop it now.

The Boss

The Brain



Henry Ford II

McGeorge Bundy

# U.S. gamblers come to Yugoslavia

"Belgrade: New Yugo 'Las Vegas'," was the headline in the Long Island Press of August 27. You may have to look twice to believe it, but the government of Yugoslavia has invited a combine of American gambling kingpins to set up a big-time gambling casino at the Hotel Yugoslavia in Belgrade.

It took an armed, socialist revolution to rid Cuba of the parasitic U.S.-owned gambling houses which crowded Havana with businessmen, gangsters and pimps. Yet today, the reactionary leadership of Yugoslavia has invited these same capitalist gangsters—the syndicate calls itself Jericho—to run a casino. For just \$650 in chips, the government will throw in luxury accommodations overlooking the Sava River, which include drinks, meals and even medical care.

This development is a particularly graphic example of the degenerate character of the bureaucrats who govern in Yugoslavia today. It represents the most vile form of backsliding toward capitalist relations in a long

series of attempts to dismantle and decentralize the economy of Yugoslavia. And this new venture is but another attempt by U.S. imperialism to penetrate Yugoslavia by the most degrading methods.

"We have had nothing but the most wonderful and enthusiastic cooperation from the government and the tourist administration here," said the American Albert Volpe, the director of Jericho. "They've given us everything we've asked for and we are allowed to take out everything we net at the tables." This capitalist parasite had nothing but good words for the "communist" regime.

How can gambling be revived in a country where socialism was supposed to have done away with such rotten social practices?

The appearance of gambling in Yugoslavia is the logical conclusion of years of revisionist rule there. It is not at all surprising (although dismaying) that such a degenerate business would appear in Yugoslavia since that

country is probably the least socialist of all the socialist countries and has had the most consistent policy (since 1948) of conciliation with imperialism.

The bureaucrats who run the country abandoned Marxism long ago. They have begun the dismantling of the socialist system itself in order to secure privileged positions for themselves. And they are courting imperialist business in a get-rich-quick scheme to develop the economy. In the process, U.S. imperialism is trying in every way possible to get a stranglehold on the small Yugoslav economy in order to force it back towards capitalism.

Consciously or not, the Yugoslav bureaucrats are steering the working class back to wage slavery in the camp of imperialism. What Yugoslavia needs is not U.S. dollars from the gambling tables; the working class of Yugoslavia needs a revolutionary leadership that will break all its ties with imperialism, end the privileges of the bureaucracy and revive revolutionary Marxism-Leninism.



Six of the "Los Siete"—giving the cross-arm Zapata salute of the Mexican Revolution.

# Los Siete on trial

The trial of Los Siete de la Raza is now under way in San Francisco with supporters of the seven filling the court every day. Along with the frame-up of the Soledad Brothers, the case of Los Siete may make San Francisco the repression capital of the country. The seven Chicano defendants are charged with murdering a pig during a scuffle involving two cops and several Mexican-Americans. One cop's gun went off, the other cop was killed, and six of Los Siete (the seventh was not captured) have been in jail since the incident occurred in July 1969.

A rally of several thousand was held near San Francisco's City Hall last month demanding freedom for Los Siete, the Soledad Brothers and all political prisoners. As David Hilliard, Black Panther Chief of Staff told the rally, "We must do everything in the idiom of Jonathan Jackson."

Free Los Siete!



## Book review

### UP AGAINST THE BRASS by Andy Stapp

## To get the Brass against the wall

A few weeks ago, while I was standing on a street corner in the Bronx, a convoy of about 20 Army trucks passed by. The driver of every vehicle except two responded to my clenched fist salute with either a clenched fist of his own or a V sign. I thought of this when I read Andy Stapp's new book, "Up Against The Brass." It describes the birth and meteoric growth of the American Servicemen's Union, the organization that is taking these clenched fists and transforming them from an unwilling tool of the oppressor into a willing fighter for the oppressed.

The basic concepts of the ASU were formed out of the struggles that Stapp and a small nucleus of anti-war GIs were involved in at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in 1966 and 1967. Incidents cited by the author early in the book suggest three basic concepts underlie the ASU approach to GI organizing:

First, GIs have ample reason to despise the brass, as well as the war, through and through. Second, the vast majority of GIs dare not act on their hatred of the brass unless they are convinced they have sufficient strength behind them. Finally, the brass will crush any opposition that doesn't have both organization and the determination to struggle, but opposition that does have these qualities is strengthened every time the brass attack it.

The small group of anti-war GIs at Fort Sill grew, was attacked by the brass, stood up successfully to the attack, and grew again. This cycle re-

peated itself until, on Christmas morning in 1967, 14 GIs, each from a different base, gathered in New York City and formally founded the American Servicemen's Union.

By this time Stapp had been court-martialed twice, and each court-martial had served as a focus around which to build support. In particular, civilian support had come from Youth Against War & Fascism, traveling all the way from New York.

The townspeople in the neighboring town of Lawton, Oklahoma responded to this civilian aid by almost lynching two YAWF members, Maryann Weissman and Key Martin; the Army responded by charging them with "trespass" after they had been barred from Fort Sill. And they were sentenced to six months in jail.

At the Christmas Day founding meeting the eight-point program of the ASU was adopted:

- 1) An end to the saluting and sir-ing of officers.
- 2) Rank-and-file control over court-martial boards.
- 3) An end to racism in the Armed Forces.
- 4) Federal minimum wages for all enlisted men.
- 5) The right of GIs to collective bargaining.
- 6) The right of free political association.
- 7) The election of officers by enlisted men.

speaker who kept circling away in the crowd while continuing to speak. The other pig oinked for help over his walkie-talkie as the crowd started to chant, "Let him speak! Let him speak!"

The police were unable to take the ASU speaker into custody and the cop who was chasing him tripped several times in the crowd. In frustration, the cops grabbed brother Pete Perkins but in the process the crowd relieved one officer of his club, cap and badge. Finally, to the cops' relief, a paddy wagon arrived with reinforcements and took Perkins away.

The cops who were still on foot retreated towards 6th Avenue followed by an angry crowd. When they got close to their buddies in three more police cars, the cops reached into the crowd and dragged Tarasov into one of the cars.

This made the people even angrier and they started shouting, "Off the pig! Fascist pigs!" After taking a look at the mood of the people on the street the pigs decided to make a tactical retreat and left the scene.

After the police left a militant talk was made at the scene on the nature of the police by YAWF'er Veronica Golos. The ASU street meeting then resumed, again attracting several hundred people.

## Police violence fails to break up ASU street meeting

NEW YORK—"A policeman's lot is not a happy one," might be the observation of cops in this city who try to break up the democratic assemblies of the people nowadays. People just aren't taking it from the pigs anymore.

At about 9 p.m. on August 29 Tactical Patrol Force police temporarily broke up a street meeting being held by the American Servicemen's Union, arresting an ASU brother, Pete Perkins, and a supporter from Youth Against War & Fascism, Ned Tarasov. The ASU literature table and street meeting were set up on the street on 8th St. east of 6th Avenue, as were other tables and activities since the street was closed to traffic as one of Mayor Lindsay's so-called "free malls."

ASU organizers John Lewis, Andy

Stapp, Mitch Smith and Tom Soto had been rapping for about an hour to an attentive crowd of several hundred people about GIs organizing around the world against the war, racism and oppression by the Brass, when two TPF pigs approached. One pig oinked that the meeting had to stop "because there was no American flag" present.

An ASU brother argued with the cops demanding to know when they had enforced this "law" before and letting them know they had no right to break up the meeting.

At the same time, the cop's words were being tape-recorded, pictures were being taken and another ASU brother continued speaking to the crowd pointing out this example of fascist repression.

One cop tried to stop the ASU

## A bomb frameup backfires

Apparently to celebrate the historic July 26 attack on Moncada Barracks in Cuba, someone planted three bombs in the Central Telephone Exchange of the Army at Camp McCoy on that date this year, and the bombs went off with considerable destructive effect.

The Brass tried to pin the "dastardly deed" on the American Servicemen's Union, but failed.

The account below is part of a longer story written by ASU field organizer, Pvt. John Lewis (Ret.) and appeared in the Bond of August 26.

Because of ASU successes like at Camp McCoy, and at bases and stations throughout the world, the U.S. military has been trying its damnest to bust up the GI union. They have tried every kind of low and vile means such as frame-ups, like at Camp McCoy, harassment, illegal restriction and confinement and just about anything else you could think of.

But the Brass at McCoy under-

estimated a lot of things: (1) they thought the ASU brothers would break under the tremendous strain of the pig investigations (sometimes three and four CID, FBI and MI pigs would gang up on the brothers during illegal interrogations); (2) the Brass thought the men would have no support on the base among the GIs; and (3) they thought they had the men isolated from the outside world, since McCoy is 150 miles from a town of any size.

The Brass thought, and the Brass were wrong.

(1) The men were anything but broken. They were strong and solid; not one of them ratted on their brothers. (2) The men had support on the base and in the barracks; even some friendly MPs kept them informed about what the Brass were going to do next. And (3) the ASU men were far from isolated. Brother Steve Geden called the national office of the ASU in New York and told us what the Brass were up to. Right away we called Milwaukee and got a lawyer for the guys. The next day the lawyer, David Heitzman, filed a writ of habeas corpus in Federal

Court in Milwaukee; the Army had to either release the men or charge them with something—at any rate the Army had to stop the illegal restriction, harassment and interrogation of the men.

The writ hearing was to be held on Wednesday, August 19, so the national office sent me out to Camp McCoy to organize support for the men on base and off base. I arrived in Milwaukee on the Monday before the hearing, and I contacted a long time supporter of the ASU, the Milwaukee branch of Youth Against War & Fascism (YAWF). YAWF issued a press release and distributed a leaflet in Milwaukee to publicize the case; it called for a demonstration on the 19th, when the habeas corpus hearing was scheduled.

A carload of YAWF brothers and sisters and I drove up to the base to rap with the guys and tell them that they had support. We told them about the press release and that the radio stations in the Milwaukee area were broadcasting it. We told them about the demonstration that was going to be held at the Federal Building on the 19th and that we had planned a press

8) The right to disobey illegal and immoral orders.

The effect this program would have on the imperialist military is summed up succinctly when the author asks, "Suppose they gave a war and nobody came?"

Four months after the founding of the Union, the U.S. Army decided it couldn't stand Andy Stapp any more. He was given an "undesirable" discharge. As Stapp puts it, "I was out of the Army, but the fight against the Army had just begun."

Revolts in Vietnam stockades, at Fort Hood, at the Presidio stockade, at Fort Dix, and on many other bases focused public attention on the growing rebellion within the military. By July, 1969 the Union had grown to 6500 members, with almost every member an organizer in his own right. The ASU was represented on U.S. bases and fleets all over the world.

Today, what had begun with the efforts of Andy Stapp and a few others at Fort Sill has now blossomed into an organization that is taking the anti-war, anti-brass feelings of GIs and converting them into anti-war, anti-brass POWER.

"Up Against The Brass" reads like an adventure story—an adventure that the brass and their Wall Street bosses would prefer to forget, an adventure that one day will certainly form a prominent part of the history of the second American Revolution.—N.T.

Because we think "Up Against The Brass" is a book well worth reading, we are offering a free copy to all new subscribers to Workers World newspaper who take out a full-year first class subscription (\$5 per year). Or you may order "Up Against The Brass" direct from us for \$2.00 per copy.

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Many more Bonds (the newspaper of the ASU) were sold, as well as Andy Stapp's book, "Up Against The Brass" and in spite of the pig harassment (or maybe because of the fight against it) the ASU gained many new friends and two new members who signed up that evening.

conference for the day before the hearing to further publicize it.

The guys were really strong and cool about the whole scene. The Brass pigs hadn't intimidated them one bit. We had a long rap about the attempts of the Brass to frame the guys up. The brothers told us that they felt the pigs were more interested in busting the Union than they were in those old buildings.

We held the press conference the next day and all the TV stations and press were there. But even before the press conference was over the Brass at McCoy had backed down. They had cut orders to ship the guys to Ft. Carson, Colorado. The writ hearing set for Wednesday was cancelled.

ASU brothers Steve, Tom and Danny have been shipped to Ft. Carson. But others will take their places at McCoy, crushing the hopes of the Brass that the ASU will die out at that base. The Brass are in such a panic that they forget, or have no choice except to send the men to a base that has a fantastic record for resistance against the pigs and their policies. There are thousands of GIs on the base that are already resisting, and they could use three more strong union organizers. The last word we had from the guys was that they were going to continue their Union organizing no matter where the Brass send them.

# "We'll do it again in Cambodia" - Agnew

by Vincent Copeland

One thing about Spiro Agnew: he exposes the lies of his boss much more effectively than some of the doves of the loyal opposition. And although he is a very dangerous man, fully prepared to lead millions to their death, he also arouses the anger of the youth and educates them with dramatic lessons on the duplicity of the ruling class.

On August 23 he said in Guam, "We're going to do everything we can to help the Lon Nol government (in Cambodia)."

This meant more bombs, more planes, more corpses — and the almost certain return of the already betrayed GIs whom Nixon promised he would never send back to Cambodia.

Whether or not Nixon was embarrassed by Agnew's frankness, he soon stamped it with his approval. His right-hand men at the "Summer White House" in San Clemente told newsmen on August 26 that Agnew had consulted with Nixon before he made the statement and was "within the framework of national policy" when he uttered it.

The meaning of Agnew's brazen words is simply this: that U.S. troops went into Cambodia last May not in order to "save lives" of U.S. troops in Vietnam, but to save the hides of U.S. puppets in Cambodia and to try to crush the revolution in that country.

Everybody knew it anyway, but the fascist-minded Agnew figures that by saying it out loud he can line up more of the racist, warhawking, tub-thumping "patriots" behind a policy of bomb-all, kill-all in Cambodia. He knows the real people are opposed to the war and to him. But he also knows that he must arouse the frenzy of a dynamic minority to put the fascist line across — assuming everybody else is asleep with liberal sleeping pills.

Of course he again used the phony argument about "saving GI lives," but this time he said that winning the civil war in Cambodia (not just destroying a few bunkers or caches of war material) was necessary to "protect" GIs in Vietnam.

"It would be impossible for the Vietnamization program and the disengagement of American troops to take place if Cambodia falls," he said.

Why?

Because more American troops than ever would be needed to intervene against a socialist or even a neutralist Cambodia. And the intervention has been decided upon despite all Harris polls, Gallup polls, and the "sense of the United States Senate." With Agnew's statement, every child over the age of ten can now figure this out for himself.

U.S. domination of Southeast Asia must continue and be extended — that is Agnew's message. Every GI and potential draftee can now get this message by tuning in on any daily newspaper.

(which was already a certainty before his speech) "this nation will not go down in humiliating defeat on the battlefield of Southeast Asia."

Hatfield's response to Agnew's attack provides a good measure of the seriousness of the doves' attempts to end the war. "If this amendment proposed what the Vice President claimed, I would be the first to oppose it," promised Hatfield. What exactly would Hatfield be the first to oppose?

Hatfield pointedly emphasized that "if the President decides that conditions prevent the orderly and responsible withdrawal of American troops within the stated timetable, all that is necessary is Congressional action to provide the needed time. Such a proposal can scarcely be termed precipitous."

Such a proposal can scarcely be termed a serious attempt to end the war! And it is even less of a sign of struggle against Agnew from Hatfield's corner.

## Hatfield et al. do fear fascism

However, the essence of the Agnew-Hatfield debate concerns something far more significant than the true character of the end-the-war legislation.

"The Vice President's speech entails a direct attack on our constitutional process. Apparently he either fails to comprehend or simply disagrees with the provisions of our Constitution... The real threat to our American way of life is within the household of America rather than 10,000 miles away in Indochina."

It is possible that Hatfield meant only to criticize the undiplomatic language used by Agnew. More likely, he had in mind a much more serious threat — the possibility that the Nixon Administration will simply ignore Congress if and when the latter passes some sort of law designed to end the war.

Whether or not Hatfield fully realizes it, this solution — the overthrow of parliamentary democracy in favor of a fascist state — is a more and more tempting means of solving the mounting crises facing the U.S. ruling class.

From the perspective of a substantial section of the ruling class, liberal politicians like Hatfield, Fulbright, McCarthy, et al., are rapidly becoming obsolete. They are, after all, the great deceivers, in a period when the art of deception grows ever more difficult to sell.

During those periods of capitalist rule when the



## A liberal Senator stands up (on his knees)

by Edward James

This fall, thousands of youth will be adding their energies to the election campaigns of various dove politicians all across the country. In response to Vice President Agnew's recent attack against the senators sponsoring legislation to end the Indochina war by December 1971, many of these youth will redouble their efforts to elect liberal politicians, not just in hopes of ending the war, but also in the belief that such politicians will protect the country from the threat of open fascism that Agnew has come to personify.

"Stop the war?

Don't misunderstand us!"

Ironically, if Agnew's August 17th speech before a veterans' group and the replies of Senators Hatfield and Fulbright reveal anything, it is the futility of trying to end the war or to fight fascist repression through electoral politics. More openly than ever before, Agnew's speech made it quite clear that the Nixon Administration has no intention whatsoever of ending the war. He warned that the so-called end-the-war legislation was a "blueprint for the first military defeat" for the U.S., and pledged that if the legislation were defeated

bourgeoisie is powerful enough to dominate the masses through deception and little else, liberal politicians and parliamentary democracy accomplish the job all too efficiently. But as one crisis after another gradually burns away the deception, allowing the people to see things as they really are, naked force tends to oust deception from the throne.

## Dying system prone to coups

This resort to naked force (which has always ruled over Black America) may come to the rest of America in the person of Agnew, Nixon, Wallace or some as yet unknown politician or general. Neither its exact timing nor form can be predicted, but its inexorable logic is derived from the dynamics of class struggle during the age of capitalist decline.

One faction of the ruling class, strong enough to impose its will on the entire ruling class, may decide one day that only naked force can protect the rule of the capitalist class as a whole. And such a group would accept the risk that an attempted coup d'etat might stoke the flames of revolution rather than smother them.

## But liberals can't even stand up to words

Since there is more than a hint of incipient fascism in the air already, the question of how best to fight it is relevant right now. There are some within the leadership of the anti-war movement who dimly perceive this and advocate dependence on the liberal politicians like Hatfield. But if Hatfield can hardly stand up to Agnew in a verbal argument, where would he be in a resort to bullets?

By supporting the efforts of the liberals, they say, the revolutionaries "can take advantage of the contradictions within the ruling class."

There are contradictions to take advantage of. But such support for and dependence on the liberal politicians in no way takes advantage of them, but merely wastes all the strength that the movement has built up.

Now, when objective conditions make it so much easier for people to see through the deceptions offered by the liberals and electoral politics, a real crime is committed by those who nervously try to hold history back by propping up the moribund bourgeois system — liberals and all — instead of chopping it down.