

RAIL STRIKE!

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BULLETIN, 12:01 a.m., Dec. 10—A half million U.S. railroad workers have gone on strike after a year of getting the runaround from the companies and their government and after 24 years without a general, national walkout. Picket lines are up at stations and roundhouses throughout the country. Trains that were in motion before this minute are continuing to run until they reach the next major destination—where crews will abandon them.

The strike not only shatters the government-imposed "class peace" on the railroads, it also ex-

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Black and white, unite and fight for a

WORKERS WORLD

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The class struggle came home with a vengeance when cops cracked heads of striking printers in San Rafael last year. Will bigger battles result from the economic crisis now looming?

IS THE SYSTEM CRACKING?

Was the head of the Federal Reserve Bank right a year ago when he warned that the conditions for another 1929 existed in the American economy?

The stock market decline of the last two years hasn't been quite the same as 1929. But signs that the economy is cracking apart are growing every day. Some are obvious and others subtle, but they are causing increasing alarm to Wall Street and Washington.

Take the matter of Howard Hughes' sudden disappearance from his Las Vegas luxury suite. For popular consumption, the press plays it as a bizarre act of a rich man of mystery. But in the Wall Street Journal, Hughes' sudden trip to the Bahamas is taken more seriously. This financial sheet points out that the gambling casino-hotel industry has been ailing ever since the economy started its downturn, and that Hughes' empire in Nevada has been hit badly by the slump.

The Governor of Nevada himself hurried to a rendezvous spot in order to talk to Hughes on the phone. And no wonder. The major industry of his state is on the rocks, and Hughes, whose overall empire is estimated at \$2 billion, is the second biggest wheeler and dealer in Nevada properties. The financial scandal that appears to be brewing in the Hughes' empire is a symptom that the capitalist market in general is shrinking.

Of course, gambling casinos and luxury hotels, no matter how profitable in the past, are only a marginal industry. But it is just such areas on the fringes of capitalist production that are the first to be affected by a general decline.

Although not mentioned too often anymore, the demise of the Penn Central Railroad sent another shock wave through the economy. The collapse of such a large corporation can so dangerously affect the whole system that the New York Times editorially considered the remedy of nationalizing the railroads as an alternative to bankruptcy.

The bosses only talk about nationalizing when an industry is consistently losing money, and they want the people to foot the bill. Such measures were taken by British capital at the end of the war when it was faced with a severe economic crisis. It was bailed out of its predicament by a massive infusion of U.S. capital. But the present crisis in U.S. transportation is more directly the result of the means of production outgrowing the social system, and there is no solution for capitalism in sight.

Rulers fight over SST

The aerospace industry provides another indicator of how serious the developing economic crisis is. Once the fastest growing (and most profitable) area of the economy, it has suffered crippling blows in the last year. (Howard Hughes has most of his holdings in this field, by the way.) The tremendous outlays of government funds that proved so lucrative to these corporations have been cut back in the general economy moves to curb inflation. But now the military-industrial complex is putting tremendous pressure on to keep the SST (super-sonic transport) program alive, and their

champion is none other than Richard Nixon himself, the noble inflation fighter!

In a special message to Congress, Nixon called the Senate's vote to stop funds for the development of the SST a "devastating mistake" and a "mortal blow" to the aerospace industry for years to come. Obviously, Nixon feels that if there is further budget cutting to be done, it should take place in less "important" areas like health, welfare, etc.

These dramatic indicators of deep trouble are matched by the level of individual bankruptcies and the mortality of small businesses. These cockroach capitalists can no longer feed on the crumbs left over by big capital and are croaking left and right.

The capitalist class is beginning to resort to more deadly warfare within its own ranks, the strong feeding on the weak, the squabbles between different interests and groupings coming into the open. And while this is happening, the workers, themselves frustrated and dismayed by shrinking paychecks and rising unemployment, have a chance to eavesdrop on the bosses' feuds.

A worker wondering how he's going to be able to afford hamburger sees that the big bosses are crying because their billion-dollar assets are shrinking into the millions.

Hard facts for hard hats

The confidence of even the most brainwashed workers in the "free enterprise" system is getting

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--System cracking?

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a good going-over. Take the construction workers. Despite Nixon's delight at the hard hat demonstrations in New York and his meeting at the time with Peter Brennan of the Building Trades Council at the White House, it is precisely the construction workers who were recently singled out by the same Nixon for attack because their wage demands are "inflationary."

This, when one-third of the construction workers are now unemployed, and those working are desperately trying to save ahead for a cushion against future layoffs. This is the payment the bosses give for loyalty to their racist, pro-war policies. It is a lesson that cannot be ignored.

Layoffs hit woman and youth

The economic crisis is hitting hardest the people who have already been showing disillusionment with the system—women and youth. The highest rate of layoffs is now among women aged 20 to 24. So in addition to being oppressed as women, in a thousand cultural ways, women are now feeling the crunch as workers.

A tremendous spur to the dynamic women's liberation movement has been the fact that women in the last ten years have been entering the labor

force at a rate four times as great as that of men. This has terribly intensified the pressure on women who must work and fulfill the "woman's role" in the house and family. But now that women are being laid off in such great numbers, their problems will worsen even further.

The consistently high unemployment rate among teenagers has prompted some government "experts" to propose that the minimum wage law be "adjusted," since if bosses could get away with paying young people less than the minimum wage, there'd be less unemployment in this age group. It doesn't take a genius to figure out that there's something fishy about this one. Obviously what these proteges of Nixon are really proposing is that wages in general be lowered.

If the bosses could get away with paying younger workers less than the minimum wage, then they'd merely hire the youth instead of older workers, since there is a growing surplus of labor. Such a supply-and-demand situation unregulated by any of the gains won by organized labor would set off a general attack on wages.

It goes without saying that while new layers of the population are now being hit hard by unemployment, it is still the Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano people who suffer the most. The depression of the '30s never ended in the oppressed communities, and the prospect of another crisis means that the already unbearable conditions will be intensified.

Class struggle reasserts itself

Despite the cringing, hand-in-glove collaborationist policies of the union bureaucrats,

deteriorating objective conditions are forcing the American working class once again to sharpen the tools of class struggle and blow the dust off the militant tactics used in the rise of the union movement.

Labor peace and sweetheart tactics are giving way to strikes and wildcats, slowdowns, rank-and-file caucuses, Black caucuses, and a general heightening of tension in the plants that often breaks out in individual acts of rebellion against the foreman and supervisors.

As we go to press, a nationwide railroad strike is imminent despite Nixon's threats to call in the troops. The taxi drivers are out in New York City, an important steel strike is being waged in South Carolina, and at least two major wildcat strikes are going on.

Marxism is not a crystal ball. But it does illuminate the organic connection between social phenomena and the changing means of production. Most important, it shows that class struggle is the dynamic moving force of capitalist society.

The basic antagonism between workers and bosses has been muted in this country in the recent decades of victorious imperialist expansion. But it now appears to be reasserting itself as the freight train of capitalist expansion runs out of fuel.

Unable to make war without further extending the shaky monetary structure, and unable to accept peace without starting a disastrous stagnation of production, the ruling class finds itself on the horns of a dilemma. Whatever policies they pursue, they are going to sacrifice class peace on the altar of their greed for profit, unwillingly bringing home the revolutionary struggle that has begun the assault upon their outposts of empire.

YAWF activist recovers from injury

Following is an interview with Pam Meyers, an activist in Youth Against War & Fascism who was injured on a recent demonstration in Philadelphia.

Q. You were injured in an attack by JDL. Would you tell us the circumstances?

A. YAWF was asked to participate in a demonstration against fascist Philadelphia police chief Rizzo who was getting an award from the Israeli state-run "labor organization"—the Histadrut, for "outstanding service to the community." This demonstration combined two of the most important questions facing the movement today—the U.S. imperialist's propping up of Israel against the heroic struggle of the Palestinians and the genocidal attacks on Black people, especially the Black Panther Party.

Just before the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention session in Philadelphia, Rizzo's pigs tried to smash the Panther offices and openly talked about having shoot-outs with the Panthers. As a side-light, Rizzo was almost Wallace's running mate in 1968. In light of all this, we felt we should support the

demonstration against Rizzo.

We came with banners and flags supporting the Palestinian struggle and demanding an end to the war against Black America.

True to their racist character, about 20 JDLers (the so-called Jewish Defense League) were demonstrating to support Rizzo. Their signs were aimed mainly against the Panthers and they had an Israeli flag and a huge American flag.

(From all our experience with this fascist organization we have seen that the only ones they defend are Nixon, Mitchell, Rizzo, etc., and in fact, act as stormtroopers for the ruling class against the Black people and revolutionary people. And we have also seen that the pigs consistently back them up and rescue them when it looks like they can't win.)

After about an hour the demonstration moved out to go to a planned rally. As we moved past a group of "Radical" Zionists, who claimed to oppose Rizzo, a couple of JDLers emerged from their ranks and attacked our section of the demo. At this point I was struck in the face with a pole. It smashed my glasses into my eye. I saw one of our people and hung on to him and he helped move me to a safer area.

Several people kept coming up and saying "Oh, god" and other hysterical things which were the last thing I needed to hear. So I and other other YAWF people told anyone who did this to leave. The main thing to do in this situation is to be cool—that's the best help to give anyone who's injured. Sharon Martin of YAWF, who's a nurse, stayed with me and the rest of the YAWF delegation arranged to go ahead with the demonstration.

Q. What kind of medical treatment did you need and how is your eye now?

A. Well, a woman on the demonstration remembered where there was an eye hospital. We drove there.

I was in the emergency room for over three hours while they took the glass out of my eye and sewed up the

wound under my eye. Sharon stayed with me the whole time and I'm surprised I didn't break all her fingers when I was holding her hand.

It was a weird thing—but I just assumed I had lost any sight in that eye and took the whole thing calmly. You sort of say to yourself, okay, that's it, there's nothing you can do about it so just stay cool.

In the beginning the doctors had very little hope for any sight in that eye. The amazing thing is that, as of now, I have almost full sight and it's getting better. The doctors themselves are all amazed! I like to say it's because of revolutionary determination, but I was also very lucky to get such good medical attention.

Q. The cops often open the way for attacks on demonstrations. Was this the case in Philadelphia?

A. Well, the cops made a show of dividing the fascist JDL from the revolutionary demonstrators. But when the JDL, after infiltrating our demonstration, attacked, the pigs did nothing to stop them. In fact, when they finally came in and took two JDLers away, the one who hit me and another one, the pigs let them go around the corner. In essence what the pigs were doing was rescuing them from the crowd of furious militants.

Afterwards, while I was in the hospital, the detectives came up almost every day to ask if we had any information on who did "this terrible thing." Well, you can be sure that after seeing what they did when they had the guy right in their hands that we weren't going to tell the cops anything.

Q. Your husband, Joel Meyers, is in prison for refusing to commit crimes against the Vietnamese people. Were

you able to tell him what happened?

A. Joel is at Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary which is about four hours away from Philadelphia. The night this happened we sent a telegram to him. That was Sunday. It took as long as Wednesday for him to be allowed to call me. But he could only call New York since he didn't have my exact number in Philadelphia. When he found I wasn't home yet, the prison officials didn't allow him another phone call.

On Thursday, YAWF kept trying to get Joel out of prison to see me. Fran Meyers, his sister, called the prison and told them that my condition would be much improved by seeing my husband. This should be an automatic procedure—when a relative, especially a wife or husband, is seriously injured, the prison is supposed to allow an immediate visit. But after phoning all day, and the doctor herself calling, the prison refused.

It's just one more reason for tearing down the U.S. concentration camps!



Pam and Joel Meyers

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Editors: Naomi Cohen

Deirdre Griswold

Contributing Editors: Vincent Copeland
Fred Goldstein

Manager: Dorothy Ballan

Technical Editor: Rita Mullins

Editorial office:

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New York, N.Y. 10010

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'Bayonets won't make the trains go,' say RR workers

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poses the liberals like Senator Javits and Secretary of Labor Hodgson who talked so big but could not come up with even a good promise to the workers, much less a hard agreement to make the companies come across with the needed raises.

All of labor, high-paid or low, must rally behind the railroad workers and show a united front against the whole boss class and its government. The smoke-screen of propaganda about the workers hurting the "public" is only meant to conceal the great mountains of money accumulated by the railroad bosses and the large numbers of bayonets being sharpened to try to cut the workers down.

The government is plotting to shorten the strike and betray the strikers with the same or a similar phony wage formula to the one they put over on the postal workers last March. Let us all join with the railroad workers in condemning this in advance.

Down with the company chiseling and government betrayals! Down with railroad owners in government clothing! All power to the railway strike!

DEC. 8—The U.S. railroad workers are set to blow the long whistle at 12:01 tomorrow night in what may be the most dramatic and certainly is one of the most needed strikes of this century.

The U.S. railroad barons and the whole capitalist class, together with all of their sycophants of the press and the rest of the "media," have created the impression for decades that railroad workers do not have a right to strike. And during the last two or three days they have primed the propaganda pump still more and spewed out a shower of dire predictions about how the "public" is going to suffer.

Nixon is even now ordering out the troops against the American working class as he has done against the Vietnamese working class. The troops are to run the trains and if "necessary" to shoot the railroad workers.

This was what Truman threatened to do in the rail strike of 1946 and what Grover Cleveland and Rutherford B. Hayes actually did in the strikes of the nineteenth century, killing and wounding hundreds, including women and children who supported the strikers.

The rail workers, who make less money than the bus drivers of any major city, and much less than

over-the-road truck drivers, are absolutely fed up with being stalled by the companies and double-talked by the government.

For nearly fifty years they have suffered under the anti-labor Railway Labor Act, which makes it ninety-nine and nine-tenths per cent impossible to strike, and under which these workers have seen their standing drop from first in pay among the major industries to twentieth, and then lower.

Workers pushing labor bureaucrats

Their anger long ago reached the boiling point and as a matter of fact has provided the whole head of steam behind the union leaders' apparent militancy. These leaders, notorious tabby cats among top American labor leaders, none of whom could be called exactly wildcats, would not ordinarily lift a finger to fight the smallest and weakest railroad company, much less defy the most powerful of all imperialist governments.

But now they roar, as does particularly C.L. Dennis, president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, that "We must strike" and flatly—and correctly—accuse the government of being "clearly on the side of the profit-taking railway management."

Other rail union leaders say Nixon's intervention is "completely unacceptable" and point to the \$2 billion rate increase the roads have been given in less than two years.

These men are made of exactly the same stuff as Rademacher of the Postal Employees Union who was hung in effigy by the workers on the eve of their strike early this year, as he was forced to go along for a time with the strike.

And yet such is the irrepressible character of the class struggle in the United States, such is the dynamism of even the most placid labor unions in a period of the world crisis of American capitalism that the workers are demanding the strike so loudly that the leaders are defying the very government to which they have made it their lifework to adapt.

Inflation cuts pay

The workers have seen their paychecks practically torn from their grasp by the uncontrollable winds of inflation. They have seen in addition to the

\$2 billion fare increase for the roads, an offer of another \$500 million in a government loan just last month—a low loan which they instinctively and probably correctly feel will turn out to be an outright gift. They have seen Nixon give these things to their bosses and then get ready to give cold steel to them, the workers.

The \$500 million offered to the companies was not offered to enable them to pay the workers a raise—and it would come to a thousand dollars apiece for the 500,000 workers. It was a gimmick (of which there'll be more) to enable companies to pay the bankers—creditors of lines like the Penn Central.

(This company was manipulated into a phony bankruptcy in which small stockholders were fleeced and ruined and the train service neglected so the company could invest in other properties entirely with their fat income and make additional millions, untouched by the one-sided bankruptcy laws.)

The workers know better than anybody how utterly false and phony is the cry that they, the workers, are hurting the "public." This is not only because the workers are themselves the "public," but because the union offered to run all passenger trains during the strike—and the companies refused the offer!

The workers also know better than anybody—except the super-wealthy companies themselves—that the railroads are doing a tremendous business. They carry almost half of all the freight in the United States. And they moment a passenger line does not make money, they move to close it down, consolidating their efforts around the increasingly profitable freight business.

Workers vs. capitalist state

The workers simply refuse to listen to any more talk about delays and they regard the present Congressional plan to stall for another 45 days as a way of taking the steam out of their fight and reducing the heat of the crisis.

They are beginning to regard the whole Congressional and Administrative apparatus as a pack of rascals in league with the railroad companies. And while they have not made the political conclusions from these very correct observations, they may quite possibly do the political deeds that only political rebels might ordinarily do. Such is the logic of class struggle.

Wage-price freeze

You're being robbed!

Watch your pocketbook!

You have already lost about 66 cents a week in average money wages in recession-shortened hours this year. And you have lost about seven dollars out of a hundred-dollar paycheck (if you make that much) from price-gouging—politely called "inflation."

But now the bosses are out to lift another bundle from you. They call it "wage-price guidelines" and later on they'll call it "wage-price control."

And just to make the robbery more insulting and get you madder still, they tell you about it in advance.

That's what Nixon meant by his "second inflation alert" on December 1 when he talked like he had his hand right in your pocket already.

With all the billions there are lying around in banks and corporation treasuries and with yearly salaries for useless (or worse) people like Richard Nixon of \$200,000—plus expenses!—they're out to rob some more money from the 85 million working people. And why not, since even a nickel an hour robbed from that many people comes to \$8.5 billion dollars a year for the boss ruling class?

The chief concern of the present campaign against inflation, said the report of Nixon's Council of Economic

Advisers, "is the failure of the average rate of wage increase to slow down." That means that you are the cause of inflation because you think you are underpaid!

The seven per cent increase just negotiated by the unbelievably over-worked GM workers, says Nixon, is "inflationary"—and believe it or not, this is supposed to be a prime cause for 1.9 million people being thrown out of work from November, 1969 to October, 1970!

This is the worst juggling with figures and messing with logic that you can imagine. Because of their own inflation, the big bosses and bankers raised interest rates to slow down the rise in prices, because they thought the higher cost of borrowing would slow down the expansion of industry. It slowed down the expansion all right. The high cost of mortgages made it so hard for working people to buy a home, for instance, that now 340,000 house-building workers are out of work! But now, the government says, it's all your fault—all the workers' fault for demanding higher wages.

Now the liberals confuse you some more and pretend to stop the other capitalists from robbing you through higher prices. The liberals demand wage-price controls as opposed to Nixon's imitation of Johnson's "guidelines."

But the liberals are just planning to hold your hands so Nixon can take your money without a fight. Their demand for a more rigid wage-price system than Nixon's does create the impression that controls are somehow beneficial to the poor and your robbery is in the best interest of humanity.

But it just isn't so.

In the first place, neither the Nixon-



LNS PHOTO

ites nor the liberal capitalists propose a restriction on profits, but only on prices. In fact, both liberals and reactionaries assume that profits will continue upward even though prices remain stationary (which they absolutely will not).

According to their theory of inflation, there was only a three per cent rise in labor productivity last year, and thus a seven per cent rise in wages is four per cent "too high." Why? Because prices will have to be raised just that much so profits can remain the same.

But this simple arithmetic is as phony as a carnival shill's shell game.

A three per cent rise in labor productivity at General Motors means at least a six per cent rise in profits. Why? Because the amount of profit at GM has always been equal to or greater than the total amount of wages. That is, the workers at GM have always created at least 100 per cent surplus

value for their bosses.

So if you worked at GM and got a seven per cent raise you didn't get anything out of the bosses' previous profits at all but only out of their expected profits.

Nixon says you ought to have had only a three per cent rise in wages and maybe the price of Chevrolets would have remained the same. But since the company is producing three per cent more Chevrolets, they will make that much more profits, regardless.

But when did any U.S. government actually protect you from the price-gougers with or without "price control" and when did prices ever stay the same since imperialism and capitalist monopoly have existed? Their greatest rise, as a matter of fact, was begun in the period of so-called price-controls of the Second World War and the Korean War. If you don't keep fighting for more wages, you will be robbed again and again and again.

Hard times

K. Phillip Dresdner, a partner and manager of Faulkner, Dawkins & Sullivan's investment management department, thinks "it would not be unreasonable to expect corporate earnings" to be growing at an annual rate of 20 to 25% by the final quarter of 1971.

Report from the RPCC

Panthers hold the line in Washington

by Deirdre Griswold

Despite a government campaign to sabotage the Washington meeting of the Revolutionary Peoples' Constitutional Convention through both police attack and more insidious methods, several thousand people met over the Thanksgiving weekend to show their support for the Black Panther Party and the drawing up of a new revolutionary Constitution.

The intentions of the racist ruling class were made clear several days before the Convention was due to begin. Four carloads of Black people from New Orleans were stopped and arrested shortly after they had left their office to drive to Washington. Then the pigs attacked the New Orleans office of the National Committee to Combat Fascism in the Desire housing project, which had been defended by hundreds of residents in an earlier attempted police raid. This time the cops moved in in the dead of night disguised as ministers and mailmen.

They viciously assaulted the few people who had remained behind to defend the office, seriously wounding Betty Powell in the chest. She and five others were then arrested and held on bails up to \$75,000.

This set the stage for the Convention. However, in Washington itself, with a population over 70 per cent Black, the rulers knew that such tactics would only unify the community around the Black Panther Party, as had happened in Philadelphia. They needed a more subtle and insidious approach to sabotaging this meeting. And since Washington is the capital of the world-wide capitalist profit empire, with decades of experience in subversion of revolutionary struggles, such tactics came naturally to the pigs there.

The day before the Convention was to begin, Howard University withdrew the hall it had leased to the Panthers, returning a check for \$1,000. The University of Maryland and the D.C. Armory had already turned down requests for space. The main issue became whether or not a meeting of revolutionary peoples would be allowed to take place at all.

Some of the radical youth who had come to

Washington blamed the problems they encountered when they arrived on the Panthers' organization. Their restlessness at not finding a smoothly run program all ready for them was seized on by police agents in the crowd and attempts were made to split the Convention.

It should be well understood, however, that the problems of workshops cancelled, the postponing of the writing of a constitution, etc. were not organizational problems at all. The Panthers showed their excellent organizational abilities in such areas as defense and food distribution.

The problem was a political one. All the practical difficulties followed from the fact that the ruling class had been able to put enough pressure on the "educational" institutions of Washington to prevent the Panthers from getting an adequate hall.

Under these circumstances, the Black Panther Party showed its good judgment and discipline by getting out of a difficult situation without taking any casualties. It also had to contend with a changed political mood since Philadelphia -- a heritage of the "law and order"-saturated election campaign in which millions were spent by the ruling class parties to shape popular opinion.

The Panthers were able to provide a focus for the crowds at a church in the Black community, which broadcast over a loudspeaker entertainment by a rock group, the "Lumpen," and political raps including a speech by Defense Minister Huey P. Newton, and from which teams fanned out into the surrounding community to explain the goals of the Convention. Thousands couldn't get in, however, and dozens of Panthers worked smoothly at keeping the crowd outside the church disciplined.

Outside of the Panthers themselves, the largest disciplined delegation was that of Youth Against War & Fascism, which played an important role in combating the attempts to disintegrate the Convention. At one rump meeting of several hundred youth which had heard many criticisms, some out of frustration and some definitely hostile to the Black Panther Party, Fred Goldstein of Workers World

Party and YAWF turned the tide of the meeting with a strong speech pointing out that (1) the Panthers had given people every opportunity to incorporate their ideas in the constitution, from the very first registration form, (2) the difficulties everyone faced arose because of the government's pressure to prevent the Convention, and (3) the most important and constructive thing that could be done was to give unqualified support to the Black Panther Party in this difficult situation.

Another very important vote of solidarity came out of a plenary meeting of women's groups held at Trinity College. Some 700 women passed a resolution of support for the Black Panther Party and the RPCC after several workshops had discussed what could be done to counter the government offensive. YAWF Women's Caucus helped draw up, print and circulate the resolution of support, which was given to 4,000 delegates.

Another proposal to seize the College and offer it for the use of the Convention was dropped only after it was made clear that although the Panthers deeply appreciated the offer, they were not prepared to take advantage of it at that time. However, the serious debate over the action reflected a much more militant mood among the women's contingent than had existed previously.

In contrast to the strong YAWF and Workers World delegation in Washington, the other so-called Marxist parties were noticeable by their absence. The Socialist Workers Party, which had planned to send a large contingent when it appeared that there would be no trouble, changed its mind when Howard University withdrew its facilities, and sent only a token group to sell literature.

The results of Washington were not as dramatic as the exciting outpouring of people in Philadelphia, but they may prove in many ways as important in hardening the movement to the ruling class' strategy. The Panthers remained in control of a difficult situation, and many sections of the movement learned the hard lessons of patience and discipline in fighting the enemy.

Statement of YAWF Women

The following statement by YAWF Women was issued at the RPCC. Several thousand copies were distributed to the participants in the Washington convention.

* * *

We're here, as women, at the Black Panther Party's call for a Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, to pledge full and unstinted support and solidarity to the Black Panther Party, which has made this historic gathering possible.

And we are here as women to express the demands, the aspirations and the goals of the Women's Liberation Movement. That means we are here to express our anger about our oppression, past and present; we're here to make sure we are truly represented in the revolutionary struggle and its documents; and we are here to join our strength and our determined spirit with all the other oppressed peoples gathered here who are fighting for liberation

so that together we can destroy our common enemy and establish a new system that meets the needs of all humanity.

No founding mothers?

As women, our rights have been totally excluded from the U.S. Constitution that was drawn up nearly two centuries ago by the white "founding fathers." From the beginning, laws based on that Constitution kept us from an education, control over our own bodies, the vote, divorce, property ownership, public speech and decent working conditions outside the home—to mention only a few areas of obvious discrimination.

And today, after a century of struggle, and the winning of the right to vote, that same Constitution serves to legitimize the victimization, degradation, subjugation—subtle and blatant—of women, not just in this country but all over the world.

We are the outsiders

We are tired of being outsiders. We are angry because we have been systematically denied the right to determine the course of our lives. We have discovered that our most private, personal nightmares are shared, to one degree or another, by other women. No longer will our lonely cries of anguish be muffled behind the clatter of dishes being washed or the coos of a newborn child. No longer will the traditionally labeled "women's problems"—those of sustaining the present generation and nurturing the next—be ours alone.

We are declaring war on this system of imperialist male supremacy. We need a new constitution that we have a part in writing. It was with this conviction that we attended the first session of the Constitutional Convention held in Philadelphia last September. Unfortunately this effort was marred by some who sought to exploit the mere beginnings of the truly historic effort on the part of the Black Panther Party. They sought to gloss over the double oppression of Black women and obliterate the special experience of the oppression of Black women.

Out-of-bounds in Philadelphia

While blatantly overstepping their bounds as whites, this group of women sought to invalidate the experience of Black women and ignored the

special character of the struggle of Black women to gain their full equality. This resulted in a full-fledged attack on the Black Panther Party. Not only was Huey summarily dismissed as a sexist, but the entire Black Panther Party was attacked, with the result that white women—presumably with a profound women's consciousness—were, in fact, attacking not only Black men, but Black women as well. In so doing, they denounced the Black Liberation struggle, and in particular its most revolutionary advance guard—the Black Panther Party.

Black women feel the full force of the system's oppression in two dimensions: one they share with white women—male supremacy, and one they share with Black men—white supremacy. Since most Black women choose to struggle for liberation with Black men, can we not then assume that the overriding problem of Black women as they see it is that of white supremacy?

How relevant to Black women's lives are the white middle class women's demands for "the abolition of the nuclear family" when Black families are being savagely uprooted by lack of jobs, education for children, and nourishing food, and health care.

Nixon's analyst of the problems of Black people, Daniel Moynihan, places the problem entirely in the lap of the Black women; he blames her for creating a "matriarchy" that "castrates the Black male." In that way, he and his fellow white supremacists can deny their role in the oppression of all Black people. White women who do not recognize and grapple with the dual nature of the struggle of Black women—against white supremacy and against male supremacy—sound just as viciously racist as Moynihan.

Black women & white women — each taking care of business

Black women and white women have a common objective in ending male supremacy. But white women and Black women have different problems on the road to that objective. Obviously, the first priority of the Black women is to fight against white supremacy. For the white woman to show solidarity to the Black woman, she must understand this, and help her in that struggle.



Women take lead in solidarity

by Naomi Cohen

"We came (to the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention) as revolutionary women to express our demands and join in solidarity with the Black Panther Party and all oppressed peoples who are struggling for liberation." Thus began a statement of solidarity (see full text below) which was drawn up by a women's workshop and was approved by a majority of the women who had gathered at the Women's Center in Washington for the weekend of the Constitutional Convention. It was a far cry from the bitter and sometimes openly racist attacks on the Panther Party which were expressed by some women at the first convention in Philadelphia last September. And it reflected what seemed to be a new mood among the women there.

About 1,000 women attended various workshops at Trinity College where the women's center was set up. The topics for discussion included women and imperialism, sexism and racism, a women's party, among others. A workshop on how women relate to the Constitutional Convention came out with the solidarity statement quoted above. At the same time that the solidarity statement was being drafted, the discussion in the workshop on sexism and racism turned to the problems the Black Panther Party was facing in Washington.

Many of the women were acutely aware of the fact that they (the majority were white) had been allowed to have the facilities of Trinity College — a Catholic women's college — while the Panthers were denied any facilities in Washington to hold the convention. It was clear that the women's movement was not considered to be a threat by the same government which had worked so hard to keep the Panther Convention from taking place.

the debate went back and forth; some women feared that such an action would antagonize the nice liberal administration of the college which had granted us the space for the women's center. Women replied that that was irrelevant — we were faced with the much more serious problem of the government's attempts to destroy the people's convention, that if women had the means to help solve that problem, it was more important for us to act in solidarity with out Panther sisters and brothers.

It was finally decided that all the women's workshops should be called together so that everyone could discuss the proposal. About 700 women did come together for the discussion. First, the workshop that had drawn up the solidarity statement asked for the approval of the body. The overwhelming majority of the women there voted for the statement.

Next came the discussion on the proposal to take the building. The same kind of debate as in the workshop ensued, with a large number of women really excited by the idea. There was some confusion, however, as to whether the Panthers wanted the building for the convention. When contacted, they expressed appreciation for the offer, but felt that they could not take advantage of it at that time. Arrangements had already been made for Huey to speak at St. Stephen's Church, so the Panther Party was urging everyone to go there that night.

This information, of course, ended the discussion of the takeover. However, just the idea that the spirit of many of the women there was so high that they had even dared to propose such a bold course of action made the whole meeting a kind of new experience in the women's struggle.

Contrast with Philadelphia

The women's section of the Washington convention turned out to be a very different experience from that in Philadelphia. This was not just because the women seemed to be more together, but because the whole political level seemed to have shifted. Those women who had been most vociferous in denouncing the Panthers in Philadelphia, urging that women split because they could never relate to such a "male-dominated" convention were not able to mobilize any significant support among the women in Washington. The women's workshops were held, not in the spirit of disrupting or being separate from the convention, but in the interest of relating to the whole event better.

There was a strong differentiation among the women in Washington, and it reflects two basic trends in the women's movement today. In essence, there is an ideological gulf between those women who look upon the struggle against women's oppression to be an integral part of the whole revolutionary struggle of all oppressed people against capitalism, and U.S. imperialism in particular, as against those women who see women's liberation as something divorced from other liberation struggles.

(This is not to say that the former do not see the need for an autonomous women's movement to fight specifically for women, but that women alone are not "the revolution" as some women have put it, and men are not the prime enemy; rather it is the whole system of male supremacy fostered by the capitalist state.)

This ideological difference was the underlying force in many of the disputes which took place in Washington. But it seemed that women who have a revolutionary perspective for the women's struggle were in fact in the majority and were able to carry through their determination as women, to express their support for the Panther Party in its struggle against government repression and to demand women's rights to participate in a revolutionary people's constitutional convention.

Women's solidarity statement

"We came here as revolutionary women to express our demands and join in solidarity with the Black Panther Party and all oppressed peoples who are struggling for liberation.

The ruling class has consistently attempted to sabotage the necessary work we came here to accomplish. We consider this sabotage just as blatant an attack as if the pigs physically assaulted us with clubs and tear gas. We see this attack as an attack on all of us.

We will not allow the ruling class to divide us any longer and we will have our Constitutional Convention.

'Seize the building'!

The discussion finally crystallized around the proposal of one sister from YAWF Women who suggested, "Let's seize the time and seize the building for the Panthers." This spontaneous proposal was picked up enthusiastically by other women in the workshop and a hot debate ensued. Many women realized what a great thing it would be for the women's movement to take such a strong action in solidarity with the Black liberation struggle. We were at least 1,000 strong; we were already in possession of the building; we could offer it to the Panthers as a liberated zone for the convention; we could take responsibility for the action as women, struggling to see that the Revolutionary People's Constitution was not thwarted by government sabotage.

The atmosphere was electric with excitement;

Fred Hampton Lives!

by Edward James

On December 4, 1969, the U.S. Government's nation-wide drive to destroy the Black Panther Party entered a new, more deadly stage. After cordoning off a 20-square block area with massive forces, the Chicago police stormed the Panther office in the hours before dawn. Once they had shot their way into the office, the fascist attackers sought out Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton. Finding him asleep in bed (having previously managed to drug him in preparation for their raid), they shot Fred Hampton through the head at point-blank range. During the attack the fascists also killed another Panther, Mark Clark. The following day's newspapers carried pictures of leather-jacketed police, their faces beaming with delight over the success of their mission, carrying out the bodies of the dead Panthers.

Neither they nor their big-money bosses realized then that although they might kill a revolutionary, they could not kill the revolution. A year has now passed since Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were assassinated. But one only has to recall the events of this year gone past to realize how truly immortal Fred Hampton, Mark Clark or any revolutionary who dies in the people's struggle really is. The work they performed while alive lives on in the substance of the Black Panther Party; their revolutionary spirit lives on in the consciousness of oppressed people struggling for liberation everywhere.

No more than a few days passed before the U.S. ruling class received notice of just how much the Black Panther Party had been intimidated by the escalation of terror in Chicago. A similar attack was launched against the Panthers in Los Angeles. Tear gas, dynamite, riot guns, machine guns, armored cars, helicopters — these were the weapons used by the force of more than a hundred laying siege to the Panther office. But for more than half a day, the thirteen Panthers inside held the pigs off, surrendering only when their ammunition was about to run out, and only after negotiating acceptable surrender terms. The escalation had begun to backfire against the government.

As the Panthers' efforts to publicize the facts about the murder of Fred Hampton began to penetrate the cloud of lies spread by the murderers, support from all strata of the Black community swelled up with hitherto unmatched breadth and intensity. A sampling of opinion in the Black communities of four metropolitan areas was taken by the Wall Street Journal a month after the Chicago raid, and it indicated "a clear majority of blacks strongly support both the goals and methods of the Black Panthers. An even larger percentage believes, moreover, that police officials are determined to crush the party by arresting or killing its key officials." This was the Black community's political answer to the government's escalation of repression, while the successful battle

fought by the Panthers in Los Angeles was Black America's military answer to the escalation.

As the fascist repression continued to mount against the Black Panther Party, two more significant battles exemplified Black America's ability to defend itself against the overwhelming military might of the oppressor.

In Philadelphia, after the police attempted to destroy the Revolutionary Peoples' Constitutional Convention with a full-scale assault on the Black Panther headquarters, the organizational strength of the Panther Party, forged over the years in their constant struggle to defend themselves against the Government's repression, enabled the Convention to proceed unmarred and to become an inspirational success in the face of the most difficult circumstances.

In New Orleans, where for a number of months the police have employed

completely undisguised terrorism against the young Black liberation struggle there, a recent military invasion of the Black community, complete with armored car, was prevented from reaching the Panther office by masses of people standing firm in the streets and blocking the way.

A year after the murder of Fred Hampton, it is clear that the struggle will be long and hard. Many brave revolutionaries will fall in the struggle. Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins, the New York 21, and many other political prisoners must still be freed. But the Black Panther Party has shown its determination to survive the Government's fascist measures of repression. The events of the past year are proof that the spirit of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark lives. To honor their memory, revolutionaries must transform that living spirit into living deeds.

Boycott scab lettuce!



by Ellen Pierce

The lettuce growers of California and Arizona have escalated their drive to try and maintain semi-feudal conditions on their huge factory farms. Their controlled courts have jailed Cesar Chavez and fined the United Farmworkers Organizing Committee \$1,000 for a strike and boycott against non-union lettuce growers.

By jailing Brother Chavez for ten days for "contempt" and threatening to keep him in jail until he orders an end to the boycott, the court is holding him as a hostage to force the submission of Chicano workers to the bosses' "law and order."

There is nothing new or unusual in the fact that the government, through its police and courts has sided with the lettuce growers against the workers. There is rarely a strike when this is not so, because the government is a government of, for and by the rich and the corporations.

When farmworkers organized a highly national boycott against the grape growers who refused to recognize their union, the Pentagon helped the growers by increasing its orders of scab grapes. Now the military is buying scab lettuce to break the boycott. Faced with a boycott of their lettuce, growers are

now using a favorite anti-labor weapon — the injunction.

Not only did the California court issue an injunction banning the strike and boycott against Bud Antle, Inc., but Judge Gordon Campbell told the workers that they would have to post a \$2.75 million bond to protect the company against damages if they wanted the injunction lifted. The judge knew perfectly well that farmworkers who are fighting for a living wage — they now average less than \$50 a week — could never raise that kind of money. (Bud Antle was recently revealed to be part of the Dow Chemical empire — notorious for producing the napalm used on Vietnamese villages.)

In this case the court has shown more than ordinary zeal on behalf of the growers, even disregarding the suggestion of Bud Antle's lawyer that the 10-day sentence against Chavez not be carried out on the spot — not with thousands of farmworkers right outside the courthouse!

Perhaps the fact that the lettuce growers have been able to treat the farmworkers almost like slaves in the past has made them, and their allies in court, all the more arrogant and repressive in dealing with the workers

now. And certainly the racist attitude of the bosses against the Chicano farmworkers increases the oppression they suffer, both on and off the job.

The lettuce pickers have stooped and squatted in the hot sun for years, getting paid pennies an hour for their back-breaking work. Like the other seasonal farm workers, they have been forced

to follow the crops, never able to enjoy a permanent home, living in the company shacks and being robbed at the company store. They have truly been the "wretched of the earth."

But they are standing up now, feeling the stirrings of a liberation struggle that is worldwide in its final implications.

Correction

The Sept. 6 issue of Workers World carried an article on the Ford Foundation's colonialist plans for the Chicanos of New Mexico. The information in that article came from El Grito Del Norte.

'Plymouth Rock is red'

By M. Margolies

On November 26, Indians from 25 tribes gathered in Plymouth, Mass. to demonstrate against their centuries-old oppression by European colonists in North America. They came to emphatically proclaim Thanksgiving Day as a day of national mourning for their people, the original inhabitants of this continent.

From where they stood at the base of the statue of Massasoit, sachem (chief) of the Wampanoags, they could see Plymouth Rock.

"That damned rock," said an 18-year-old Mohawk, one of the group of Indians who seized and continue to occupy Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, "I'd like to blow it up. It was the start of everything bad that has happened to the American Indian."

According to the New York Times, one of the groups there was the American Indian Movement, led by Russell Means of the Sioux Nation. As tourists gaped and their children clutched their made-in-Japan tom-toms, he said, "Listen. Listen to us, white man. Plymouth Rock is red, red with our blood. The white man came here for religious freedom and he has denied it to us. Today you will see the Indian reclaim the Mayflower in a symbolic gesture to reclaim our rights in this country."

A large group of Native Americans then rushed down the hill to bury the rock with sand. A shout of "To the Mayflower!" went up. Accompanied

by student supporters from the Boston area, they boarded the model of that ship. As Means denounced the degradation of his people, several young braves climbed up the rigging and took down the "King's Colors" and the flag of St. George, under which the original ship sailed. Amidst much urging, a Pilgrim dummy was thrown overboard.

This demonstration took place against a background of continued oppression — the average life expectancy of this people is only 44 years, a 50 per cent or higher unemployment rate is common on most reservations and the average income for a reservation family is only \$1500 per year.

It should be noted that this demonstration is not an isolated incident. Numerous struggles have taken place recently, including the seizures of land that rightfully belongs to the American Indian as well as the armed defense of fishing rights. Even the name "Indian" is being questioned by members of some tribes. Under these conditions, it is no coincidence that the U.S. government has announced that it will give back 48,000 acres of Carson National Forest to its rightful owners, the Taos Pueblos.

The government is afraid that another colonial people is joining the worldwide struggle against U.S. imperialism. The very first people to be enslaved by the now most-powerful capitalist monster is rising up — marking the world-historic fall of the age of capitalism.



Lunchbreak at the sweatshop

An hour of labor and a chunk of earth

by Zeke Miller

"Look at that; look at that!" hollered Curly Joe, pointing to the two-day old newspaper he was reading with his mouth full of sandwich and pickle.

"Look at what?" said Shorty Reeves.

"Look at that fat bastard in that picture! They just got him for conning a couple million GIs out of two billion dollars in mutual funds. Only they didn't get him at all. He's still got a big castle somewhere in Switzerland."

"I heard about that," said Breezy Jones. "He supports his old mother, don't he?"

"That ain't the idea," said Curly Joe, not seeing the joke. "The idea is where does all that money come from? It comes out of corporation stocks. That's what. It all comes out of you and me."

"Sure it all comes out of you and me," said Dave Becker. "Everything comes out of you and me. Tell me something new."

"Come on, you guys," — Man Mountain Mike can never get a joke, or anything else, it seems to me — "cut that stuff out! Where would you be without this company? Ain't they entitled to their profits?"

"Yeah, but where would the company be without us," Larry said, not looking at Mike.

If Mr. Penworthy had been there, he would have said, "That's right, boys. We can't get along without each other. We need you and you need us." I know he'd say that, because I heard him say it at least ten times already.

"Can you show me how any product we turn out has got one bit of profits inside it?" Larry

asked Man Mountain, real patient-like.

"That's a nutty question," said Man Mountain Mike, pretending to look real deep into his newspaper and forget the whole thing.

"If you stop to think of it," said Larry, "everything we produce has just got two things in it — labor and a piece of the earth."

"Yeah? Now how do you get that?" said Dave Becker. And when Dave Becker was that interested, "most everybody else had to listen — except Man Mountain Mike, who hates Dave Becker, not because Mike's a racist (but maybe he is), but because he knows Dave isn't afraid of him after an almost-fight the two of them once had, with each of them holding pretty tough things in their hands, too."

"Well," said Larry, real slow, now that everybody was listening and Man Mountain was pretending not to, "take those hatch covers we make. We bend the sheet metal on the big brakes to make it like a long thin box. Then we fill the box with rock wool, hook the sides together and Breezy welds up the ends. And then we ship it out. Right?"

"Now the sheet metal was made by steel workers. And they made it out of iron ore, limestone, silicon, coal and a couple of other minerals that all come out of the earth. The rock wool is nothing but blast furnace slag spun out by a blowing process while it's in a liquid hot state. It comes out of those same minerals as the steel, but in a different way. And the packing case is made out of wood that comes from trees that come from the ground. And the sawmill workers —"

"Okay, wiseguy," Man Mountain shoved

his paper together hard. "What about them big brakes and the welding machines? They cost Penworthy more money than you'll ever see!"

Larry stopped a minute and grinned like he wanted somebody to ask a question like that.

"The brakes are just the same as the hatch covers only some other workers made them in some other plant just like we make the hatch covers. The guys who produced the brakes and the welding machines took the steel parts that the guys in other plants made and they put them together to make the machines. And the workers that made the parts out of the steel did the same thing. And the steel workers did the same thing. And the miners dug all the minerals out of the ground. Labor and the earth — that's all it is."

Everybody was quiet a minute and Man Mountain Mike was stumped.

"What about the blueprints?" Shorty piped up.

"It takes labor to make the blueprints, too," said Larry. "It's just a more advanced kind of labor."

"That's right," Dave Becker shot back real fast. "Just cause you guys are so dumb don't mean the guy that makes the blueprint is a genius. We read them blueprints, don't forget."

"All right," said Breezy after the whistle blew for the end of the lunch break, "it's back to the sweatshop. And don't forget to tell the boss the plant belongs to us."

The Bolsheviks and the Sexual Revolution

by Dorothy Ballan (Fourth in a series.)

Although the Bolshevik Revolution is more than half a century old and has been succeeded by later socialist revolutions, such as the Chinese, the Cuban, the North Korean and the Vietnamese, its rich experience in the initial stages of the revolution still offers some of the most illuminating insights on what the starting point of the sexual revolution is, and how it was conceived by its leaders as part of the great socialist transformation of humanity.

The fact that all of the expectations of the Bolshevik Revolution have not been realized, and that a profound regression has taken place in every sphere of social and political life in the Soviet Union, does not alter this fundamental fact. Just as in the field of technology the first airplane flown by the Wright Brothers was nothing like today's jets, it was nevertheless a qualitative breakthrough. Even today the status of women in the Soviet Union, and this is what Kate Millett entirely omits from her book, "Sexual Politics," is far ahead of every capitalist country, including the United States, and is eloquent testimony to the socialist foundations laid by the October Revolution.

It is therefore virtually impossible for any serious book concerning the historical development of the women's movement to be written without considering the phenomenon of the Bolshevik Revolution and its aftermath.

Let us see what Millett says about the Bolsheviks before we examine what she says about the so-called counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, which incidentally is the only country she cites along with Nazi Germany in her chapter titled "the Counter-revolution".

A Real Sexual Revolution

On December 19, 1917 and October 17, 1918, "Lenin," she says, "issued two decrees which invalidated the prerogatives of males over their dependents and affirmed the complete right to economic, social and sexual self-determination in women, declaring it a matter of course that they freely choose their own domicile, name and citizenship. Every legal provision was made for political and economic equality," continues Millett. "One cannot legislate a sexual revolution by fiat, however as Lenin was aware, and efforts were made to make the financial independence of both women and children a reality; nurseries were to be established, housekeeping was to be collectivized to spare women its drudgery, maternity leave would be granted and women welcomed on an equal footing into the labor force, which together with education and the household were to be made collective.

Was "Soviet Experiment a Failure"?

For Millett, the above two paragraphs, which appear to be so laudatory, are merely a foil for her fundamental thesis that the Russian Revolution was one great flop—that "the Soviet experiment failed and was abandoned" and "Marxist theory had failed," she claims, "to supply a sufficient ideological base for a sexual revolution, and was remarkably naive as to the historical and psychological strength of patriarchy."

The laws initiated by Lenin and the Bolsheviks were more than any capitalist government has done anywhere right up to this date. Millett fails to grasp the main and fundamental difference between what happened in this early period of the Bolshevik Revolution and the patchwork of meager reforms that characterized the entire epoch of capitalism (which to her is the women's revolution).

In all previous social systems that rested on private property relations such as slavery, feudalism and capitalism, there was merely a change in the form of servitude, but the basic character of the patriarchal system was retained.

What was it that was really of world historic significance insofar as women were concerned that distinguished the Bolshevik Revolution from all others before it?

A World Historic Turning Point for Women

The Bolsheviks began a new world-historic process of dissolving the millenniums of patriarchal society founded on private property, and began to construct a socialist cooperative society, free from patriarchal domination. It actually began to dismantle the patriarchy. What could be more significant for women?

The Bolshevik Revolution set in motion a chain reaction of socialist revolutions which is slowly but

steadily engulfing the entire world, and in its train will continue to liberate the women of the world. And this is happening despite the regression that has taken place in the Soviet Union.

Millet writes an entire book about the evils of the patriarchy in which she characterizes it as the "most ingenious form of interior colonization achieved... one which tends to be sturdier than any form of segregation, more rigorous than class stratification, more uniform, certainly more enduring."

But when she is confronted with a real breakthrough in the age-old patriarchal order, a world historic turning point such as the Bolshevik Revolution, she not only obscures and degrades it, but links it to the counterrevolution in Nazi Germany.

It is impossible to understand by reading Millett what really happened during the Russian Revolution, or what caused the regressive steps that followed. Lenin, as early as July 1919, expressed fears of a regression. He did this in a pamphlet in 1919 at the very time of civil war, famine, imperialist encirclement and intervention.

Lenin on Struggle for Women's Freedom

"Take the position of women," he said. "In this field not a single democratic party in the world, not even in the most advanced bourgeois republic, had done in decades so much as a hundredth part of what we did in our very first year in power."

"We actually razed to the ground," he continued, "the infamous laws placing women in a position of inequality, restricting divorce and surrounding it with disgusting formalities, denying recognition to children born out of wedlock, enforcing a search for their fathers, etc., laws numerous survivals of which, to the shame of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism, are to be found in all civilized countries. We have a thousand times the right to be proud of what we have done in this field."

"But," he persisted, "the more thoroughly we clear the ground of the lumber of the old, bourgeois laws and institutions, the more we realize that we have only cleared to build on, but are not yet building."

Then he goes on to make crystal clear:

"Notwithstanding all the laws emancipating woman (even in the Soviet Union—Ed.), she continues to be a domestic slave, because petty housework crushes, strangles, stultifies and degrades her, chains her to the kitchen and the nursery, and she wastes her labour on barbarously unproductive, petty, nerve-racking, stultifying and crushing drudgery. The real emancipation of women, real communism, will begin only where and when an all out struggle begins (led by the proletariat wielding the state power) against this petty housekeeping, or rather when its wholesale transformation into a large-scale socialist economy begins."

The wholesale transformation into a large-scale socialist economy to which he alludes proved to be a terribly long and difficult task in the first socialist republic, and took many years to develop.

Unfortunately by that time—after Lenin died—the political reaction set in and turned back the revolutionary socialist approach, not only in sexual matters, but in social and political life generally.

In the first place, Lenin and the Bolsheviks had relied heavily on Western European proletarian revolutions coming to the aid of the Soviet Union within a short time. Unfortunately, the proletarian revolutions that did come in Europe—in Germany, Italy and Hungary—were defeated. The Soviet Union was completely isolated.

The imperialist encirclement caused famine and hunger in the Soviet Union, not to speak of economic dislocation. The imperialists also aided the counter-revolution during the long and protracted civil war. During the intervention by the imperialists, much havoc was caused in the Soviet Union. The intervention was composed of 14 capitalist countries including the U.S.

It is on the basis of these negative factors that a conservative, politically regressive tendency gained ascendancy in the Soviet Union, and not because "Marxist theory had failed to supply sufficient ideological base for a sexual revolution."

Nevertheless, it is not true that a full-scale counterrevolution took place in the Soviet Union, as Millett asserts, particularly as concerns the status of women. How could it be a counterrevolution when

the status of women is not only incomparably higher than it was in Czarist Russia, but is higher than in any capitalist country, too.

It is significant that while Millett draws this equation between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, she fails to present any current figures on the status of Soviet women today.

Although it is true that the original goals with which the Bolsheviks began to build have been set back, nevertheless fundamental gains have been retained and reinforced.

The following are just a few excerpts from articles recently printed on the status of Soviet women in the New York Post, The New York Times, and The Buffalo Evening News.

Did Marxist Ideology Fail the Sexual Revolution

Of the doctors, 79 per cent are women, according to the Buffalo Evening News of August 12, 1970. More than 30 per cent of the engineers are women, 52 per cent of head doctors or heads of health agencies, 33 per cent of collective farm management jobs are held by women. All professions are open to her; women make up 47 per cent of the scientists. Half the population of the universities are women. There are also women bus drivers, subway conductors, and women are in virtually every field of work. There is equal pay for equal work. In case of pregnancy, a woman receives two months paid vacations before delivery and another two months after delivery. Working women may take advantage of widespread nurseries and kindergartens and day care centers. Abortion is legal at any age and virtually free of charge.

The writer of the article printed in the Buffalo Evening News (datelined Zurich) in commenting on the unusually large proportion of women in professions generally considered to be reserved for males states, "To my knowledge, no other land has even a remotely comparable situation."



Woman crane operator in the Soviet Union.

Status of Women in Soviet Union Today

Even when it comes to Nazi Germany, Millett sows more confusion than one would normally expect.

"Historians," Millett approvingly explains, "and sociologists have described the Nazi state as a return to tribal solidarity, playing stipulated in groups against out groups. Beyond this, it was also probably the most deliberate attempt ever made to revive and solidify extreme patriarchal conditions. Led by their Führer, tribal members themselves would play master to members of the tribal cells, the women and children."

(All emphasis ours—Ed.)

And earlier she says:

"Yet the overriding reason for the flagrantly patriarchal and male supremacist character of the Nazi state seems to be temperamental rather than political or economic. In its regressive tribal mood, a structure built on the suppression of women represented the perfect vehicle of authoritarian, jingoist and militarist sentiment."

Now, these phrases, "tribal cell," "tribal mood," etc., are not some slips of the pen by a teenager writing a hurried composition to earn a passing grade while watching a racist, TV shoot-em-up. This is the studied phraseology of a doctoral dissertation by a literary critic.

Was "Nazi State ... a return to Tribal Solidarity"?

According to her, the venality of the Nazi mind is not the monstrous product of the acute class contradictions growing out of monopoly capitalism.

(Continued on page 14)

Portugal fronts for U.S. in Guinea invasion

by P. Meisner

Although a UN mission has just confirmed that Portuguese army and navy regular troops were involved in the invasion of Guinea, that same mission failed to indict U.S. imperialism for its backstage role behind the Portuguese colonialists. But a UN mission is still the UN, and the UN exists only as long as the U.S. government wants it to exist. That is why the UN mission to Guinea did not make a statement such as this one quoted in a news dispatch of the Washington Post on November 29:

"In Moscow, a commentator for the Defense Ministry newspaper Red Star said the United States had 'pushed' Portugal into invading Guinea and accused the Central Intelligence Agency of organizing coups against five other African nations -- Tanzania, Sudan, Libya, the Congo (Brazzaville) and Sierra Leone -- this year."

What has the imperialist press in the U.S. been saying about the Sekou Toure government, at a time when it is fighting for Guinea's very survival against the imperialist onslaught? The "liberal" New York Times had only vile attacks on Sekou Toure, while covering up the bloody hands of U.S. and Portuguese imperialism who are still to this day trying to overthrow his government. The Times' main attack against Sekou Toure was for his support of the revolutionary guerrilla movement in neighboring Portuguese Guinea (known as Guinea-Bissau in Africa), which has been fighting since 1956 to oust the Portuguese colonialists.

The U.S. is deeply involved in the Guinea invasion, since it is well-known throughout the world that Portugal, one of the weakest and poorest of the Western nations (considered the poorest in Europe), is totally dependent on the U.S. and NATO and could only launch an invasion of Guinea with sanction from Washington.

What should interest Washington and Wall Street in the small country of Guinea? Guinea has a population of 3.8 million and is about the size of Oregon. But its richest product is bauxite, the mineral which yields aluminum. Guinea has more than 1/3 of the world's bauxite reserves, sufficient to fill the world's aluminum needs for the next 50 years. It also has large deposits of gold, diamonds, and iron ore, and has large resources for hydro-electric power. Guinea also has an abundance of wildlife, grows rice, peanuts, coffee, corn, sweet potatoes, and is able to export bananas and pineapples. It also produces livestock and has a fishing industry.

In 1958, Guinea withdrew from the French Community (similar to the British Commonwealth) and became independent under the leadership of Sekou Toure. The break with France was abrupt and a terrific economic hardship for the Guinean people,

as France withdrew all aid from Guinea and literally sabotaged most of the industrial and utility projects started during the colonial period.

Sekou Toure soon turned to the USSR and China for aid, although France still hoped to keep a foot in Guinea, especially since the army of Guinea had been completely trained by the French military. In 1965, Guinea broke diplomatic relations with France, after the French imperialists unsuccessfully attempted to overthrow the Sekou Toure government.

But rather than organize an armed mass movement of the Guinean people so as to break completely with imperialism, as the Cuban people had done, and be in the vanguard role of the African continental revolution, Sekou Toure in 1961 attempted a political alliance from the top between the left-nationalist, neutralist regimes of Ghana, led by Nkrumah, Mali, led by Keita, and Guinea. These three heads of state plus Ben Bella of Algeria and Nasser of the United Arab Republic constituted the five leaders of the five Casablanca powers, the only African countries to denounce the U.S.-led criminal UN invasion of the Congo in 1960 -- which was opportunistically supported by the revisionist leadership of the USSR.

Ben Bella was overthrown in 1965 on the eve of the scheduled African-Asian Conference to take place in Algeria. Nkrumah was overthrown by U.S. and British imperialism in 1966, taking exile in Guinea. But perhaps the most crushing blow to Sekou Toure was the imperialist-hatched coup which overthrew the progressive regime of Keita in Mali in late 1968. This virtually destroyed Sekou Toure's alliance with the Casablanca powers, except for Nasser who led the UAR until he died in 1970.

The Western imperialist banks and industrial monopolies had been squeezing both the economies of Mali and Guinea, but Keita of Mali finally had decided to fight back against the imperialist exploiters. Not having the mass organization to defeat the imperialist lackeys within the Malian military, Keita was overthrown. On the other hand, Sekou Toure had allowed the World Bank, U.S. banks and aluminum corporations to get a foot in the Guinean economy's door by signing a 180 million bauxite production deal.

Wall Street's role in the coup in Mali is almost identical with that of the current invasion of Guinea. On December 7, 1968, just after the Mali coup, the New York Times published an editorial which said in part:

"President Sekou Toure of Guinea must often ask himself whether survival is possible for an African leader bent on radical revolution. The army's ouster of Modibo Keita in nearby Mali leaves Mr. Toure the only remaining revolutionary head of state in West and Central Africa....

"Mr. Keita was an intelligent politician who cut

by Shirley Jolls

A vast movement to stop the trial of fifteen Basque liberation fighters by a special military court is shaking the foundations of the fascist government of Spain.

The major Basque city of San Sebastian, in Guipuzcoa province, was shut down by mass strikes and demonstrations on the eve of the trial, which began December 3. Basque workers and farmers blockaded the "national highway" into their land, and armed liberation fighters openly patrolled the streets of many towns.

The fascist regime's attempt to deal a death blow to the Basque liberation struggle has obviously backfired. Rather than intimidating the Basque people, the summary military trial has instead opened a new campaign against the oppression of the national minority and against the totalitarian Franco government.

Spearheaded by the continuing struggle of the Basque people for autonomy, varied strata of the Spanish people have entered the arena against the quarter-century rule of the fascist Falange. Solidarity actions have occurred in many cities outside the Basque lands, from the eastern ports of Barcelona and Valencia to Seville in south Spain, the fascist capital of Madrid, and Burgos itself, the site of the court-martial.

Mass resistance to trial

Protests against the trial range from sit-ins in Madrid churches to a women's demonstration called under the slogan, "No to the Burgos Trial"; from petitions by thousands of intellectuals to



U.S.-backed coup attempt aimed at Guinea's growing possible developments such as the Macenta tea farm.

a large figure in the new Africa; yet he followed a familiar African path to his downfall.... He made the mistake that had helped bring down Ghana's Nkrumah and the Congo Republic's Massamba-Debat. He created a popular 'militia' with enough arms and authority to provoke the regular army and precipitate West Africa's twelfth military coup in three years....

"Mr. Toure, meanwhile, still paying rhetorical service to revolution, is forging new economic links with the World Bank, the United States and the West. He may yet be able to avert the fate of his revolutionary neighbors."

But by the end of 1969 and 1970, Sekou Toure was turning to the left again and looking more to the USSR and China for assistance. And the criminal hand of U.S. imperialism is now carrying out the very threat made to Sekou Toure by the New York Times back in late 1968, as a London Observer dispatch of November 28 obviously implies:

"Many of the French-trained officers in the president's 4,800-man armed forces are known to be dissatisfied with what they consider growing Communist influence and Toure's setting up of a Cuban-style People's Militia."

It should be clear then that the invasion of Guinea could not have been the work of the Portuguese imperialists by themselves. It has all the earmarks of a CIA-style operation. The 150,000 Portuguese troops now stationed in all of Portugal's African colonies could not survive another week without the financial and military support of the U.S. and NATO. How else could the Portuguese government have increased its military budget in 1969 from \$50 million to \$400 million?

It is also a well-known fact that the U.S. Navy has been training Portuguese commandos specifically to

street battles against the police by workers and students in Barcelona; from the closing of the Basque University in Burgos by its students to the kidnapping of Bonn's unofficial consul by nationalists who vow to execute him if any of the prisoners are condemned to death by the military court.

The government moved the trial to Burgos, outside the acknowledged Basque provinces, and is conducting the trial in Spanish, not in the Basque language of the prisoners to underscore the fascists' contempt for the Basque people's separate language and right to a separate state.

As the trial opened in the capital of the Sixth Military District, which rules the Basque lands, the Franco government faced what it had to openly admit was "unexpectedly widespread resistance." The situation was described in the New York Times as the "severest test of (Franco's) regime since the Civil War."

So hated is the Franco regime that the U.S. bourgeois press had to report that the political police commander, whom six of the prisoners are accused of executing, was a sadistic beast, infamous for his brutal tortures of Basque political prisoners.

One of the six, Francisco Ezco, a leader of the ETA, is accused of actually carrying out the shooting in August 1968, a deed which was widely acclaimed by the Basque and Spanish peoples. (ETA is "Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna," which means Basque Nation and Liberty.) The military prosecutors have asked in advance that these prisoners be condemned to death and fascist law requires that the sentences be carried out within 24 hours. The other prisoners are charged with a variety

Basque liberation struggle shakes Spanish fascism



ties with the socialist countries — which make arm, above, built with aid from People's China.

fight the guerrillas in Portuguese Guinea. In the spring of 1970, a group of U.S. naval attaches spent 15 days in Portuguese Guinea and then returned to Lisbon. On May 8, Admiral Holmes, U.S. North Atlantic Navy Commander, was given the Grand Cross of the Order of Aviz by the Portuguese government.

It is almost tragic for Sekou Toure to have called for UN troops, especially since he had denounced the same UN for having invaded the Congo in 1960 and in 1964.

U.S. ruling circles can only relish the opportunity for another Congo-style UN invasion, with the Portuguese replacing the Belgians and Portuguese Guinea replacing Katanga—and U.S. imperialism again behind the UN guns. It must be remembered that Sekou Toure has only a 4,800-man army, which, even if completely loyal to Sekou Toure, might easily be overrun by imperialist forces. This makes it even more necessary for Sekou Toure to totally arm the masses, as he has begun to do, and prepare them politically and militarily to defeat the imperialist invasion.

If it is not too late for Sekou Toure's regime to survive imperialist aggression, only the relative weakness and overextension of U.S. and Portuguese imperialism as well as the strength of the Guinean masses have saved the independence of Guinea.

Neutrality between imperialism and the world proletariat cannot last. The list of fallen neutralist or left-nationalist leaders is all too long—Mosadegh, Arbenz, Peron, Bosch, Ben Bella, Nkrumah, Sukarno, Keita, Massamba-Debat, Sihanouk. Only the armed might and political consciousness of Guinea's organized workers and peasants can save Sekou Toure from the fate of his predecessors.

of acts of "terrorism" and distribution of literature on Basque national liberation. The pre-announced sentences for these nine range up to an 80-year term for carrying a pistol and transporting explosives.

A sixteenth prisoner is also present at the trial, though there are no formal charges against her. This woman, Maria Aranzazu Arruti, is known to have been so brutally tortured that the political police transferred her to a hospital at the point of death.

Widespread protests began two weeks before the trial opened on December 3. By that date at least 100,000 Basque workers were out on strike in Bilbao and San Sebastian. Mass demonstrations were held throughout the Basque nation, and on December 1, in a solidarity demonstration in the Spanish city of Barcelona, 100,000 workers and students fought police with stones. At the site of the trial, thousands of people gathered around the courthouse. A massive police guard kept them from the 150-seat court room.

On December 4, the second day of the trial, Franco's cabinet intensified police rule in the Basque province of Guipuzcoa, where San Sebastian is located.

State of emergency imposed

Basque lands have been occupied by Spanish Falangist forces for years, and police reinforcements had been present for many days before the trial. The cabinet simply formalized the repression, granting police the "right" to conduct house-to-house searches without warrants, hold prisoners indefinitely without

BASQUE, QUEBEC, IRELAND

Liberation struggles move West

Asia, Africa and Latin America—these three great continents have been in rebellion against colonial and imperialist domination for the better part of this century. With the thunderous Chinese Revolution, the darker-skinned peoples of the world took up the armed struggle for a new society begun by the Russian workers and peasants. The revolutionary center of gravity shifted to the East, and the struggle against capitalism was inextricably bound up with the fight for self-determination and freedom from foreign domination.

But a new phenomenon, a further development in the national liberation struggle, is now becoming apparent. For the question of national self-determination is now becoming an issue right within the territory of the oppressor nations. In Europe and North America, armed movements are fighting for the freedom of enslaved peoples whose national rights were first taken away in the early days of the formation of the capitalist empires.

The Basque freedom struggle, the fight for a free Quebec, and the revived Irish revolutionary movement are all symptoms of a new stage in imperialist instability. Not only cannot the once-proud colonial powers police the ends of the earth anymore, but they cannot even hold down the oppressed people within their gates.

The capitalist consolidation of the nation state, where it replaced feudal principalities and petty dukedoms, marked a step forward in humanity's social progress. It overcame the barriers to trade and social intercourse that had caused the seemingly endless stagnation of the Middle Ages. It laid the foundation for an explosive growth of the means of production and distribution.

But it was also done without regard for the culture and rights of conquered peoples. Europe was carved up, haggled over, carved again and in the process national boundaries changed as often as battles were

won and lost. In the New World, the native populations were murdered and enslaved, and a struggle followed between the different colonizers to completely own the new territories. Peoples from Africa were brought here in chains and the poorer countries of Europe supplied indentured servants.

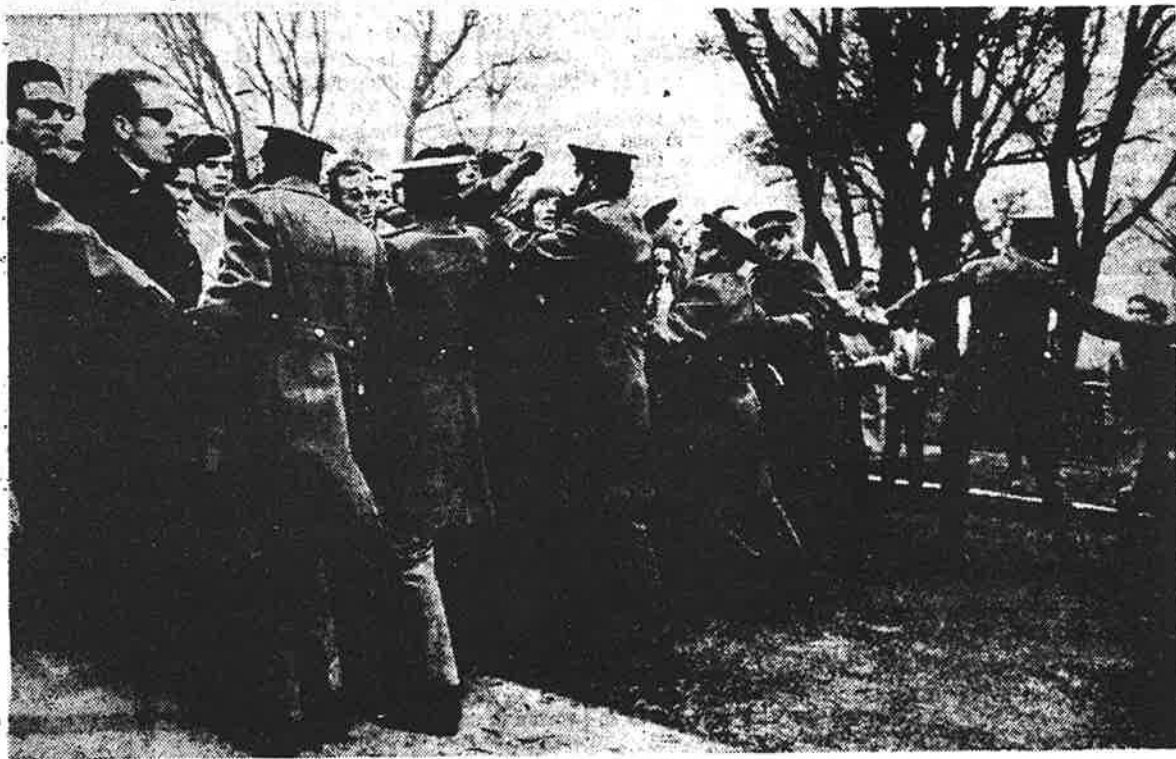
The heritage of this history of national oppression is now coming back to haunt the oppressors. As capitalism reels under the blows struck by the Vietnamese, the Cambodians, the Arab masses, it finds that new cracks are opening up right under its feet. Oppressed people whose subjugation had long been taken for granted and whose existence as separate nations had even been denied are shaking their rifles under the very noses of their oppressors.

In Montreal, the unprecedented declaration of martial law could not produce the kidnappers of Mr. Cross. They held out for a month in the working class suburbs and finally forced the Canadian government to recognize it had been stalemated.

The Irish freedom struggle has spread from North to South, and the supposedly "free" state has revealed its continued dependency on Britain by reviving police state measures against the Irish Republican Army.

And in fascist Spain, where the cruel defeat of the Spanish Civil War seemed to have ground an iron heel into the workers' faces that would last for centuries, the Basque liberation movement has kindled the flames of class struggle from the northern mountains to the southern coast. Nowhere has the Marxist view of national liberation—as an indispensable ingredient in the liberation of the proletariat of the oppressor nation—been proven so graphically.

Just as the Chinese Revolution helped urge on the Irish, Quebecois and Basque freedom struggles, so do these courageous battles of our comrades bring the final proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries themselves that much closer!



Police holding back supporters of the Basque prisoners at the Burgos court.

formal charges, and even to ship prisoners from their Basque homeland to "forced residence" in other parts of Spain.

From the Roman empire's invading armies, to the Castilian feudal lords, to the Falangist forces which brutally broke even the moderate "home rule" movement at the end of the Civil War, the Basques have fought many oppressors. Once the possessors of great regions of the Spanish peninsula, the Basque people were gradually driven back into the tiny enclave of three provinces, Vizcaya, Alava and Guipuzcoa, sandwiched between the Pyrenees and the Catabrian mountains. Despite centuries of oppression, they have kept their own culture and language. Now, under the very gun of an openly fascist power, Basque organizations have built a movement for self-determination which has brought their whole people into the struggle.

Basque riches

The stakes for the fascists in Madrid and their imperialist U.S. bosses are high. The Basque nation holds a high proportion of the peninsula's iron ore deposits and iron foundries. San Sebastian is an important port for the shortest sea transport lines from the U.S. and also from European im-

perialist markets, closed to easy land travel by the Pyrenees mountains.

Basque control over their natural resources could threaten imperialist holdings of adjoining bauxite, potash and coal regions, important resources in a largely agricultural country. Add to that dependence on agriculture the fact that most portions of Spain are arid, denuded of water-conserving forests by centuries of profit-hungry exploitation, and the mineral resources of the northern mountain region become even more important to the imperialists.

Spain controls access to the Mediterranean, the U.S. route to much of the oil of the Mideast. Obviously anything that happens in Spain is of urgent interest to the U.S. imperialists. U.S. military bases in Spain are a strategic part of its NATO network, which in turn is the arm of U.S. domination over Europe and the Middle East and a constant threat to the socialist countries.

There is much at stake in the current struggle in Spain, the liberation of the Basque nation, a blow to Franco's fascist regime, and the potential of a crippling blow at world imperialism. Long live the Basque Liberation Struggle!

U.S. monopolies plundering Indonesian colony

The following excerpts are from the July, 1970 issue of the Afro-Asian Journalist, sent to Deirdre Griswold by Djawoto, an Indonesian who is Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Journalist's Association.

Four years and more have elapsed since the Pentagon-fostered Indonesian fascist generals staged a bloody take-over of political power under the directions of the CIA. The general situation in the country has deteriorated to a point where, on the one hand, acute contradictions are tearing asunder the classes in power, and, on the other, the broad masses of the people, who are subjected to exploitation and oppression more ruthlessly than ever, have come to a better understanding of the real nature of the fascist military regime as a flagrant military dictatorship and a willing tool of neo-colonialism...

In Indonesia, as in any other country, the economic processes are steered by the classes in power as a political force for their own interests. In Indonesia, this political force in power is not people's force, but a force representing the bureaucratic-capitalists, the comprador-bourgeoisie and the big landlords, which is completely controlled by U.S.-led imperialism for serving its global strategy in the economic, political and military fields. The masks of "nationalism," "national self-determination" and "national sovereignty" and the like donned by the fascist military regime are all meant to deceive the people. As a matter of fact, it is the CIA agents disguised as "experts" who are giving the regime advice and guidance as to what policies it has to pursue, including the policies in the economic and financial field.

The "balanced budget" farce

By the order of the U.S.-led consortium of imperialist countries, the Suharto military regime is feverishly trying to "stabilize" its rule in order to safeguard the imperialist interests. Their slogan is "Without foreign aid, we are lost." It is in this context that Suharto, the chieftain of the regime, has of late shamelessly declared his readiness to implement the "balanced budget" programme for the 1970-71 fiscal year starting from last April. This means the total expenditures as well as the total revenue would be balanced. For this fiscal year it is 444,899 million rupiahs. This is about 30 per cent higher than that of the previous fiscal year. (The "official" rate is now 378 rupiahs for a dollar)

How is the regime going to implement this pretentious "programme," a "programme" even the U.S. administration had failed to carry out in its own country during the last two decades?

In the first place, the regime is stepping up its ruthless extortion from the people. It has decided to squeeze out from the people 317,930 million rupiahs in the form of direct and indirect exorbitant taxes. This constitutes about 70 per cent of the total expenditures.

Secondly, it expects to get from the U.S.-led consortium an "aid" totalling 124,316 million rupiahs, or about 29 per cent of the expenditures. Nixon, Eisako Sato, McNamara and other imperialist and monopoly capitalist chieftains have lately reiterated their willingness to "support" this "for the free world very important" regime in Southeast Asia. Of course, this promise has been given in exchange for greater services from the regime for safeguarding the imperialists' interests not

only in Indonesia but also in the international field. The U.S.-led imperialism's control over the regime is getting tighter and tighter.

What is the result of the implementation of the regime's policy of robbery and begging?

All the facts show that neither its intensified fleecing of the people at home nor its begging for foreign "aid" from the imperialists can extricate itself from the mounting difficulties it is confronted with. On the contrary, the whole situation is getting worse than ever.

The already impoverished Indonesian people are groaning under the more than 40 kinds of exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies. And the regime's foreign debts (which totalled 2,200 million dollars in 1966) have shot up to more than 4,500 million dollars, including the 600 million dollars of "aid" the imperialist consortium has promised to grant this fiscal year to boost the shaky fascist military regime.

The "checking of inflation" sham

This is another case in point, closely related to the first. It is also at the behest of the imperialists, particularly through the U.S.-controlled IMF (International Monetary Fund), that the puppet regime is trying to "check inflation" so as to create a favorable climate for the foreign monopoly capitalists venturing for super-profits either from trade with the regime or from their invested capital in the country.

Suharto and the bourgeois "experts" assisting him have recently indulged in bragging about their "success" in the "checking of inflation." But facts have completely laid it bare as a lie.

Inflation keeps on swelling. It is evidenced by the regular enormous increases of the amount of paper money in circulation and the consistent decrease of its real value.

The amount of currency in circulation at the end of 1969 was 200,000 million rupiahs showing an increase of 75 per cent during one year, or nearly 7,000 per cent as compared with the amount in circulation at the end of 1965. At the end of May, 1970, it became 206,000 million rupiahs....

"Five-year development plan"

While visiting New York in the last week of May, the fascist chieftain, Suharto, attended a grandiose reception organized by the American monopoly capitalist, John D. Rockefeller, with the participation of many other big capitalists making up the so-called "Asia Society." In this reception, Suharto once again begged American monopoly capitalists for "help" for his tottering regime.

New foreign investments in the country have totalled over 1,000 million U.S. dollars, covering 175 projects. They have infiltrated, practically, into all fields of business: oil, mining, industry, communication, banking, etc., and thus controlled the life-line of the country's economy. The regime also guaranteed the "interests" of the investors against losses due to various causes.

Thirty-four foreign oil companies, mostly American, have signed with the fascist regime contracts which give them hundreds of thousands of square kilometers as space for exploration and extraction and they are controlling the country's oilfields and depositing areas. Many other investors have got con-

tracts to plunder Indonesia's natural resources in the fields of mining, forestry and fishery. Almost nine million hectares of forest have been leased. The destruction of forests and marine life is bewildering.

The implementation of the "plan" was started in March, last year. It is supposed to be financed mainly with foreign "loans" and "credits." But, the Indonesian fascist-controlled press has admitted that a greater part of the "loans" and "credits" the regime got in 1968 and 1969 were given by the "donor countries" in terms of consumer goods and "nothing at all for the development projects." One newspaper lamented that almost all of the funds provided by the imperialist-controlled FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization) was spent "for paying the FAO appointed experts and managing personnel" and "practically nothing for the FAO project itself."

Foreign business is profiteering; Indonesia's natural resources are unscrupulously being plundered; and its national economy is bankrupt. This is the outcome of the implementation of the "national five year development plan" by the Suharto regime. In fact, it is only one of the means adopted by the regime under the control of U.S.-led imperialism to further reduce Indonesia into a new-type colony.

Letter from Djawoto

Dear Mrs. Deirdre Griswold,

My apologies for not having written to you for so long a time. I have read your pamphlet "Indonesia, The Second Greatest Crime of the Century" with great interest and a feeling of gratitude to you and the progressive forces in the United States forming Youth Against War & Fascism who have done and are still doing good work in exposing the Indonesian fascist military regime of Suharto and Nasution and similar despicable forces in other countries before the people.

The CIA-hatched and boosted fascist military regime of Indonesia has turned the country into a full-fledged new-type colony and one of the many imperialist bastions in Asia detrimental also to the people in other countries, including those in your country. Your valuable booklet has strengthened my conviction that the Indonesian people are not fighting alone and have friends the world over, including the United States. The progressive forces in the Netherlands and West Germany for example, have successfully opposed Suharto's visit to those countries and have turned this visit for begging "aid" into a ridiculous puppet-show performance.

People's struggle in Indonesia is developing very well, though rather slowly. I see that not much of this has been published in the American capitalist press, but the statements given by the imperialist bosses in support of Suharto's regime carried in the Western capitalist press greatly reveal their strategic plan with regard to Indonesia in particular and Southeast Asia as a whole.

Allow me to express my heartfelt thanks to you, Mrs. Deirdre Griswold and, through you, to all the friends helping you in your excellent work. I wish you greater successes.

I would appreciate it very much if you could send me another copy of your pamphlet.

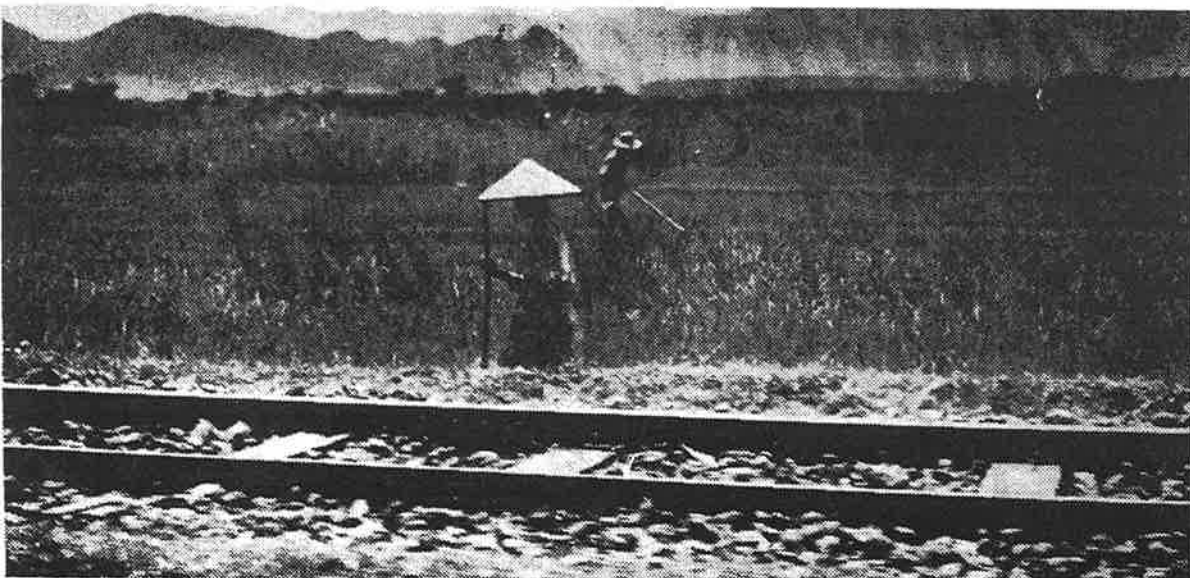
With cordial greetings,
Djawoto
Peking

Indonesia The second greatest crime of the century

By Deirdre Griswold

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At the Mexican student trials

Since this was written, three defendants were sentenced to terms of 13 to 16 years. The following are excerpts from an article written by an observer at the trial.

By Xana Hiscox

In the summer of 1968 a student movement unexpectedly broke out in Mexico. Basically the 1968 Mexican Student Movement is the legitimate heir of the 1910 Mexican Revolution. It is the revitalized revolutionary spirit of Emiliano Zapata and the raw rebellion of Pancho Villa. It is the new generation raised on the rhetoric of revolution rising to claim their heritage. The PRI (the ruling party, ed.) splashes slogans on the walls: "Youth must be faithful to their homeland and to the Revolution." As children, the Mexican students read the signs and believe them; they learn to accept Emiliano Zapata as their hero. In 1968 their loyalty to the Revolution accidentally exploded into the present Student Movement.

From its beginning on July 23, 1968, the Movement was chaotic. The specific act which triggered it—a scuffle among high school students—was insignificant in itself. The "granaderos," an unconstitutional riot and repression squad, were called in and responded to the students brutally. Students from all over Mexico City held a protest on July 26. The granaderos responded with more brutality, and the Student Movement was under way. Protest and repression snowballed as the police moved to tactics of open warfare. Political repression was the issue. It was never an attempt to disrupt the 1968 Olympic Games, as reported by the press.

The utter bestiality of the Government forces reached a climax on October 2, 1968. Between 25,000 and 30,000 people had gathered in the Plaza of the Three Cultures (Tlatelolco) to attend a peaceful mass meeting called by the National Strike Council. At 6 p.m., without provocation, the granaderos and the army attacked the unarmed crowd. They indiscriminately shot and bayoneted to death an estimated 500 people. Bodies were carried off unidentified. Many of the wounded were killed rather than taken to a hospital. Doctors in nearby hospitals helplessly watched many bayonet victims bleed to death while authorities refused to accept blood donations from waiting friends.

Most of the student leaders who were not killed at Tlatelolco were arrested. They joined numerous other students who had been arrested and tortured during the Student Movement. Of these, 163 are still held as prisoners in Mexico City at Lecumberri (the "Preventive Jail") and the Women's Prison. After two years of imprisonment their trials are just being held this fall.

The Public Prosecutor, apparently unable to decide upon the charges, has accused them of a variety of crimes, including: theft, sedition, inciting to rebellion, looting, criminal association, damage to private property, attack upon the public means of communication, assault and battery, disturbance of the peace, and homicide.

Two political prisoners were tried last spring and sentenced to 30 years for a murder that was committed in Mexico City on the day they were in the Mexican Embassy in Guatemala City requesting political asylum. Another group was tried in mid-August, and another in mid-September. The September group included the one U.S. citizen, Bernard Philip Ames.

No more decisions have been handed down and the lawyers expect the judge to withhold sentencing until all the political prisoners have been tried. The next trial is expected toward the end of November, 1970.

The prosecution presented the judge with stacks of official documents (mostly police reports) as evidence that the prisoners were guilty as charged. The only way for the entire court to hear these reports was for the defense to request that they be read. Therefore the defense had selected parts of the documents to be read aloud. This reading lasted 26 hours. In these reports the prosecution established that: (1) there was indeed a Student Movement of 1968, during which time many political meetings were held and many political speeches made; (2) police agents were present at these meetings and they did the public the service of taking good notes; (3) the prosecution has no firsthand evidence that the accused individuals are guilty as charged.

The reading continued until 10 a.m. Friday. The lawyers' summations followed.

The prosecution, obviously, claimed that their "evidence" proved the defendants to be guilty as charged. The prosecutor claimed that their membership in various leftist groups proved them to be guilty of participating in the "international conspiracy" which he alleged.

The defense recognized the utter futility of presenting a legal defense to this court. The lawyers for the defendants pointed out, however, a few of the legal technicalities—such as the failure of the prosecution to present any evidence that the defendants

were guilty of the crimes attributed to them—but primarily they expounded upon their contempt for the proceedings, and the government behind such proceedings. Gomez Gutierrez put it succinctly: "If we were to pay any attention to the Law, the accused would have gone free long ago and the ones guilty of so much repression and violence would take their places in jail."

They labeled the whole plan of the prosecution subversive because it completely violated the Mexican Constitution. The defense lawyers charged that



the only international conspiracy involved was the ongoing conspiracy between the Mexican Government and the CIA.

Philip Ames, 21-year-old American, AWOL from the U.S. Marines since August 5, 1968 and a political prisoner in Mexico since September 2, 1968, addressed the court. He quoted Flores Magon, Mexican revolutionary leader: "It would be senseless to respond with the Law before those who do not respect the Law; it would be absurd to open the codices to defend ourselves from the aggression of the dagger or the fleeing law."

In a low voice and halting Spanish, the young American told how the United States Embassy had tried to stop him from speaking at his own trial. They tried to convince him and his friends that if he did not speak they would be able to get him off with less than a five-year sentence (in which case he can be bailed out and deported to the United States to face military "justice"). They told him that if he did speak they could assure him a harsh sentence.

Philip did speak, and for the first time in two days, the judge listened attentively. Ames told the Mexican public that he considered the Mexican Constitution an admirable document: "But the Mexican politicians who apply it with strict honesty are to be found in the nation's jails, and not exactly in the country's public offices which are held by men who have betrayed the fundamental ideals of the Mexican Revolution."

Ames made three main points in his defense:

(1) None of the ideals discussed in the National Strike Council could possibly be considered seditious since they are contained in the Mexican Constitution.

(2) Although he, Philip Ames, is guilty of having left the U.S. Marine Corps because he refused to kill or be killed in the bloody name of imperialism, and although he is guilty of having turned to Mexico seeking an escape—believing it to be a country which lived up to the revolutionary ideals of men such as Magon and Zapata—he is not guilty of committing any crime. The parties who committed

the crime, the parties who are indeed guilty of participating in an international conspiracy, were the forces of political repression which culminated in the blood bath at Tlatelolco. The parties guilty of a subversive international conspiracy are the governments of the United States and Mexico.

(3) His participation in the Mexican Student Movement began on September 2, 1967—the day he was taken a political prisoner. The Mexican Government is therefore responsible for his role in the movement.

The court responded with thunderous applause. Clenched fists shot into the air. The patio resounded with "Bravo!" and "Venceremos!" The judge furiously banged his gavel.

When the next prisoner came forward to speak, he faced the audience. This was no longer the judge's court. The court belonged to the People. The People now called Judge Ferre MacGregor, his tribunal, and the Mexican Government to trial. One by one the prisoners presented the charges against the Mexican power elite and the audience echoed the obvious verdict:

Guilty!

Guilty of subverting the Mexican Revolution to serve the ends of corrupt government officials.

Guilty of seditious violation of the Mexican Con-

stitution.

Guilty of conspiring with U.S. imperialism and the CIA to exploit the Mexican people.

Guilty of first degree homicide throughout the 1968 Student Movement.

Guilty of inciting the Mexican army to riot on October 2, 1968 in the Tlatelolco massacre.

Guilty of inciting the other prisoners to beat and rob the political prisoners in Lecumberri on January 1, 1970.

Guilty of armed assault and battery of political opponents.

Guilty of kidnapping over 150 persons and holding them in illegal confinement in Lecumberri for over two years.

Guilty of perpetrating a fraud upon the Mexican people by claiming to represent the Mexican Revolution.

Guilty of fraud in their denial that there are political prisoners in Mexico.

Guilty of criminal association with the international rightist conspiracy to deny human beings the right to Life, Liberty, and the fruits of their labor.

The last prisoner to speak called for one minute of silence to commemorate the dead of Tlatelolco. The judge objected, insisting that this was not a political meeting. He was wrong. The prisoners, the defense, and the people rose to observe a moment of silence.

We understood that legal rights were never the issue in this absurd drama. Power is the issue. The judge represents "legally constituted" power. He will, therefore, convict the prisoners and eventually he will hand down sentences. But the prisoners represent Life power. They represent People power. They too have handed down a verdict: "Esta Vida tiene que cambiar!" This life must change! They have voiced the sentence: Revolution!

The revolution of Zapata is reviving in Mexico. No granadero, nor any military camp torture, nor Lecumberri prison, nor any corrupt judge is going to smother it.

The revolution is rising in Mexico! Venceremos!

On the organizing

San Francisco

10,000 tell Ky: Victory to the NLF

by Bob McCubbin

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 1 — San Francisco is the West Coast financial center of the American empire. It is here that many of the penetrations into and takeovers of Asian economies are planned and managed. The incredibly ugly and monstrous Bank of America building dominates and defiles the city skyline and serves as a continuous reminder of U.S. imperialism's mad dream to re-enslave People's China.

Today in San Francisco the rulers' dreams were seriously challenged by a fantastic outpouring of people in protest against the appearance here of the fascist Nguyen Cao Ky, number two puppet of U.S. imperialism in Saigon. The crowd numbered at least 10,000. There were large delegations from all the major ethnic groups in San Francisco. There were students, workers (including construction workers), and delegations from neighboring cities like Berkeley, San Jose and Oakland.

The scene of the confrontation between the people and the pigs was none other than Nob Hill (known to the people as Snob Hill). This area is the site of the plush hotels and "exclusive" clubs where San Francisco's rich have lived and played for generations. Today these big pigs, the bankers and industrialists who, not surprisingly, gave Ky a standing ovation at both the beginning and end of his address, got a taste of what the future holds for them on a world-wide scale.

Under a sea of Viet Cong flags, thousands of youth, enraged at the



(INS Photo)

presence in their city of an infamous fascist, stormed the police lines protecting Ky and his U.S. bosses and stoned the plush mansions and hotels. In answer to police attempts to break up the demonstration, numerous pigs were stoned, several were temporarily

captured and disarmed, police motorcycles were overturned and minibuses were commandeered to block the streets against pig attacks. Burning barricades and rock barrages from construction sites kept the pigs at bay for several hours.

The youth of San Francisco, in a magnificent display of courage and idealism, have made it abundantly clear to the pigs in Washington that they intend to fight, by all means necessary, the racist, genocidal war policies of the capitalist government.

Seattle

Free the Seattle 8

SEATTLE, Dec. 4 — Eight anti-war activists are currently on trial here for various alleged acts of "conspiracy" in connected with the TDA demonstration protesting the conviction of the Chicago Conspiracy defendants last spring. A significant struggle has developed around the frameup of the Seattle 8, whose trial is being held in the state capital, Tacoma.

It is only when the Black community, workers and students begin to organize against their oppressors that the conspiracy laws are used to repress them.

None of the defendants are charged with actually taking part in the TDA (The Day After) demonstration. All the "crimes" are ones of organizing. They are accused of going to meetings, leafletting and talking on the telephone —

all the activities that any organizer does every day.

It is clear that this is a test case, since the prosecutor was sent directly from Washington to insure a victory for the ruling class and set a precedent for other cases against radicals across the nation.

The people in Seattle, realizing what is happening in this case, have begun to rally to the defense of the Eight and protect their right to organize.

The opening day of the trial saw about 150 people standing in the rain and cold for four hours to demonstrate their support for the Seattle Eight. YAWF and the YAWF Women's Caucus both had banners at the rally, one saying "Stop the Courts — Free the Seattle 8" and the other, "Sisters Unite — Fight Repression."

The courtroom was also packed with about 150 people. The trial started out on a political note when 30 seconds of silence for those murdered in the U.S. attacks on North Vietnam was observed. The defendants and their supporters stood with clenched fists (Judge Boldt and the prosecutors did not). The trial has continued to be conducted in a militant tone, from the jury selection to the trial itself.

The case grew out of a demonstration in Seattle for the Chicago 8. On the day after the Chicago conspiracy verdict was handed down, 10,000 people in Seattle, Wash., rose up in indignation. During the course of the demonstration the Federal Courthouse was trashed, along with other federal and state installations in the downtown area.

Seven people are now on trial in Tacoma, Wash., charged with conspiracy. (The eighth is still being sought.) The seven are charged with such crimes as announcing the demonstration at meetings, using the telephone to make a tape of Rennie Davis, and coming

to Seattle to participate in the demonstration (crossing state lines to incite a riot — the infamous "Rap Brown Act").

These same conspiracy laws have been used against labor organizers and any other group that has been consistently fighting against fascism and for the people. The Seattle Eight are facing 20 years in prison for doing just that.

Never have the real conspirators on Wall Street and in Washington, D.C. been indicted under these laws. Not once have businessmen been indicted for conspiring to exploit workers and for speeding up assembly lines; not once have generals been indicted for conspiring to murder thousands of Vietnamese people.

Everyone must realize the threat to the whole movement if the Seattle Eight are found guilty. We must continue to build for their defense so that the next "day after" demonstration will be a victory celebration!!! — Seattle YAWF

Seattle

Palestine will win; Rockefeller out

A militant movement against U.S. involvement in the Mideast has been launched in Seattle!

On Nov. 28, Senator Henry Jackson and the Israeli Minister of Police, Shlome Hillel, held a joint dinner in a posh Seattle hotel in order to sell Israel war bonds. The Palestine Support Coalition, composed of the Arab Student

Organization, the Black Student Union, YAWF, the Revolutionary Union, and others, decided to call a demonstration to greet Senator Jackson and all his Zionist friends.

Senator Jackson has always been in the forefront of the United States' attempt to annihilate the Vietnamese people. Now, Jackson, who was named "Man of the Year" by the Seattle

Israel Bond Committee, is also in the lead of the attempt by the U.S. to destroy the Palestinian people. It was no accident that Jackson was offered the post of Secretary of Defense by President Nixon. It is easy to see that he is one of the strongest defenders of Nixon's policies, and the staunchest defender of U.S. oil interests in the Middle East. War-hawk Jackson recently sponsored an amendment to the Defense Procurement Act which pledges more military supplies to Israel.

The dinner was held during Thanksgiving vacation in an obvious attempt to reduce student support for any protest

demonstration. Despite that, over 100 people turned out to voice their support for the Palestinian people. Seattle YAWF had one banner and several flags bearing slogans such as "Palestine will win," "Arab oil to the Arab people," and a "Free Bobby Seale" flag. The demonstration was a militant, well-organized picket line with continuous chants of "Palestine will win," "Rockefeller out, Palestine in, Arab commandos are gonna win," and a pacifist chant started by the Young Socialist Alliance was drowned out by "1, 2, 3, 4, Victory to the people's war."

Seattle YAWF

front

Chicago

Black community pours out to commemorate anniversary of Hampton murder

CHICAGO, Dec. 4—Today marks the first anniversary of the murder of Chairman Fred Hampton of the Illinois chapter of the Black Panther Party and Mark Clark (Defense Captain of Peoria, Illinois), in an early morning gestapo-like raid on their apartment. This attack was part of a U.S. government attempt to wipe out the Panthers in Chicago. The war of genocide against the Black Panther Party was devised by the racist, reactionary trio of Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell, and carried out by Mayor Daley's racist and fascist police under the control of States Attorney Hanrahan.

Today the Black community responded to this crime with walkouts in over seven high schools across the city. The size of the massive support for the Black Panther Party was put at about 30,000. They attended rallies across the city, in three locations picked by the Panthers for rallies on the North, South and West sides of the city. This was an expression of the total support of the Black community for the Black Panther Party and their ten-point program to Serve the People.

Since the murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, the Panthers in Chicago have implemented new programs to continue serving the people. The two new programs are the Free Busing to Prisons for Black families, and also the Spurgeon "Jake" Winters Free Medical Center. The first program is

extremely important, because the facts show that 80 per cent of the prisoners in American concentration camps (prisons) are Black. Just being Black has become a political crime in this racist society.

Tonight there was a rally, also called by the Black Panther Party here. At the meeting there were various speakers from the Chicago Panther Party, all of whom remember Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. The first speaker was Michael Rhymes, Minister of Information, who told the crowd, "You might be able to kill a revolutionary, but you can't kill the revolution." He also mentioned that the Panthers were going out into the Black communities all over Chicago, to develop new programs to reach the masses. He was followed by a member of the Panther 21 from New York, Michael Tabor, who brought a message of solidarity from their imprisoned comrades.

A young Black Panther, 12 years of age, also spoke about Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, and pointing to the fact that "Youth makes the Revolution," he outlined the complete Panther 10 Point Program from memory. Bobby Rush, Deputy Minister of Defense of the Chicago Panthers, spoke about the fact that the rulers of Chicago were a little jittery tonight, after the support shown the Panthers by the Black community.

To end the rally survivors of this murderous raid were pointed out to



those assembled. There was Ronald "Doc" Satchel, Minister of Health, who was shot five times in the raid, Harold Bell (brother of imprisoned Panther Lance Bell), Deborah Johnson (nine months pregnant at the time of the fascist raid), all of them still struggling daily for the Panther Party.

An issue of the Black Panther Party Newspaper was passed out at the rally. On one page there was a picture of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, with all

the Chicago Panthers murdered in pig-city: Spurgeon "Jake" Winters, Larry Robeson, Babatunde X Omawale and Sterling Jones and a slogan which read, "By lifting their hands against these brothers, the pigs have lifted their hands against the best humanity possesses." THE SPIRIT OF FRED HAMPTON AND MARK CLARK AND ALL MURDERED BLACK REVOLUTIONARIES LIVES ON!

by Ken Sertic

New York

Israel fronts for Standard Oil

The following article on a militant November 30 protest against the U.S.-Zionist annual Israel Bond fund raising functions will appear in the December issue of the Newsletter of the Committee to Support Middle East Liberation. The Committee's address is: P.O. Box 948, New York, N.Y. 10027.

* * *

NEW YORK, Nov. 30—The religious festival of Chanuka is used each year by Zionist fund-raisers to sell

Israel Bonds. About \$1.25 billion of these tax-free Bonds have already been floated in the U.S., through David Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank. They are of great assistance to the Tel-Aviv government in financing its various budget needs, including the weaponry used for the U.S.-backed aggression against the Arab people.

The "Chanuka Festival for Israel" held at New York's Madison Square Garden today is not a religious celebration at all, but an anti-Arab and

pro-imperialist political rally, as indicated by the advertising for this year's affair, featuring American flags.

Over 100 Arab, Iranian and American militants held a demonstration today outside the Garden, in support of the Palestinian and Arab liberation struggle and against U.S. imperialism and Israel. Dr. M.T. Mehdi of the Action Committee and a handful of his followers were present carrying placards reading "Support America" and "Buy U.S. Bonds." They attempted to monopolize the press in order to push their version of "support" of Palestine liberation coupled with deference to U.S. imperialism.

But they were completely overwhelmed, numerically and politically, by members of the Arab Student Organization, Arab-American Liberation Movement, Committee to Support Middle East Liberation, Iranian Students Association and Youth Against War & Fascism. Chanting "Israel fronts for

Standard Oil," "Long live people's war," "Palestine will win" and "Palestine, Vietnam—one struggle, one goal," the demonstrators focused on the main enemy of all oppressed people. Other chants included "Hussein is a tool of Wall Street's rule" and "Long live Leila Khaled."

The protesters also stressed their concern for the fate of Jewish people with chants of "Israel is a deathtrap for the Jewish people" and "Jewish people, yes; Zionism, no."

A group of Jewish "Defense" League supporters were present across Eighth Avenue, and several of them walked menacingly around the picket line. Although they have repeatedly attacked Jewish anti-Zionists, they made no move against a group of fascists chanting "Down with the Jews" on the opposite corner.

The demonstration ended after an hour, with Iranian students leading a liberation song.

Champaign

Women support miners' widows

On Saturday, Nov. 21, the Women's Caucus of the Champaign FIST-YAWF branch, with support from the men in the branch, high school students and other Champaign-Urbana people, held a rally and street meeting in support of the miners' widows who had called for a National Day of Mourning. The widows of the 78 miners who were killed two years ago by a gas explosion in an unsafe mine in Farmington, West Va., had asked that the anniversary of their husbands' deaths be set aside in remembrance of the needless loss of human life.

The rally began at noon with a small but spirited group of supporters. Mary Kay Lama, from the Women's Caucus, spoke on the long history of struggle waged by miners in this country. Two high school students at Urbana High School, expressed their solidarity with the miners' widows and related the workers' struggles to those of the high schools. Sharon Sindelar and Phil Meranto, both from FIST-YAWF, spoke

on the history of the labor struggle and the growing realization among youth, Blacks, Third World people, women and workers that our enemy is the same enemy—the capitalist system and ruling class which feed off the sweat and blood of our brothers and sisters.

As the rally concluded, the militant group formed itself into a march and went from the park into downtown Champaign. Banners carried the messages "Remember Farmington #9," "Billionaires Profit off Miners' Blood," "Stop the Murder of Workers," "Hands off John Lombardo." (Lombardo, of FIST-YAWF, is being framed up on "desecration of the flag" charge which arose out of his participation in the May days of protest following Kent and Cambodia.) Arriving at a busy corner in downtown Champaign, the group set up banners and began speaking again, this time to passersby, who seemed surprised and interested in the rally.

FIST collective joins YAWF

Champaign FIST Collective statement:

FIST Collective, since its inception, has been following a program of making issues public by organizing and participating in demonstrations which express solidarity with oppressed and exploited people. These have included demonstrations supporting the Chanute airmen, the Black P. Stone Nation, the Palestinian liberation fighters and the United Front of Cairo. We have now become a branch of Youth Against War & Fascism (YAWF).

YAWF is a growing organization, with branches in the East, Midwest and West Coast, and has a long history of confronting the U.S. government and big business ruling class. It has consistently supported Black and Third World liberation struggles by the Pan-

thers, the Palestinians, the Quebecois and others. YAWF has been solidly in support of working people in their efforts to wrest control of their lives from the self-proclaimed bosses, and has continually worked with GIs in their struggles against repression by the military brass.

Youth Against War & Fascism has a program of supporting all resistance to U.S. imperialism and its oppressive worldwide system of monopoly capitalism. Whenever America's ruling class tries to suppress workers, Black or Third World people, YAWF will make the issue known, oppose the U.S. rulers' motives and support the oppressed people in their struggle.

What was that about a population explosion?

by V. Copeland.

Marx and Engels long ago gave a crushing answer to the Malthusian theory of population. Chief among their arguments was the point that every social system has its own law of population.

Malthus lived in the twilight of the rule of British trading imperialism and did not recognize the dawn of a new system: industrial capitalism. He was struck with the fact that population had greatly increased since feudal times (really due to the urgent needs of rising industry for more "hands," due to capitalism's need for a reserve army of unemployed and due to capitalism's depopulation of the countryside). And he was also struck with the fact that human misery had increased in about the same proportion.

So instead of blaming capitalism for the misery, Malthus blamed the human reproductive process. He said there would always be more people than food.

But lo and behold, today, at the other end of the capitalist era, at a time when the capitalists don't need so many people to work for them, and at a time when they have to pay their reserve army of unemployed, we are struck with another phenomenon—a phenomenon that might set some modern Malthus going in a different direction.

In the very midst of the cries about overpopulation of the earth, about the prospect of there being literally no standing room on the planet three (or is it two?) centuries from today—now we are confronted with a sharp decline in the rate of population increase in the United States.

Census report

According to census figures just released, the past ten years have shown the second lowest increase of population in U.S. history. The lowest was in the Depression decade (when there was more food than people, but people couldn't buy it).

But the 1960's were on the whole the most prosperous years in U.S. history. And since legalized abortion was hardly in effect when the census was taken, there may yet be the prospect of an absolute decline in population.

Although the world's population is supposed to double in exactly 37 years at the present rate of world increase, it would only take a reduction of one birth or less per family to make a declining population in the United States.

Emulating the population "experts" who assume that social systems, revolutions and progress have absolutely nothing to do with the matter, let us use the same brilliant mathematical method they do and look into an even gloomier crystal ball than theirs.

If there were a decline of even one half of one per cent yearly in the U.S.A., there would be a fifty per cent loss in total population in about 185 years. And in another 185 years there would be just 50 million people left in the country.

Think of all the customers the Coca Cola Company would lose! TV sales would be cut drastically, even tragically. Colleges and universities would be depopulated. University presidents would be out of jobs. Even the most drastic reapportionment might not keep all the 435 representatives in Congress. And states might have to merge, so even lots of Senators would have to look for unaccustomed work.

The automobile industry, instead of producing nine million cars a year, would have to be content with two and a quarter million. Ford and Chrysler stock would go much lower than they did this spring and thousands of Wall Street wisecracks would be ruined, even if Mr. Ford and Mr. Chrysler were not quite.

However, real people would suffer, too.

A fifty million population would mean a lot of factories would have to close down for lack of sales. People would have to start making many things at home and work much harder in order to live—always assuming that capitalism still prevailed.

A further drop to 25 million people would be catastrophic. If you have to wait 10 minutes on a cold street corner for a bus today, for instance, you might have to wait 80 minutes if there were only one-eighth the number of people and one-eighth the number of buses. In fact, there might not be any buses at all.

We could follow the reverse-english Malthus further down the road for another 185 years to a population of 12-1/2 million and so on until we were much smaller than the Indian population was in 1492 and utterly incapable of building our own wigwags, much less taking on European conquerors—regardless of what social system we had!

The Indians, be it remembered, lived in villages and towns, building whole apartment houses (the pueblos, the longhouses, etc.). They knew the value

of cooperation and in fact insisted upon it. They could have lived one person to a square mile, or even to two square miles, according to the size of their population. But actually, they couldn't live that way, so they lived together.

Neo-Malthusians work for capitalists

These problems of population will never be actually posed in real life in the way we have outlined them here, because population does not diminish any more than it increases, in response to any fixed mathematical formula, but in response to specific conditions within social systems.

But according to the brilliant neo-Malthusians, who just incidentally happen to be working for the capitalists who need a cutback in their bothersome reserve army of unemployed about now, the problem will be posed in real life—but only the doubling

side of it.

One such mathematical genius of Malthusianism has calculated that after a certain number of doublings, perhaps only five or six centuries hence, the population will be so great that it will outweigh the earth itself!

One can imagine the poor old planet staggering under its unaccustomed load in its up-to-now steady journey around the sun, simply falling off into empty space shaking us all overboard in the process!

But with due humility before these great experts, we have decided not to build space lifeboats for the human race just yet. We are going to create a new social system instead. And we have a pretty good chance of doing it before the population either doubles or is cut in half.

We will have a rational society, an equal society and ultimately a loving society. And in such a society, the subjugation of women will be as impossible and unthinkable on the one side as national genocide will be on the other. Children and life itself will be the conscious creation and responsibility of all people.

And people will take care that their creation is beautiful, has earth to stand on, air to breathe, sun to see and all the fruits and flowers of the universe to enjoy.

—But that's for a little bit later on. First we have to take care of some business in the present society to get that new one. And that's why we're not paying much attention to population explosions, forward or backward right now.

In fact, we're preparing a rather bigger explosion of a different kind.



One sample of family life under capitalism.

— Bolsheviks and sexual revolution

(Continued from page 7)

Rather, Millett says that the temperamental Nazi perversion is characteristic of the ancient tribal constitution of the primitive Indian people—that is, of primitive communism.

The reader will recall that Millett, in her effort to straddle the fence between the matriarchal and patriarchal schools of the origins of society, said that the controversy "was not relevant to contemporary patriarchy."

Now she certainly makes it very relevant. But here it is for the purpose of identifying the matriarchy with Nazi totalitarianism. Thus, according to Millett, the one social order in the history of human development where men and women were on an equal footing, without any domination or repression, is akin to the "flagrantly male supremacist and patriarchal character" of the Nazis.

Engels on Iroquois Indians

Engels, in describing the constitution of the Iroquois Indian Tribes in this country wrote as follows:

"And this gentile constitution is wonderful Everything runs smoothly without soldiers, gendarmes or police; without nobles, kings, governors, prefects or judges; without prisons; without trials. All quarrels and disputes are settled by the whole body of those concerned—the gens or the tribe or the individual gentes among themselves.... the household is run in

common and communistically by a number of families, the land is tribal property, only the small gardens being temporarily assigned to the households.... There can be no poor and needy—the communistic household and the gens know their obligations towards the aged, the sick and those disabled in war. All are free and equal—including the women."

Hitler, in his effort to divert attention from the economic havoc and catastrophe which faced Germany as a result of the ruinous imperialist war, blamed it all on the Jews rather than the capitalist class, in whose interest it was fought.

Millett and her school of imperialist sociologists try to divert attention from the same monopoly capitalists where the roots of Nazism and imperialism really lie.

The tribal solidarity of the Iroquois, as of all ancient primitive communist societies, was based on the solidarity of common ownership of property and the absence of domination, repression.

Engels on "Authority"

Instead of employing the facile generalizations about authoritarianism handed down by imperialist historiographers, she might have pondered Engels' exposition of the contrast between the authority of the ancient tribal chiefs and the authority as exemplified in capitalist civilization.

"The shabbiest police servant," says Engels, "in the civilized state has more 'authority' than all the organs of gentile society put together; but the most powerful prince and the greatest statesman or general of civilization may well envy the humblest gentile chief for the uncoerced and undisputed respect that is paid to him. The one stands in the midst of society, the other is forced to attempt to represent something outside and above it."

An interview with Victor Martinez

Sent to Workers World

Q. What's your present status right now?

A. Right now it is said that I'm absconding from justice, and that I'm a fugitive from this so-called justice.

Q. What do these charges grow out of?

A. This is the direct result of the rebellions which took place at the Queens House of Detention. I've been indicted for conspiracy, attempted murder, kidnapping, unlawful imprisonment and rioting and all these things. This indictment came down on us and I have not yet reported to receive the indictment.

Q. What's the situation of the other prisoners?

A. The other prisoners, Robert Drake, Kenny Sender and John Powell have been indicted. The only two that have not been indicted yet are Lumumba Shakur and Kinshasha, and myself. Right now we are waiting for a suitable date on which all three of us could appear in court.

Q. Have any of the prisoners involved in the leadership of the rebellion been punished or beaten?

A. Definitely. Kenny Sender was suffering from internal bleeding and internal injuries and Robert Drake from a broken leg and hip. Velasquez also, I think, has 52 stitches. This was the prime reason why I have not gone in to the pigs.

Q. What about all the promises that the mayor, the liberals, the judges made? Has there been any attempt to make reforms?

A. Well, these promises, they were exactly that. See, when they said they wouldn't take reprisals, they didn't mean that they wouldn't actually take reprisals. They meant that they would promise they would not take reprisals. This is the typical technique that the fascist pig uses. He'll promise you the world, but he probably won't give you anything.

No justice in the courts

Q. Do you think there's any possibility of justice in the courts?

A. There is no justice in the courts. We know this to be a fact, because a society which makes a distinction between whites and Blacks, and rich and poor is not interested in looking for justice. They're interested in eliminating the vanguard; they call them the troublemakers. And this means all Third World people as well as any radical. This is how the white brothers have become involved in this. They see the contradictions, and this is why the court has begun to deal with the white radicals in this way.

Q. What kind of support do you want from the revolutionary movement and various organizations, from people who might like to help?

A. Well, I don't think that this should be a thing of support, really. It's a means of continuing to carry on the revolution. It has to be done in this way. We have to continue to fight the revolution, we have to continue to beat our oppressors and the only way we're going to do this is by acting. As far as support is concerned, that word in itself is a very negative word. Liberals say they support the radical movements and things like that. The only revolutionaries are the revolutionaries that get involved and those that actually work. That's the only thing that I'm interested in from people, seeing people that are working towards this revolution.

Q. Are your friends in the prisons looking for the same type of solidarity?

A. Well, you see, we're in a very difficult position in terms of that, because what we did serves as a model. All prisons and all prisoners are looking at us as a test. Depending on what would happen to us, they will act accordingly. If we are prosecuted and they see that we receive no outside support, then why should they try? But if they can see that there is such a thing as a revolutionary movement and that there is such a thing as (solidarity) then this would serve as an incentive for them to continue to do other things.

Q. Would you say the prisons are political institutions to imprison opponents, to oppress the Black and Puerto Rican people and revolutionary opponents?

A. Well, not only Black and Puerto Rican and revolutionary people, but anyone that dares to question this system will be put in prison. Before it was the Blacks and Puerto Ricans and slowly you'll see how this has changed. Now, if you wear your hair long or whatever the case may be, more people are being locked in these concentration camps. If you look behind it, it's very political, because all the people that are in there are the people who refuse to go by this system. And that's the only reason that they're there, because they refuse to go along with capitalism or they refuse to go along with the norms of this fascist and racist system.

Q. Have the prisoners changed with the rising of the struggle? Have many individual prisoners changed?

A. Sure, many of the individual prisoners have changed from the forgotten to the more political.

School for revolutionists

Q. Would you say that prisons are places where revolutionaries are made?

A. Yes, prison is one of the better schools of training revolutionaries, because that's where people find themselves uptight. To organize and do political things inside a prison is a very difficult job and in order for this to be done you have to go through a lot of changes. I guess that's what becoming a revolutionary is about: just going through a lot of changes every day and trying to change different situations.



Q. Are these prison rebellions just in a couple of cities or is it a national phenomenon?

A. It's a very national phenomenon. I think it's an awakening. More people all over the world are beginning to differentiate between the maximum security prison and the minimum security prison. As soon as we begin to look at this institution, we begin to see that the warden of this whole thing is Nixon himself. Then this brings us to another stage. We're all in a big prison and we have brothers inside the maximum security prison while we're outside here in the minimum security. People are beginning to become hip to this, that there is no freedom, there is no justice, that nothing is very real in this country. This awakening is coming not only from the outside, but now from the inside.

Q. Do the prisoners here on the East Coast know about, for example, prisoners on the West Coast like George Jackson and the Soledad Brothers?

A. Yah, I think everyone is aware about the conditions of the Soledad Brothers and they can relate to this because all jails are very much alike, and whether they're on the East Coast or the West Coast, it's a jail. You can't change a name from a cage. A cage is a cage no matter what name you give it, and these people who have been in the concentration camps can all identify with one another. It's all the same. You're being held against your will; you're being made to do things that you

don't want to do. You're being oppressed, deprived. This is a university.

Q. How did the prisoners react to the courageous attempt by Jonathan Jackson to free his brothers on the West Coast?

A. With most of the brothers, the immediate response is "Right on!" We understand that an appeal wasn't going to do it, a writ wasn't going to do it, none of this paper was going to do it. The only way to do it was to go in there and take them out. The brothers are very realistic, in terms that they can relate to actual situations that occur. But as far as relating to a paper that is supposedly going to do this ... we've tried that, man, and it just doesn't work.

See, we can't fight a war on their grounds. They set up these laws, these corrupt laws and we can't beat them on that ground. But we can go in there and start liberating our people and this is very real.

Q. The racist press and the city and national authorities have tried to say that a few leaders, so-called hard-core revolutionaries, initiated the whole struggle in the prisons -- touched it off and carried it on. But isn't it true that the prisoners inside as a whole are becoming more conscious of the revolutionary situation all over the world and these rebellions are a spontaneous response to this situation?

A. Yes, that is true. You see, revolutionaries are limited in what action they can take. But they're not limited in terms of education and showing people why they're being held under these conditions and perhaps tell them ways they can get out of these situations. This is very real. They said that at the Queens House of Detention we had initiated the riots and now we're being termed as "ringleaders" and things like that. But you know that ringleaders do not move 300 people. You can show 300 people how they're being oppressed and then from there they go on and they begin to see what's really happening and then they can begin to move and act.

What we did in Queens -- it couldn't take one man or two persons or three persons to do. This involved some 300 people. Each one of them felt that what they were doing was right and that was the only way they could do it. So as far as "hardcore" -- that's what the pig press says and this is what they will always try to do with it.

Need for solidarity

In terms of solidarity and immediate action, we need, I think we need a platform that will be based on exposure. We must concentrate on exposing what actually took place, the events and the pig's part in it and how he's still trying to maneuver us into his position. Unless we become very conscious of the underlying political events that are taking place behind this, we will not be very effective.

In other words we have to realize that this is not just a prison struggle, we have directly attacked very high officials, Pig McGrath and Mad-dog Lindsay and behind these actions, like all prisons went up. Right now we're the prime example. They know that unless they control us they will not be able to control the rest of the prisoners. Because every time a guard goes in there, he's going to be worried about whether he's going to come out that night. Now what do they do? They instill fear in the prisoners. They're going to try to make an example out of us.

Q. What kind of solidarity are you looking for in the struggle from people who are outside the maximum security prison at the moment?

A. Well, we could begin by having a series of exposes, through the use of leafleting, pamphlets, through the newspapers, broadcasting stations, and this sort of thing to just blow it out to the public. Let the public become aware of what is happening and what is the present situation. Through this exposure more people would be able to become directly involved because they would know what is going on. This will give strength to the other prisoners on the inside, because they'll know we are taking care of business on the outside.

What could be done is to set up a national draft, you know, what are the indictments about and why the indictments came down and the reason why they came down. In other words, what do they hope to accomplish by dropping these indictments on us and believe me, man, it's not justice! These indictments are set for one specific reason -- that's to create fear. Notice that since these indictments came down, none of the jails have rioted or performed any hostile acts.

What's happening is that all eyes are being focused on what happens to us. Now if we go down the drain that means that the whole prison scene will go back to what it used to be. And it will be very difficult for other people to go in there and preach revolution. Because these people are in a cage, they're shackled, their movement is very limited and you are asking them to put their own lives in jeopardy against the tremendous odds, without any support at all. So unless we support them, we cannot even dare to ask them to participate in anything.



NEW YORK, Dec. 6—Over 1,000 people participated in a people's court today to indict New York's landlords, officials and bankers for crimes against the people. The mass of people who turned out for the trial came from the Black, Latin, Asian and white communities to voice their outrage over astronomical rents and the criminal lack of housing in the city.

People put landlords on trial

Chief Judge of the trial was Durie Bethea of the Black Panther Party. She declared the People's Court in session following a moment of silence in memory of Julio Roldan (the Young Lord murdered in the Tombs recently), for the Panther 21 and all revolutionaries who have died or are imprisoned.

The verdict that came in was unanimous: guilty! Guilty of perpetuating

slum conditions, no services, firetraps, racism. Guilty of evicting the people from their homes, harassment, criminally high rates, no fit housing for welfare recipients. Guilty for conspiracy on the part of the city government and banks to deny the people their right to decent housing.

For nine hours the people, young and old, from many different sections of the city testified about the inhuman conditions they are forced to live under. Calling on the people to testify were six prosecutors from the Young Lords Party, I Wor Kuen, the Bronx Housing Crisis Coalition, the Metropolitan Council on Housing, the Puerto Rican Students Union and El Comite (a Puerto Rican community organization).

One of the first witnesses to testify was a woman who stated her name but then, when asked for her address, said that she had none. A cry of "Right on" went up from the audience as a show of solidarity with the dispossessed and struggling squatters who have been taking over buildings in many parts of the city.

The Housing Crimes Trial resolved that the ultimate solution was for the people to protect themselves against the landlords and banks by any means necessary. Decent housing is the right of every human being. But the poor will only win this right through organizing in their communities against urban renewal, refusing to pay rents, occupying buildings and getting together to fight the landlords. It was resolved that the people have to attack the foundation of the system—private property. Court was adjourned with the call: "All power to the people!"

It pays to be a polluter

by Bill Smith

"If the Gulf Oil Corp. never earned another cent and continued to be fined \$2,000 a year for air pollution as it has since January, the company would go broke in 544,348 1/2 years or in June of 546,318 A.D." That's how the November 29 Philadelphia Inquirer sized up its city's long-range pollution control prospects.

The fact is that deaths attributed to environmental pollution continue to rise about as steadily and faithfully as the net assets of the industries responsible for all of it. The frightening fact is that because of the profit motive, they won't stop the chemical and gas wastes or even alter them to any significant degree. And if they don't, we can all start figuring out new life expectancies.

Confronted with overwhelming scientific proof that life itself could slowly disappear from the planet, the government promised a legislative campaign to prosecute and fine pollution violators. However, what they have done in this regard once again reveals them to be in the service of those very corporations which pollute the atmosphere.

Even making the air breathable and the water drinkable poses an impossible contradiction for the corporate rulers of America. Since clearing the air and rivers means time spent and money di-

verted to something useful outside of their direct profit, then we can all choke.

\$300 maximum fine

Philadelphia, which ranks high among the worst polluted American cities, provides a good look into how the courts handle pollution violators. According to the Health Department's Division of the Air Management Services, apartment houses with poor incinerator systems lead the list of pollution violators in that large industrial city, followed by metal companies, chemical firms and other industries. Now, no one is going to shed any tears over a \$300 fine (the maximum) levied against a pig landlord with a neglected oil burner, but there is a staggering difference between the fine's effect on him and the Gulf Oil Co., which has over \$1 billion in assets. That company has been fined a token \$2,000 since the beginning of the year, never exceeding in one payment the \$300 maximum.

According to the Philadelphia Inquirer of November 29, \$30,325 in fines have been levied against pollution violators since the beginning of the year, but only \$300 of that sum was taken from the Celotex Corporation, which is a subsidiary of the Jim Walter Corpora-

tion, netting \$696,584,015. The Penn Galvanizing Co. contributed \$6000 to the farce. It's a subsidiary of Belmont Industries whose total current assets come to \$16,981,548.

Out of six top chemical abusers in Philadelphia, including Allied Chemical (\$289,247,000 in assets), W.T. Grant (\$225,930,944) and Atlantic Richfield (\$280,781,000), the courts have taken a total of \$8,525. That wouldn't pay for the limousines chauffeured for any one of those corporation heads!

These figures make it crystal clear that not only is the government irresponsible to the people, but in fact it is a tool of those companies making huge profits while wild life disappears and hospitals fill up with lung patients.

Foxes watch the geese

The composition of the various state boards dealing with pollution control gives more insight into how and why the polluters go free. Sitting in voting and policy-making positions on 35 state boards across the country are members and representatives of the huge firms doing all of the polluting.

The U.S. Steel Co. is known to have members functioning on the pollution boards of Alabama and Indiana. A Dupont man is even chairman of the

Tennessee Pollution Board. The N.Y. Times of December 7 wrote: "The Stauffer Chemical Co., whose fumes periodically tincture the air around Las Vegas, has a man on Nevada's Air Pollution Advisory Council, the source of panels that consider appeals from citations."

Even without their direct participation, capitalists and their money interests would still be represented. The same Times article admits, "The presence of state officials on pollution boards does not always guarantee objectivity. Often they are from state departments of agriculture, industrial development or other agencies functionally allied with pollution sources."

The courts don't worry them (because they pose no threat) and the suffering of the people apparently hasn't stopped them. But the people do pose a threat. The only threat. A member of the Philadelphia Air Management Services said recently, "About the only thing that worries a large corporation is the accompanying bad publicity when it is cited for air pollution."

They have good reason to fear public opinion. It is the people and only the people who will seize their machinery and clear the earth of their stench forever.

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the prisoners!

Please remember the prisoners. At Christmas time they are allowed to receive cards from everyone.

Also write to Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins in Connecticut; the New York 21 in NYC; the Soledad Brothers, Calif.; Angela Davis, NYC; and the many, many more prisoners of war held in U.S. concentration camps.