



# SEIZE THE TIME



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35c

## Sandra Pratt



TO SAUNDRA PRATT

Through the many missions of valor endeavored, through your wit, sustained through your strong ties and love for our people, culminating in success and victory, through your rare leadership traits and the audacity, the excellence you showed in combatting and conquering the chauvinism in men, you endured and excelled....

Geronimo Pratt  
1971

In the past year, your continuous and really creative activities have filled us with much enthusiasm about our American sisters' strengthening their solidarity and playing an ever more positive and important role in the American people's common struggle for an end to the aggressive war in Viet Nam and for social progress in the United States....

Peace and justice will triumph!

All my sincere wishes for your success in this spring drive!

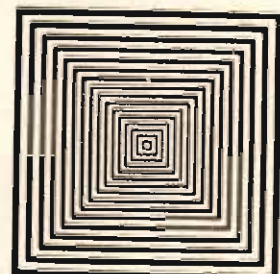
Nguyen Thi Binh  
Vice-president of Women's Union  
for the Liberation of South Viet Nam  
International Women's Day March 1972



Nguyen Thi Binh

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"JUCHE MEANS HOLDING FAST TO THE PRINCIPLE OF SOLVING FOR ONESELF ALL THE PROBLEMS OF THE REVOLUTION AND CONSTRUCTION IN CONFORMITY WITH THE ACTUAL CONDITIONS AT HOME." - - - KIM IL SUNG(DRK)

# JUCHE!

## SELF DEFENSE IN BOSTON

Reprinted from "the Guardian"

The battle over school integration in this city has revealed both the ugly face of fascism and the calm determination of the Black community's resistance.

For several days two weeks ago, Boston police-in cooperation with an outburst of terror organized by the Ku Klux Klan-placed the Black neighborhood of Columbia point in a virtual state of seige.

The Black community responded with discipline, political education and the organization of armed self-defense.

These events have been ignored or glossed over by the national and local capitalist media. But they nonetheless expose the white chauvinist essence of the national antibusing campaign first instigated by the Nixon administration and the Wallace movement. The Klan is openly organizing in Boston's white neighborhoods, holding street rallies and moving into key positions in community groups.

Here is what happened as the police "protected" Blacks at Columbia Point Housing Project, which is on a peninsula directly adjacent to South Boston, separated entirely by a mass of highway expansion. It is totally cut off from the Puerto Rican community by South Boston and severed from the Black community by miles of the predominately white section of Dorchester.

### KLAN INVASION

On September 18, the Ku Klux Klan invaded this community.

In full uniform, and with racist slogans draped all over their cars, they breezed down the main streets of the Point yelling and throwing things at the people on the sidewalks. They were preceded earlier that day by young white gangs from South Boston who did the same, throwing rocks and bottles, shooting "BB" guns at children and shouting racial slurs.

Much of the subsequent intense activity was brought to light at a Sept. 26 meeting held for the children who were being bused to South Boston and their parents. The meeting was arranged by the UJIMA Society, the Black student union of the University of Massachusetts at Columbia Point.

A member of UJIMA chaired the meeting. Although there were representatives from Black communities of other cities and state officials present, the meeting was dominated by the students and parents.

One of the youths marched to the platform and declared, "Why are those federal marshalls on the rooftops of our community?" This demand was immediately met with explosive cheers from the crowd.

"They got Vietnam equipment," he added. "Where were they when the Klan was there? Once we organized ourselves and threw them people out of our community they move the army in on us!"

The entire audience erupted, rocking the auditorium.

### BLACKS TAKE UP ARMS

After the attacks by the Klan, the people organized themselves. They stood 24-hour watch with eight hour details and they armed themselves. There were going to be no sacrificial lambs here.

By Sept. 21 the police had set up a watch at the edge of the neighborhood. That night, shooting broke out. From the roofs of the Boston College High School, an all-white school about 200 yards from the housing project, the Klan was firing on the people in the street. The police were no more than a half-mile away, but they did not come down to see what the shooting was about.

On Sept. 24 some 300 of Boston's Tactical Police Force moved into Columbia Point. Residents explained that the TPF raided buildings and enforced a virtual, though unofficial, state of martial law. The Community Youth Center and the Columbia Point Day Care Center, where the people had been joining for mutual protection against the Klan, were raided the next afternoon.

Merium Manning, the day care director, verified this information: "Any time you



In the late sixties, Black students at Cornell university armed and organized themselves. Racist white students had threatened to take vigilante actions against Black students. Armed and organized community defense must be organized to defend Black and Third World communities from all racist vigilante attacks.



break down the doors and search all the rooms and closets with guns and riot equipment, what do you call it but a raid?"

All the windows had been smashed so that police could point out of them their M16 rifles and carbines, complete with telescopic lenses.

Parts of the ceiling had been crushed in. The director explained that they were looking for arms. (It must be kept in mind that these police were there purportedly to protect the citizens of the community from outside aggression.)

### POLICE RACISM

The day care center had recently created a "political education" room. On the walls where the names and pictures of Black leaders were hung, the name of Martin Luther King had scribbled next to it in crayon, "He got on a bus, he got shot."

These "protectors of the citizenry" wrote next to the name of Malcolm X-"is a dead Nigger." Next to the popular phrase "Black is beautiful" was written -"but it's still black," and under the sign "Love is our Black people together" was scrawled "swimming back to Africa."

This display reached the height of viciousness in the dismantling of the community's pipe organ. The people explained that it took them six years to save enough money to buy it and now it was just a smashed up hulk.

Bookcases were broken into and their doors were left lying on the floor. The destruction also took place in the Christian Community Church.

At night the TPF were stationed on all the rooftops of the housing project with flak jackets and bulletproof vests. While they drank liquor they pointed their shot-guns and high powered rifles at children on the street.

Their numerous paddy wagons and riot equipment were used for the purpose of blocking up the streets. The people were told they must go into their houses. No one was permitted to leave the area or walk the streets. The phones were tapped and in many cases it was impossible to get calls through.

Community worker Bernard Sneed told me about the assault perpetrated on him. Since he works with the children in the area he went to the day care center to see why all the children had been herded into the street while the police took over the building.

At his first question to the police he caught a fist in the jaw.

He grabbed the next fist, but caught clubs in the stomach and head, opening up deep gashes in his skull, as 15 cops attacked him at once. He was bleeding profusely.

The TPF had occupied Columbia Point's community center for three days. It is now functioning again and the uses to which it is being put explain why the police made it a target.

On Sept. 27, for instance, some 75 youths, from ages 10 to 18, were back in the building and being led in calisthen-

ics by a 22-year-old activist. Betty Anne Jones, a community resident, gave the background to the story.

Ever since the first day of the Klan's intrusion, she said, the people had set up their defense mobilization in this building. As was going on now, concerned mothers and young Black men conducted political education classes. Everyone who entered the building was required to take part.

She also said that the previous estrangement between Blacks and Puerto Ricans was being erased by their common plight. In the evenings many Puerto Ricans came in and joined the defense program.

"This program had been going on for five days when the police raided the building," Jones said, explaining how the officers moved "the children to the streets where they could be subject to the bullets of the Klansmen" But the training had paid off and discipline was maintained.

There has also been no crime in the neighborhood since the program began. "No breaking and entering and no fires," said Jones.

As Louise Day Hicks and other reactionary officials whip the Irish-American population of South Boston into a fascist frenzy and as the Ku Klux Klan is given airtime over CBS radio, the people of Columbia Point have reacted with maturity.

The numbers of murders perpetuated against Blacks and Puerto Ricans increases daily in such cities as Atlanta, New York and Newark. It should be no surprise that the communities subject to this violence are becoming aware and taking the necessary measures of self-defense.

The staff of "Seize the Time" believes that the revolutionary movement can learn important lessons from the issue of school busing:

1. Black children have the absolute right to education without being subjected to racist violence. It is the duty of all progressive peoples to defend that right.
2. We support the right of the Black community to choose whether they wish to integrate the schools or build and control their own. We feel that school busing is detrimental and a bourgeois tactic to defuse revolutionary consciousness among the youth, but the main point is the right to choose as the community determines.
3. The dominant aspect of the white workers of South Boston was their racism. This was manifested in their massive and often violent racist demonstrations. However there was a secondary progressive aspect among some white workers. This progressive aspect was manifested by the two white workers who attempted to save a Black man in the process of being lynched by a white mob.
4. White revolutionaries should place emphasis on combatting racism among white workers while TW revolutionaries should do more work around collective self-defense in their communities.



# STRUGGLE IN VVAW/WSO



"Raise level of class consciousness to internationalism, combat racism and sexism and discredit economists..."  
INSIDE THE WHITE WORKING CLASS (centerfold)

A major struggle is shaping up inside the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO). The lines are being drawn between members and supporters of the Revolutionary Union (RU), who are in control of the National Office (NO) and the VVAW/WSO newspaper, WINTER SOLDIER; and the "Anti-imperialist Minority Focus" (AIMF) which is strongest in the largest and most active regions: New York and California, for example. The AIMF is now in the process of defining itself politically, and the analysis in this article does not claim in any way to represent the AIMF or any part of it.

By flooding the organization with secret cadre, setting up a number of new chapters and even regions, and beginning to recruit from the ranks of VVAW/WSO, the RU has gained a strong foothold in the organization. Some RU regions, it should be noted, are smaller than a single committee of a single chapter of the larger regions, but as of now each region carries equal voting strength within the organization. The Buffalo Chapter, in a paper entitled "Tell No Lies, Claim No Easy Victories", has charged the RU with "direct efforts at manipulation within the organization. A clear example is the formation of new chapters and regions of VVAW/WSO by the RU. This serves to push a particular line through a mechanical manipulation of "democratic" processes, rather than applying principled political struggle and education of the masses."

Communist members of VVAW/WSO have a special responsibility to examine the line and practice of the RU, both in VVAW/WSO and in the rest of the movement. They must not see the struggle in VVAW/WSO as isolated from the rest of the movement; the RU line is also being pushed elsewhere. VVAW/WSO members should talk to other groups—particularly TW and Womens'—about their experience and opinion regarding the RU.

The most useful and available expression of the RU line and influence in VVAW/WSO are the new National Program and the WINTER SOLDIER paper. The AIMF, on the other hand, has at this point no clearly consolidated political line.

## ECONOMISM AND VVAW/WSO

VVAW/WSO has adopted a "Vets and GI base and focus". The new national program defines how work is to be done in this focus. We quote: "We say that the key demand at this time is DECENT BENEFITS FOR ALL VETS." Most of the six-page program deals with work around this demand. The other demands, relating to Indochina, Amnesty, and a Single type discharge, are seen as more difficult for veterans to relate to. Movements around these demands are supposed to "develop dialectically" or "unfold" from work in this area at a later point. Quote again from the National Program:

"Besides consistency, it was pointed out earlier that mobilizing vets around the key demand of "Decent Benefits" will lead to related movements around amnesty and Indochina. It has been said by many chapters that people, especially vets, do not relate to the amnesty demand or the Indochina demand when first approached. This is very understandable, since anti-imperialist consciousness does not come out of the sky. People must be won to it. By uniting with and leading the struggle around demands that veterans immediately grasp are in their interests provides the

material basis for explaining the other demands and winning their support of them, not the other way around. This will not happen if the fight around the immediate needs is conducted in an economist or reformist way, never attacking the system or bringing out the system's true nature."

Despite the disclaimer tacked onto the end, this stinks of economism. Let's see what Lenin says on this subject.

"The idea preached by our economists, that the economic struggle is the most widely applicable means of drawing the masses into the political movement, is so extremely harmful and extremely reactionary in its political significance." "...as a matter of fact, it is possible to 'raise the activity of the masses of workers' only provided this activity is not restricted to 'political agitation on an economic basis'..." "Those who concentrate the attention, observation, and consciousness of the working class exclusively, or even mainly, upon itself alone, are not Social Democrats (communists)". WHAT IS TO BE DONE

The NO and the RU think that building an anti-imperialist Vets movement requires an economic bait. There is a blindness in this, because no-one could seriously argue that most or even a small minority of the members of VVAW/WSO are active because of their immediate economic interests.

One characteristic of economism is a failure to engage in cultural revolution—tackling the cultural forces of imperialism—sexism, self-interest, racism, individualism, etc. Perhaps this is why the RU influence seems to many VVAW/WSO members to be devoid of warmth, humanity, and collective development. What Amilcar Cabral said about national liberation and culture applies equally to socialist revolution in the oppressor nation:

"...it may be seen that if imperialist domination has the vital need to practice cultural oppression, National Liberation is necessarily and act of culture. On the basis of what has just been said, we may consider the National Liberation movement as the organized political expression of the culture of the people who are undertaking the struggle. For this reason, those who lead the movement must have a clear idea of the value of the culture in the framework of the struggle..."



Two main aspects of the economist position in VVAW/WSO are its failure to deal with sexism and its racist position towards national movements within the US. These are explained further below.

## FAILURE TO FIGHT SEXISM

The seventh objective of VVAW/WSO reads in part as follows: "7. Resolved to fight sexism, to show that sexism plays a major part in promoting war. We must show Americans our society is permeated by sexism, which forces an inferior status on women, reducing them to subservient sexual objects, and which robs both men and women of their natural growth."

A survey of the last year of WINTER SOLDIER does not turn up a single attack on sexism. The new national program does not even mention the word or the concept. The March, 1974 centerfold on International Women's Day reflects the RU line, and is an insult to the womens' movement and a violation of the 7th objective. It again fails to mention the word or concept of sexism. The last womens' struggle mentioned in its history happened in 1909. Again and again it repeats that women must unite with

men to struggle. But it never calls on men to combat sexism in their own ranks. The fact is that there is a strong and growing anti-imperialist womens' movement in the US. Most women in that movement already understand the need to ally with men in order to defeat US imperialism. What they need is for majority male organizations like VVAW/WSO to actively combat sexism and to support the womens' movement so that they can unite. Under RU influence, however, this is out of the question.

The position of the NO as expressed in WINTER SOLDIER would make us believe that it is more important for women to struggle against feminism than for men to struggle against sexism. We got news for the NO: it isn't feminism that has supported imperialism all these years. If VVAW/WSO is not anti-sexist, then it is not anti-imperialist.

## NATIONAL CHAUVINISM vs INTERNATIONALISM

Starting as a pure white group, the RU has attempted to integrate its way to leadership over not only the white movement but also over the TW movements. While they believe that veterans, for example, should organize independently, they oppose independent Black or Brown groups. Most recently the RU line has been clearly exposed in Boston as the RU takes up the cry against the busing of Black school children to segregated white schools—while supporting busing and integration in principle (?) and attacking nationalism as the main deviation in the revolutionary movement! Shades of PL!

After six years of existence the RU is still almost totally white, with understandably poor relations to most TW organizations in the US.

In VVAW/WSO this has serious implications. If one looks through the past six months of WINTER SOLDIER, no evidence will be found that Black, Chicano, or Native American liberation movements even exist in the US, much less that they are actively supported by some VVAW/WSO chapters.

In San Jose, California, the VVAW/WSO chapter has built close alliances with groups in the Chicano movement through work in a "Coalition Against Racism". Several chapter members are active participants in a large mass

group, mostly Chicano, including some Chicano veterans. There has been no reason to recruit these vets because it has been clear that their oppression as Chicanos is primary. When Chicanos move as veterans, they move in national forms, such as GI Forum. How does the new National Program propose to relate to TW veterans? It declares that VVAW/WSO, a white organization, shall become multi-national through a fight for economic issues like better benefits and jobs for all. They predict that this will "win over" TW veterans to VVAW/WSO. When the NO talks about the VA in WINTER SOLDIER, however, they don't deal with the specific conditions of TW veterans (See Sept-Oct 1974 and January 1975 issues). In the November, 1974 centerfold on military oppression they say, "The only solution to this problem (racism) is through the understanding that the common enemy of both Third World and white GIs has no color at all. US imperialism is the system that we



# BEHIND THE LINES

## ★ PUERTO RICO

Puerto Rico (Prensa Popular and Peoples' Translation Service)- The national liberation struggle of the Puerto Rican people has made great strides since October. Over 16,000 people jammed New York's Madison Square Garden in a rally demanding independence for Puerto Rico and freedom for five political prisoners held since the early fifties. The featured speaker was Juan Mari Bras, secretary general of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Speakers of all different nationalities representing many different political groups gave their support to the Puerto Rican struggle for independence.

Since October a group known as the Armed Forces for Puerto Rican National Liberation have carried on a bombing campaign. In general their targets have been corporate giants of U.S. imperialism. One of their targets, which have been carried out mostly in the Wall Street area, killed some business men at lunch. They have also carried out attacks in Puerto Rico.

In late December it was announced that 11,000 U.S. soldiers are being transferred from West Germany to Puerto Rico to reinforce the local National Guard.

In a letter to the United Nations, Carmen Lopez, representative of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, denounced the increasing repression carried out by the U.S. in her country. Calling for an end to the U.S. colonial domination in Puerto Rico, she stated: "Tens of thousands of workers have already been illegally arrested. The objective of the U.S. government is to destroy the workers' movement, and in particular, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party."

## ★ RIOT TACTICS

Los Angeles- The chief of training for the L.A. police department announced early this year that they are preparing for food riots. In a statement that was later denied by the chief of police, he stated that they were positive that food riots would occur. He stated that their men were having difficulty training because they expected the riots to be different than either the anti-war riots or race rebellions that they were used to.

Training of this type when combined with the increase in murderous SWAT, STRESS, and ZEBRA teams, and the city warfare training programs that many police departments are receiving clearly shows that the bourgeoisie has decided to deal with the resistance to the new depression with massive military repression. It is the duty of revolutionaries to prepare for the new police tactics with a new level of tactics of their own at both the mass and small group level.



## ★ ANTI-WAR

In the United States, Ford made a request for an additional \$300 million for Thieu and another \$250 million for Lon Nol regime in Cambodia. The Indochina war since the ceasefire has already cost American people \$800 million.

At the same time, the Pentagon sent the carrier Midway, the Enterprise and the Coral Sea towards the Tonkin Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Several marine units were prepared for landing and leaving US bases in the Philippines.

These actions have revived a strong Vietnam anti-war movement among the people of America. Demonstrations marking the second anniversary took place across the country. At the White House in Washington D.C. some 3000 held a candlelight rally. In San Francisco, the Vietnam Veterans Against the War held a demonstration inside the South Vietnamese Consulate. Tactical squad police went wild attacking demonstrators, news reporters and passers by. Seventeen were arrested and several people injured seriously by the police.

Many Black news reporters and Congressmen have delivered editorials and speeches denouncing US support of dictatorships and puppet governments. They point out that the billions of dollars poured into Indochina, southern Africa, etc. is the real cause of inflation at home. They and others have called for the end of aid to Thieu and the use of those funds for job programs at home.



## ★ UNEMPLOYMENT

Washington- The Labor Department announced that unemployment within the United States had reached the 8.2% level. This is the highest level of unemployment since 1941. By government figures over seven million workers are out of work. The government figures are highly inaccurate. They do not count people who have been out of work over a year, who have given up looking for work or who have never held a job before. Also these figures do not include those who work as little as one or two days a week.

Unemployment figures have reached depression levels in Black and Brown communities. Unemployment of fifty percent and over are no longer uncommon. The revolutionary movement must attach the highest priority to organizing workers who are employed and unemployed. We must seize the time, pay attention to the needs of the masses and serve their struggles.



## ★ MENOMINEES

Keshena Wisconsin- On January 1, militant native Americans from the Menominee Warrior Society took over an abandoned monastery in Keshena. The Alexian Brothers are the religious order that "owned" this building and land. The Society said it would hold the monastery until the Alexians turned it over for a school and hospital. They held the monastery over a month against police and National Guard troops. They negotiated a settlement turning the monastery to the Menominees. However all the warriors were arrested.

To turn this action into a complete peoples' victory, we must free the Native American prisoners of war!

LONG LIVE THE NATIVE AMERICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE!



BEHIND THE LINES CONT. PG. 5

## LABOR

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13

The first successful use of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act as a repressive device against workers occurred at the end of yet another great strike wave beginning with the 1892 Homestead Steel Strike in which 16 workers were killed by militia, and ending with the Pullman strike of 1894 in which Chicago was placed under martial law.

Following World War I, massive general strikes hit Seattle and the New England textile regions. Strikes paralyzed the industrial heart of America, from the Chicago railway strike to the steel and coal strikes of Pittsburgh. This postwar strike wave was characterized by an increasing number of wildcat strikes due to the gradual transition of the previously militant trade-union movement to one dominated increasingly by business unionism (that is, a workers movement based on collective bargaining and acceptance of the wage system under capitalist control).

FDR--SAVIOR OF CAPITALISM

It was this long and bloody history as a background, that the "progressive" laws of the New Deal were enacted.

It was also the time of the gravest economic crisis that capitalism had yet faced, the era of the Great Depression which was international in scope. Unlike other depressions (1873, 1884, 1893, 1906, and 1921) the Great Depression of 1929 was the longest and most widespread. It reached into all areas of the economy. Industrial production dropped to 50% of previous levels as an estimated 12-17 million people were left unemployed by 1933.

Workers bore the brunt of the savage effects of the depression as wage cuts dropped average earnings to 45% of what they had been. Food, clothing and other necessities were left rotting in warehouses as million starved, because they could not be sold for a profit.

With the capitalist system on the brink of disaster, with armed revolution a possibility after three long years of suffering by the people of the U.S., a "New Deal" was proclaimed in 1932. Roosevelt was ushered into office amidst much fanfare. Its purpose, to save capitalism, was exposed in an interview with a journalist that year. Roosevelt repeated what he was told by a railroad magnate that "the men were talking revolution."

TO BE CONTINUED IN THE NEXT ISSUE



**SELF DEFENSE** Cont. from page 10  
 mass and armed struggle. As the masses rise to higher forms of struggle, revolutionaries must be in the vanguard attempting to give direction and science to the masses' efforts. We must be doing self-defense work in Third World communities and economic organizing in all communities. We cannot tail the masses when they make leaps to new forms of struggle. As Lenin states we must learn from the masses, "Marxism demands an attentive attitude to the mass struggle in progress, which, as the movement develops, as the class consciousness of the masses grows, as economic and political crises become acute, continually gives rise to new and more varied methods of defense and attack. Marxism, therefore, positively does not reject any form of struggle. Under no circumstances does Marxism confine itself to the forms of struggle, unknown to the participants of a given period, inevitably arise as the given social situation changes. In this respect Marxism learns, if we may so express it, from mass practice, and makes no claim whatever to teach the masses forms of struggle invented by 'systematizers' in the seclu-



"No one who thinks of himself as a human being, as a revolutionary, can go to bed at night with a clear conscience if he has not taken some action on behalf of Vietnam."  
 --Che

**VVAW/WSO** Cont. from page 3

are all struggling against, and it is this common form of oppression that we all share that should be the basis for unity." (emphasis added).

This is clearly incorrect. It shows how economism in the oppressor nation turns out to be national chauvinism. The ruling class of US imperialism has a color. It's white. White people in the US are an oppressor nation-- Black, Brown, and other peoples are oppressed nations and nationalities. The oppression of white and TW GIs are qualitatively different.

For a 99% white organization like VVAW/WSO internationalism must mean opposing imperialism within the borders of the US as well as without. Otherwise "anti-imperialism" is a sham, and otherwise VVAW/WSO cannot expect support or alliance, much less recruits, from Third World communities.

**BUILDING THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST CAUCUS**

The AIMF in VVAW/WSO cannot be a purely "reactionary" force-- reacting to the RU presence. Hopefully, the RU invasion will serve as a catalyst to the sisters and brothers in the AIMF to improve their work through a higher degree of organization and ideology. The white revolutionary movement needs the strength and clarity which can result if the advanced members of the AIMF develop collectives, coordinate their practice and theoretical development, unite with other forces in the white anti-imperialist movement fighting for socialist revolution, allying closely with TW liberation forces.

Though no political line has yet been firmly established, the outlines are beginning to come clear. While there is no opposition to building the vets and GI movements, the AIMF intends to do so while raising political demands such as support of liberation movements, combatting sexism, supporting the Vietnamese, etc. It is particularly clear that the AIMF can unite around the ideas that as a white male dominated group they must fight racism and support TW liberation movements fight sexism and support the women's movement to build unity and that the economism of the RU must be discredited and dumped. We call on our sisters and brothers in the revolutionary movements to support the anti-imperialist forces in VVAW/WSO.

sion of their studies."  
 Besides recognizing that revolutionary violence is an inevitable outgrowth of political/economic conditions and the struggles of the masses, revolutionaries must understand that clandestine work is an art which must be learned. Lenin states that, "...it is appropriate and essential for a Marxist to assess the technical side of the struggle, the technical questions which arise in its course. To recognize a definite form of struggle and not to recognize the necessity for studying its technique is like recognizing the necessity of taking part in particular elections while ignoring the law which lays down the technique of these elections." Armed groups such as the Black Liberation Army and the Weather Underground have repeatedly stated that they have no illusions about their level of struggle become primary. It is metaphysical to believe that without preparation we will be ready for new forms of struggle. Practice has always been the most direct teacher. Lenin again, "Military tactics depend on the level of military technique. This plain truth Engels demonstrated and brought home to all Marxists. Military technique today is not what it was in the middle of the 19th century. It would

Reprinted from SIN CADENAS, a newsletter published by the Committee to Free Los Tres

**SAXBE ACCUSATIONS DENOUNCED BY C.A.S.A.**

A call to unity, to resist the racist rhetoric and tactics of the government, was made by CASA Hermandad de Trabajadores in a press conference held last week. This was in response to statements made by Attorney General William B. Saxbe who stated that the presence of undocumented workers constitutes a 'severe national crisis'. Singling out Mexicano workers, Saxbe called for the arbitrary and anti-human deportation of one million undocumented workers as the solution for the present economic crisis.

The false accusations made by Saxbe are attempts by the government to divide all workers, placing the blame for the inflationary crisis on one sector of the working class. Saxbe's statements serve to divert attention from the real cause of the national economic crisis: government policies and the practices of multinational corporations.

**GOVERNMENT ATTEMPT TO DIVIDE WORKERS COUNTERED**

Saxbe said that undocumented workers hold millions of jobs, but no group of workers can cause unemployment, which is solely the result of production cutbacks used to protect corporate profits in times of economic instability.

He claims that undocumented workers drain social services funds. In fact, these workers do pay federal, state, and municipal taxes in the form of paycheck deductions, rents, and sales taxes, but do not collect benefits of these payments as other workers do.

Saxbe also claims that undocumented workers send millions of dollars to their home countries annually. Considering the high cost of living (one of the highest in the world) and the low wages (especially amongst immigrant workers) it is clear that this is impossible. On the contrary, there is an inflow of wealth into the US because of the pirating practices of multinational corporations which drain the natural resources of Latin America and other countries.

The policy adopted by directors of the United Farm Workers reflect the traditional racist policy of the AFL-CIO leadership. These false leaders of labor openly agree with the government and attack a sector of the working class.

Workers are workers regardless of national origin, culture, or skin color---any attempt to divide workers serves the profit interests of big business, big corporations, and not workers. His-

be folly to contend against artillery in crowds and defend barricades with revolvers." George Jackson and Lenin jointly sum up the need to learn the art of people's war; "No argument has any substance if it conflicts with the objective conditions, the clear, incontrovertible facts. In our case, these facts can be read from the nation's dailies in the obituary section. Blacks who seriously advocate revolution are killed. Blacks who attack property relations are slated for the graveyard or the prison camp. It's a national cultural tradition. Since these are the facts, it follows that: 'An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves. We cannot forget unless we become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, that we are living in a class society, that there is no way out of this society, and there can be none, except by means of the class struggle. In every class society, whether it is based on slavery, serfdom or as at present, on wage labour the oppressing class is armed'. (George Jackson quoting Lenin)". In the future it can be said that revolutionaries who survive will be those that can shoot straight.

torically, deportation have not solved any of the recurring US economic crises. Deportations have proven to be an inhumane practice which ignores the civil and human rights of immigrant workers. This is a government policy designed to provoke anti-immigrant feelings, and more particularly, anti-Mexicano and Latino feelings which divide working people.

Attorney General Saxbe's statements amount to placing Latinos in the historically used role of scapegoats for big business. This is a role we must resist and combat.

AN INJURY TO ONE, IS AN INJURY TO ALL!



"THE PEOPLE HAVE THE RIGHT TO DESTROY THOSE FORCES WHICH THREATEN THEIR SURVIVAL."

The Vietnamese people have shown their courage many times in the battlefield. "When you are ready to die for your freedom, the threat of death no longer intimidates you." NVA recruit.  
 "Better to die on my feet than to live the rest of my life on my knees." Emiliano Zapata.

FROM THE EDITORS OF SEIZE THE TIME

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# BREAK DE CHAINS

## GARY LAWTON

REPRINTED FROM GARY LAWTON DEFENSE COMMITTEE

### HISTORY

Almost four years ago, two white police officers were slain in what officials in Riverside, Ca. have termed "the ambush slayings". Racism and political repression have been a continuous way of life for an outspoken Black man, Gary Lawton, framed for the crime.

Gary Lawton is an outstanding fighter in the minority community, bringing to light the oppression and oppressors of the community. He helped in the setting up of boycotts of racist businesses, Black Moratoriums around Indochina, and police monitoring. After the slayings he voluntarily took three lie detector tests. These tests proved he was not involved in the ambush. Yet, on May 19, 1971, Gary was arrested and spent the next two years in isolation, segregation, and in the hole in the county jail.

Six months later, two other Black men, Nehemiah Jackson (a young college student) and Zurebu Gardner (a part-time student and worker) were also charged. The fact that none of the three men had ever met each other did not make any difference to the state.

### TWO HUNG JURIES

The three were taken to Indio, Ca. (a desert community) for the first trial. After a six month trial, the all white jury voted 9 to 3 for acquittal. Six of the jurors later signed a petition demanding that charges against the three be dropped. One of the jurors has become active in the defense and freeing of Gary Lawton.

A second trial was held in Riverside. The second jury, as had the first, failed to convict Lawton and Gardner. Nehemiah Jackson did not stand trial the second time and charges against him were dropped after the second hung jury.

### THIRD TRIAL

Prior to the third trial, charges against Zurebu Gardner for the slaying were dropped. The reason given by the District Attorney was lack of evidence. After three years of persecution, two trials, and over a year in jail, charges were dropped for "lack of evidence".

Now the powers-that-be are going after Gary Lawton alone in a desperate attempt to concentrate all their fire for a racist conviction.



Zurebu Gardner (l) and Gary Lawton (r)  
COMMUNITY REPRESSION

The community of Riverside is not isolated from the Lawton case. Somewhere between 50 and 100 witnesses and workers for the defense have been intimidated and harassed by the city police.

William Palmer is one example. On March 17, 1971, he was shot in the back by a member of the Riverside Police Department. As he was recovering from this wound, Palmer was convicted of assault on the officer that shot him. He subsequently served a year in prison. The DA originally claimed that Lawton, Gardner, and Jackson plotted and carried out the am-

bush in retaliation for the shooting of Palmer. Again, not only did none of the three know each other, but none of them knew Palmer.

After being released from prison, Palmer helped with some of the mass work around the defense. As a consequence, in early 1974 Palmer was again arrested on a trumped up charge of assault and resisting arrest. He was convicted and is serving a 1 to 15 years sentence at San Quentin.

On March 25, 1974, two days after a massive picket of the courthouse, members of the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee and Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization were at the courthouse to show support at William Palmer's second "assault" trial. Chukia Lawton (Gary's wife) and Rusty Bronaugh were brutally attacked when they tried to question police about the arrest of Palmer's 14-year-old son without a warrant. Gardner was beaten by seven cops, Chukia was choked unconscious and all three were arrested.

Since then, Rusty and Chukia have undergone a three week misdemeanor trial, the longest in Riverside's history, which ended in a hung jury. Their second trial will be in early November. Zurebu is supposed to stand trial for assault on a police officer in the near future.

Another person being victimized by the frame-up is Oscar Jarmon. He has been arrested on at least six different occasions for refusing to knuckle under to the state in the Lawton trial. On one occasion, he was brutally beaten by a double duty flashlight and billy clubs. Miraculously surviving a fractured skull, he was charged with four counts of battery on a police officer and resisting arrest. The night prior to the trial, his home was broken into by a dozen police officers. They waved riot guns at everyone present and kept a gun trained on Jarmon's little girl.

In the Chicano Community, the police have continued a reign of terror with the coldblooded murder of four unarmed youths. At the same time the community is periodically cordoned off and kept in a state of siege.

All of this and more is followed by the continued use of the two police helicopters that watch the community 24 hours a day. They employ tactics developed by the military in Vietnam, observing the area and then swooping down to "apprehend criminals". Recently the swooped down and beat up a 16-year-old Black youth who was already arrested and handcuffed by another officer. (They received a sentence of 30 days suspension from the force for the assault).

### GOVERNMENT PROGRAM

The continued frame-up of Gary and the repression in Riverside is not separate or isolated from the entire country, but is part of increased nationwide attacks against Black, Chicano, Native American, Asian and white working people.

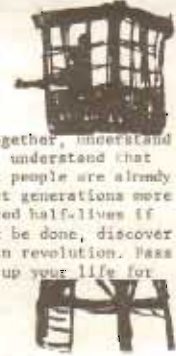
There was Operation Zebra in San Francisco, where every Black man was stopped and searched by police. There is the continued attempt by the gov't, Teamsters Union and growers to smash the United Farm Workers. There was the murder of Tony Wilkins, who was shot, handcuffed, and denied medical aid for over an hour in Los Angeles. There is the persecution and deportation of so called "illegals" in an attempt to divide the working class. There is the decade long trials of Ruchell Magee in California and Martin Sostre in New York.

These are not isolated nor separated government attacks, but part and parcel of an overall attack on minority people in particular and working people in general.

In documents that the gov't was forced to make public, a strategy code named COINTELPRO was discovered. In the program, the FBI's stated goal was to "disrupt, misdirect, and otherwise neutralize" Black organizations and "eliminate leaders" as a brake on the continuing Black National struggle.

At the same time, as the crisis in the economy increases, the burden for keeping the rich rich will fall on all the poor

GEORGE JACKSON



Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are already dying who could be saved, that generations more will die or live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your love in revolution. Pass on the torch. Join us, give up your life for the People.

and working people, even more than it does now. The State knows this and hopes to intimidate people into submissiveness and a fear of fighting back.

One thing we have learned in the almost four year struggle to FREE GARY LAWTON is that there is no justice in the Judicial system; that the state is not a neutral bystander insuring equality, and that one needs more than a good lawyer to beat a phony charge. The reason we have come as far as we have, the reason charges against Jackson and Gardner were dropped, the reason Gary himself is still alive, is due to the mass outrage and support of the people. Today we need that support more than ever.



MARILYN BUCK

"You must take great care in how you write about POW's. There is a difference between showing comrades as positive examples and as martyrs. We are not martyrs. We are committed women and men...committed to liberation for the people. I say this because some of the letters I got made me want to cry. Behind the attitude shown toward me as a martyr or a poor little white girl or something and that is not what I'm about. I/we are not victims of circumstance. We have made choices, political choices and we are prepared to deal with the consequences of our actions and deeds. And the war goes on... Your sister in struggle,  
Marilyn"

Marilyn Buck is a white woman activist from the Bay Area who was named in a grand jury investigation of the Left in 1973. Her apartment was raided by FBI and police in March '73 and two boxes of ammunition were found. Marilyn was charged with purchasing ammunition under a false name and was convicted.

Throughout her trial, Marilyn was linked by the prosecution to the Black Liberation Army. Because she refused to dissociate herself from the Black liberation struggle and because she refused to play upon the male chauvinism of the judge, she was sentenced by Judge Conti to 15 years in prison. When he sentenced her, Conti said she was "dangerous and intelligent" and that he was sentencing her so harshly in order to "save someone's life."

Marilyn has now served nearly two years in prison. She has been at Terminal Island, Calif., Cook County Jail, and now at Alderson, West Virginia.

Throughout her incarceration the image of Marilyn as a dangerous woman "unfit to be in population" has been used to keep her isolated. She spent 6 months in Cook County Jail, (although she is a federal prisoner), because the wardens at Terminal Island and Alderson (which are the only women's penitentiaries in the US) refused her. The reason they gave was that she was an "organizer."

Marilyn was moved to Alderson in

cont. pg 7



Marilyn -- cont. from pg 6

October. At Alderson she is in a so-called "behaviour treatment program." This means that she has no contact with the other women outside of a "therapy" group which includes a matron.

Although Marilyn is kept from having much contact with other women in Alderson, she maintains strong contacts thru the mails with other political prisoners all over the US. She also writes to people outside, encouraging them to support fighters who are on trial or in prison. Marilyn has a deep understanding that all prisoners are political prisoners and she has taken on responsibility for pushing people to support them.

She has also remained incredibly strong and clear as a revolutionary, involving herself in study of the world anti-imperialist revolution. She needs support and can receive mail at:  
BOX A #00482  
Alderson, W. Virginia 24910

Article  
Donated

## BOB HOOD

Bob Hood, a leader of the East Bay Chapter of Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization, was arrested on the night of February 6, 1974, while acting as a witness to another arrest. Officer Ted Burrows of the Oakland Police Department held him at gunpoint, beat him to the ground, then handcuffed and searched him. When a Swiss Army knife was found in his pocket, Bob was charged with assaulting a police officer with a deadly weapon, and now faces a possible five-to-life sentence.

For almost a year, members of VVAW/WSO in the Bay Area have been subjected to continual FBI harassment and surveillance, ranging from phone taps to break-ins and house searches, as part of ongoing government efforts to provoke incidents which will discredit the organization. Repeated attempts have been made to build a public image of VVAW/WSO as "violence-prone," and to associate it with the SLA.

In 1972 the government attempted to destroy VVAW/WSO with the Gainesville Conspiracy Trial. The Gainesville defendants were acquitted despite the massive gov't effort, including the use of over 200 police informers during the demonstrations at the Republican National Convention. The Government failed with the Gainesville trial, as well as Chicago's, Wounded Knee and others. The gov't has given up on the massive "conspiracy" trials and started ripping people off one by one, on what appear to be charges not associated with political work. Bob Hood's trial is only one of many faces by VVAW/WSO members nationwide.

Bob's innocence has been proved repeatedly, not only by the failure of three other police officers present at the scene to corroborate Burrow's allegation that Hood attacked him, but also by a lie-detector test administered by an official polygraph expert of the Oakland Police Dept. The results of that test are presently considered inadmissible evidence by the court, despite precedents for their admissibility. Moreover, the extensive record of complaints against Burrows for violent misconduct in the line of duty has been withheld from defense attorneys; and they have also been denied access to evidence of FBI surveillance of Hood by no less a figure than US Attorney-General William Saxbe.

The political implications of Bob Hood's trial go deeper than attack on VVAW/WSO. The prosecution's entire case rests on hearsay information regarding Bob's and VVAW/WSO's "links" to the SLA. It is a fact that Joe Remiro was a member of VVAW/WSO. It is true that Bob's house was searched on January 10, 1974, on the simple fact that Remiro and Willie Wolfe lived near Hood. The facts also include that Remiro left VVAW/WSO in March, 1973, and that nothing was found in Hood's house to link him with the SLA. Hundreds of activists in the Bay Area were harassed both by the police and FBI after the Hearst Kidnap. Bob Hood is the only one who now faces trial because of police hysteria and newspaper allegations.

In a movement for social change, there are many different groups and different tactics are used by these groups. One of the ways the state divides us is to get people arguing and hating each other because of the differences in those tactics -- Black people in this country in particular, see the need to move against the state in ways that most white people don't. That difference in their lives is a real one, and it is playing the mans game to spend a lot of time denouncing each other. Bob Hood is not a member of the SLA, and is not connected to it in any other way than that of many people in VVAW/WSO, he knew Joe Remiro when he was in the organization. We de-



Bob Hood and Friends

fend and support Bob Hood on the grounds that he is innocent, and because of the political work he engages in. We will not offer a condemnation of the SLA for the defense of Bob Hood.

-- East Bay Chapter VVAW/WSO

(note: Bob's trial ended with a hung jury. As in Gary Lawton's case, however, the State is not letting the charges drop. Bob's next trial will begin March 10, 1975)



## JOANNE LITTLE

Support grows in North Carolina for Joanne Little, a 20-year old Black woman scheduled to stand trial in late November for killing a white guard who was trying to rape her.

On August 27, Clarence Alligood, a guard at the Beaufort County Jail in Washington, North Carolina, was found dead. Alligood had been killed with an ice pick normally kept in his desk drawer. His body was naked from the waist down except for his socks, and his shoes were lying in the corridor outside the cell.

Joanne Little, the occupant of the cell, had fled. Eight days later she turned herself in to state authorities in Raleigh and told her story.

Little had been kept in the Beaufort County Jail for three months pending an appeal of a conviction for breaking and entering. She was the only woman in the jail where all the guards are white males. She stated that Alligood's death was a matter of self-defense; he had made sexual advances toward her once before and on the night of the 27th he had tried to rape her.

Little said that Alligood entered her cell about 3 a.m., having taken his shoes off outside the cell, and threatened her with an ice pick. As Alligood was undressing, she got hold of the ice pick, struck him with it several times and then fled from the jail. Sperm found on Alligood's clothes supports this account.

Since she turned herself in, Joanne Little's case has begun to attract considerable attention, particularly among women in the Black community. It raises important questions about racism in the courts and in the jails, about the treatment of women in prison and about the right of women to defend themselves against rape. Over 150 people turned out at a hearing on October 1 in Raleigh to set bail in the murder charge against her.

The state's treatment of Little has

been harsh so far. With other prisoners awaiting trial, she was being held until recently, in the solitary confinement section of the Women's Prison in Raleigh. During the bond hearing she was kept tightly shackled in the courtroom so that she could not even rise to greet her supporters when they came in. Bond was set at \$100,000.

Despite the support she is receiving Joanne Little's lawyers feel they face a difficult trial ahead. The first problem is ensuring a fair trial. The racial attitudes in eastern North Carolina, where Beaufort County is located, would probably make a fair trial there impossible, so defense lawyers are trying to have the trial transferred to the central, or Piedmont, section of the state.

Their first motion to have the case moved has been denied because North Carolina law would only permit a transfer to an adjoining county in eastern North Carolina. But the lawyers are planning to appeal this denial and to test the constitutionality of the state law.

Lawyers must also deal with Little's conviction on charges of breaking and entering. Although she had wanted to appeal this charge, her previous lawyer had neglected to file all the papers for an appeal before the time allowed for appeals had expired.

A court recently ruled that she had lost her automatic right to an appeal because of this, and that she must begin to serve a 7-10 year sentence. However, at the end of October, her present lawyers did succeed in getting an evidentiary hearing into why her appeal was not filed.

Joanne Little's supporters held a demonstration for her in front of the Women's Prison on November 16 and also protested conditions inside. Of special concern is the prison laundry where all of the several hundred women prisoners, mostly Black, must work. Women work in 120 degree heat and must carry very heavy laundry bags up to 175 pounds.

The mail that Joanne Little has received from friendly people has been a major factor in keeping her going. Anyone who wishes to write to her can, at 1034 Bragg St., Raleigh, N.C. 27610.

Also, defense lawyers, who are working for free, estimate that an adequate legal defense will cost at least \$20,000. You can help by contributing to the Joanne Little Defense Fund, P.O. Box 1003, Durham, N.C. 27702.

-reprinted from "Triple Jeopardy", Vol. 4-No. 2, Jan./Feb., 1975



We see, the path we must take to victory,  
We hear, the fascist giving our death statistics,  
We feel, the spiritual power past warriors did cling,  
We love, the people with an indescribable something,  
We rage, against the fake God clave's grace,  
We struggle, today in reality's corrupt face.

Believe me if you want to, We Are Ready!!!  
Could care less if you don't, lovers of misery!!!  
We shall struggle with guerilla cleverness,  
Long gone past the political development.

Wait for tomorrow?!  
Die a death of Sorrow!!!

Give in to your rage,  
It may turn history's last corrupt page  
And bring the might humanity  
To destroy this capitalist calamity.

KHATARI

BREAK DE CHAINS cont. pg 12  
Article on Geronimo



# UNITY AND UNIFORMITY

The Third World Staff presents a longer version of an article written by Dharuba (Richard Moore). It was first published in the August 1973 issue of the "Right On" newspaper of the East Coast Panthers. The article has become well known despite severe editing and limited distribution. It has gained a reputation for being one of the strongest articles on Black Liberation in the past few years.

The staff has two major differences with the article. Although the author discusses Blacks as having the right to self-determination, autonomous organization and the need for National United Front (as we do), he considers Blacks within the U.S. to be a National minority. We accept all of that but the conclusion. Presently we feel that Blacks within the U.S. constitute a nation. Secondly, we agree with the analysis of mass struggle, armed struggle, class contradictions within the Black movement and the crisis of imperialism, we believe that the mass and guerrilla fronts both must be led by a fighting Black Marxist-Leninist party. However we agree with the main thrust of the analysis of the article. Build the Party! Support the Black Liberation Army!

The question of Unity within the Black Liberation struggle is a fundamental question much discussed and preached about. Yet concrete and revolutionary unity within the movement still doesn't exist. Why is this? For openers, it can be said that the conditions for its existence are not right, and until the necessary conditions exist that can facilitate unity within the liberation struggle it will remain an emotional wish of activists. But what is unity and where does it come from, how does it develop?

All forms of unity are simply the result of contradictions in which the principle, primary, major contradiction determines the specific identity of the particular form of unity. Unity is therefore the struggle of contradictions. To go further, in the development of a thing it is the internal contradictions that are the basis for change and the external (conditional) contradictions that are the conditions of change. Only through inter-action of the internal and the external does a thing develop (this works both ways at the same time). But it is the principle contradiction within a thing and its inter-action with other contradictions that gives a thing its particular character, identity, form etc. Unity therefore is a result and consequence of struggle.

With the broad outline just given, it can be seen that within the Black Liberation movement there already exists the basis for a United Front, a National United Front, (the highest form of unity possible in a liberation struggle). The diversity and number of existing groups and organizations that claim to struggle in behalf of Black people are too numerous to mention. Every ideology is represented from Black Bourgeoisie reformism to left Bourgeois nationalism to revolutionary Marxism. Is this all not the basis for a United Front? (yet some brothers and sisters mean Uniformity when they say we need Unity.) But this diversity is wasted and impotent without organized armed struggle. Without this necessary ingredient there will exist no revolutionary relationship of existing forces, and consequently self-determination as a National minority will be impossible. Why do I say this? Why is a National United Front impossible without armed struggle, organized and consistent armed struggle?

First of all, the principle contradiction is between ourselves and the enemy ruling class and their agents. It is this contradiction, or struggle with the enemy that determines, influences, and construct our relations to each other. It is this contradiction that determines our individual and organization relationships amongst ourselves. We cannot ignore the oppressor as some abstract trippers would have us do, nor could we comprehend the dialectical

arrangement of existing forces and creatively apply this understanding to intensifying the enemies' uncomfortable situation. Is it not true the enemy state is in a protracted crisis, economically, socially, and politically? (True the enemy state is still very, very strong, but this too is transitory). Social crisis is an objective reality that affects objective conditions for the enemy as well as for us. But at this point in time and in the immediate past, the enemy has been allowed to manipulate and control this overall crisis situation for his own benefit, thereby controlling and manipulating our struggle. If we just look around us we can see apathy, dormancy, seeming fatigue among our people. There is only a small percentage of the potential support among our people actually employed in the struggle, yet this exists in a climate that is economically, socially, or politically uptight!

Why is this? Because the enemy has faked people out of position and the movement is impotent. It is impotent because there is no dominant form of struggle with the enemy that can demand motion towards liberation. We cannot view the seeming apathy amongst our people as nothing more than what it is, a transitory phase in which there is no principle contradiction that affects everyone in and out of the movement. Anyone who denies the importance of opening up the guerrilla front denies the existence of the Black Liberation struggle and their own activities on the mass front. They will condemn our struggle for freedom to an ignoble end by confining and impeding the positive use of its potential forces in all their diverse manifestations. This is the crux of why unity is firepower.

There is nothing adventurous whatsoever in opening up a consistent and organized guerrilla front. In fact it is a rational and necessary move if we are to achieve unity and prepare ourselves for the next level of struggle with the enemy. The main opposition to Armed Struggle comes from the Black bourgeoisie who assume various guises and adopt various political lines (About which I'll speak later on). And who at present are the very ones the enemy has faked out of position (revolutionary development).

None of this should be interpreted as a call for everyone to rush to the sand bags. (This is how the Bourgeoisie puts the question of armed struggle) If everyone did so, armed struggle would fail miserably. For without the diversity and spectrum already in existence there could be no basis for a thorough movement of forces on all levels of struggle and hence it would be impossible to dynamically affect the already existing crisis of our enemy. The development of this crisis is the task of all progressives, revolutionaries and



Malcolm X and Dr. King

workers for it hastens our enemies downfall and our own freedom as a people. No, everyone need not go to the figurative sandbags. But the movement as a dialectical whole must support the guerrilla front. Contribute to its logistical potential (and thereby increasing its effectiveness) and wage tactical struggles with the enemy around related issues, thereby increasing mass activity and consciousness in direct ratio to armed political activities.

But the movement for liberation does not see armed protracted struggle as a necessary tactic. Black nationalists who rant and rave about support for the armed struggles in Africa against Portuguese Imperialism, cannot see their way to support on embryonic guerrilla front right here in their midst. For some "mysterious" reasons they fail to see the crisis of US imperialism as a whole. And consequently they do not relate to the fact that the most far reaching support Black people here in the US can render our brothers and sisters in Africa is to open up another front against white racist US imperialism right here in the states. Portuguese imperialism is a modern expression and manifestation of US imperialism. It can only be the extension of dominant US imperialism and world power. We should understand that those who advocate support for our African brothers and sisters in armed struggle, and do not actively advocate the same support for our Afro-American brothers and sisters are frauds - Bourgeois Nationalists," and have a terror in their hearts of the bullets that conveniently are not flying their way. There can be no partial support for revolutionary armed struggle. Either it is supported everywhere or it is not supported at all.

Who among us dare say oppression and exploitation should be partially opposed, but the Black bourgeoisie, those great political opportunists whose tradition of expediency and ideological weakness have plagued the movement for so long. At each stage in the development of our struggle, from the civil rights phase up until the present, little concrete consideration and preparation was given to armed struggle. The furthest the movement leadership (overwhelmingly bourgeois in perspective) would venture was "armed self defense", a tactic of limited value in our overall situation. This myopic view still dominates today and consequently, there is no change of the position of forces. We've been utterly confined to worn out tactics and method of struggle against the enemy. The movement has adapted in this. The various strata of our people have adapted to this. The enemy has adapted to this. (But he's wise enough to prepare for a new interjection of social stress). It seems as if our timid and moderate militant black bourgeoisie never had in mind structural change of the existing economic, political and social approaches that oppresses all working class and Black and poor peoples. To ascend to some "heaven" built by General Motors is the vicious compromise, "Everyone wants to get to heaven but nobody wants to die." But nonetheless we die anyway, in so many jive and insidious ways.

In terms of tactics and strategy, the pragmatic application and consequences of opening a guerrilla front in the US are not really understood by many and by the movement in general. The vulnerability of the total ruling class structure is not really seen because fear is ever constant in the ranks of the movement. And all that is seen is our seeming weakness and vulnerability. If the forces for liberation are weak and vulnerable it is precisely because they have paid little attention to the role of armed revolutionary struggle, have not contributed to its growth and development, and have not based their tactical struggles on concrete strategic considerations, nationally as well as internationally. It is this



# ORGANIZING IN

# INTERNATIONALISM THE U.S.



## Nations and Internationalism

The greatest problem that faces the revolutionary movement in America is how to unify the struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, Asians, the people of Hawaii and white workers. The borders of the US were established by invasion, conquest and enslavement of independent peoples and nations. The legacy of American imperialism continues today - a colonial Puerto Rico, national oppression, broken treaties, racism, discrimination, La Migra(police), etc. We can not simply ignore this history and issue calls for a united working class movement to march against imperialism.

First, we must recognize the existence of nations and oppressed nationalities within the US. We must recognize the validity of national liberation struggles and of self-determination for oppressed nations. The development of national liberation struggles leaves open the possibilities of nationalist organization, independent parties, national united fronts, secession and states. Certainly it means that there is an independent basis for struggle. Black people were openly rebelling against the government and its armies while whites were just beginning to protest an unjust war in Vietnam. The trials of Native Americans arrested for the Wounded Knee Occupation have opened up the whole area of treaties with the independent Sioux Nation that were broken by the US government. The ability of this struggle to mobilize Native American people cannot be explained by a so-called "pure" proletarian analysis. Any organization that unifies all these movements must take into account their relative independence.

Second, we must embrace internationalism - the mutual support and alliance of working people everywhere against capitalism and imperialism. This is key to revolution in America because the rulers of America are the biggest imperialists in world history. Their imperialism created the division of working people into privileged and oppressed sections, allow white workers to enjoy a standard of living equal or higher than the middle class of Third World nations.

## Why "Internationalism" Instead Of "Multi-nationalism"

We say "internationalism" because it stresses an alliance between nations based on the equality of all working people. Internationalism places our movement in the context of world revolution and Marxist-Leninist-Maoist thought. The word "multi-nationalism" leaves those relationships unclear. It could mean a conglomeration of nations. We are reminded of the "multi-nationalism" of US corporations, a relationship of inequality between nations. If that relationship is not clearly exposed and overthrown, then it will continue, even under the guise of socialism and even in a "multi-national communist party."

Internationalism in America does imply there is a white nation. We believe in fact there is. For a fuller explanation, please read the other article in this centerfold section on organization of the white working class. Recognizing that white people are a nation does not mean that their struggle is for national liberation or self-determination. Rather it means that white workers must use the internationalism of working people to overcome white racism, and they must aid in overthrowing their own capitalist system for a socialist society.

## Organizing Internationalism

After embracing internationalism, the American revolutionary movement must find the means to ally the various struggles for a common purpose with a comprehensive strategy. In earlier articles (see issues 3 and 4) we outlined why we believe that independent Marxist-Leninist nationalist parties are correct at least for the present period for certain Third World peoples within the US, particularly the Black Nation, Puerto Rico and possibly the Chicano movement. We also stressed

the need for co-operation between such parties, all other national movements and cadre organizations of white workers.

That co-operation must be organized to be effective. Certain areas of work will be international from the start. This paper is an example of that co-operation in propaganda. But in some areas and to further work in other areas, co-operation will be developed by an alliance of independent organizations. The history of world revolution offers us some guidelines and some examples of international organization.

## A History of International Organizations

Councils of Co-ordination are an initial form of organization adopted after various parties recognize the theoretical and practical need for closer ties to advance their work in specific areas. In Indochina a council was needed to unify Laotian, Cambodian and Vietnamese wars of liberation and their campaigns against US imperialism and its puppets. The political structures of the three Indochina parties remained separate. The Council did not dissolve or limit those parties. The Council was dissolved eventually, and the three parties remain closely allied.

In Latin America, the Council of Co-ordination seems to have a broader scope. Its declaration outlined a common political strategy for the countries involved and called for close military and economic co-operation. It also envisioned an eventually united Latin American party for Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Bolivia (Spanish-speaking Latin America).

The three Internationals provide other examples of international organization. These stressed the ideological and political unity of the international working class.

The First International (1864-1876) had a General Council based in England. Corresponding secretaries represented the affiliated national organizations on the General Council. At the time, the nations represented (European) did not have imperialist (dominant/colonial) relationships to other member nations. Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto as an assignment for the First International. The First International spread scientific socialism throughout its contacts and insured that socialism would become a historical social force. It did not limit itself to ideological discussion. Practically it did much to establish and strengthen socialist parties throughout Europe by leading mass working class movements. Through its international contacts it educated and organized continental workers to refuse strike-breaking work in England. In the United States today we have the same problem with Mexican workers being imported to break strikes. Instead of denouncing them as "aliens" and bringing in the Immigration Police, workers in America should have some means of reaching out to Mexicanos as a fraternal working class, convincing them to refuse strike-breaking work and aiding them in their struggle against US imperialism in Mexico and Echeverria's reactionary government.

On behalf of the LPAP, Khemtay Biphandon presents Lt Duan with a US M16 sub-machinegun captured from the enemy



The First International collapsed in 1872 from various weaknesses. It included too many diverse political ideologies - Marxism, anarchism, pacifists, social-chauvinists, reformists, etc.). It was at once too disorganized to really lead the various socialist parties and too inflexible to adjust to the development of strong parties in response to the specific conditions of different countries.

The Second International (1889-1914) from the start included reformists and social-chauvinists as dominant forces. Its strength was that the international socialist movement had broadened greatly, and many nations not represented before had a voice in this International. It was an effort to revive the old International, unifying all "socialists" and ignoring the definite splits in revolutionary ideology.

It collapsed just before WW I. It could not agree on a strategy against imperialism as the highest stage of capitalist society. Instead some "socialists" went along with their own bourgeoisie in agreeing that imperialism would improve their own working class' standard of living. These "socialists" served as ministers in the bourgeois governments and condemned their own working class' resistance to government repression and imperialism. They urged their own working class to "defend their fatherland" and slaughter other workers in the hundreds of thousands.

## The Model of the Comintern

The Third International or Comintern (1919-1935) formed in opposition to the Second International. It was based on the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution and the establishment of the first socialist state (Russia 1917). From the beginning, it had clear political principles: internationalism against imperialism and social chauvinism, for revolution against pacifism, for class struggle against collaboration. It was especially clear on the importance of national-colonial struggles in the future of world revolution - in particular China. Its delegates were drawn from Asia, Europe, the Americas and Africa. It included an organization called the Negro Organization of the USA, and included a discussion of Black people in America in the theses on the national and colonial questions.

It was the most organized of all the Internationals. It adopted the "Theses On the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International (2nd Congress)". The Theses were 19 points that laid out a comprehensive analysis, ideology and strategy for its members. Points 11 and 12 are especially significant:

One of the chief causes hampering the revolutionary working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries is the fact that because of their colonial possessions and the super-profits gained by finance capital, etc. the capitalists of these

CONTINUED PAGE 8



countries have been able to create a relatively larger and more stable labour aristocracy, a section which comprises a small minority of the working class. This minority enjoys better terms of employment and is most imbued with a narrow-minded craft spirit and with petty-bourgeois and imperialist prejudices. It forms the real social pillar of the Second International, of the reformists and the "Centrists"; at present it might even be called the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie. No preparation of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is possible, even in the preliminary sense, unless an immediate, systematic, extensive and open struggle is waged against this stratum, which, as experience has already shown, will no doubt provide the bourgeois whiteguards with many a recruit after the victory of the proletariat. All parties affiliated to the Third International must at all costs give effect to the slogans: "Deeper into the thick of the masses", "Closer links with the masses" - meaning by the masses all those who toil and are exploited by capital, particularly those who are least organized and educated, who are most oppressed and least amenable to organization....

12. In all countries, even in those that are freest, most "legal", and most "peaceful" in the sense that the class struggle is least acute there, it is now absolutely indispensable for every Communist Party to systematically combine legal and illegal work, legal and illegal organizations. Notwithstanding their false and hypocritical declarations, the governments of even the most enlightened and freest of countries, where the bourgeois-democratic system is most "stable", are already systematically and secretly drawing up black lists of Communists and constantly violating their own constitutions so as to give secret or semi-secret encouragement to the whiteguards and to the murder of Communists in all countries, making secret preparations for the arrest of Communists, planting agents provocateurs among the Communists, etc., etc. Only a most reactionary philistine, no matter what cloak of fine "democratic" and pacifist phrases he may don, will deny this fact or the conclusion that of necessity follows from it, viz., that all legal Communist Parties must immediately form illegal organizations for the systematic conduct of illegal work and for complete preparations for the moment the bourgeoisie resorts to persecution. Illegal work is most necessary in the army, navy and the police because, since the imperialist holocaust (WWI), governments the world over have begun to stand in dread of people's armies which are open to the workers and peasants, and are secretly resorting to all kinds of methods to set up military units specially recruited from the bourgeoisie and equipped with the most up-to-date weapons....

A combination of illegal and legal work is an absolute principle dictated, not only by all features of the present period, that of the eve of the proletarian dictatorship, but also by the necessity of proving to the bourgeoisie that there is not, nor can there be, any sphere of activity that cannot be won by the Communists; above all, it is dictated by the fact that broad strata of the proletariat and even broader strata of the non-proletarian toiling and exploited masses still exist everywhere, who continue to believe in bourgeois-democratic legality and whom we must undeceive without fail.

The Comintern also adopted formal "Terms Of Admission" (21 points). These laid out policies that member organizations must implement. Five of the points that we believe to be especially important to the present American revolutionary movement are as follows:

3. In countries where a state of siege or emergency legislation makes it impossible for Communists to conduct their activities legally, it is absolutely essential that legal and illegal

work should be combined. In almost all the countries of Europe and America, the class struggle is entering the phase of civil war. In these conditions, Communists can place no trust in bourgeois legality. They must everywhere build up a parallel illegal organization, which, at the decisive moment, will be in a position to help the Party fulfil its duty to the revolution.

4. Persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation must be conducted in the armed forces, and communist cells formed in every military unit. In the main Communists will have to do this work illegally; failure to engage in it would be tantamount to a betrayal of their revolutionary duty and incompatible with membership in the Third International.
8. Parties in countries whose bourgeoisie possess colonies and oppress other nations must pursue a most well-defined and clear-cut policy in respect of colonies and oppressed nations. Any party wishing to join the Third International must ruthlessly expose the colonial machinations of the imperialists of its "own" country, must support - indeed, not merely in word - every colonial liberation movement, demand the



expulsion of its compatriot imperialists from the colonies, inculcate in the hearts of the workers of its own country an attitude of true brotherhood with the working population of the colonies and the oppressed nations, and conduct systematic agitation among the armed forces against all oppression of the colonial peoples.

9. It is the duty of any party wishing to join the Communist International to conduct systematic and unflinching communist work in trade unions, co-operative societies and other mass workers' organizations. Communist cells should be formed in trade unions, and, by their sustained and unflinching work, win the unions over to the communist cause. In every phase of their day-to-day activity these cells must unmask the treachery of social-patriots and the vacillation of the "Centrists".
17. All decisions of the Communist International's congresses and of its Executive Committee are binding on all the Communist International must be far more centralized than the Second International was. It stands to reason, however, that in every aspect of their work the Communist International and its Executive Committee must take into account the diversity of conditions in which the respective parties have to fight and work, and adopt decisions binding on all parties only on matters in which such decisions are possible.

The Comintern also had 17 points of organization. These included the establishment of a World Congress, its sole authority to change the Comintern program, set the number of votes of each party or organization and elect the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee conducted the work of the Comintern between Congresses including publishing a central magazine, issuing binding instructions to members, expelling Parties or individuals (subject to appeal to the Con-

gress) and setting up in various countries technical and auxiliary bureaus to aid those parties. The Comintern also established parallel sections for trade unions, youth and women.

We can learn some valuable lessons from the Comintern. It provided an organization that unified the over-all theory and strategy of revolution. It insured the practical implementation of a unified strategy agreed upon by a majority of members. It also allowed enough autonomy so parties and organizations could respond to the specific conditions of each nation. Except in some notable cases, it recognized most areas it could not deal with correctly; areas that the specific parties needed to act on. It recognized uneven development of movements in different nations and differences in their internal forces. It gave concrete assistance on specific problems encountered by its members.

#### The American "Comintern's" Fundamental Tasks

The primary task of an American "Comintern" would be developing a unified strategy for all revolutionary movements under the conditions of fascism and imperialism. Specifically the "Comintern" would aid each party and organization in

harmoniously developing armed struggle and mass mobilization since the goal of any unified strategy would be the destruction of US imperialism and the seizure of power by the people. Armed struggle and mass mobilization are like gasoline and an automobile - you can't get anywhere just having one. You need both and you must know how to use them together.

The responsibility of building each mass movement rests with each party or organization. But the Comintern would develop a common strategy and in specific cases tactically coordinate the mass movements. The Comintern would have responsibility for joint armed strategy and command. The command of armed struggle would demand a specialized body within the Comintern to be effective. This task may be organized by a Joint Council before the establishment of a Comintern.

The Comintern would have over-all responsibility to promote internationalism, ideological struggle and clarity among the parties and organizations of the revolutionary movement.

#### Principles for Organizing the American "Comintern"

The "Comintern" would need certain features to make it work:

1. It would need to be based on the strength of national parties and organizations representing the great majority of Third World and white, poor and working people.
2. It would guarantee the independence of Third World national parties and organizations so long as it is necessary and desirable.
3. It would make program and policy by a majority of the parties and organizations, and those decisions would be binding on all members.

The ultimate fate of a "Comintern" would be decided by the development of the revolution in America. Specifically,



its fate would be determined by the course of national liberation struggles and the response of white working people. Based on these conditions, the Comintern will either:

1. Break up due to the failure of the alliance and unified strategy.
2. Continue in some form to coordinate independent parties based on the recognition of autonomous states and regions.
3. Give way to a merger of member parties and organizations into a single fighting Marxist-Leninist party.

#### Why Talk About All This Now?

It seems far-fetched to even introduce the idea of an American "Comintern" now when there are not even any recognized parties for most movements, national or otherwise. The revolutionary movement here is badly disorganized; yet we are talking about one of the highest levels of organization produced by the world revolution. Why?

The point is that we need to develop a strategy to organize the revolution, especially here in the belly of the beast. We can't just build organizations and hope they work. They must be developed in accordance with the forces of revolution and the changing conditions of revolution. This means that from the beginning we must have some idea of how we combine the strengths of independent nationalist organizing with the strengths of allying all movements against US capitalism.

The proposal of the "Comintern" is in response to the specific questions of organizers in Asian, Chicano, Black and white workers' movements. Third World activists say that their experience in community and workplace organizing and the study of their peoples' history and conditions lead them to believe that national organizations are both needed and most effective in developing mass movements. Yet they also say that at some time and in some areas now, common strategy is needed, alliances must be made and unity must be built. White revolutionaries wonder how they can most effectively reach white workers, yet build internationalism into their movement, and keep it from straying into defending only white workers' immediate interests. This proposal is made with those needs in mind.

Revolutionaries must also quickly grasp that social conditions within America are undergoing rapid and dramatic changes generally favoring revolution. Unemployment, industrial output losses, stock market lows, rates of inflation, balance of trade deficits - economic indicators reflect conditions that have not happened in decades. Polls measuring subjective factors like disenchantment with government, anticipation of depression conditions, belief that fundamental economic and political restructuring must happen and more, also indicate more rapid changes in the future. Revolutionaries must have a strategy for organization that anticipates the high tides of mass movement. Organizational strategy must

also anticipate the reaction of government repression and white racism. We can not be unprepared for the sudden twists of the movement and expect to win. So we have tried to propose a strategy for the unfolding dialectics of struggle now, not when it will be needed yesterday.

#### The Past and the Future

U.S. history provides the world with some of the worst deeds of imperialism and capitalism. From these we should draw a deep sense of rage to firm our resolve in the struggle. It should teach us awareness of its many guises and the penetration of its ideology even within our own ranks. White comrades must make a special effort in combating racism within our ranks and the working class.

U.S. history also gives us outstanding examples of the internationalism of working people. May 1st is a day celebrated around the world by working and revolutionary peoples. It was started in the United States by workers, most of whom were immigrants. Recently May 1st in the U.S. has been observed by demonstrations against U.S. imperialism in Indochina.

The national struggles of Third World people in the U.S. have also contributed to world revolution's rich history. Malcolm X made an appeal to the Organization of African African States on behalf of Blacks in the US. He came back to give the blossoming Black Liberation Movement a firm understanding of the world-wide nature of the struggle against US domination. The struggles of Puerto Rican people, who are of all races, has won them the recognition by the UN of all rights to national sovereignty and to independence. The Chicano Vietnam Moratorium is remembered in Vietnam and Latin America. After Wounded Knee, the Native American Embassy was established and recognized by many sovereign states. The old Black Panther Party spread internationalism in its messages to Black GIs in Vietnam, in its popularization of Mao tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh and Kim Il Sung and in the alliances it made with many other nationalities and whites in the revolutionary movement. The African Liberation Support Committee materially supports African Liberation movements in Africa and promotes constructive ideological struggle within the Black Liberation movement here. These are just a few examples of internationalism of people within the US.

The many different peoples in the U.S. should in the future provide the world with many more examples of internationalism against U.S. imperialism. Revolutionaries have the duty of promoting internationalism among the people and the movement.

BUILD THE NATIONAL PARTIES!  
PROMOTE INTERNATIONALISM!

## Build Organization!

The United States is entering a period of great economic and social upheaval. Official unemployment is over eight percent, over thirty percent in the auto industry and over forty percent in many Black and Brown communities. Due to the economic crisis, white workers are beginning to lose some of the material benefits of U.S. imperialism. They are losing jobs, their schools are rapidly deteriorating, paychecks do not stretch as far and city services are breaking down in their neighborhoods. In Third World communities unemployment has been at depression levels, police terror has reached new high. For Third World people, economic conditions are worst than they have been in modern times.

It is inevitable that as economic and social conditions rapidly deteriorate the masses of people will begin to spontaneously rebel. "Repression breeds resistance. It always has and it always will." In Third World community spontaneous rebellion usually take the form of mass violence which often lead to an increase in spontaneous attacks on police. In the past discontent on the part of white workers has manifested itself in an increase on racist attacks on Third World people. The response of white workers in Boston, the all time high membership of the Klu Klux Klan and the strength of organizations such as the National Rifle Association show that racism and fascism are very strong tendencies in the white community.

The people of the U.S. face a crossroads where they can either embrace revolution or fascism. The revolutionary movement has the duty to seize on the discontent of working and poor people, and organize it for revolution. Third World revolutionaries must show their people who the real enemy is and build mass organizations that can use the militancy and experience of resistance of their peoples. Mass organizations such as CASA and ALSC offer much potential for becoming mass anti-imperialist organizations that serve the masses of poor and working Third World people. These organizations need to become truly country wide in scope and firmly connected to the day to day problems and struggles of the masses. White comrades need to build mass organizations with an anti-imperialist perspective that connect the economic oppression of white workers to support for national liberation struggles at home and abroad. These organizations should emphasize how racism benefits only the ruling class and concretely how the national struggles are in white workers interests. The VVAW/WSO organization could become such an organization.

However, if the revolutionary movement is to help build mass organizations and lead the masses toward revolution, we ourselves must be organized. We must set the example for organization, discipline, and style of work. One of the main reasons for spontaneity in the mass movement has been the lack of leadership and organization of the revolutionary movement. As George Jackson states serious revolutionary work of any type must be based on a strong well organized political vanguard.

In the present time these political organizations have proved most effective when organized along national lines. In conjunction with moving mass struggle forward we call on revolutionaries to organize themselves! In local areas where collectives along national lines do not exist they must be formed. In regions where cadre organizations have not been formed, local collectives should be brought together. We must build cadre organizations based on the principles of going from the small to the large and of being rooted in the mass struggle. United into strong cadre organizations we can lead the national and working class movements to victory and socialism. A Luta Continua, "Seize the Time"



THIS DRAWING WAS MADE INTO A POSTER BY THE CUBAN PEOPLE AND SENT THROUGHOUT THE THIRD WORLD—AFRICA, ASIA, LATIN AMERICA, AND CHINA—WITH A CAPTION READING, "SOLIDARITY WITH THE AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE."







# INSIDE THE WHITE WORKING CLASS



"Anti-imperialism defines our struggle and direction, helps us correctly identify our enemy and our friends, and is the necessary basis for advancing our movement. The strategic weak point of empire today is its hold of its external and internal colonies, and it is here that imperialism receives its heaviest blows."

---WEATHER UNDERGROUND Prairie Fire

A major weakness of the white left has been the tendency to ignore the international question of imperialist relations within the US, and to liquidate national struggle under the cover of "overall" working class struggle. The failure to grasp imperialism as an internal condition in the US will always lead potentially progressive elements of the oppressor nation to an objectively chauvinist stance.

Again and again, perhaps as many as 50 times in the past twenty years, efforts have been launched to "rectify" communism in the US-- to build a new CP. Again and again these efforts have failed. Key in these failures has been the inability to understand imperialist relations in the US, along with the practical inability to build the main strategic alliance of our revolution: the alliance of the progressive forces of the oppressor nation and of the oppressed nations and national minorities, at both mass and cadre levels.

In conditions of rising revolutionary potential we are crippled- paralyzed -for lack of leadership. We need a CP. But we must learn from the failures of our past history and base ourselves on an understanding of the concrete conditions we face -conditions of imperialism in the US.

## WITHIN THE OPPRESSOR NATION

The conquest of the Southwest, importation of Asian labor, African slave-trade, massacre of Native Americans, conquest of Hawaii, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, etc, did not make the US into a "multinational oppressor nation". This is an absurd contradiction in terms. Each of these actions built the material base of white privilege, and is justified by the ideology of racism. The oppressor nation in the US is white. The white working class is part of the oppressor nation. We need to grasp this fact in order to understand the relationships of white workers to the US ruling class and to TW peoples.

Recognizing that white people are an oppressor nation does not mean that our struggle is for self-determination or national liberation. Any white national movement would be a reactionary movement. Rather it means that we must use the internationalism of working people to overcome white racism, and we must join in overthrowing our own ruling class for socialist society.

The concept of "oppressor nation" when applied to ourselves is a hard thing for some white people to swallow. It was no less difficult for Russians to accept the term when Lenin used it to analyze conditions in the Russian empire. A weakness of the term is that it can be misinterpreted to mean that the white working class as a whole is part of the enemy. The fact is that we, white working people in the US, while relatively privileged over most TW people, are also oppressed and exploited. In our work among white working people we must unleash the boundless revolutionary potential of the class as a whole. But we cannot idealize "the workers". We can't swallow the whole class in one big gob. We have to see the internal contradictions generated by the relations of imperialism and deal with them in a revolutionary manner-- dividing one into two and seizing on the positive aspect.

## INSIDE THE WHITE WORKING CLASS

As part of the oppressor nation the white working class is relatively privileged over TW workers as a whole. Sharp differences in unemployment rates, in income, in life expectancy, in relationships to schools, military, courts and prisons, all demonstrate this to be true.

This has a real effect on the consciousness of white working people-- not only on those in more privileged positions but also on those at the bottom



of the heap who may in their insecurity cling tightest to measly privilege. Engels wrote about the worst tendencies of the working class of imperialist nations: "You ask me what English workers think about colonial policy. Well, exactly as they think about politics in general: the same as what the bourgeois think. There is no workers' party here, there are only conservatives and liberal-radicals, and the workers gaily share the feast of England's monopoly of the world market and the colonies."

There can be no doubt that this tendency leaves a grim impression in the minds of the progressive masses of the oppressed nations and national minorities. On top of centuries of repeated betrayal by 'progressive' white forces, TW people can see clearly that for white people to take an anti-imperialist stand within the US, an historic transformation must take place. We are at a turning point: in one direction lies the revolutionary alliance of the progressive elements of the oppressor nation and the oppressed--and in the other lies bloody and tragic race war.

But it would be completely false to adopt a one-sided view of the white working class, to write it off as corrupt. In fact white workers have demonstrated an internationalist consciousness in such struggles as the Rhodesian chrome cargo boycott, the Farmworkers support and boycott, and Farah strike support work. Anti-imperialist forces in the Women's Movement and in VVAW/WSO are further examples of anti-imperialist potential among our people.

There is a very real split in the white working class. Lenin perceived its roots back at the turn of this century... "In the United States, immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe are engaged in the most poorly paid occupations, while American workers provide the highest percentage of overseers or of the better paid workers. Imperialism has the tendency of creating privileged sections even among the workers, and of detaching them from the main proletarian mass."



NIXON AND TEAMSTER BOSS FITZSIMMONS: PARTNERS IN US IMPERIALISM

Because it is part of an oppressor nation, the white working class contains strong bourgeois-oriented racist and sexist forces. Certain parts of the workforce (some craft unions, skilled sections of industrial unions, senior employees, supervisory workers, some male workers, etc) are a strong base for this tendency. At the same time the most exploited whites--as in South Boston--can also move in this direction.

On the other hand the most progressive forces in the white working class are concentrated in lower paying jobs or out of work altogether. They may be part-time students; they are largely young workers, often non-unionized, unskilled or semi-skilled, many women (clerical, electronics, etc) some Vietnam era veterans, and so on. These forces tend to be more conscious of their exploitation and identify with other oppressed peoples more readily than with their own bosses and the US ruling class.

In a time of economic crisis these two forces contend for leadership over the middle elements, the vast majority of the workers.

In every place we organize the reactionary forces among the workers are real and potentially powerful. This much Boston has proven. History has repeatedly warned us that these forces will work with the ruling class and seek to mobilize the insecurity and discontent of the majority of workers against TW people and against progressive white activists. They will try to isolate us. Following WWI and WWII, in the Palmer raids, the McCarthy witch-hunt, the Smith Act busts, etc, this has happened already. The half-dead "labor movement" we have inherited is the aftermath of these purges.

Most white workers are caught in the middle and confused. To quote the Third World Staff's STATEMENT ON THE WHITE MOVEMENT in issue #4 of SEIZE THE TIME: "White people know the economy is falling apart. They are told it's the Arab's fault. They know their children's schools are not really teaching what children need or want to know. They are told it's the fault of busing, integration, and Black children. They know that the quality of life is dropping. They are told it's because there are too many East Indians, Latin Americans, and Chinese. Too often they believe these lies because there is little else presented, because their parents taught them and their surroundings reinforced them. The whole imperialist society is set up to put the working class white in hostile competition with the Third World masses beneath him. Meanwhile Rockefeller and Hearst are counting their profits."

Today, as economic conditions get worse and the state loses legitimacy, the awareness of white working people is on the rise. The main missing ingredient is leadership.

## OUR WORK IN THE MASS MOVEMENT

The lessons of this picture of the white working class should be clear to white communists. We must apply the anti-imperialism we have learned in the context of Vietnam to conditions within the US: unify that anti-imperialism with the revolutionary potential of the white working class. Until now, the revolutionary movement has been unable to do this.

Empires may be dismantled to a considerable extent prior to proletarian revolution at home (Britain, Portugal, US,



France, Japan, etc). Nevertheless, Vietnam, China, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Puerto Rico, and the Black struggle have shown how powerfully TW struggle advances crises in the oppressor nations. Events also prove that if workers do not support but oppose or remain passive to national liberation movements, the struggle of the working class of the oppressor nation is frustrated and revolution cannot take place. On the contrary, to the degree that internationalism prevails, real unity with the TW develops, and revolutionary movement and organization thrives and grows in spite of all repressive acts.

Uniting anti-imperialism with the real class interests of white workers does not mean that internationalism will preserve all white workers from any setbacks in their present economic status and social privilege. Lenin has said that in the imperialist (oppressor) nations, workers will have to bring sacrifices to the revolution. This applies first and foremost to the highly privileged parts of the class. But in certain ways it applies to all. The fact is that if we do not win our class (and we can do so) to these sacrifices, the class enemy will utilize our failure to do so to exact hundreds and thousands of times more sweat and blood and poverty and hardship from us in the vain effort to keep themselves in the seats of power.

The NPL tells us that the Vietnamese lost more people in the years of Diem's "peaceful" rule than they did in the war against both Saigon and the US.

On the one hand we have forces that have practice in workplace organizing but do not raise internationalist demands for fear of dividing the class, and they are horrified at the thought of speaking of sacrifices. This is economist. This is social-chauvinist. The working class is already divided. As Cabral wrote, "Tell no lies, claim no easy victories." These people see the white working class in a one-sided manner: aware of the common exploitation of the international working class, they ignore the divisive force of imperialism. Racism is passed off as an ideology without a material base, a "tactic" of the ruling class. It's not surprising that this error is a recurrent theme in the revolutionary movement of the working class of the oppressor nation.

On the other hand there are forces in the white revolutionary movement that struggle around anti-imperialist and anti-sexist politics but have very little practice in working class organizing. They also fail to see the white working class in a dialectical manner---aware of the relative privilege, the racism and sexism, they have not grasped the revolutionary potential of the class.

The anti-imperialist movement is sadly lacking a working class base. In practice around Vietnam, Chile, Puerto Rico, and so on, we have too often failed to work among our own people. We must go to the people, organizing a socialist movement which is anti-imperialist not only in regards to national oppression outside the US but also in regards to national oppression in our plants, unions, and neighborhoods.

There is a tremendous basis for international unity in the US in that we all inhabit the heart of the empire. We live and work side by side, and we have the same enemies. We all need socialism. It is our task in the white movement to unite the most progressive workers with the progressive TW workers, and to mobilize the middle elements to isolate the reactionary forces. Just



as in any workplace we organize people to reject all forms of favoritism because it weakens unity and strength, in the US we organize white working people to reject special privilege.

This means we must be organizers. The only way to learn this is to do it. The task must be attacked in an organized manner. An organization of organizers will not be built through sporadic individual work. Today those of us who are engaged in mass organizing are mostly amateurish in our methods and isolated in our practice.

Inside the white working class we must face racism head-on. We must come to terms with mob violence. Not only must we be willing to "turn off" some workers, but we must be prepared to downright repress certain racist, fascist forces. We must bring the white working class to an anti-imperialist stance for this is the only path that leads to socialist revolution.

#### INTERNATIONAL UNITY IN OUR WORK

When our work among white workers inter-connects with Black, Brown, Asian-american, etc, we can build alliances based on three principles:

1. Principled support for particular TW struggles against national oppression.
2. Taking on racism, sexism, and special white privilege in the white working class and revolutionary movement.
3. Allied work around common demands raised by both forces.

The following is an example of a successful mass movement which developed along these lines:

At Ft Ord, California, in late 1971, an upsurge of GI resistance took place around the trial of Billy Dean Smith, a Black GI accused of fragging some lifers in Vietnam.

Initial action was by white GIs. A small number picketed the base regularly, held several small demos, and published an underground paper. They attacked racism, the war, and the common oppression of all GIs and working people.

Then on base a mobilization began among Black GIs. A series of large mass meetings of Black GIs was held, with increasingly large numbers attending. A brief all-Black demo appeared outside the opening of the trial.

The the Blacks invited everyone to join in. A Black rally turned into a march throughout the base of about 400,

storming through barrack areas and then up to the stockade, calling out white, Black and Brown GIs to shout and clap and stomp for Billy's freedom.

A series of incidents followed as General Westmoreland, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, visited the base to put down the resistance. A number of actions, including firebombings, took place. This culminated in the total destruction of the largest building on base---a \$500,000 indoctrination hall. Very quickly thereafter, over 100 GIs were suddenly granted administrative discharges "for the good of the army", including many who were waiting under orders to ship out to Vietnam. The army had panicked.

At the same time young white workers and students from the Bay Area began agitating in Billy's defense. VVAV/WSO mobilized around Billy's case on a national basis. A short time later Billy Smith was freed. He was found not guilty by a panel of officers.

It is easy to see how things could have developed differently. If white GIs had not shown visible support for Billy and opposition to racism, then the Black movement might have been directed more at whites in general, and it is possible that racist whites could have dominated the white reaction to the movement. If, on the other hand, whites had tried to push unity too soon or had attempted to take over leadership (perhaps on the basis of combatting narrow nationalism and not dividing the class), the Black mobilization would have been weakened and international unity would have been out of the question.

Communists should know that the union of nations and national minorities in a single system is possible today only on the basis of mutual confidence and voluntary agreement, and that the road to the formation of a voluntary union of nations lies through the destruction of the "integral" imperialist "whole"---through the independent development of the differing national movements.

We focus on work in the mass movement because both mass work and military action are today directed at raising the level of understanding and organization of the mass movement. In no way does this downplay the necessity for building an army and an underground (which require a mass base).

(continued on next page)



\*BOSTON 1974\*

Two white workers unsuccessfully tried to aid this Black man in the grip of a white lynch mob. The mob was the dominant aspect, and the two workers were the secondary aspect, of the white movement in Boston. This must be reversed.



# WHITE WORKERS (CONT.)

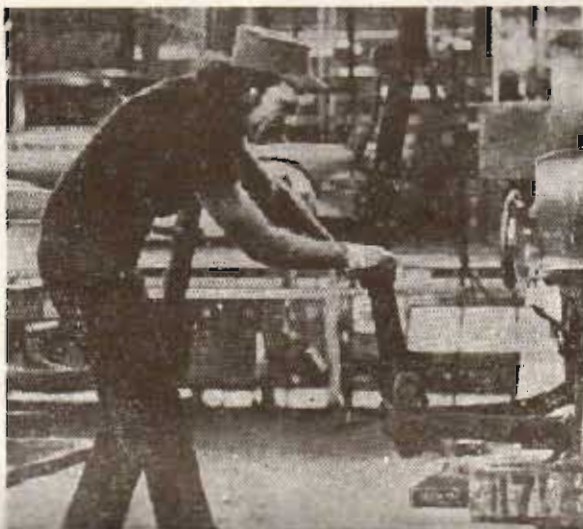
PARTY BUILDING AS A PROCESS: S/PAGE ONE

When we talk of parties we should not fall into a dogmatic recital of faith. A party like every other organization we use is simply a tool designed to accomplish specific tasks.

We need an anti-imperialist working class movement among white people. But such a front requires cadre leadership. Today we cannot hesitate to come together in collectives and to work in a democratic centralist manner. This is not "arrogance". This is a fundamental first step we must each take in contribution to party building. It cannot be over-emphasized that no revolutionaries should today hesitate to organize collectives.

Many white revolutionaries have seen the failure of white organizations which try to lead the whole movement. White people can also see the leading role in theory and in practice of TW revolutionaries today. This has led some people to believe that white revolutionaries cannot sustain an organization with a correct line. In the name of TW leadership they insist that cadre formations be multinational.

In fact, anti-imperialism is rooted



LORDSTOWN AUTO WORKERS; WILDCATS, ALIENATION, SABOTAGE, DRUGS

in the class conscious potential of the white working class. The healthiest sections of the white movement today deal with themselves as white (Weather, parts of the Womens' Movement, non-RU VVAW-WSO, etc). The progressive white movement has been strongest and internationalism has been most solid when white people have recognized and dealt with the divisions of imperialist relations (the abolitionist movement, the CP in the twenties and early thirties).

This also disregards the fact that organizations of this type have crippled the ability of TW cadre to lead their national movements (RU, Venceremos, etc). It is impossible today for a white-dominated organization to take on petty bourgeois forces in a national movement and wind up in leadership of that national front.

This also overlooks the fact that our work on both the mass and cadre level will be co-ordinated with the work of sister organizations. Our recent past is full of examples of nationalist organizations which were willing to ally with white revolutionaries on the basis of internationalism (BPP, Young Lords).

To quote again from the statement on the white movement in issue #4 of SEIZE THE TIME by the Third World Staff: "The Third World staff of SEIZE THE TIME thinks that independent national organizational fronts against fascism and imperialism and especially national Marxist-Leninist parties are essential. Independent organizations make possible political decisions that truly reflect the will of oppressed nations within the U.S. (emphasis added). We do not know what form of state power Black or Native American or Chicano people want after the destruction of American imperialism and its state by poor and working people. That choice will be made through the development of the struggle and of organization. Furthermore, independent organizations have in the past been most effective in mobilizing the masses of oppressed Third World nations (Garvey, Black Muslims, SNCC, BPP). Lastly, independent organizations have in the past provided a strong base for alliance of



revolutionary nationalist movements (not just a few individuals) with white youth during Vietnam, and white revolutionaries."

We need a disciplined combat organization to lead the white movement into an anti-imperialist front. The national movements need parties to establish their national fronts. Parties which have established themselves in such a position of leadership will be able-- perhaps very quickly-- to consolidate the international united front within the US and an international form of communist organization.

Sections of the white revolutionary movement insist on building a multinational party now. This strategy is programmed to fail-- six years of RU failure in this area has proven that. This is wrong in that it obscures in theory and attacks in practice the national forces at work in the US today. Our job is to support independence in development for the national movements. Without this there is no internationalism. (Please check out CONTRAMOBILIZATION in issue #4, esp pp 17-18.)

This is not dividing the class. This is recognizing the real material divisions which exist and incorporating that recognition in our strategy.

Practice will prove the correct analysis. The true strategy will be taken and adopted by the masses as their own. Practice shows today that the masses organize themselves along national lines regardless of what is done and said to prevent it. As Mao Tse-Tung put it fifty years ago:

"There are three alternatives: to march at their head and lead them? to tail behind them gesticulating and criticizing? or to stand in their way and oppose them? Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make your choice quickly."

### TASKS

"Our movement urgently needs a concrete analysis of the particular conditions of our time and place. We need strategy. We need to battle for a correct ideology and win people over. In this way we create the conditions for the development of a successful revolutionary movement and party. We need a revolutionary communist party in order to lead the struggle, give coherence and direction to the fight, seize power and build the new society. Getting from here to there is a process of coming together in a disciplined way around ideology and strategy, developing an analysis of our real conditions, mobilizing a base among the US people, building principled relationships to Third World struggle, and accumulating practice in struggle against US imperialism".

WEATHER UNDERGROUND Prairie Fire

In this period we face a succession of primary tasks:

1. Raise level of class consciousness to internationalism, combat racism & sexism and discredit economists; Unite white communists to forge an oppressor nation combat party of the working class, in tight international co-ordination with similar developments among TW communists.
2. Lead the white masses into a strategic alliance with national fronts of oppressed peoples toward socialism and against imperialism. Coordinate military actions with combat parties of oppressed peoples.
3. Consolidation of organizations on an international basis into some form of Comintern. (Please see INTERNATIONALISM in this centerfold)

Events are unfolding at an accelerating rate. Work at one level will surely go on before the previous task is completed. But significant progress cannot be made at any stage before a breakthrough has happened in the preceding task.

These struggles will provide us with the most important organizational tools and strategic relations to make revolution in the US. They will also provide a sound basis for coordination with communist organizations of other nations outside of the US.

During this entire period socialist work and anti-imperialist work must be inseparable; mass leadership and clandestine and military action must be developed in harmony; and communist (party building) work must be closely tied to and based on work in the mass movement.

FIGHT US IMPERIALISM, THE COMMON ENEMY!

White Staff---SEIZE THE TIME and friends

CONTINUED FROM PG. H

entaries who the Molly Maguires were (Not the pop-rock group!) Class consciousness is not allocated to any one level of effectiveness. Show me the Marxist-Leninist Parties who flew their banners in Boston last week. Let us see the mass work! Let's build it, but let's be as real as reality. No platitudes this time. Social relations particular to this society call for action and theory that is unparalleled in history. Provide a vision of revolution that is restructuring all levels of social intercourse. It is odd that the new left parties overlook the struggling BLA (called so by the state) fighting with arms in hand, murdered just for being suspect to desperation for freedom and imprisoned for the same association, even if only in ideal!!! Yet those very parties did not ignore the Black, white, women composition of the SLA. But they ran like rabbits in a fox den, denouncing and criticizing for months, what they knew nothing about!!! Why?

Yes, Comrades, we need a party founded out of this real arena and history. In solidarity with freedom fighters now captured through the US, Attica Brothers, New Haven, San Quentin Six, Ruchell and those like the Two Tracy Brothers, Eugene Allen and Ernest Graham who struggle now for their very lives. The lists grows; we must struggle with enforced method and means!!!

### ORGANIZATIONS - NEWSPAPERS

Please consider using the center section of this paper as an insert supplement to your own local paper. If you are interested, write us about the number you want and feel free to make suggestions about future content and size. We plan to have a center section in every issue.

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# ORGANIZATION: A PRISON PERSPECTIVE



We feel that this article discusses several critical issues presently confronting the revolutionary movement. A few of these are:

1. Practice as being the criterion of theory and role of polemics.
2. The dialectic between mass work and armed struggle.
3. The class relations of prisoners and society in general.
4. The formation and role of Marxist-Leninist parties.

Most importantly we feel that this article does apply George Jackson Thought to the mid-seventies. We also feel that this article correctly highlights some of the areas where George Jackson has been misinterpreted - mainly by revisionists and reactionaries but also by some ultra-leftists. As Comrade Doc points out, George strongly puts forward the need for mass work and the danger of guerrilla fighters becoming isolated from the masses. Above all, Field Marshal Jackson states that the Party is the primary organization and indeed must be built in the earliest stages of revolution! We of Seize the Time base our analysis on George Jackson Thought. We have some questions on Doc's analysis of national struggles and his class definitions of prisoners and the lumpen (eg. are the marginally employed, we think not). But primarily we have much unity with Comrade Doc's article. Third World Staff Seize the Time

In revolutionary love and fervor, we from the prisons of California extend this communique to the steering committee of the Peoples Party (a revolutionary prisoner organization, Buffalo, New York). From San Quentin Adjustment Center and in solidarity with all freedom fighters throughout the world, who uphold the principles of egalitarian society, and thrust their blood in the throats of fascism and imperialism. Death to the insect who preys upon the lives of the people.....

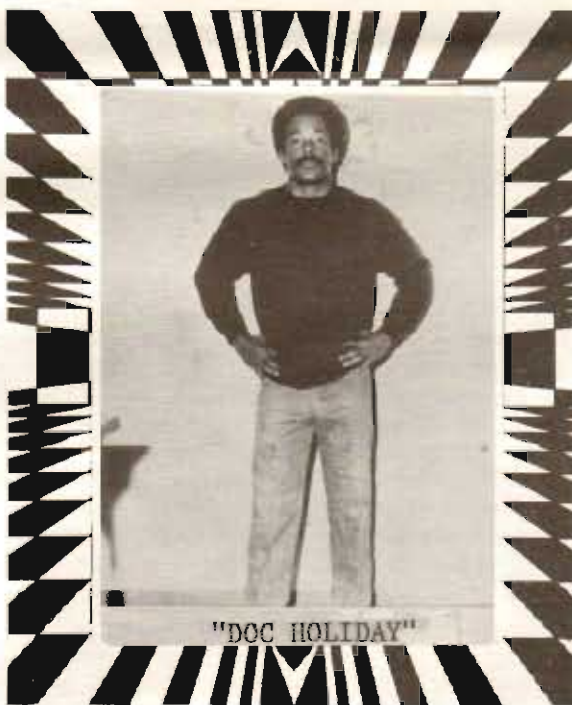
Comrades, we of the struggling few, who by design share your status as prisoners of the U.S. superstate, choose to respond in constructive criticism to your printed letter in the R.U.'s paper "Revolution", September 1974, issue entitled "Letter from Prison", sub, "Rips Revisionist, call for New Party"... However, we do not wish to deny the very correct theme and expressed need for a new party and the potential of prisoners contributions to the overall class struggle. We endorse fully the dire need for that new party in form and in practice, a party addressed unequivocally to the particulars of our time, arena and elements of class forces within this country! And yes, a socialist/communist party in ideology, dialectical and materialist in philosophy. Further still, we recognize that the identity of this party must be working-class in essence. While dynamic in scope and range, its flexibility should be conscious of preventing sectarian decision and unnecessary confusion through premature ideological polemics, which only slows the mass movement and party building. The party's methodology will of course determine its closeness and effectiveness to the masses, plus guiding principles to a revolutionary non-revisionist party in practice.

In speaking of the Party, we are referring to an almost total perspective of the movement. At its base and in every consideration, it should ultimately address itself to the question of political power, taking control and destruction of the old orders, bases and superstructure. We can believe this can and will only come about by several prolonged and broad scale confrontations with the state, which are especially effective in a totally developed industrial and technological capitalist economy. Under these conditions, every sector of social protest and activity invariable raises issue with state power, whether reformist or revolutionary. The party must recognize the sociological aspects of interconnecting differentiated class interests and strata. This must be done in a most unrigid scientific manner, remembering always that the party's relation to the mass and revolu-

tionary movement is both as leader and learner, disseminator, interpreter, disassembler, integrator with a generally endless push and pull of all the movements's components.

We now observe a tendency within the new parties to be careless, or not take care to avoid unstable, contradictory opinion, based on sentiments and unexamined weaknesses or strengths of left revolutionary activity in the U.S. movement. There appears two trends among party ideological struggle. One is to view the primary task as theoretical formulation to be piped into the movement (masses); the other is to ground themselves in the community and build outward both in practice and theory. Of course, the latter is closest to a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, correct prognosis of practice as being inseparable from theory and theory inseparable from practice. However, neither of the following concepts seem to have yet been grasped: the party is not the mass movement, but should be an embodiment and expression of its highest socio-political consciousness. And primary task is exclusive of a priori party theory, but particular to the time and forces at work in a given period or condition.

The party's roots and growth must stem directly from pragmatic practice, guided by theory derived from meticulous analysis of historical and present concrete conditions (in and out of this country!) Dogmatic, incorrect polemics of Marxist-Leninist historical dialectics will not substitute for the present and past incorrect, insufficient practices and lines of defunct left parties or movements. Ideological struggle? Yes, definitely! A clear perspective of what we are about? Yes! An all-out program mass-directed? Yes. All of these things and more are demanded of serious revolutionaries from all ranks.



We join with your call and support the need for a party in practice; theoretically relevant, and a product of the American working class. Encompassing the struggles of the national character and of the women's movement has brought into the Party a need for firm composition of theory and practice embodiment, up to and including recognition of an "autonomous" organization; a Party in fact and in form!!!

Perhaps at a future date we will direct our criticism held in regards to the RU's (Revolutionary Union) and O.L.'s (October League) present form. Because we do and have been observing these young parties struggle for newer perspectives. The old guard, we leave to yield to correct practice through example, or see its most advanced dedicated elements abandon incorrectness for correct revolutionary application, producing the desired movement.

Here, our primary interest is you who share what we believe will, or could possibly replace the historical precedent of radicalized middle-class intellectual leadership and definition of revolutionary methodology.

Surely it is already clear. We the prisoners, who you deny as Lumpen, will be of major significance to the New Left Thrust which promises the development of a serious threat to Amerika's ruling class. It has been exemplified in El-Hajj-Malik-El-Shabazz, Eldridge Cleaver, George L. Jackson and many other less known lumpens, who discovered their consciousness and joined the procession of humanity in revolutionary struggle while captives of the state. Frantz Fanon recognized the new lumpen- 'who, trapped between the anguish of suicide and madness, found new life.' He said even the pimp, prostitute and hooligan joined the revolution! Uncle Ho observed, "when the prison gates are open the real Dragons will fly out"! So by whose accord do we Lump the Lumpen into those used by and for capitalist historical moves toward fascism? True, Nazi fascism found strong armmen, strike breakers, assassins and stormtrooper elements within the Lumpen. Ignorant and unorganized self-raught and self-interested working class America turn their heads and close their eyes to the ever rising fascist mania in this country. Comrades, within your prison microcosm, you must also see and contend with that same reactionary Lumpen who case his lot and soul with fascist political ideals (knowingly)!

Yet, our particular history and its institutionalized racist exclusion of vast segments of its masses from even working class standards, have in fact produced quite a large Lumpen, primarily Third World, non-white racial minorities, but quite revolutionary and rebellious, plus a mass base discontent and fast becoming aware of their class force and true aliens... that free open ended growth, should not be a stagnated process by pre-formula doctrinaire methodology and consequently misinterpretation of reality....

For the conveniences of getting at the central points of criticism, we simply state that we agree with your position up to paragraph three (3). At this juncture, it appears that influences other than those experienced and analyzed from your present status, including those of the community (and life style) from which you came, are heavily over-run, and their pragmatic value substituted by dogmatic, incorrect, powerfully articulated pretensions, which we recalled being run by the RU of a few months ago surrounding the Lumpen question. This we view to be an incorrect, borrowed argument out of a 19th century Marxism and pre-revolutionary Russia. The argument is neither, nor was it meant to be a formula for history at all times in all places unlimited. This is dangerous uncritical opportunism passed off as analysis. Observation and common sense tells this much! Yet, with updated wording many misconceptions have convincingly argued away from the dialectics of altering laws depending on concrete conditions of any given country and in their socio-economic, political and cultural spheres. These influences we want to draw from, but recheck and correct for historical revolutionary teaching is not dogmatic unreal formula.

Notice in the mentioned paragraph you stated: "In the class struggle we unite with the proletarian line against all forms of bourgeois ideology." Very good! But comrades you support not unite with the proletarian line. If otherwise consciously, constructed you deny the difference within the proletarian line, which interconnects itself with the common character of all popular struggles throughout the world and within this country. Check it out in this form, "in the final analysis the struggle of the peasantry in undeveloped countries is also the working (not necessarily proletarian) class struggle", or as Mao reminds us, in the final analysis "national struggle is class struggle." Yet they



are not the same at all times and under any given conditions. There must be an account given for a qualitative and quantitative differences within the class struggle. Not to do so would weaken any party's practical work, perhaps even compromise its revolutionary foundations. South Africa's white proletariat is in actual antagonistic contradiction with South Africa's Blacks.

So too, there are differences among the U.S. proletariat; different levels; different interests; progressive struggles at altering unequal levels, positives and negatives, even when the proletariat express its class interest in opposition to capitalist control and rule. The party recognizes these differences, supports progressive trends; unites with the revolutionary elements and generally struggles to agitate and organize the masses to higher, more militant confrontations with the state. Its task is equally that of disrupting the reactionary order as it is that of organizing the peoples' movement.

In this light you, as party advocates, could not properly define yourselves as part of the politically conscious class struggle against bourgeois capitalist rule. The proletarian line assumes and expresses the belief that the proletariat are in fact the leading revolutionary class force in the U.S. This question is not settled!!!

This apparent semantical misuse of unite in place of support is drawn out by us because it appears to stem from an unclear perspective of the prisoner and similarly classed status groups within the US, placing all into the proletariat. This is not correct, and it is simply not possible to make sure a broad alteration or change by trick of word or trust of history. All the non-capitalist and upper-middle class can't be viewed as proletarian, though they are in fact workers. However, workers or would be workers, are not all proletarian. They must therefore, hold a different class definition as well as being quantitatively different with particular interest given to time, place and relationship to capitalist production.

These are the unemployed, unemployable and marginally employed, which in appearance you seem to place in the proletariat class. In essences however, they are lumpens, made so by and out of this very permanent relationship to work and production. By this we mean that proletariat has a definite meaning which enables us to locate it in its class potential and form. This class in this country for the most part is in fact reformist in interest, bourgeois in out-look and made passive through the state's reported reactionary victory over the workers' movement. Though, again we see the proletariat teeming under the present economic crisis. Inspired by other class resistance mounted for the most part by the youth and examples of the oppressed minorities, they will move and retain progressive tendencies, being receptive primarily to reformist and economic struggle coupled with some social reformist militancy, though remaining very politically immature in class consciousness.

They will have to be lead, educated and given example. This of course means meeting them at their level of consciousness supporting their immediate interests, but pushing and pulling the proletariat class conscious movement. Therefore, it's again unrealistic to state that you support no reformist activity, since obviously some sectors of the masses, particularly our proletariat, must pass from that point to more militant positions. Nor could it be correctly stated that you unite with all forms of "proletarian" line against all forms of "bourgeois" ideology, which is in fact taking the same general position as Angela Davis, the DPUSA, the Socialist Party, Trokskyities or whatever. It becomes polemics!!! Practice in form must be the critical observation determined by our intended objective. This critical observation is not to be mistaken to mean or to imply that revisionist pseudo-revolutionary politics are not to be struggled against, and on all levels.

Note the women's movement has at this writing over 30,000,000 workers in this proletariat position. There are also many feminist groups, most of which are sectarian, reformist or semi-class conscious socialists. We struggle in ideology against all sectarian movements which do not promise in practice, theory and objective to unite with revolutionary egalitarian ideology, and we heighten, through encountered push and pull, learn, and teach the reformist or less developed socialist class consciousness. Struggle is correctly necessary to build a mass movement with enough flexibility for that task. But we must remain firm in revolutionary principles. From here we build a basis for the Party and revolutionary culture. The revolutionary Party can not be a mass party however, until it has developed as such through direct contact and influence within the movement. This is to say, the party's task is to unite the struggle within the many areas of the mass movement without becoming led by that move-



When the prisons  
are opened,  
The real dragon  
will fly out.

ment which exists within present socio-political-economic institutions. To do so, would lead the party away from its revolutionary form into a revisionist form. Recall that the major task is ultimately to confront the state to struggle for power; to over-throw reactionary rule with people's revolutionary rule; to overthrow capitalist dictatorship with socialist egalitarianism.

Notice the ideology is broader in implication than the objective of dictatorship of the proletariat and very consciously so. Because the form our history has taken, its class and national make-up, is unique within its own, without consideration of the national characteristics this struggle will take. It is our position that any full revolutionary socialist ideology must recognize the equality of power representation by national and class make-up. Power can't be expected to alter of its own, without an analysis implanted in revolutionary ideology. It is rightist and reactionary to ignore the racism, struggles for liberation and national minorities' interests within this country's over the class struggle. Also, it lends itself to other incorrect oversights about conditions which are part of, and have place in this revolution we are about.

Incorrect analysis produces incorrect theory which leads to incorrect ideology. Comrades we agree and relate to the revolutionary ramifications of the Attica prison rebellion just as we also recognize the experience and lesson drawn from the 1970-August 7th raid on Marin County Courthouse; which was further punctuated by the August 21st 1971 resistance revolt at San Quentin. Yes these were exemplifications of advanced revolutionary practice and consciousness. The revolutionaries! The most desperate of the oppressed, gave beyond reformist desire and acting within time placed on them, their examples are a preview to the aspects this struggle will take in form and the nature of its vanguard elements. Lumpen-proletariat, primarily Third World in origin, armed with an up-dated national and class socialist outlook that advances any present party's Marxist-Lennist ideology of how the revolution must advance itself in face of American capitalism (which has reached the awesome anti-people stage of fascism). You've raised the banner of this movement bursting prisons' bonds. Yet you've failed to see as of yet, how terribly divorced from these advanced lessons, even the new parties are in theory and practice. (The new party must recognize what conditions it reaches out of toward the heroic masses), why the prisons are over filling and why the masses can,

over night become "criminals" and incarcerated by the thousands (by court decree of one man), and why the country can be set at war without constitutional "guarantees" and against popular interest! How do they now inherit a president rather than even go through the facade of electoral procedures? Fascism of an order is in power, like the state under capitalist rule, it will not accept challenge except more viciously so!!! It is not that some elements have lost faith in the masses and thus view the guerrilla struggle as a part of the needed strategy! On the contrary it's the belief in the masses, and knowledge of the fascists taste for violence as well as disregard for the interests of popular demand, which pushes this issue to task, not as the ideology or theory to socialist revolution in itself, but as a means very particular to its concrete conditions and the form it must take. The Party needn't worry about bringing on repression or the incorrectness of armed struggle in the guerrilla form. An elementary truth is that guerrilla war does not happen or work in isolation, or without the peoples' support.

Yet, let's not jump to say any rag-tag amateuristic adventurist move into guerrilla struggle should not be criticised according to concrete realistic conditions. The party must have grasp of this concept to enable it to make correct analysis. Your article comrade, does not reflect even a basic understanding into this arena. We suggest you re-read George Jackson's Blood In My Eye....Reliance on the masses is there pressed home! The party is seen above all and called forth, challenged.

If it fails, it must be replaced by a revolutionary party. The new party could very well be any of the young organs we observe struggling to relate their theory and practice to our needs. However, a party bogged down in endless polemics, unaware of distinctions between mass and party line, wise seekers in all political matters, is not a people's party rooted in and learning from the masses. A party which can not make the distinction between strategy and tactics, or the general from the particulars of a correct methodology is a party bound in self justification and set interests. We saw the Black Panther Party lose its direction through this above approach, in place of a truly over-turning ideological struggle. At the present your criticism of the revisionist CP and other reactionary left orientated doctrinarian groups, can also be qualitatively applied to both the RU and OL in their redundant self intrapped polemics of outdated 1917 pre-Russian revolution.

You are correct not to reject any tactic "out of hand", especially those if which you possess limited knowledge and less of its practice you've had chance to see. Though be warned my comrades: those guns above your head are real; isolation for your political beliefs when in prison is real; and most sad of all is that your position for talking serious revolution is pathetically weak. You know quite well that a mass of thousands storming the fortress in which you are captives, would die forty feet before touching the walls, especially without military understand (if they had such an understanding they would not storm the wall in the first place) No, don't reject "out of hand"; history teaches more. Keep learning and improving...Fanon, Che, Amilcar Cabral, William Pomery, George Jackson and others are seemingly being written out of our learning manuals by someone. Who?

Then pass out of Russian, China and Cuban history and familiarize yourself with US history, the national and labor movements in particular. How many of you are aware of the peculiar institutions (U.S. slavery) and its relation to the present class struggle? Well, in its history are also connected the American bourgeoisie and democratic revolution. How many of you know what Samuel Gompers (AFL) role played in this history or movements like the Industrial Workers of the World played in history? Do you know beyond elem-



deficiency that inhibits the development of black working class solidarity and revolutionary unity within the movement. That reinforces narrow regionalism and isolation of our overall struggle. Everywhere we turn the black bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie are in command. Turning ever away from revolutionary struggles, distorting our peoples perspective, hindering their revolutionary growth as a national minority with certain concrete historical tasks to perform. They place primacy on means instead of the goal. For these "mack men" and opportunists, the economical crisis



of capitalism as a whole is subservient to the "racial inequality" of our people. When the latter is a consequence of the former. Thus the lot of the masses of poor Blacks doesn't and cannot improve with black mayors and black congressmen. Look at Newark, Gary, etc. The alignment of capitalist control negates the solution of political control by Blacks as our ultimate solution. Instead we must see that electoral politics are a tactical form of struggle, aimed at increasing the evident crisis of the capitalist state. Not alliviating this crisis. With this in mind, electoral politics must pretend to be a 'moderating' force between the struggle and the enemy, while in fact it is a material part of the peoples' revolutionary construction. Who will trust this role to the black bourgeoisie without restriction and chastisement? And how would the lower class ally themselves with an essentially colonial bourgeoisie (knowing their dire nature) unless these lower classes had the ability to chastise and direct their struggle? It is the organized arms of the working and lower class that is the basis for their alliance with their bourgeoisie. Again unity is firepower. It is a fundamental aspect of alliances with other classes and groups and the basic means by which the lower classes assure their political independence. We say this for various reasons. Any examination of our struggle, its development from one stage to the next has proven beyond a doubt that the black bourgeoisie and black petty bourgeoisie are opportunistically inclined. This does not mean that under certain conditions alliances with them are not possible, on the contrary. It only means that a vigilance must at all times be maintained, or they will vacillate and sell out to the enemy. That is their class nature. But there is a positive role they can play in the struggle, and they must be held to this role. Looking at the "civil rights" phase in our struggle can give us countless examples of the class nature of the black bourgeoisie, its conciliatory and collaborationist perspective. Although the civil rights phase was a necessary and important phase, although it can claim many important victories for our people and raised their consciousness considerably, it still had within it, its major political line, the seeds of future dissention, division and impotency. The concepts of modern "Black

Power" grew out of the principle contradiction of the bourgeois line (integration-reformism) of the civil rights struggle. The principle contradiction being within that line and the prevailing racist nature of dominant white society being the conditions for failure of the black integrationist line. Now it is generally accepted that there is no real equality for Blacks or workers under the existing social, political and economic structure. Not for the masses of Black people, maybe for a few "front niggers." Integrationists at that time ignored the fact that Black people as a national minority must first acquire national self-determination before they could even think of equality, and the bourgeois integrationists failed to grasp that this could only be possible in a revolutionary contest and was in the interest of all american society.

In response to these ideological shortcomings of the civil rights leadership, black power was put forth. But in all honesty it must be said that black power, community control of the institutions within the black community, was also bourgeois in nature. In that it was basically reformist and did not strike at the roots of capitalism. Tactically it was valuable, but once the tactic was confused with the goal, black power produced the unique phenomenon of the black bourgeois nationalist whose class perspective saw only black, and who like the bourgeois civil righters before him stopped short of revolutionary struggle and adapted instead to reformism in black face. This was of course to be expected given the conditions under which black power had to evolve. There was no building of the organized guerilla front, no consistent organized armed struggle upon which black power could hang its hat. Consequently it succumbed to bourgeois leadership. The development of armed self-defense is not within this context truly revolutionizing. Yet it too grew out of the same overall conditions of the civil rights struggle (really an emotional response to the brutality of non-violence). Self-defense is only part of a dialectical whole known as War. The other half is offense. There can be no defense without offense just as there could be no victory without defeat. Both are inter-related within the whole known as war. What is victory for us most certainly is defeat for the enemy. When neither exists it's called stalemate. For us to simply defend ourselves from the oppressor is the same as leaving him with the permanent initiative. You can not expect to do this and win the war. Yet this is precisely how the right to self-defense was put. Is it any wonder then, that the people were confused as to the nature of revolutionary armed struggle, and viewed it from a bourgeois perspective as suicidal? And from this perspective armed struggle is indeed "suicidal". Nothing we can ever do will be successful unless we build to make it so. This applies to armed struggle as well as any other form of social struggle. But in building any structure it is necessary to consider all factors, incorporate this consideration in our plans and make them mutually supportive wherever possible.



We must certainly cannot "rally" our enemy into oblivion or talk him out of existence. Nor can we vote the ruling class out of control and power. We cannot pray him out, or out-capitalist him, picket him out, or boycott him out. But with all these going on and increasing in tempo and intensity over a protracted period of time, with all these factors plus consistent armed struggle on all fronts, we can create conditions that will throw the ruling class into the junk heap with racist capitalism.

Only a co-ordinated effort on the mass front and the guerrilla front can change the existing relationship of motion and forces, pave the way for new levels of struggle, and create the crisis of US imperialism that other Third World nations so desperately need. We must weaken the enemy until he can be dealt the death blow that will herald in a new era for the world's poor and disenfranchised peoples. This is no easy task, for it requires a subjective will far beyond the shallow sham bourgeois individualism we tend to love so much. Our task as revolutionaries, progressives and conscious brothers and sisters is to link the struggle for liberation with the peoples' daily lives and make them one continuous movement. Armed protracted guerrilla struggle is an indispensable ingredient in carrying out this task. Our very survival depends on how well we recognize this fact and deal with it.

The enemy knows this as well as we do. But he cannot deal with inherent contradictions built into his very system of exploitation without dealing with himself. These contradictions are on the side of progress, on our side, and we must not back off from our tasks.

Richard Dharuba Moore

#19979

Drawer B

Stormville, New York, 12582

Presently serving time for attempted murder with a machine gun of 2 policemen. Was arrested but acquitted on all charges in New York stemming from several cases involving the NY 21. Author and revolutionary worker of oppressed communities.

## THE FRONT COVER

Saundra Pratt was one of the many courageous women who have fought for liberation of their people and their sisters. She was a young Black woman, a member of the Los Angeles Chapter of the old BPP and about to be a mother when she was murdered. Her love of the people, her practice and her leadership made her stand out, and unfortunately made her a target for assassination. She was also the wife of Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, the chair of the LA BPP Chapter after the police-agent murder of Bunchy Carter.

The much publicized brutal, slow torture, execution of Saundra Pratt has not been solved. The LAPD refused to investigate stating that her body was not found in Los Angeles. Lynwood police refused to investigate stating that they didn't feel Saundra was killed there. The state police did nothing. The FBI took over and threw water on the fire and forgot it. However we haven't forgot.

\*

Nguyen Thi Binh (Madam Binh) is another outstanding example of the strength of women in the revolution. She is both the Foreign Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam. She has traveled to many countries in Africa and Asia, Cuba and Europe to represent the Vietnamese people. She was the chief negotiator in Paris for the PRG.

Her struggle as a Vietnamese patriot, as a woman and as a socialist has not been easy. She says, "We organized village by village. Those who knew how to fight taught others. It was the third time we fought. One day we will have a beautiful life, if not for ourselves, then for our children."

\*

March 8th, International Women's Day is a day set aside to acknowledge women like Saundra Pratt and Madam Binh and all that women do in the struggle against the oppression of women and all other forms of oppression for the liberation of all people. CELEBRATE MARCH 8TH!



# MESSAGES TO THE PEOPLE

## BLA'S NEW YEAR MESSAGE

### BLA'S WAR OF THE FLEA

The level of oppression of Black and Third World people within the confines of Babylon (United States of America) has escalated to the point where it cannot logically be disputed that guerrilla warfare is a necessity and a must in order to insure the survival, freedom and liberation of Black and oppressed people in this country. In the past few years, since the Black Liberation Army has overtly been in existence there has been numerous disputes about the purpose for its existence. We are taking this opportunity now, at the beginning of the new year, which to us will be the "Year of the Flea" to correct all mistaken ideas as to the reason for the existence of the BLA and the methods the army intends to and has used to obtain the desired objective.

First and foremost it should be clearly understood that we are the Army of and for Black and Third World oppressed people as our will. The primary objective of our Army, as proclaimed time and time again to the Black community/colony and the world, is the liberation of Black and Third World people within the confines of Babylon and to continue the revolution until the forces of oppression in the person of racism, capitalism and imperialism is driven from the planet earth.

Without an army standing on the people's side it's impossible for them to win their freedom, and to establish revolutionary political power. We say social practice is the criteria for truth, you'd say the proof of the pudding is in the taste, Malcolm said time will tell, and the pigs have shown us the truth of this statement through their actions.

If Black people had had a liberation army armed with a scientific analysis there would not have been no "hundred years of lynchings." If we had had a Black Liberation Army armed with the guns of freedom there would not have been no Orangeburg Massacre.

If we had a liberation army that was armed with the popular support of the

masses of oppressed people we could once and for all throw off the yoke of racist and economic bondage and take our place in the sun as free men and women unswayed by a need to sacrifice our Black manhood and womanhood in order to make sure there is food on the table to eat and a roof over our heads.

**NOW WE ARE HERE!** If you have not been conscious of our existence it has not been because our backs have been broken. It's because we've been involved in a strategic retreat and tactical re-grouping. The policies of our army are reflective of the urgent demands of Black and Third World oppressed people and chief among them are:

- 1) Freedom and self-determination
- 2) Full employment for Black and oppressed people
- 3) End to the robbery by the capitalist of our communities
- 4) Decent housing fit for shelter of human beings
- 5) Decent education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent society, that teaches us our true history and our role in the present society.
- 6) All Black men be exempt from the military service
- 7) An immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people
- 8) Freedom for all Black and oppressed people held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails because they have not received a fair and impartial trial
- 9) That all Black people be tried by juries of their peer group in a people's court
- 10) Land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace.

Then, we of the Black Liberation Army understand that in order for us to fulfill these urgent demands of the people it is necessary for us to destroy capitalism and all its value systems.

What then are our intentions? Our intentions are to provide food, clothing and shelter for our people. Our intentions are to stop police brutality and senseless murder of our youth in our communities.



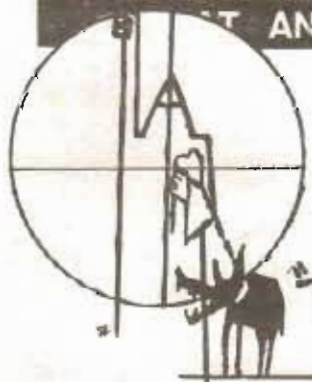
Our intentions are to avenge the murders Rita Lloyd, Tyrone Guyton, Clifford Glover, Emmett Till, Ricky Bolden, Gregory White, Twymon Myers, Rabbit, Kimu, Claude Reese and countless others who fell at the hands of the racist pig oppressors who occupy our communities.

Our intentions are to bring revolutionary justice to the enemies of our people's freedom and to liberate our prisoners of war of US fascism. Our intentions are to wreak havoc across Babylon, to ambush, attack, raid, protest, sabotage and ultimately destroy everyone and everything that stands in the way of the people's right to be free. Just as the tiniest flea can drive the largest dog to his knees, our intentions are to wage the war of the flea in Babylon.

Then our intentions are to build a society that truly works in the interests of the broad masses of the people. To build a socialist society building its foundation on the economic theory of "From each according to his ability and to each according to his need." Until these demands are met.... We will not retreat a single inch, and we will be heard!!!

AMISTAD COLLECTIVE  
BLACK LIBERATION ARMY

**AN UNARMED PEOPLE  
AR SUBJECT TO SLAVERY  
AT ANY TIME**



ON SELF DEFENSE

This is an excerpt from a future center-fold of "Seize The Time"

... We take the Vietnamese view on the combination of forces. Le Duan states that, "The August Revolution, like peoples' revolutions in other countries, has taught the South Vietnamese revolutionaries that any revolution with a marked popular character must use both political and military forces to secure victory. Revolution being the uprising of the oppressed and exploited masses, one must adopt the revolutionary mass viewpoint to understand revolutionary political and military forces-and two forms of struggle-political and armed struggle-and thereby to realize the offensive position of revolution when revolutionary situations are ripe."

"On the contrary, if one considers revolutionary violence merely from the point of view of armed struggle, and subsequently takes into account only the military force of the two sides to appraise the balance of forces between revolution and counter-revolution, mistakes will be inevitable: either one will underestimate the strength of the revolution and dare not mobilize the masses for insurrection, or once the insurrection has been launched, one will not dare set up the offensive to push ahead the revolution, or, when the armed struggle has been unleashed, one cannot avoid falling back to a defensive strategy.... The close combination of political and military struggle constitutes the basic form of revolutionary violence in South Vietnam, the most suitable one to resist neo-colonialism. It has been used not only in the course of insurrections, but also in dealing with the American imperialists 'special warfare' and 'limited warfare'." Prarie Fire states "without mass struggle there can be no revolution. Without our armed struggle there can be no victory."

Mass Struggle and the Art of People's War

When discussing revolution, we must remember that it is mass in character (only the masses have the force to win) and that it is truly war, an uncompromising struggle to the death between the oppressed and the exploiters - in other words, it must be viewed as People's War. When discussing clandestine work within

the U.S. we must do so from a historical basis. We must examine those struggles whose development is consistent with clandestine work and when tactics of a lower level are more appropriate. Revolution is a mass concern and revolutionaries must always proceed from the basic needs of the people, crystalize them and then take them back to the people. The level of struggle in Black and Brown communities have reached the point where the masses realize that state terror against their youth must be stopped by using counter-violence. The masses have responded by using both mass counter-violence, small group counter-violence and combinations of both. It is becoming clearer in these communities that only the sustained combination of both forms of struggle will succeed in forcing any end to brutality. Combined forms of struggle in such places as New York and Newark have shown more promise than either pure military or political responses have had in the past. Economic conditions are worsening quickly and we can expect the masses, especially in third world communities to respond militantly. Two years ago the Black masses of Philadelphia took the streets in response to a fascist move to cut already low welfare payments. Los Angeles police are training to put down food riots. Conditions in many third world communities are now worse than they were during the urban rebellions. The seizing of Lincoln Hospital, the Native American struggles at Wounded Knee and the Alexian Brothers Monastery are all examples of combining

CONT. PG 5



# World revolution



Managua, Nicaragua- The last week of December saw a daring action by liberation fighters of the Sandinista Liberation Front. Nine guerrillas from the front burst into the home of Nicaraguan businessman Jose Castillo. Two police and Castillo were killed as they tried to resist. At the party in Castillo's home, they captured many member of the bourgeois including such notables as Nicaragua's ambassadors to both the UN and the U.S. The party was in honor of the U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua, whom escaped capture by leaving twenty minutes before the action started. The Chilean ambassador to Nicaragua was one of the many criminals that were captured.

The freedom fighters held their prisoners sixty hours until they negotiated the release of several political prisoners by the ruling Somoza regime. The freedom fighters also won safe passage for themselves and the freed political prisoners. The guerrillas' prisoners all described their treatment by the front as being good and that the members of the front conducted themselves very competently. When the members of the Front arrived in Havana, Radio Havana gave an interview to the guerrillas explaining their struggle.

The Sandinista Liberation Front takes its name from Augusto Sandino. He was a patriot who fought the illegal occupation of Nicaragua by U.S. marines in the twenties and thirties. He was ordered assassinated by General Anastasio Somoza who is the grandfather of the current president. It will be a long struggle but with groups such as the Sandinista Liberation Front we know that eventually all the Americas will be free!

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ADDIS ABABA- Ethiopia's five month old military government faced its most severe test at the hands of freedom fighters from the province of Eritrea. These freedom fighters have been conducting guerrilla warfare for secession for the past several years. The first week of February saw intense fighting in and around the Eritrean capital of Asmara. Over a thousand people have been killed in the fighting.

The fighting has proposed a serious problem to the new government. They have promised land reform for Ethiopia's peasants. They have also voiced the desire to turn the country into a socialist country with collective production such as in China or Cuba. However many have wondered if the Ethiopia's government destruction of the previous feudal regime was merely a cover for implementing capitalism instead of socialism. Consequently many are wondering how the government will deal with the Eritrean secession struggle which has won much sympathy in the revolutionary and socialist world.

On February 10, the Sudanese government attempted to mediate between the Ethiopian government and the Eritrean rebels. The Sudanese foreign minister, Gamal Mougammed, arrived in Addis Ababa with an appeal from President Jaafar Numeiry to end the fighting. It appeared that the negotiations might have some hope for bringing a peaceful end to the fighting. Revolutionaries inside of the U.S. should carefully watch the situation in Ethiopia as it is critically located on the vital east coast of Africa.

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The national liberation struggles of Southern Africa have made another qualitative leap toward complete victory. Following on the heels of the independence of Guinea-Bissau and the people of Mozambique's victories, the liberation struggles in both Angola and Zimbabwe have made new strides.

In late December the Zimbabwe National Union (ZANU), the Zimbabwe People's Union (ZAPU), and the African National Council (ANC) have buried their differences and formed a joint council to intensify struggle. It was necessary to intensify the armed struggle after the racist regime of Ian Smith went back on their promises to negotiate and implement majority rule. Many observers feel that South Africa may have intervened and convinced Ian Smith's government not to negotiate. South African troops have been fighting the liberation movements throughout that region.

In early January, the three liberation movements inside of Angola united and conducted successful negotiations with the Portuguese government. The Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the Angolan Liberation Front and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), have set aside deep divisions that have separated them for the past few years. By uniting they have won an agreement where three members from each organization will participate in a provisional government with the Portuguese. As in Mozambique, full independence will follow quickly after the interim government is formed later this year. In a joint communique the three movements stated that "The three liberation movements decided that from now on they will cooperate in all spheres, and especially in that of decolonization for the defense of territorial integrity as well as for national reconstruction."

In South Africa the workers' movement against the government continues. Several miners have been killed in rebellions. One demonstration was a joint worker student event in solidarity with the FRELIMO freedom fighters of Mozambique. Overall the struggle of freedom fighters of Southern Africa have made great strides for the freedom of their peoples. During the last year, the freedom fighters of Southern Africa have made much progress. The road to complete freedom is tortuous, but we are confident that Africa will be free!



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Rome, Italy- (From Peking Review and Peoples Translation Service)

On December 11, the Democratic Soldier's Movement held its first public meeting in Rome. Over 200 soldiers, almost all in uniform and representing 15 army barracks around Rome attended the meeting.

The meeting was called by a coordinating committee representing the barracks in the Rome area in an effort to involve democratic political forces, trade unions and the workers' movement in the fight against reactionary schemes using the army against the working class....

Political and economic life in Italy was brought to a standstill on January 23 when 14 million people from all walks of life throughout the country held a general strike to demand employment guarantees and higher wages and to protest fascist outrages.

There was a mammoth demonstration that day by over 200,000 strikers in the center of Rome. Carrying hundreds of red banners, as well as placards and streamers inscribed with "we want jobs," and "no fascism," and shouting slogans, they marched through the downtown area and held a rally in San Giovanni Square. The walkout in Rome lasted eight hours.

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On the second anniversary of the signing of the Paris Peace Agreement, the PRCSVN has reaffirmed its three demands:

-The definitive and complete termination of the US government's military involvement and interference in the internal affairs of South Vietnam and the withdrawal from South Vietnam of all US military personnel disguised as civilians, as stipulated by the Paris Agreement.

-The overthrow of Nguyen Van Thieu and his gang who constitute the main obstacle to the solution of the political issues in South Vietnam at the present.

-The setting up in Saigon of an administration that has peace and national concord at heart and is willing to implement the Paris Agreement on Vietnam in a serious way.

Since the last months of 1974, the situation in South Vietnam has accelerated towards achieving these goals and protecting the victories already won by the Vietnamese people. In several major battles the People's Liberation Armed Forces captured Phuoc Binh, capital of Phuoc Long Province Jan. 6, and are now advancing on Tay Ninh, capital of Kien Tuong Province. Thieu's regime had been using these cities as launching sites for bombings and raids against the rest of the provinces, which were and are mostly PRG liberated areas. In fact, he had declared all of Phuoc Long outside of the city to be a "free-bombing zone". Loc Ninh, the PRG capital for this area, is between Tay Ninh and Phuoc Binh. All during 1973 and 1974, Thieu sent napalm and bombing raids against its civilian population. Many of these flights were guided by US reconnaissance planes in violation of the Agreement.

Immediately after the PRG and PLAF victories, Thieu launched savage retaliatory raids against populated areas in Loc Ninh and Bu Dop. But these attacks were turned back, and many planes and helicopters were shot down.

The movement to overthrow Thieu's regime in South Vietnam's major cities is just as significant. Various social segments and political and religious organizations such as the Committee for Freedom of Press and Publication, the People's Front Against Hunger and for National Salvation, the People's Organizations for the Implementation of the Paris Agreement, The Committee for the Defense of the Labouring People's Interests, the People's Movement Against Corruption (Catholics), the Buddhists' National Reconciliation Forces and many deputies of the Saigon Upper and Lower Houses of the National Assembly.

In November, January and February, Buddhist nuns staged demonstrations against Thieu's regime. When police attempted to injure and arrest them, the nuns swung poles against the police and captured police jeeps. Pressmen burned papers rather than have them seized by Saigon Censor Police. Saigon deputies signed in blood a statement calling for the ouster of Thieu and a coalition government.

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In Cambodia, National United Front of the Khmer People has also won new victories. Its forces have isolated Phnom Penh from all but airlifts and a few river barge convoys. Convoys carrying ammunition and fuel have had a particularly difficult time using the Mekong River from South Vietnam's border to Phnom Penh. All these supplies are provided by U.S. military aid.

Airlifts to Phnom Penh are flown by Bird Air, a "commercial" carrier set up by the US Airforce using C130 planes and "retired" USAF pilots to move US military supplies - all illegal under the peace agreement.

The NUF forces are advancing on Phnom Penh itself and will be victorious soon. All the peoples of Indochina will soon defeat US imperialism in their countries and achieve liberation and peace. We support their drive.

END ALL AID TO THIEU  
SUPPORT THE PRG'S THREE POINTS

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BREAK DE CHAINS CONT. FROM PG. 7

# GERONIMO

On January 17, 1969 Bunchy Carter (Deputy Minister of Defense-Southern California Chapter of Black Panther Party) was murdered at UCLA. At this time Elmer Geronimo Pratt was placed in the difficult position of taking over where Bunchy left off. Geronimo's leadership ability, self-discipline and love for the people was quickly recognized by members of the chapter. Our ability to recognize and deal with the crises arising out of the struggle in Babylon was increased greatly by Geronimo's example and his constant emphasis on each party member accepting the responsibility of revolutionary leadership. "On Monday, August 17, 1970, Geronimo failed to show up in court for a case and his bail was revoked. At the time he had four charges against him--a bomb case, false imprisonment, assault on a pig, and the Los Angeles 18 shoutout. Geronimo went underground to avoid the clutches of the pigs because it was "time to concentrate on living to fight another day."

Geronimo was captured by the pigs in Dallas on December 8, 1970 along with several other brothers. He was extradicted from Texas to California, where he was indicted for another trumped up crime, murder. That charge was premised on the testimony of an ex-deputy sheriff, pig informer by the name of Julio Butler, who sought to "take over" the local chapter of the Black Panther Party upon the death of Bunch Carter and John Higgins. His resentment of Geronimo's progression to this position, his apparent fear of his own imprisonment for crimes he was charged with and finally, his desire for revenge for his earlier expulsion from the party, left him "ripe" for the pigs. In return for immunity, he helped the courts and the pigs to convict Geronimo of a two year old unsolved murder. In an effort to justify their racist plot of genocide, the system has tried to poison the public's mind against him by presenting only one-sided views and lies in their puppet mass media about Geronimo's case. It will take the supporters of G and all political prisoners time to uncover the plot that this government has been using to commit genocide

on the whole black and poor oppressed communities. Some doors have already been opened. With the recent flow of information in reference to the CIA involvement in the Black revolutionary movement and the plot against Malcolm X, Dr. Martin Luther King, The leadership and rank and file of the Black Panther Party, and all other progressive people in this country. It will be left up to the people in this country to uncover these facts and to show the illegal practices of the courts.

Facts concerning Geronimo's case:

1) Mrs. Olsen, a white woman, in Santa Monica was killed during a robbery by two men December 8, 1968. Geronimo was accused later as one of the suspects and the search for the second man was apparently dropped. The LAPD not only investigated and charged Geronimo with a Santa Monica killing but also went into the files and removed all other suspects' pictures, replacing them with Geronimo's. However, when Geronimo's wife, Sandra Pratt was viciously murdered in November, 1971, eight months pregnant at the time, the LAPD refused to investigate saying that the case was out of jurisdiction.



2) Testimonies clearly showed Geronimo was in San Francisco at the time of the murder and not in Santa Monica.

3) There was no substantial evidence. No fingerprints, no murder weapon located or even connected to G. The letter which Julio Butler claimed to have written that allegedly discloses a confession to the crimes by G was never presented to the jury or the court for viewing.

4) Julio Butler, A Black beautician, on whose testimony the prosecutor's case rested, is a paid police informant and provocator and has been for over five years. This fact was confessed to during the trial by his sheriff friend, Sgt. Rice but never reported by the news media.

5) The lawyers, Charles Holoopeter and Johnny Cochran III, one white and the other black, both middle-class capitalist, court appointed lawyers, both unprepared and unconcerned about social ills and political problems concerning black people show very little interest in the case of the life of Geronimo. Both refused to listen to family members and showed no interest in the case whatsoever.

6) The jury was not sequestered (locked, closed off from the public) They were easily accessible to harrasments, threats, TV and news media and opinions.

On July 28, 1972, the jury convicted Geronimo of the murder based on no substantial evidence whatsoever. Even the judge and DA were shocked at the verdict. Everybody was. The first week, eight of the twelve jurors were in favor of acquittal; however, after going home that first weekend, all eight slowly changed their verdict to guilty due to pressure.

On January 10, 1975, Judge Kathleen Parker, resentenced G. Of course the resentence was the same as the first. Life-Since his capture, Geronimo has been in the adjustment centers of Folsom and San Quentin, and now presently doing time on Death Row at San Quentin. He has struggled to educate people within the revolutionary movement. The two points he has stressed are: The total incorrectness of allowing hero worship to grow within the movement. (Hero worship is when people allow or hope that a perfect hero will come and lead them in the right direction and save them from the necessary study which all revolutionaries must do) and the necessity of revolutionary men to adopt a correct and dialectical attitude towards their women comrades, to not weaken the movement by pushing sisters into weak roles.

FREE ALL PRISONERS OF WARS

Elmer Pratt  
B-40319  
San Quentin, California

## PLO

WORLD REVOLUTION  
CONT. FROM PG. 11

"On January 1, 1965, heroic sons and daughters fired the first shots in the armed struggle in Israeli-occupied Galilee, thus initiating a new stage in the Palestinian people's liberation movement...

Today, the guerrillas have become an important revolutionary force in the Middle East, enjoying ever higher prestige in Arab countries and the rest of the world. Students in the Arab countries often are in the streets raising funds for the Palestine resistance movement, workers contribute part of their wages to the guerrillas, women knit sweaters for them and many people apply to the hospital to be blood donors for the guerrilla forces. Moreover, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the guerrillas are many young Arab people, some of whom have given their lives for the Palestine Liberation cause. In October 1974, the Arab Summit Conference adopted a resolution reaffirming the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. In November, the 29th Session of the U.N. General Assembly adopted two important resolutions, affirming the Palestinian people's right to self-determination... The Palestinian people are fully aware that the excellent situation results from their protracted armed struggle and grows out of the barrel of a gun."

--Peking Review, Jan. 10, 1975

The staff of "Seize the Time" joins in celebrating the 10th anniversary of the Palestinian Armed Struggle. The rise of the Palestinian movement has played a key role in the development of the Arab left, exposing U.S. imperialism

and has forced the Soviet Union and the bourgeois Arab governments to recognize and support the Palestinian cause.

The Palestinian national liberation struggle has entered the international arena. The contradictions within the world and especially in the middle east, have reached the level where all anti-imperialist forces in the world, Anti-imperialist forces within the U.S. must play an important role in supporting self-determination for the Palestinian people as we did for the peoples of Indochina.

U.S. oil companies profits have risen a minimum of 130% due to the false "energy crisis". U.S. imperialism has again greedily attempted to subjugate an entire region in order to support U.S. corporations.

While the U.S. has political and ideological responsibilities to its imperialist outpost, Israel, it also has strong economic reasons to win the Arab states as firm allies. Seventy percent of the capitalist world's oil reserves are in the Arabian Gulf.

Much of Kissinger's reason for obstructing the Geneva Conference is the role that the Palestinian forces have played in developing the socialist forces in the Arab states. He wants to settle the Mid-East "problem" to the satisfaction of the bourgeois Arab regimes and the Israeli Zionists. This would successfully preserve Israel as an imperialist outpost and protect U.S. corporations' investments. He hopes to reduce the Palestinian question to a "refugee problem" and set back the struggle for socialism in the Arab states.

Supporting the right of self-determination means, at this point, supporting the PLO, the organization recognized

as the representative of the Palestinian people. Although we may not agree with everything Yassir Arafat says, we have to understand that within the PLO are several forces, including Marxist-Leninist organizations. Struggle between political lines is an internal matter and not our responsibility.

Rather, it is our responsibility to study and educate around the Middle-East, take the lessons we have learned from the Viet Nam war and map out a strategy of how we can aid in the struggle to defeat U.S. imperialism in the Middle East.



LONG LIVE THE PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE!  
SUPPORT THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION  
FOR THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE!!  
DEFEAT THE COMMON ENEMY U.S. IMPERIALISM!



# CLASS STRUGGLE!

Reprinted from *Hoe Hana*, a newspaper from Hawaii's Labor Community Alliance

When brewery workers in New York staged a five-day takeover of their plant early in 1974 they hoisted a banner reading "Government of the corporations, by the corporations, for the corporations!"

The role of the government and its use of laws in general is important to understand as part of the overall picture of the development of labor laws as a means of controlling the workers' movement.

Government is historically a means by which different classes with competing political and economic interests can compromise, so that their competition would not constantly undermine the stability of society, and is presumably freely elected to give all parties a chance to have their interests represented, in a body that is supposed to resolve conflicts impartially.

## Image of Neutrality

By maintaining this image of neutrality, the government seems to stand above society, as a separate power that does not represent any particular class.

But government neutrality is a fiction, as many workers have come to see, for government represents the special interests of big business and the corporations. The men running the government are big businessmen, or have close ties to corporations. Former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara was once president of Ford Motors and is now head of the World Bank; George Bundy, an advisor to both Kennedy and Johnson administrations, has headed the Ford Foundation. The list of corporate ties is endless.

For government to successfully operate, it portrays itself as the protector of law. The law itself is designed to protect existing economic interests--the major areas of law, such as contracts, property, tax, civil suits, trusts, corporation, and even criminal law, deal mainly with the protection of private property.

## Rule By the Few

Similarly, the use of democratic elections and procedures and all the propaganda about "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" are a facade to conceal rule by the few. The American people are made to believe that by voting they exercise some sort of remote control over what goes on in Washington. But a large part of the public, especially the working class, is not fooled; only about one half of all eligible voters participated in the last election. As one writer put it, "In a democratic republic, wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely, by means of direct corruption of officials and by means of an alliance between the government and the Stock Exchange."

American labor laws did not arise until it became necessary for big business to control the labor movement. The roots of the modern labor movement in America are themselves part of a larger historical development, the rise of industrial capitalism in the U.S.

## The Rise of Capitalism and the Workers' Movement

The US developed into a modern industrial capitalist nation in the fifty years following the start of the Civil War (from about 1860 to 1910). During this period giant industries arose and investments in manufacturing grew twelve-fold. Railroads, one indication of the growth of industry, were laid at an astonishing rate growing from 30,000 miles in 1860 to nearly 200,000 miles in 1910.

By about 1900, 3/4 of all goods in the country were being produced by corporations instead of small factories or trade men. The US changed from an agricultural to an industrial nation, marked by the movement of the population from rural areas to cities.

Corporate domination of government was reflected in legislation passed during this time, in which northern industrialists were aggressively fighting for new markets. These series of laws enabled the expansion of capitalism and protected its gains.



Graphic by IAN

In 1862 federal land grants gave rights to land for the development of a transcontinental railroad, in 1863 the National Banking Act was passed creating a national financial system, in 1864 tariff laws on foreign goods (as high as 47%) were passed to protect the sale of American goods and immigration laws were passed to permit the importation of cheap labor.

## Birth of the Modern Working Class

Along with this industrial base, a modern working class was produced, and the number of workers in the US nearly quadrupled, growing from 1.5 million in 1860 to over 5.5 million in 1900.

With this growth in the number of workers and their exploitation at the hands of capitalism, a militant workers' movement developed.

In 1971, workers in France attempted a revolution that did not succeed, but they held Paris for ninety days in what became known as the Paris Commune. Workers in America, many recently immigrated from Europe, were affected by this historical event. From 1860 to 1900 there were three major strike waves that swept the nation as workers began to demand and fight for basic political and economic rights; the right to organize, minimum wages, the 8 hour day, an end to slave conditions, child labor and criminal prosecutions and attacks. In the course of these struggles, hundreds were killed by federal troops and private armies the bosses hired to break strikes. But each succeeding strike wave grew in intensity, in the number of strikes, and in participation of workers, reaching insurrectionary levels at times. Clearly capitalism was being threatened by this insurgent workers' movement.

## Repression and Concession

Historically the capitalists have used two basic policies to suppress the workers' movement; repression and concession. The method used has depended on the balance of power at the time--during periods in which the workers' movement has been strong, the bosses have had to make certain concessions such as raising wages and improving working conditions to foster the illusion of benevolence and change to dampen workers' militancy, and to sow disunity among the ranks of workers.

In periods when workers have been weak, the bosses have reverted to outright repressive measures including armed violence, blacklists, company spies, yellow dog contracts (when the boss requires you to sign an agreement saying that you won't join a union), etc.

Both of these methods have taken legal and illegal forms. The law has been used both as a repressive device as in the use of criminal prosecutions and injunctions (court orders) to break strikes, and as false concession to channel the class struggle into legitimate procedures overseen by a "neutral" government as in mediation/arbitration.

## The State As Bosses' Agent

Despite the neutral and impartial pose of the government, the history of workers' struggles has shown clearly the role of the state as an intervener on behalf of the bosses. The effectiveness of a strike is the stoppage of production. Whenever it has been stopped for long periods of time, the government, both state and federal, has directly intervened in 3 ways; through the courts, by executive order, and through legislation.

Early in labor history, the courts acted to suppress workers' organizations, including trade unions, as conspiracies to obstruct business or what they termed "the free flow of commerce." Many labor organizers were tried and jailed for criminal conspiracy for organizing workers and demanding higher wages and better working conditions, since to engage in these activities was to interfere with

business.

It wasn't until the middle 1800's that trial for criminal conspiracy was no longer used. The capitalists had developed other laws to hamper workers' organizations.

## The Role of Injunctions

Injunctions, which are court orders to forbid certain activities with a threat of jail or fine, and no recourse to appeal, were often used to break strikes by forbidding picketing, demonstrating, leaf-letting, etc. Injunctions were used to break the Pullman strike of 1894, the railway shopmen's strike of 1919 and 1922 and the bituminous coal strike of 1910.

Sometimes court orders provided the legal cover for executive declaration of an "emergency" and the call-up of federal or state troops to intervene. A presidential commission in 1989 on the "History of Violence in America" stated that there have been 160 occasions of the use of troops in strike situations, and in none of them were they to the strikers' advantage but rather acted as strike-breaking agents.

## Control and Channeling of Class Struggle

The use of legislation to cover labor activities is the third way capitalists through their government apparatus have sought to suppress and control workers' struggles. The laws have functioned in two ways; first, to allow the "unimpeded flow of commerce," or to allow capitalists a free hand to exploit and plunder the working masses and second, to place legal controls on worker organizations by recognizing them, then limiting their potential by providing procedures for their activities.

The basis of the capitalists' labor policies are four laws: the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1923, the Wagner Act of 1935 (the National Labor Relations Act), the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 (the Labor-Management Relations Act) and the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959.

These laws were designed to mediate the conflict of labor and capital, and arose directly as a result of this class struggle reaching insurrectionary proportions.

## The Growing Threat to Capitalism

Most of the "progressive" gains of labor were enacted into law during the so-called "New Deal" administration of Franklin Roosevelt, including minimum wages, maximum work hours, the regulation of child labor, unemployment compensation, social security, as well as the first laws recognizing the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively. But these "progressive" laws were literally written in the blood of working class martyrs.

The first great wave of strikes in the US occurred in 1877, at a time of economic depression following a post-Civil War boom. It is estimated that almost 40% of the work-force was unemployed at the time of the first strike which led to what some historians call "the Great Upheaval." The strike were bloodily crushed by federal and state militia in every area as the newspapers screamed "communist conspiracy" each time a strike broke out.

Following this series of strikes the bosses began to devise other means blacklists, yellow contracts, and the formation of employers' organizations to fight the workers movement.

Despite the severe repression, the movement continued to grow, and in 1886-7 another campaign arose for the eight-hour day. May Day of 1886 culminated in a virtual general strike that paralyzed Chicago, New York, Cincinnati, Baltimore and Milwaukee. Despite the frame-up and hanging of leaders of the eight hour movement in Chicago and continued repression of workers, the number of strikes rose 400% in five years. Workers began to fight for larger issues, management of the work places and the right to organize.

In 1890, amidst growing worker unrest and strikes, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was passed, and designed to break up corporate monopolies that controlled markets and fixed prices. The ant-trust law, however, was soon converted to judicial lynch law by use of anti-labor injunctions.

Continued to Page 4



# FROM THE SISTERS

## PUERTO RICAN WOMEN

BECAUSE SISTERHOOD MEANS "BRINGING TOGETHER", STRUGGLING AROUND ISSUES THAT PERTAIN TO US WE ASK YOU TO JOIN US IN A FEMINIST EFFORT TO EDUCATE ABOUT THE NECESSITY OF AN INDEPENDENT PUERTO RICO.

### Conditions of Women in Puerto Rico

One of the most dramatic aspects of US policies against Puerto Rican women has been the genocidal use of birth control research and sterilization. The practice of forced sterilization in Puerto Rico dates back to the 1930's when doctors passed it off as the only means of contraception. By 1965 the percentage of sterilized women of child-bearing age had increased from 7% (in 1948) to 34% (one out of every three). Puerto Rican sisters were used as guinea pigs of the US drug industries for birth control pill research and experimentation for 15 years before the pills were put on the US market! A horrifying example is that of a control group of women who were given placebos (sugar pills) in the belief that they were birth control pills in order to test for their psychological reactions. The Commonwealth agencies, influenced by US government and corporate interests, misinform and coerce Puerto Rican women to undergo forced sterilization; without their knowledge (following childbirth and/or abortion); or under



the misconception that the operation is reversible, that their public assistance will be withheld, or that the economic crisis in the country is due to overpopulation.

Women comprise 35% of the labor force in Puerto Rico and average about \$70 a week in wages - this in a country where the average price of goods and basic necessities is 25% higher than in New York. Women are channeled into unskilled, low-paying jobs in which the conditions are dehumanizing, unsafe and dangerous to their health. In addition, women have primary responsibility for work in the home.

US military presence and the large tourism industry have brought with them a growing trade in both drugs and prostitution. Women are continually being forced into prostitution as their only means of supplementing their meager incomes.

### CONDITIONS OF PUERTO RICAN WOMEN IN THE US

Conditions deteriorate for Puerto Rican women forced to migrate to the US as a result of their triple oppression from institutionalized sexism, racism and poverty. In a period of run-away inflation and high unemployment, third world women are the last hired for the few available jobs and the first fired when there are cutbacks. They are still channeled into the least skilled and lowest paid jobs as well as again being forced into prostitution.

Job scarcity forces women to be subjected to the dehumanization of the welfare system, providing too little money for even subsistence food, clothing, or housing. Women are caught in the double bind of either trying to survive on subsistence wages or trying to work in order to supplement their incomes, thereby risking losing entirely their scant public assistance. Lack of low-cost day care, public or private, means that mothers must remain at home to raise their children.

Poverty pushes Puerto Rican women into public health clinics and city "hospitals" noted for their understaffing, poor administration, and genocidal racism. Here they again find forced family planning and sterilization. The first woman murdered as a result of a legal but medically unsafe abortion was a Puerto Rican woman in NY's Lincoln Hospital.

NY's public schools intentionally mis-educate their children by systematically robbing them of their culture and language, by keeping them functionally illiterate, and by tracking them into deadend curricula - in other words, perpetuating and institutionalizing the existent sexual and racial discrimination.

### WHAT PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MEANS TO PUERTO RICAN WOMEN AND TO ALL WOMEN

The only road to the true liberation of our Puerto Rican sisters is through the independence of their nation. Only then can the Puerto Rican people determine how best to use their resources (both human and mineral) for the good of their country and not for the wealth of the US corporations. We must support the December 1973 United Nations resolution recognizing the right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence.

Women all over the world have been in the forefront of the struggles to liberate their homelands. We have begun to transform the quality of life for the whole

society, fighting for: 24-hour free day-care; shared responsibility for household labor; an end to prostitution and venereal disease; free and quality health care and education; and non-exploitative work for all people.

The struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico is an example and an inspiration to women in the US - their solutions provide possible answers to our common problems. Just as our oppression crosses national boundaries, so must our struggle. We must support all struggles where our sisters are fighting to free their people from the many facets of US domination - sexism, racism and economic exploitation.

US imperialism is the common enemy of all people fighting for their liberation. The liberation of the women of Puerto Rico is a victory for the North American women's movement - a defeat of US control of Puerto Rico is a victory for the peoples of the world.

No woman should have to fight her oppression by herself.

### Women In Puerto Rican History

In struggles throughout the world - revolutions, insurrections, protests, strikes, uprisings and student demonstrations - women have played an outstanding role. PUERTO RICO HAS NOT BEEN THE EXCEPTION. Women such as Mariana Bracetti, fighter in the Crito De Lares (the 1868 armed rebellion against the Spanish); Lola Rodriguez de Tio, a nationalist as well as fighter for women's rights; Blanca Canales, leader of revolutionary forces, in Jayuya in 1950; Lolita Lebron, currently in prison for her acts of nationalism, Antonia Martinez, murdered in Puerto Rico at an anti-American demonstration; and all the countless women who actively fought in labor and socialist struggles, form a large part of the revolutionary tradition in Puerto Rico. Since Lares and through a century of struggle, the Puerto Rican wo-



Sisters:  
This section of the paper is open to contributions of women throughout the revolutionary movement. Please send us articles, poems, graphics, or stories you would like to see printed in the paper and we will do our best to get them in.  
If we are to be fighters, we must develop theoretical weapons!

man has been in the front lines. Her role will continue to be more important every day.

### INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO! A BI-CENTENNIAL WITHOUT COLONIES!

In 1976, the US will celebrate its 200th anniversary as a nation. It is a farce to speak of celebrating the 1776 revolution against colonialism while denying freedom to another people. The millions of Americans who continue to oppose US imperialism in Vietnam must also join in demanding an end to US domination of the courageous Puerto Rican people.

Taken from a leaflet written for Puerto Rican Solidarity Day

## ★ HERSTORY ★ ★ FROM PRARIE FIRE ★

### WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AND ANTI-SLAVERY

For over a quarter of a century, until a serious split developed after the Civil War, the two movements - to free the slaves and to liberate women - nourished and strengthened each other. White women openly advocated freedom for Black people; white and Black women walked calmly together through mobs of angry men, openly challenging the paranoia of plantation morality with its emphasis on the protection of dependent white women. This was a bold blow to racist and sexist ideology.

From the earliest days of the anti-slavery fight, courageous women like Fanny Wright and Maria W. Stewart defied scorn and ridicule in order to speak out in public. Soon Female Anti-Slavery Societies were formed throughout the North, trying to recruit activists for the Underground Railroad, to write, persuade, and awaken their sisters to the tyranny of slavery. Women raised both the issue of abolition and equality for women.



Harriet Tubman

In the 1850's, something like five hundred Black people a year penetrated the South under the most dangerous conditions to lead others to freedom. Harriett Tubman - called Moses by the slaves - was the most famous conductor. Not intimidated by a huge bounty on her head, she led hundreds North without ever losing a passenger. She said: "There are two things I've got a right to, and these are death and liberty. One or the other I mean to have. No one will take me back alive."

Black resistance defined the militant terms of the anti-slavery fight, and was an example to the two mass movements which grew up alongside the Black struggle - the Womens Movement and the Abolitionists.

(continued bottom of pg. 15)



# Cultural Workers' Front of Our America



Taken from a pamphlet written by the Cultural Workers' Front of Our America

## Summary of the Cultural Workers' Conference

On October 5th and 6th, 1974, representative of approximately 30 groups gathered at the East Los Angeles College in response to a call to form a Northamerican section of the Cultural Workers' Front of Our America (Frente de Trabajadores de la Cultura de Nuestra America), a united cultural front against imperialism.

The two day session was initially organized and chaired by Elisa Mariana Coleman of the Teatro de la Gente and Rene Rodriguez of Teatro Urbano. By the conclusion of the conference the basis of the front was laid, with a view that it would be expanded throughout Northamerica.

Opening the conference, Luis Marquez Piaz, director of Teatro Triangulo de Venezuela, gave a brief history of the Front in Latinamerica and specifically in Venezuela.

Adrian Vargas from Teatro de la Gente (San Jose, Calif.) gave an introductory speech on the purpose of the meeting: to tear away the walls of isolation separating cultural workers (who are from all backgrounds), to exchange experience, to sum up practices, to pinpoint the enemy and to unite under the leadership of the working class for the destruction of our common enemy, imperialism.

In discussion, the group saw the purpose of the Front as two-fold: first, to produce cultural work that attempts to create a super-structure for a mass movement against imperialism; seeing our work as coming out of the actual struggles of Third World and working people against imperialism and to reflect these to a broad audience. Secondly, to gain further understanding of the nature of imperialist culture and to develop people's culture to combat this dominant imperialist culture.

Following the introductory speeches, all present gave a brief summary of themselves and their work. Represented was a broad cross-section of cultural workers - theater people, muralists, film distributors, musicians, publishers, journalists, graphic artists and photographers, to name a few.

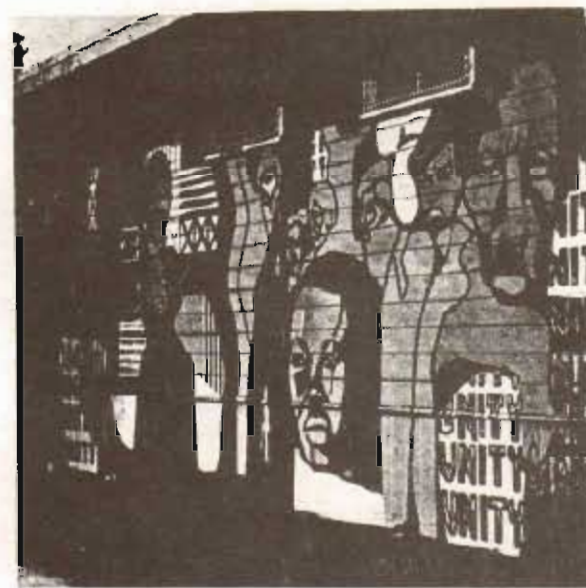
After a break for lunch on Saturday, the points of unity of the Cultural Workers' Front of Our America were discussed which led to some minor revisions of the principles of unity included in Communiqué No. 3 which had been formulated in Mexico City in July, 1974. These revisions made the points of unity more relevant to the conditions of Northamerica. The result, Communiqué No. 4 is as follows:

### POINTS OF UNITY

These are the points of unity formed by the first meeting of the Northamerican section of the Cultural Workers' Front of Our America held in East Los Angeles October 5th and 6th, 1974. These points are based on the documents put out this summer in Mexico by the Latinamerican section. It was revised so as to more accurately reflect the experience of people struggling within the United States. The document should be seen only as a skeleton. After practice we hope to revise it and expand upon it.

The following was decided:

1. To name ourselves Cultural Workers' Front of Our America, rather than Cultural Workers' Front of Latinamerica, in order to realize the necessity of including groups which are not Latinamerican (recognizing the extraordinary contributions of all Third World and oppressed peoples throughout the Americas) whose objectives coincide with those of the Front and who struggle against a common enemy - yankee imperialism and its allies.
2. To reaffirm and clarify the objectives of the Front:
  - a. The Front has a political/cultural character to establish cultural action. We begin with the objective analysis of concrete situations, adopting a definite position in the frame of class struggle.
  - b. To fight with all its forces against Northamerican imperialism and its allies, unmasking its moves and encouraging the confrontation between the popular culture and the mystifying, dominant culture of the capitalist class system.
  - c. The escalation of fascism in Latinamerica organized by Northamerican interests, and particularly manifest in the gorilla golpes in Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay and most recently in the painful



Wall Mural on Black Liberation at the Grove Street College, Oakland California



massacre of Chilean workers, campesinos, political and cultural workers, demands that we act to halt this inhuman attack by the imperialists and their puppets who are feeling the weight of the historical change that is shaping our peoples.

d. The cultural workers in Northamerica have the special responsibility to defeat US imperialism from within the belly of the beast.

e. To realize the highest objectives of our practice we should adopt the most forward point of view of the working class.

f. Committed to unity and organization, the Front strives to encourage the formation of new artistic and scientific organizations according to the diverse sectors of practice (popular cultural centers, painting workshops, music, theater groups, collectives, coalitions, etc.) and searches for the integration of those already in existence.

g. The Front conducts itself as an independent organization not subject to any party structures, giving it the freedom to choose its forms of militancy.

h. We denounce imprisonments, torture, assassinations and other forms of oppression that victimize our peoples.

i. We support the activities of cultural workers worldwide against all forms of capitalistic exploitation, including racism and sexism.

### WOMEN IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

During the early 1800's, large numbers of women entered the textile mills and factories of New England for the first time. Often they found themselves at odds with the 19th century standards of factory decorum and with the fact that they were paid far less than men doing the same work. The first strike by women took place in the Dover, New Hampshire mills in 1828. Proletarianization of US women in the Northeast, the social contact in the mills, was a background for the upsurge in consciousness and protest among women which would develop over the next few decades. Bourgeois women, recently freed by the growth of factories from household chores like weaving, sewing and soap-making, also began to chafe at the limitations imposed on them because of sex.

There were many immigrants among the masses of women who now entered the factories. Often, the bosses placed women of different nationalities next to one another on workbenches, hoping that language barriers and cultural differences would hinder the possibility for unity.

Women worked as domestics, in the textile industries of New England and New York, garment sweatshops, laundry and food services. In 1909 and 1910, the women's shirtwaistmakers' strikes erupted in New York City. Sixty percent of the workers were women, 70 percent were between the ages of 16 and 25. They worked 56 hours a week in dingy lofts. Women pushed the corrupt male union leadership to support their demands for shorter hours and decent working conditions. At one pre-strike meeting, Clara Lemlich, a young organizer, interrupted the speeches of union officials to decry the go-slow attitude and call for a strike. In the two months of the strike, over one thousand strikers were arrested.

The shirtwaistmakers' militancy spurred the organizing of union shops throughout the entire garment industry.

These early strides confronted the Women's Suffrage Movement with the importance of joining the life-and-death struggles of their working sisters. In 1914, the Rockefeller-owned state militia burned a striking miners' tent colony in Ludlow, Colorado, killing two women and thirteen children. Thirty miners were shot down in the ensuing battle. Attica was not the first massacre ordered by a Rockefeller. A suffrage leader named Elizabeth Freeman led pickets against Rockefeller's Standard Oil offices in New York to protest the Ludlow Massacre.



FUR AND LEATHER WORKERS STRIKE  
NEW YORK, 1921

Strikes often stretched out for long months, involved desperate hunger and want, loss of life and many times despair at

crumbling fighting strength. In these situations, family hardship is tremendous, and the strength and fighting capacity of women and children becomes critical. Organizing retaliation, strike support, food, medical help and supplies, fighting on the picket lines, persuading scabs not to scab, and holding out, leading persisting have all been done by women. Women helped special women's meetings in the Lawrence and Patterson strikes. They opened up the struggle against the lord-and-master attitude of many of the men, demanded that the full burdens of housework and raising children be shared.

Women organized and led other social and cultural movements parallel to the labor struggles and the suffrage movement.

### THE SPLIT IN THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The long struggle for women's suffrage was won in 1920. The cost paid for this victory, however, was great. The suffrage movement came to include open arguments for giving women the vote on anti-immigrant grounds and in order to maintain a white majority (since Black women would face disenfranchisement in the South). Anti-foreign and anti-Indian rationales were used by suffragists who posed the vote for enlightened, church-going women against the specter of the coarse, vicious and ignorant population of the slums. Sisters who knew better began saying that the Black question and the question of women were not related. Proposals from Black women urging fights against segregation were dismissed as "outside issues." The pact between white supremacy and the South and suffrage for women was sealed in 1903 on the issue of states' rights, when a Women's Suffrage Convention decided that locals could decide on all policy questions of membership. This insured that many suffrage associations were segregated.



