



SEIZE THE TIME



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"BIG" BILL HAYWOOD

"In calling this convention to order I do so with a sense of the responsibility that rests upon me and rests upon every delegate that is here. This is the Continental Congress of the working class. We are here to confederate the workers of this country into a working class movement that shall have for its purpose the emancipation of the working class from the slave bondage of capitalism...You are also going to be confronted with the so-called labor leader; the man will tell you and other workers that the interests of the capitalist and the workingman are identical. I want to say that a man who makes that assertion is a worse foe to the working class than is D. M. Parry or August Belmont. There is not a man who has an ounce of honesty in his make-up but recognizes the fact that there is a continuous struggle between the two classes, and this organization will be formed, based and founded on the class struggle, having in view no compromise and no surrender, and but one object and one purpose, and that is to bring the workers of this country into the possession of the full value of the product of their toil."

---Big Bill Haywood addressing the first convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, June 27, 1905

"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 the heaviest blows.

Our final goal is the destruction of imperialism, the seizure of power, and creation of socialism. Our strategy for this stage of the struggle is to organize the oppressed people of the imperial nation itself to join with the colonies in the attack on imperialism. This process of attacking and weakening imperialism involves the defeat of all kinds of national chauvinism and arrogance; this is a precondition to our fight for socialism."

---Weather Underground, Prairie Fire, p 40, 1974



WEATHER UNDERGROUND

Inside This Issue:

CENTERFOLD SECTION ON THE ROLE OF THE WHITE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT
POLICE MURDERS AND COMMUNITY RESPONSE: NEWARK AND NEW YORK
MOBILIZATION, CONTRAMOBILIZATION AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT
C.A.S.A. AND U.F.W. - "ILLEGALS" AND FARMWORKERS
MESSAGES TO THE PEOPLE
FROM THE SISTERS ON SELF-DEFENSE
CLASS STRUGGLE CULTURAL REVOLUTION
BEHIND THE LINES (INCLUDING A REPORT ON BOSTON)
BREAK DE CHAINS (EDUCATE TO LIBERATE)
FORD AND ROCKEFELLER: THE NEW FASCIST ARRANGEMENT
WORLD REVOLUTION (SPECIAL FROM THE KATIPUNAN NG MGA DEMOKRATIKONG
PILIPINO (KDP) ON PEOPLE'S WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES



"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!

There has been a dramatic increase in police murders of Third World youth in the New York/Newark area. On September 1, Newark police started a five day police riot that left two Puerto Ricans dead and seventy Blacks and Puerto Ricans injured. The police started by riding their horses through a park on a Puerto Rican cultural holiday. Many people were injured in this first attack including one little girl who was rode over. The masses responded by both taking to the streets and protesting at city hall. Two hundred wild club swinging police attempted to break this protest up. Out of the struggle came the People's Committee Against Repression and Police Brutality. This committee has been attempting to lead the mass struggle.

On September 14, a 14 year old

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE

The activities in the last days (Sept. 1st to present) has received the fullest attention from the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party has been active in the protest to fight brutality against the People of Newark and the many problems that lead to the many violent incidents. We have come to the conclusion that the Gibson Administration seeks only to replace the real problems with reform and bargain with fools like the Hispanic Emergency Committee who are not real members of the community but members of Gibson's staff who seek to "pacify" the poor and oppressed community. Instead of cooling the people, they have inflamed the community to mass revolt. The Black Panther Party has seen the problems of the people of Newark add fuel to the already tense conditions, since the killing of a Brother in Newark jails (Charles Sutton), the beating and arrest of 56 youths in the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the firing of 11,000 youths in the program. Then there was the use of horses in the Maracle 21 demonstration and the use of horses at Central High School when enrolles were trying to obtain their checks. September 1st, Sunday, was the boiling point when the masses of People received enough abuse by the mad police and Gibson's administration and took the matter to the streets. This in the view of the Black Panther Party is very progressive, but we must remember Brothers and Sisters, we got our heads busted, arrested, shot, and terrorized. We feel as a revolutionary vanguard of the community that we must continue to mobilize the masses of People till we implement the attack to rid ourselves of animals like Hubert Williams and Gibson.

RIGHT ON!

ORGANIZE TO FIGHT THE ENEMY

THE PEOPLE UNITED WILL NEVER BE DEFEATED!
BLACK PEOPLE REMEMBER 1967!

In 1967, twenty-nine Black people were killed in Newark in a rebellion against the same repressive forces who are now assaulting the Puerto Rican community. Out of the 1967 rebellions, as painful as they were, came organizations, mobilizations, a sense of Black purpose and unity, and finally, the election of a Mayor in 1970 and Black councilmen.

But, seven years later, that Mayor is now an official in the same corrupt oppressive system that tried to kill us in 1967, and now he is in charge of the brutalizing of the Puerto Rican community, like it or not! But Mayor Gibson has gone as far as saying that they can be no assembly of over three people in the street, and that if necessary, he would have curfews in Newark for the next four years! This is called fascism, and a Black face does not change it!

As silly and reactionary as Gibson's approach is, let us all remember that Black people must support the Puerto Rican struggle, because in reality, there is only one struggle! The struggle against those who control everything and who continue to exploit the world to hold on to their gigantic ripoff of all the world's peoples. The system of private profit and public poverty can only be maintained through violence! That's why people rebel. Nobody would be poor except that police

Black Man-child was murdered by New York police. Claude Reese Jr. was cleaning up a basement with some of his friends for a birthday party the next day. NY pigs broke in and shot the child in the head. Thousands of Black protesters took to the streets and marched against the police station and city hall. The pigs went unpunished and were heard to say that "we will get more of you in the future." The Black and Puerto Rican communities of Newark and New York have united to present a United Front against the occupying army that is terrorizing our communities. We are presenting some of the documents of this struggle.

violence keeps us all in line. Nobody would live in a shack or a slum or a ghetto except hired killers (police) make certain you stay in your place." Inflation goes higher and higher, jobs get fewer and fewer, the country gets more and more corrupt. Yet some few people got mansions and Rolls Royces, and we don't have anything. But a job you got to work at all your life (if you lucky!) with nothing at all to show for it.

In Newark, big business, (whom Gibson serves) built Gateway, new banks, new office buildings, a new million dollar airport. But Columbus Homes, Archbishop Walsh, Scudder, Wright, Hayes get worse and worse without repairs, and Gibson and his cronies vote themselves a total of \$305,000 a year in raises!

If we feel we are at the bottom, the Puerto Ricans, objectively, have got it even worse than us. And just as we reacted in 1967, because we wasn't gonna take it no more. So the Puerto Ricans feel this same rage now too. AND WE MUST SUPPORT THIS JUST STRUGGLE AGAINST THE FASCIST PIG POLICE, BECAUSE THESE POLICE ARE THE SAME SWINE THAT KILLED OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN 1967! VENCEREMOS



A RIOTOUS REVENGE was taken Sunday by hundreds of angry Puerto Ricans in Newark, N.J., after police broke up an illegal crap game during a festival. On Monday over 1000 demonstrators threw stones at City Hall and smashed store windows.

WE MUST SHOW SOLIDARITY WITH OUR PUERTO RICAN COMRADES!

There has been murderous exploitation not only of the island of Puerto Rico, and its citizens, but also this aggression has driven two million Puerto Ricans into the United States to escape the social destruction American policy has set in motion, with its intensifying economic rape of the island, but we also will deal with the continuing, and in some cases even worse form of oppression that Puerto Ricans find themselves subject to once they come to the United States. An oppression that is no stranger to Blacks, Mexicans, Indians, other third world peoples and poor whites in the United States.

Such oppression can be clearly seen manifest in the events that have wracked Newark for the last week, and seem likely to continue for some time. We are speaking of the eruption of police riot and

brutality that was thrust to the surface by the courageous reaction of the Puerto Rican people to mounted county police attacks on a Puerto Rican folkloric festival in Branch Brook Park last Sunday, and the savage ambush the Newark police perpetrated on Puerto Ricans and Blacks Sunday night, and Monday afternoon in downtown Newark, once as racist vigilantes and the second time under the orders of Mayor Kenneth Gibson. In directing some aspect of police terror on the Puerto Rican community, Gibson has sunk to a new low, and if his oft repeated dictum that "wherever America's cities are going, Newark will get there first", is to be believed, than America's cities and America are going straight to fascism.

Gibson's directive that no more than three people can congregate on the streets is clearly unconstitutional, though, like any neo-fascist he has dared people to sue him. And certainly some forces will take him at his word and take Gibson to court, and the rest of the oppressive county and city brutalizers, who are currently jailing, beating, shooting and murdering the Puerto Rican people, and indeed some Black people, here in Newark. But for many people their court is the sidewalk, and they are suing Gibson every night, while the maniacs who masquerade as the Newark Police Department do pretty much what they want to do, sometimes in defiance of Gibson's impotent bureaucracy. The police are an anarchistic agency of racist violence, and the Mayor in his so-called search for the causes of this Labor Day rebellion has only to look at the inequities and horrors of the capitalist system of wealth for a few and poverty for the many, and see how the Puerto Rican community suffers directly under this regime, but also he should look directly at the police themselves, especially at the wanton murder of Francisco Cordova, apparently walking down the street completely removed from the area of the disorders and David Perez, beaten to death by licensed killers Gibson dares not expose.

The Puerto Rican Community in solidarity with the rest of the Newark community has put forth certain key demands of Gibson's Neo-Colonialist now Neo-Fascist administration. The most important of these are that:

1. Freedom and Amnesty and free medical care for those arrested and charged on September 1, 1974.
2. An independent special investigation committee - including community people - to look into the Branch Brook Park, Washington Park and all other cases of police brutality before and during the violence of the last few days.
3. That the Mayor help the community establish a Police Community Review Board which will investigate all future cases of police brutality and corruption.

These are the demands put forward by the Puerto Rican led, multinational, People's Committee Against Repression and Police Brutality. As events of the last few days have shown, and these are only the culmination of the rebellion the Puerto Rican community throughout the Western Hemisphere is making to imperialism, the people will never submit to the economic exploitation, political repression and cultural aggression that marks this degenerate capitalist system, Puerto Rican Solidarity Day, October 27, is one clear thunderous expression of the people's courage and determination. Just as these events in the Newark streets of the last week are but another expression.

For information on Puerto Rican Solidarity Day, and how to get tickets and transportation to the Event at Madison Square Garden, call: (201) 621-2300.



MOBILIZATION, CONTRA-MOBILIZING & THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

"Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and people want revolution. This has become the irresistible trend of history."

"Twenty-four years of experience tells us that the right task, policy and style of work invariably conform with the demands of the masses at a given time and place and invariably strengthen our ties with the masses, and the wrong tasks, policy and style of work invariably disagree with the demands of the masses at a given time and place and invariably alienate us from the masses."

"To link oneself with the masses, one must act in accordance with the needs and wishes of the masses. All work done for the masses must start from their needs and not from the desire of any individual, however well-intentioned."
Central Committee of the
Chinese Communist Party

INTRODUCTION

We are entering a crucial period in U.S. history. Politically and economically the state is relatively weak. To counteract this weakness, the state has drastically increased repression. This increased repression is bringing on a higher level of mass resistance. Mass resistance is leading to evermore vicious repression. The dialectic struggle between repression and resistance has taken a qualitative leap over the past few months. On one hand we have seen the greatest wave of strikes (many by proletarian workers) since World War II, the strengthening of mass organizations and protests against the terror of the colonizing army (the police) in Third World communities, the increase of anti-imperialist demonstrations in solidarity with the peoples of Chile, Indochina, Africa, Philippines, etc., and the beginning of mass resistance and organization by the masses against corporate inflation, profits, unemployment and deportations.

On the other hand we see the beginning of an immense fascist contra-mobilization. The state has recently announced a new economic "plan" designed to transfer more of workers' wages to the capitalist class. Unemployment is higher than it has been in twenty years. The murder and imprisonment of Third World youth is occurring at an unprecedented rate. Third World people watch grimly as significant numbers of the white working class are taking the fascist road, bowing to racism and attacking Third World people and their demands in mass vigilante actions.

In the complex struggle between repression and resistance, revolutionaries and their organizations will play a critical role in determining whether the new fascist contra-mobilization or the new surge of the people's movement will have the upper hand. If we organize ourselves, unite with the masses, build strong national fronts, smash racism and successfully organize around socialism, the people's movement will win a great victory. If we grow even more divorced from the people, allow the masses to remain unorganized and bow to spontaneity, don't defend the masses and ignore the growth of racism, we will hand the enemy an enormous victory. In this complex and critical period of time, the ideology, organization, strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement must be carefully considered and selected. But many revolutionaries forget that the correct ideology, organization, strategy and tactics are the ones that the masses adopt as their own for their own liberation. The masses will judge us by the clarity and strength of our practice and by how successfully we add clarity and strength to their struggles. The masses are well aware that in the re-

lationship between knowing and doing, practice is primary. We must unite now with whoever we can, clarify our ideology, advance our program and test everything by practice. If our practice is weak, we will fail.

IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND PRACTICE IN THE PRESENT PERIOD

Over the past several months honest revolutionaries of all nations (races) within the U.S.A. have come to see the need for new Marxist-Leninist vanguard parties to lead the masses in the new period of revolutionary struggle. At first many thought that the main contradiction within the movement was between those who felt that a new revolutionary party would spontaneously spring from the mass movement and those who believed that the work of building new parties must be the primary task for revolutionaries. History readily shows that organizing can not go much further without the leadership of a comprehensive vanguard party and that much careful work was needed to create organizations of this type.

Now two new areas of struggle have emerged. The first is around the politics of the new revolutionary formations. The second area of struggle is around the composition of these new revolutionary formations and organizations.

POLITICALLY THERE ARE THREE MAIN AREAS OF STRUGGLE WITHIN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. They are:

1. What is the correct definition of fascism and is the U.S.A. a fascist state or not? What is the role of economic "reform"?
2. Should revolutionaries support underground organizations and clandestine actions in the present period? Should revolutionaries raise the question of self-defense in their mass work? What should be the relationship between clandestine and "aboveground" work?
3. What is the correct line on the national question? What national groups within the U.S.A. constitute nations, and which constitute national minorities? Should multinational or national organizations be the dominant form of organization in the present period?

SUBJECTIVISM IN THE U.S. MOVEMENT

These questions are vital to a correct understanding of current events and tasks. However many revolutionaries are trying to study these questions in the absence of a sound knowledge of U.S. history, particularly the history of the internal Third World nationalities, or of the current struggles of the masses. These comrades are studying revolutionary theory but are neither connecting it with current practice or the long experience of the masses. Both Lenin and Mao faced similar problems in their revolutionary

struggles. Some revolutionaries in their study of theory become divorced from the masses, become elitist. Often they feel that since "they are the only correct ones" they can make revolution alone. Lenin dealt with that attitude in Russia, "One of the greatest and most dangerous mistakes made by communists (and generally by revolutionaries who have successfully accomplished the beginning of a great revolution) is the idea that revolution can be made by revolutionaries alone. On the contrary, if it is to be successful, all serious revolutionary work requires that we understand and translate into action the idea that revolutionaries can only play part of the vanguard of the truly virile and advanced class. A vanguard performs its task as vanguard only when it is able to avoid isolation from the people it leads and is really able to lead the whole mass forward."

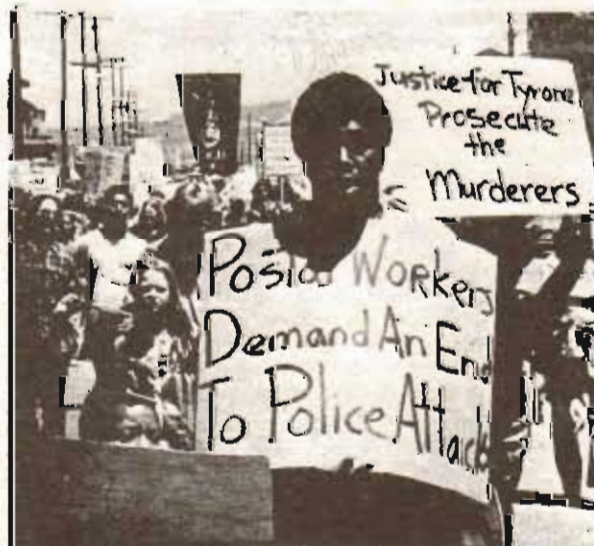
The error of becoming elitist and the error of studying theory for theory's sake are both subjective attitudes. Mao sums up this attitude while he was struggling with many intellectuals within the Communist Party of China, "With this attitude, a person does not make a systematic and thorough study of the environment but works by sheer subjective enthusiasm and has a blurred picture of the face of China today. With this attitude, he chops up history, knows only ancient Greece but not China and is in a fog about the China of yesterday and the day before yesterday. With this attitude, a person studies Marxist-Leninist theory in the abstract and without any aim. He goes to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin not to see the stand, viewpoint and method with which to solve the theoretical and tactical problems of the Chinese revolution but to study theory purely for theory's sake. He does not shoot the arrow at the target but shoots at random. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have taught us that we should proceed from objective realities and that we should derive laws from them to serve as our guide to action. For this purpose, we should, as Marx has said, appropriate the material in detail and subject it to scientific analysis and syntheses. Many of our people do not act in this way but do the opposite. A good number of them are doing research work but have no interest in studying either the China of today or the China of yesterday and confine their interest to the study of empty 'theories' divorced from reality." Practice is primary in the relationship between knowing and doing. To come to correct positions on the national question, clandestine work and fascism, we must start to analyze reality.

THE CURRENT SITUATION

The growth of mass movement both in the direction of fascism and of revolution is becoming the primary aspect in the dialectical struggle between repression and resistance. If we study these two opposite movements carefully from the standpoint of revolutionary science, and guide our actions with this concrete analysis, we will take a step towards laying the correct basis of struggle.

This issue of "SEIZE THE TIME" contains extensive articles on the situations and analysis of the race riots in Boston and elsewhere, police brutality and mass protests, fascist organization, etc. We will sum up the main points of these articles so that we can view theory from the standpoint of practice. There are four main thrusts to the mass mobilization towards revolution:

1. Resistance to police brutality and murders and vigilante acts. Defense of POWs (political prisoners) is a closely connected and expanded front. The major political aspect of this movement is the right to self-defense. Increasingly the



POSTAL WORKERS AT MARCH IN OAKLAND TO DEMAND JUSTICE FOR TYRONE GUYTON, BLACK YOUTH MURDERED BY POLICE.

C.A.S.A. AND U.F.W.

There are two organizations that struggle for the same objectives and the same ideals. These two organizations are UFW and CASA. BOTH ORGANIZATIONS BELIEVE that by uniting together, workers gain better wages and a better way of life.

C.A.S.A. is an organization of citizens, residents and workers without documents. C.A.S.A.'s principal work consists of helping persons without papers by acquainting them with their civil rights so that they won't be victims of abuse by the immigration officials or the police, and by warning them to be careful of an improper search by persons who do not have the proper authorization. CASA helps people fill out the necessary forms for applying for permanent residency.

C.A.S.A.'s work is based on its principles: to effectively politicize and organize the worker with or without papers. C.A.S.A. recognizes that it is extremely important that the working class be united and that Chicano and Mexican workers see themselves as one people. We must not be divided either by the growers, by the Teamsters, or by ourselves.

This is C.A.S.A.'s position and we consider the United Farmworkers Union worthy of the support of all our people. This support has been demonstrated by our participation in the Boycott, and in supporting La Huelga.

Chicanos and Mexicanos are uniting against the oppressive tactics used by the various elements of this capitalist system, such as the owners of the factories, the growers, and the government agencies that cooperate with this capitalist class. One such agency is the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) which provides workers from Mexico when they are needed and which has the power to dispose of these workers when they are not needed. During the years between 1952 and 1954 more than 3,485,000 workers from Mexico were repatriated because there was an economic recession in the United States and less workers were needed by this capitalist class. La Migra is guilty of repressive and inhumane practices against Mexicanos as well as Chicanos, for legal residents and citizens have been deported in large numbers also.

We would like to make it clear that for C.A.S.A. there are no borders. We are now faced with a serious situation created by the petition that Cesar Chavez

has sent to Congress, a petition asking for further enforcement of the immigration laws. We consider this to be an attack on our Latino people. C.A.S.A. criticizes this position of the U.F.W. leadership.

C.A.S.A. finds it hard to understand why U.F.W. takes this position against workers without papers. The UFW should recognize the need for worker solidarity above all other matters, because of the continued support it receives from other unions both within this country and without, such as the International Longshoremen's Union. The most progressive and powerful unions do not recognize political borders because they realize these borders are built for the sole purpose of dividing the unity of the working class. They realize that the owners of the factories and the growers do not see any borders for themselves.

In addition, C.A.S.A. believes that the U.F.W. leadership has made a serious tactical error which we hope they will change for the sake of the farmworkers. Once the Migra is called into the fields, it will not only be the strike-breakers that will be deported but also many Union members without papers. We remember the strike of the 1950's and the many activists that were deported during this period. We must learn from these errors and not repeat them. We know that the U.F.W. plans a general strike for next summer. They will need all the support they can have for the success of such an effort. We hope that they will change their policies.

Workers without papers are not the ones responsible for the lack of jobs, but they are being blamed so that the true culprit will not be exposed! Some publicity leaflets from the Union are telling our people that the "illegals" are the ones that take away our jobs and so force workers that have papers to receive Welfare assistance. Who are really the ones responsible for this? The agricultural and industrial monopolies are responsible!

They are the ones who have at their disposal a reserve labor force of unemployed or who close their factories here in this country (causing a crisis in that town or state) and establish operations in Mexico or Latin America to obtain greater profits through a cheap labor force. These multi-national corporations leave us without jobs and they don't pay



taxes.

It must be understood that these workers are falsely accused. To get rid of the "illegals" would not alleviate the problems caused by the growers, or the Teamsters Union. C.A.S.A. rather proposes to organize Mexican/Latino workers and develop their political consciousness to the level which will enable them to inform and educate their companeros, as workers and as human beings; to inform them not to be used as scabs to break strikes or weaken organizing efforts of other workers.

Injustices, hunger, exploitation, racism, and poverty are all products of power-hungry men. Unity is the only way to combat the oppression that enslaves us. Workers without papers are not the only ones who are hurt, but also citizens, our parents, our grandparents and ourselves. Mexicanos whose children have fought in this country's wars are now being deported.

This is the need from which CASA has developed: the need to defend our community by politicizing, organizing and educating in order to relate to one another and establish a common identity as one people and as one class. Then united we can struggle against our common enemy.



EDITOR'S NOTE: We do not recognize the boundaries drawn by imperialism. When the "legal" boundaries separate families, disrupt local economies and divide a nation to profit a few, we must deny their right to define borders. Vietnam, Korea, South Africa, Panama are other places where the imperialists have carved up nations. On the other hand we defend the right of a nation to protect its people, its resources and its borders from imperialist intervention.

DEPORTATION DEMONSTRATION

On August 31, 10,000 people, mostly Chicanos and Mexicanos, marched to protest against deportations and racist immigration laws. This was the first march recently of Chicanos and Mexicanos working together for working class solidarity against U.S. imperialism.

The demonstration won wide support from Brown and Native American communities. Speakers were present from C.A.S.A., AIM, LOS TRES NATIONAL COMMITTEE, and the PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST PARTY. The demonstration would have been larger if it had not been for intense police intimidation. Four years ago 50,000 Chicanos marched in the anti-war Chicano Moratorium. The police rioted, and one Chicano was killed while several others were beaten.

To resist this type of repression we must organize in the streets and fight. If we allow fear to overcome us, we will be opening "illegals" to super-exploitation. The solution is not just laws. "La Migra" (the immigration bureau) is a tool of imperialism. We must destroy the evil imperialist system if we are to end the exploitation of all workers.

The main purpose of the march was to bring to public awareness to new immigration laws in Congress proposed by Rodino and Kennedy which would restrict immigration from the Western Hemisphere even more. These laws and the vicious deportation raids are aimed at highly identifiable workers such as Chinese, Haitians, and always Mexicanos.



STOP THE DEPORTATIONS AND THE RAID!
VIVA LA HUELGA DE UFW!
VIVA LA LUCHA OBRERA DE NUESTRO PUEBLO!



Whenever there has been an economic crisis, workers without papers are always one of the groups hardest hit by imperialist cutbacks. There are two main reasons for the attacks against workers without papers. First, workers without papers are held up as the reason that other workers receive low wages and are jobless. Second, because workers without papers are vulnerable, it is a common tactic for

bosses to call in the immigration bureau the day before payday. Employers also pay these workers less by threatening them if the workers receive less than legal wages.

These strategies worked well in past periods of recession. Between 1950 and 1954 more than three and a half million workers were deported. Between 1970 and 1974 more than four million workers will have been deported. The great majority of these workers were Chicano and Latino.

One of the reasons these raids and deportations took place has been the criminal inaction of the left. During the fifties the CPUSA sold out Latino people and refused to defend workers without documents. Recently both labor and the left have been silent over this issue. The UFW leadership is actually doing the bosses' job as they man borders to catch "illegals". It seems that gasoline prices are more important to much of the left than broken families, women raped by "La Migra" and Bureau murders.

The non-support of these workers is suicidal for the working class movement. The best way to "protect" organized workers from unorganized workers is to organize the unorganized! If the left refuses to respond to imperialistic attacks on workers without documents, we can expect more vicious attacks by the immigration bureau, and an even greater division in the working class. We must take up the slogan, "An Injury to One is an Injury to ALL!"

UN DANO CONTRA UNO ES
UN DANO CONTRA TODOS!

MESSAGES TO THE PEOPLE

WEATHER UNDERGROUND BOMBS ANACONDA

SEPTEMBER 11, 1974

We attack Anaconda Corporation in international solidarity with the Chilean people and their revolutionary struggle.

---Anaconda is controlled by the Rockefeller family, part of Rocky's vast empire of power in Latin America and at home. Anaconda is but one substantial piece of the Rockefeller fortune, which is worth about as much as all the Black, Chicano, Indian, Puerto Rican and 40 million poor white people in the US put together.

---Anaconda, along with ITT and Kennecott, played a decisive role in the US-sponsored fascist coup in Chile. They were the force behind suspension of aid and credits, the continuing military aid to the generals, and the policies of economic aggression.

On the same day of Nixon's complete and unconditional pardon, evidence surfaced confirming another major crime committed by Nixon/Kissinger: the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile. The CIA targeted \$11 million in sabotage funds against the popularly-elected Unidad Popular government of Chile. This intervention was supported and approved by Kissinger, and then covered up by him to Congress and to the US people.

Anaconda is one with the US/Kissinger policy toward Chile, a policy of Bribes and Blood:

US money to buy favor and finance the counterrevolution;

US military weapons, aid and personnel to crush the people's growing power.

---Anaconda and Kennecott have stolen more than \$4 billion in profits from Chile over the last forty years. Yet the Chilean Dictatorship has agreed to pay Anaconda \$253 million between now and 1984--so-called compensation for this heritage of plunder. Under Chilean law, this step requires a constitutional amendment, but since the Dictatorship has dissolved parliament, the agreement with Anaconda was put into force by the 4 men of the military junta. It is the workers, the poor and the children of Chile who once again fatten Rockefeller's fortune.

The struggle of the Chilean people is our struggle, just as ours is theirs. They have asked for support from revolutionaries, workers and progressive peoples all over the world. This month in the Bay Area is dedicated to solidarity with the Chilean people. Bay Area people have a strong record of support for the people of Chile: driving the Esmeraldas from our port; expelling junta-apologists from our campuses; dockworkers voting to boycott Chilean ships. Our action is part of statements made by many US people: part of our responsibility to defeat the policies of Rockefeller/Kissinger/Ford, our common enemies, which hold up the fascist Dictatorship in Chile.

One year ago, on September 11, 1973, the revolutionary struggle of the Chilean people for control of their lives and resources was severely but temporarily set-back by a US/CIA-backed and ITT/Anaconda/Kennecott-supported fascist military coup. Without US government and corporate involvement, the military coup would not have been possible, nor would the junta have been able to survive even a day. Chile has long been the victim of US imperialist aggression. Her main national resources is an abundance of copper; 810,631 short tons, fourth largest output in the world, were mined by Chilean laborers last year. Yet only a small percentage of the natural wealth of Chile has been used to benefit the Chilean people themselves. In early 1971, by unanimous vote of the Chilean parliament, the first nationalizations were



made of the two largest copper companies, Anaconda and Kennecott.

"These same firms (Anaconda and Kennecott) that exploited Chilean copper for many years made more than \$4,000 million in profits in the last 42 years alone, while their initial investments were less than 30 million. A simple and painful example, an acute contrast: In my country there are 600,000 children who can never enjoy life in morally human terms, because in the first eight months of their existence, they did not receive the elementary amount of proteins. My country, Chile, would have been totally transformed by these \$4,000 million. Only a small part of that amount would assure proteins for all the children of my country, once and for all."

-----Salvador Allende, at the UN December 4, 1972

Now, under the fascist Dictatorship, DENationalization is general policy: the sellout of Chilean resources and industries by returning them to their former exploiters. For Rockefeller and Kennecott, their policy is massive compensation: fascist-enforced payments from the people of Chile. Life was not easy for the Chilean people during the Unidad Popular government before the fascist coup. The US imposed an economic blockade designed to strangle the Chilean economy. Inside Chile, many forces opposed to the steps toward social justice sabotaged the economy thru hoarding, black marketeering and terror. Yet during those three years, steps were taken to raise the real wages of Chilean workers, poor people organized to move collectively to solve their problems, land was seized from the large landowners and redistributed, and thru nationalization of foreign mines and 320 other industries, the process was begun of putting production in the hands and control of the Chilean people. All these developments have been crushed as a result of the military coup.

The state of siege is a ruthless attack on the gains of the workers and the poor. The junta has abolished democratic freedom closed parliament, banned all left parties suspended regular political parties, suppressed freedom of expression, assembly and association, cancelled trade union rights and the right to strike. Today, as in the US, Chile is in a severe economic crisis. Here, during the last four years, the government played with tactics like "wage and price controls" while profits and prices continued to skyrocket. The worst part about inflation in the US as in Chile is that the poorer nations, like Chile, suffer the most. This year, the junta decreed an exorbitant price hike as an "incentive" to production, increasing the profits of the wealthy while depressing the salaries and wages of the people. During the first six months after the coup the price of sugar rose 2,200%, gas rose 860% and oil, 1400% -- drastically low-

ering the standard of living for Chilean workers. Poor and working people in the US can recognize the common problems we face with our sisters and brothers in Chile -- for many of the same men and corporations who control the economy of Chile also run the US.

"Every night, under cover of the curfew, hundreds of people are taken into custody, many women are raped, homes are broken into and people who live in the poor settlements are arrested. Hundreds of people have disappeared for weeks, and others have never been heard from again. All this without taking into account the torture and crime camps on Dawson Island and at Tojas Verdes."

--interview with MIR granma, June 27, 1974

It was never the intention of the junta to only seize control of the government. They have as their goal the wiping out of all progressive forces who had declared themselves in favor of revolutionary change, the physical elimination-- thru executive, murder or prison--of the most active people in the revolutionary struggle and the elimination of Marxism as the leading ideology of the Chilean working class. More than 30,000 Chileans have been murdered. More than 40,000 people are being held in prison and concentration camps where torture is the normal practice. More than 400 death sentences have been handed down by the fascists. But the fascists have set for themselves a hopeless task, because while they have scored a victory, organized resistance is growing every day. The Popular Resistance Movement is a clandestine mass movement. On February 12, 1974, in commemoration of the founding of the now-outlawed Chilean Central Labor Union, the MIR and the six parties of the Unidad Popular issued a public declaration of solidarity and continued resistance. The movement is organized into clandestine groups, based among workers, peasants, students, pobledores (the urban poor), women, soldiers and sectors of the small bourgeoisie. Because of the oppressive regime, Resistance Committees must work and meet secretly; their tasks include preparing the conditions for a long and difficult people's war, giving it a social base as extensive as possible among the people. It is a struggle against the Dictatorship on all levels, and a struggle for proletarian revolution. On May 1, the Popular Resistance Movement began a national campaign or organized agitation and propaganda. The day's activities included "leaflets hurled in lightning actions," slowdowns in factories, pasting of postage-sized stamps with anti-junta slogans in buses, on walls and in buildings, murals painted in the barrios and a MIR action in which the party's insignia was painted on the official car of General Sergio Arellano, known as the "Jackal of the North" for his bloody policies. On May 2, the motors of six Chilean Air Force Hunter-Hawker planes were filled with sand at El Bosque Air Base. This act of resistance was heightened by the refusal of British workers at the Rolls Royce plant which produced the planes, to repair any Chilean aircraft. The Chilean people are preparing for a struggle which will be protracted. Everyone knows the struggle will be costly. Lessons are learned, the revolutionary armed struggle is begun. In the end it is the masses, mobilized and organized, who will determine the outcome of events in Chile. The fascists and the US corporate and government puppeteers must be isolated and defeated.

WHAT WE CAN DO

"...we call on workers, revolutionaries and all progressive people around the world to push forward more forcefully than ever the international struggle of support for the Chilean people and their popular re-

MOBILIZATION

Continued from page 3

masses see the need for organized community defense to stop the vicious attacks on the community, and the need for organization to defend Political Prisoners and POWs on a coordinated nation-wide basis. One such organization is the National Committee to Defend Political Prisoners.

2. Mass resistance is rapidly building against the mounting economic repression of the ruling class. This resistance is taking two main forms. One is increasingly militant struggles at the workplace. The second is a trend towards bringing the struggle against economic repression into the communities, organizing housewives, etc.

The ruling class freely admits it expects high unemployment among working people. Those who work will be taxed into poverty. Prices for everything, especially essentials (food, health care, housing) will rise enormously by the early part of next year. These conditions are already severe in Third World communities. White workers are beginning to experience some of this same economic repression.

3. There is a trend by Third World masses and progressive whites to lend much more visible support to the national liberation struggles of other peoples around the world. The anti-Marcos struggles of the KDP and its allies, the October celebration (national day of the People's Republic of China), African Liberation Day activities are all examples of mass support for world revolution. Black and progressive workers are supporting the boycott of Rhodesia by refusing to unload their ships. Numerous clandestine operations also indicate growing support for international anti-imperialist struggles.

4. The struggles for self-determination and democratic rights are still strong in Third World communities. Mass struggles to control such institutions as schools, housing, radio stations, health care facilities, fighting dispersion of Third World communities, etc. are all examples of struggles for self-determination occurring daily. Further, self-defense struggles must be seen as an aspect of the total struggle for self-determination.



There are four main elements in the contra-mobilization towards fascist consolidation:

1. Economic "reform" that strengthens the ruling class profit structure and attempts to solve inflation and recession by further impoverishing working and poor people.
2. Centralization and intensification of the state's repressive apparatus. The slow merger of FBI and police forces, the building of a national police force. The increased and widespread use of red and Black Hunting Grand Juries and new laws that are aimed at putting an even greater number of Third World and poor people into prison.
3. An attempt led by President Ford to further divide the working class by appealing to the more racist and basest attitudes of the white working class. This attempt is key to the mass aspects of the Fascists contra-mobilization.
4. An increased attempt to insure the USA's control of foreign countries by th

threats of increased military and CIA intervention in such areas as Indo-China, the Middle East, Africa the Philippines, Latin America, etc.

REVOLUTIONARY THEORY AND THE CURRENT SITUATION

We believe that the current situation clarifies the present struggles within the revolutionary movement. The theoretical fog surrounding the debates on fascism, clandestine work and the national question can quickly be dispelled by carefully studying current practice. The theory of building a 1930 type of United Front against Fascism can be shown false by such study. This type of United Front theory has three serious errors. Most fundamental is that this type of Front was designed to prevent fascism from establishing itself. The unchecked murders of Third World youth by racist occupation troops (police), continual assassinations of Third World revolutionaries by the ruling class, the economic depression that has engulfed Third World communities since 1965 all point to the fact that the Third World communities have been living under open fascism for some time. At the same time there has been a dramatic increase in the centralization of the ruling elements of the state (bourgeoisie, police and government), the increasing attack on working people's wages and rights all point toward a general intensification of fascism throughout the society. Fascism is here; strategies designed to prevent it are forty years too late. A further deficiency of the theory is the call for uniting elements of the bourgeoisie into the United Front. Which elements of the bourgeoisie will we unite with? McGovern who calls for more imperialism in Latin America and more military aid to Israel? Or Kennedy, who coauthored (with Rodino) the Senate law that the government is using to terrorize and deport African and Latino people within the US? This is revisionism at its worst! The bourgeoisie in this country is the most thoroughly corrupt in the history of the world. We cannot unite with it. We must destroy it. Lastly when this theory of combatting and defeating fascism was implemented in the thirties, international communist movement and the CPUSA dissolved themselves in order to implement the policy. The last thing we need now is to dissolve the international (within the US), and we must build communist parties, not dissolve them. George Jackson formulated the correct definition and policies about fascism in the modern era. Study his thought.

Practice also throws an illuminating light on the theoretical confusion surrounding CLANDESTINE WORK. Self-defense from imperialist (police) and vigilante forces may be the most important mass issue within the Black community and is becoming extremely important in Brown communities. The periods of reconstruction, pre- and post-World War I eras and the 30's were all marked by increased unity around economic and political issues between Blacks and poor whites that was broken by both the terroristic use of the state military forces and by vigilante actions by poor whites allied with the white bourgeoisie (KKK, Citizen's Councils, White Farmer Associations). Accompanying these racist, military actions were more repressive legislation aimed at Blacks (Jim Crow laws) and other Third World people and an intensive propaganda campaign designed at inflaming racism among the white working class. Besides the failure of progressive whites to combat the actions of both the bourgeois and racist white, a major weakness was that the Black community was unable to defend itself militarily. Fundamentally, lynch mobs and other murdering racist hoodlums will be stopped when the Black community can resist their reactionary violence by matching it with revolutionary violence and correct propaganda. Armed and organized mass self-defense organizations are the surest way to influence lynch mobs. If they can be stopped in the street then political education can be effectively carried out. At the same time, we know there are the super patriots who are uneducatable and want "all niggers

dead". The only way we can deal with them is thoroughly implementing the concept of self-defense. It is not a question of whether or not we can have struggle before there is a party to lead it. Struggle at all levels is here. Police and vigilante violence is the mass question in the Black communities. For Brown people this terror is not confined to the cities. In the field and small towns, the terrorism of the Teamsters, La Migra and the police is equally brutal. Self-defense is the theoretical and practical answer to brutality. Politics must always be in command of armed action. This is our guiding principle. When true Marxist-Leninist parties are formed, they must be in command of all aspects of struggle, including clandestine. But since there is no revolutionary party in most Third World communities to guide this struggle, it is even more necessary for revolutionaries to work in these mass struggles so that politics can be in command. We must work where the people are. The most advanced Third World activists are attempting to lead the masses to defend themselves. We cannot wait or hold back the masses. It should on the question of clandestine support for international struggles, Comrade Cabral (slain leader of the successful liberation struggle of Guinea-Bissau) spoke for the entire Tri-Continental revolutionary movement when he stated that "the best way to support our movement, is to take up arms and fight."



March from San Francisco Chinatown to the City Hall to protest arrest of news vendor Harry Wong, for sell of pro-People's Republic literature on the sidewalks.

The NATIONAL QUESTION is the area of most bitter ideological struggle. Subjectivity in the form of emotionalism, racism, dogmatism (applying revolutionary science mechanically and not taking reality into account, being extremely inflexible), and elitism. There are three main areas of struggle around the national question. One is what national groups constitute nations; second is what should be the content of the political program for liberation of these national groups, and third, what type of revolutionary organizations should attempt to lead the national struggles. The first issue is fundamental. If a people constitutes a nation, the demand for self-determination potentially may become a demand for secession. Most revolutionaries as Stalin's definition of a nation as the starting point for their analysis (we of Seize the Time do). In this article we cannot discuss the subtleties of who constitutes a nation (in the next issue we will have an article that speaks to this question specifically.) We can sketch our positions on this question. The staff has come to the conclusion that people of African descent form a colonized internal nation. We feel that those who put forward the theory of a rural southern

Continued to page 17

BLACK PANTHER PARTY CONT. FROM PG. 2
New Jersey State Chapter
Statement on Newark

The Black Panther Party has supported the demands of the People's Committee Against Repression and Police Brutality. Although these demands are really reformist in nature, there are advanced elements in the Black and Puerto Rican community who are willing to make sacrifices in defense of the community. These sacrifices cannot be made in random street fights in which the community with bottles and rocks against a well armed military force. The results would be the same as they are now - two people dead and hundreds injured. We must begin to formulate armed groups of Black and Puerto Rican Brothers and Sisters who are willing to strike at the enemy and cause ample destruction to their forces. It will also be important to keep in contact with the Black and Puerto Rican community to determine just what is to be defended.

Many of our so-called community leaders call this kind of operation terrorism by such elements of the community as the Black Liberation Army or the Symbionese Liberation Army. Yet, who are the real terrorists? The Police who push wanton murder and brutality in our community and who cause Police riots or is it the Young Black and Latin Warrior who only attacks the enemy in the hopes of obtaining peace and national liberation for his people and who is the only possible element in the community who can oppose the murdering Police forces.

Brothers and Sisters we must produce a struggle that is truly representing the feelings of all our people, which is a combination of working struggle against capitalist oppression and being able to protect ourselves from any and all fascist attacks. We must understand that our struggle will only be won when all poor and oppressed working class people are organized to combat this system and all the oppression it has stood for and as it attempts to put military pressure on the community. There must be warriors who must produce revolutionary actions against them. Remember revolutionary warfare means that the enemy cannot hide anywhere from the anger of the people.

INTENSIFY THE CLASS STRUGGLE
SUPPORT THE PEOPLES LIBERATION ARMIES
SMASH THE POLICE FORCES OF OPPRESSION
ARM YOURSELF OR HARM YOURSELF



We believe we can end police brutality in our black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment of the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

POINT NUMBER SEVEN, ORIGINAL PROGRAM
AND PLATFORM OF BLACK PANTHER PARTY

SAN FRANCISCO - On the second anniversary of martial law in the Philippines (Sept. 22) hundreds of demonstrators marched to the Philippine Consulate. They protested Marcos' regime and called for the end of martial law. They also called for an end to US aid to the dictatorship.

To date Marcos has jailed 20,000 political prisoners and maintains a blacklist of anti-regime Filipinos who are now in America. The US has budgeted \$102.8 million in military and economic aid to this dictatorship.

BEHIND THE LINES

BOSTON - The regular news media has given extensive coverage to certain aspects of the busing conflict in Boston. In general they report the side of white parents or of liberals. They neglect the views of the Black community and the children being bused. On several occasions when buses could or would not go to the schools, the Black community held alternative classes and discussions on education in the Black community, Black Power, the role of busing and integration.

Law enforcement agencies have been unequal in their treatment of whites and Blacks as well. The local DA's for the most part have refused to prosecute whites arrested for attempted lynching (as in the case of Jean Louis Andre, whose car had been caught in a white mob). Instead of being charged with assault with intent to commit murder or inciting to riot, whites are being charged with much milder civil rights violations. This is not unlike the incident in Louisiana in which three Black youths were arrested and charged with inciting to riot, resisting arrest and murder when a white youth was killed by a single shot. This happened right after the bus the Black youths and other Black pupils were on, was stoned by a crowd of white youths. None of the whites were charged with either the stoning or inciting to riot.

Louise Day Hicks and other leaders of the white anti-busing movement sometimes claim that they are really fighting for community control of schools and quality education. But on the streets, the slogans of the pickets and marchers are clear: "Go home nigger, nigger lover," and figures of Black people hung in effigy. Instead of fighting the real enemy, these whites for whatever reasons have chosen to focus their frustrations once again against Black people.

The white anti-busing campaign is supported by such groups as the KKK and the Nazi Party. State Senator Bulger (Dem.) praised the white people of South Boston for "great restraint in the face of the worst of injustices," while mobs of whites attempt to lynch isolated Blacks. Patriotism is also an ingredient in this ideology of racism. Marchers sang "God Bless America" and paraded in colonial costumes.

Hopefully white revolutionaries and activists can begin to counter this racist, fascist mobilization of the white working class against Blacks and support concretely self-determination for Third World peoples and socialism.

WEST VIRGINIA - Again whites are not fighting the real enemy. In the coalfields and small towns here, white working people are dirt poor, living in some of the worst conditions to be found in America. But instead of fighting the companies that strip mine the land, refuse to pay living wages and maintain safe working conditions, government officials that don't care and the few people who are really responsible, the whites of West Virginia have focused their frustrations against schoolbooks that cover Black Power, revolution, social movements, science, etc. The books have writings by Malcolm X, Elridge Cleaver, Dick Gregory, Black poets, Darwin etc. Leaders of the book banning movement say the books are, "anti-religious, Communistic, pornographic", "filthy, immoral, anti-American". Black people in the area say they want to learn about their own history and people in the schools, and that these books at least have something. Many of the white parents protesting the books have not even read the books. Many were not able to get the education to be able to read.

WASHINGTON - The Defense (War) Department of the US government has spent nearly \$20 million the first six months of this year on Chemical and Biological Warfare programs. This includes research and development of C&B agents that selectively attack Asiatic and African racial groups, based on genetic difference between races.

WASHINGTON D.C. - The liberation struggles in Southern Africa is being threatened by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The U.S. is trying to set back the victories of the people's struggle. The victory of the PAIGC and the Guinean people, and FRELIMO and the people of Mozambique spell the end to U.S. influence in Southern Africa. In reaction to this shrinking influence came a Kissinger plan called "Operation Tarbaby." This was a contingency plan prepared for Nixon to analyze all possible alternatives for U.S. relationship to racist South Africa Government and liberation struggles in the region. The alternative selected was undercover support to the apartheid government of South Africa and quiet but concrete hostility toward the people's liberation forces, (FRELIMO, ETC.)

The report stated that violence "could only lead to chaos, and would seriously threaten our access to mineral resources in the area" The national liberation struggles in Southern Africa are dedicated to the end of foreign domination (colonialism and neo-colonialism). Ford has made it clear that he intends to expand the U.S.'s imperialist role. In his speech on the Arabs he stated that he would use any weapon to bring the U.S. out of its present crisis even to the point of starving people. In order to prevent economic collapse, the U.S. must consolidate its fascist apparatus at home and create war abroad.

Already "Operation Tarbaby" is being implemented concretely. In the middle of October, British, South African and U.S. warships sailed on joint maneuvers designed to "protect our mineral resources." At the same time the U.S. is building a nuclear B52 base off the coast of Tanzania at Diego Garcia. This base would put all of Southern Africa and Central Asia under U.S. nuclear threat. We must understand Brother George Jackson's concept of the two U.S.A's (Union of South Africa and the United States of America) and realize that they are the twin dogs that are presenting a common front in opposition to the liberation of African peoples throughout the world.

CALIFORNIA - The New World Liberation Front (NWLFF) twice attacked offices of the Dean Witter & Co. Dean Witter & Co. is one of the nation's largest stock brokerage houses. In each attack, a bomb shattered the front doors and caused extensive damage to the front offices. The NWLFF is a clandestine armed unit formed just after police murdered SLA members in Los Angeles. The NWLFF has also expropriated banks.

FROM THE EDITORS OF SEIZE THE TIME

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BREAK DE CHAINS

EDUCATE TO LIBERATE

The direction in which the struggle for liberation has turned here in America points to a regretful fact. It seems that only a few years ago political repression reigned supreme in this land of decadence. Those individuals and organizations which were the most vociferous, the most exemplary in their attempts to educate and direct the masses in putting an end to the American nightmare, were largely rooted out in a ruthless and diabolical effort to destroy them and their work. As a result of countless search and destroy campaigns---involving combined efforts of every local, state, and federal pig agency capable of harassment, intimidation, incarceration and murder---many men and women remained captive.

It is sad that so many of us fail to recognize that there is no difference between the political repression of several years ago and that being meted out today. It seems we have already forgotten that this struggle is a protracted one, that despite our lack of concern and our non-involvement, despite our overall non-commitment toward participation or support of the struggle for our liberation, war continues to be waged. And the struggle against political repression (judicial manipulations), frame-ups and pig assaults continue even while incarcerated.

It is regretful that many of these prisoners of war have been forgotten or overlooked. And the tragedy of our unconcern in this regard is that failure to awaken conscious concern and to mobilize some conspicuous and continuous support in their behalf may well result in the pigs' ability to exterminate or effectively eliminate another of OUR WARRIORS.

But it is imperative that we not forget that despite ideological differences among us all, we must remember the necessity to support all of those who struggle in quest of liberation for the oppressed. For it is only through a united front of support that our various battles will someday result in a common victory for us all.

Following are several of the many who we should never allow ourselves to forget.

HOLIDAY, JAMES H. (DOC)

A-67710-ADJUSTMENT CENTER, SAN QUENTIN

He was originally in prison on a felony murder charge from 1961, when he was 18 years old, for allegedly driving a get away car in a robbery. A shop owner was killed by someone else. All the other people charged including the person who allegedly killed the shop owner are out on parole. He is still there because of his politics. He has been there 14 years. He was eligible in 1968, and has never been charged with anything else in prison. Most recently when he went before the parole board, questions were asked about his politics and he was then charged with being a member of the Black Panther Party. They never presented any of the documents and never gave him an opportunity to confront anything held against him.

GAULDEN, JEFFERY

B-9053-ADJUSTMENT CENTER, SAN QUENTIN

Arrested on an assault charge, and after his transfer to Folsom he was convicted on killing a guard there. This brother needs your support and legal runners for his arrest on the murder case. He is on appeal before the courts.

SHASHA MALIK---CONVICTED

Unable to convict Shasha (Henry Brown) on murder charges in April, the state rushed him through a four day trial (that included jury selection) this past month, for bank robbery which resulted in conviction. Shasha could get up to 25 years. Shasha is already serving a 20 year sen-

tence from a shootout in St. Louis, in which he was captured. He also still faces charges for the escape from the Brooklyn House of Detention, last fall.

LARRY (GIG) JUSTICE

B-15185
SOLEDAD, CALIF.

EARL B. GIBSON

B-10952
FOLSOM, CALIF.

The trial of Larry Justice and Earl Gibson for the murder of a white San Quentin guard was the longest in the history of Marin County, California. Because the trial took place in the Civic Center where Jonathan Jackson led the August 7, 1970 Slave Revolt, and because Larry and Earl were Black San Quentin convicts, they stood trial in a police-state atmosphere. The courtroom was divided in half by a plastic, bullet-proof barrier which separated the spectators from the court arena itself. Everyone who attended the trial was searched and forced to pass through two metal detectors. The prosecution presented contradictory testimony from witnesses who were promised "protective custody" or early parole if they would help convict Larry and Earl.

On April 18, 1973, an all-white jury, selected from the wealthiest county in California, convicted Larry and Earl of murder and assault. Soon after the conviction, both men were transferred out of San Quentin's maximum security unit and placed in the "Hole" at Folsom State Prison.



WOUNDED KNEE TRIAL VICTORY

The nine month trial at Wounded Knee, S.D., ended in a victory for the Native American people. Their 71-day armed occupation showed the Native American's right to self-determination as expressed in the defense of the case. The defense contended that "the Indians could not be guilty because they had merely reclaimed land the government had stolen from them by treaty violations." Even the liberal-fascist judge denounced the FBI for being too obvious. He charged they had "stooped to a new low" by withholding and doctoring evidence, wiretapping phones, and the lavish spending of their informant, Louis Moves Camp. The FBI had supplied him with liquor, money and women while he stayed at a plush resort.

The Indian people justly consider the dismissal of charges against Russell Means and Dennis Banks a great victory. However the scores of defendants still in jail behind Wounded Knee and other battles must be equally defended.



FREEDOM!

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.



MOORE, RICHARD (DHORUBA)
19979

Now serving time for murder at Stormville Prison, Stormville, New York, 12582. He was one of the defendants for the New York 21 cases. This beautiful Black brother was eventually set up and kidnapped by the N.Y. police to remove him from the streets because of his valuable organizational service to the community.

ASSATA SHAKUR, (JOANNE CHESIMARD)

1515 HAZEN ST.

EAST ELMHURST, N.Y. 11370

Assata Shakur accused member of the Black Liberation Army, a nation-wide organization waging revolutionary warfare to liberate the Black Colony, awaits trial for the murder of two police officers, other murders and robbery. One incident occurred on May 2, 1973 when she and Sundiata Acoli (Clark Squire) were ambushed along with Zayd Malik Shakur. Zayd was murdered. One police was dead. In an earlier incident (December 1971), it was alleged that she and a companion threw a hand grenade at a police car. The car was demolished, but the officers were not seriously wounded. She is also being questioned about the ambush slaying of Gregory Foster and Rocco Laurie.

Accused of every unsolved police execution in New York, sister Assata gave birth to a six pound baby girl on September 11, 1974. No sooner than she had delivered, the New York fascists locked her up in an overheated dungeon within the hospital. Assata's physician was also harassed. First he was barred by the hospital from delivering the child, and finally when given permission he had to release the hospital of all responsibility for any complications.

Two weeks after the delivery, Assata was taken from the hospital, separated from her child and viciously beaten by guards. Please write Assata and support the demand that her and her child be released from these butchers.

THE NEW YORK FIVE (FRANCISCO TORRES, ALBERT WASHINGTON, GABRIEL TORRES, HERMAN BELL, ANTHONY BOTTOM)

Accused of killing two police officers on May 21, 1971, ended in a mistrial on May 15 after a jury of eleven men and one woman, six of whom were Black, were split as to the verdict. This is the second time this year that a jury has refused to accept the state's case against revolutionaries accused of killing police officers; on March 21, Shasha Malik (Henry Brown) was acquitted on a similar charge. Four of the brothers are now located at Rikers Island, New York and are awaiting a new trial: Francisco and Gabriel Torres, Anthony Bottom, and Albert Washington.

Herman Bell was convicted in San Francisco of bank robbery and possession of a sawed off shot-gun. Bell now faces a second trial in New York with the other NY 5 after a jury failed to reach a verdict on the 1971 police executions.



SCOTT, RUBEN
COUNTY JAIL, NEW ORLEANS

Was kidnapped by the FBI in a raid in New Orleans. He is awaiting extradition from New Orleans to San Francisco to stand trial on the Ingleside Police Station Confrontation.

HERMAN BELL'S STATEMENT TO THE PEOPLE

Today may seem to some people a tragic day for me. To me it's just another day in the struggle for survival. There have been and will come thousands of people who have passed through this chamber of hell and chambers like this. Until our social and economic conditions change, many more will be led to the dehumanization and slaughter.

I say to the court today, people are not stupid. We know what's going on, who you are and what you stand for. You are the forces of misery, lechery and death. Your examples and justice systems are shameful and an insult to all that is decent. A lifeless force trampling on a people's rights to live as human beings. We are not digits or machines, yet we are gaged and treated like animals. Nor are we in control of the vicious media, newspaper and television, the real perpetrators of violence. We are taught and our children are taught violence.

Yet those who put the thoughts in our minds, by your standards are not considered criminals. On the contrary they get a good slap on the back and bigger pay checks. The courts would be out of a job without people to prosecute. Without prisoners, the prosecutor, police, prison guards as well would be out of a job. We live in a society where misery and suffering is needed to put food on the table for others.

Yet the victim today is called the criminal, and the criminal appears the victim. History bears me witness. We are the product of our environment. We are forced to carry the weight for the crime that is not ours. The State and Federal governments have not and will not fulfill their sworn duties and responsibilities to the people. And those in and out of prison suffer because of conscious neglect by those who are now temporarily in authority over us.

You ask me do I have anything to say...As a people (the poor and oppressed), we repeat...give us justice and the right to determine our own destinies. This has been said in many languages across the land for over 450 years. Yet you still do not hear. The pain and suffering inflicted upon us has created a determination within spirits to resist those who oppress us to the last breath.

I say to all that hear, let's go where the laws of man are made and make laws that give a people dignity and true justice.



HERMAN BELL
10/4/74

HOUSTON 12 TRIAL BEGINS

One year ago, on October 9, 1973, the Houston police viciously attacked a picket line against the Mideast War held by Youth Against War & Fascism (YAWF). As the picket line was drawing to a close, 25 people carrying only picket signs were jumped on by more than 100 police in 25 patrol cars, swinging lead-lined flashlights and carrying drawn guns.

Twelve young men, eight of them Chicanos, were viciously beaten, arrested and then beaten again. The police used the old, lying excuse that the victims were the aggressors, charging them with assault on a police officer. Five of the twelve - Jose Barriga, Alex Rodriguez, Miguel Trujillo, William Christiansen, and Bartee Haile - face life imprisonment on outrageous charge of assault with intent to murder a police officer. The original total bail for the twelve was over a quarter of a million dollars.

YAWF had called the October 9 picket line to expose U.S. plans for a Vietnam in the Middle East, and to condemn U.S. policies and the manipulation of the oil companies in the Middle East.

Support the Houston 12. Free the Houston 12 activities are being planned around the country for November 9. Defend the people's right to demonstrate against imperialism and take the streets.

JOHN BOWMAN - OLD COUNTY JAIL
RAY BOUDREAUX - NEW COUNTY JAIL
HAROLD TAYLOR - NEW COUNTY JAIL

On trial in Los Angeles on an alleged murder charge of police officers. The police are claiming that these three brothers tried to murder them in a shoot-out case in Los Angeles. A Superior Court judge has ordered the district court to use welfare, unemployment and utilities list as well as voter registration rolls to select a jury. The brothers' suit charged that using just voter registration rolls under-represented young, Third World and poor people (like the defendants). This decision will probably be overturned by a higher court as it represents too big a challenge to the injustice system.

**LONG LIVE THE SPIRIT OF THE ATTICA REBELLION!**

PRATT, ELMER (GERONIMO)
B-40319-DEATH ROW-SAN QUENTIN

During the months of September and October, Elmer Pratt will be appearing before Judge Parker, 111 North Hill St., Los Angeles, CA. The court erred in refusing to exercise the discretion given to it by Penal Code #1202b, which says, "In any criminal proceeding which the defendant is convicted of felony(ies) and is committed to the custody of the director of corrections, if the defendant was at the time of commission of the offense(s), or of the apprehension from which the criminal proceeding resulted, under the age of 23 years, the court may notwithstanding any other provision of law fixing or affecting the penalty for the offense(s) cumulatively shall be six months." Because of this error, the appeals court ordered Geronimo to be resentenced.

In Geronimo's case, the two state witnesses who testified during both trials (LA-13 and murder case of a Santa Monica school teacher) were police informers. Melvin Cotton in the LA-13 case was employed by the FBI-CIA since 1968. Julio Butler who testified in the murder case was a deputy-sheriff for two years before he joined the Black Panther Party. With the recent information leaked out concerning the FBI-CIA memos under the direction of Hoover-Mitchell-Nixon shows very clearly that the purpose of informers and tactics used by the FBI-CIA was to destroy the Black Liberation struggle, its leaders and members of the oppressed communities. The courts have ignored these facts. If the courts recognized these facts, many POW's and political prisoners would have to be released. But the courts refuse to act in such a manner because they are another tool of the oppressor rather than a means of settling disputes among the people. It is up to the poor and working people themselves to challenge the rule of the courts, to educate and liberate themselves.

WELLS, WARREN
B-23864, SOLEDAD, CALIF.

One of eight persons charged with attempted murder of an Oakland policeman in the famous April 6, 1968 "Shoot-out" (attack by the police on known Panthers) between the Panthers and the police. On that day, seventeen-year-old Bobby Hutton was killed, and Eldridge Cleaver wounded and returned to prison. Eldridge has since become a fugitive, having left the U.S., but Warren Wells stood trial three times in a period of one year, and after two mistrials, was finally convicted on September 24, 1969 of attempted murder. No police ever stood trial for the murder of Bobby Hutton.

EDD JOHNSON
CHESAPEAKE COUNTRY JAIL, VIRGINIA

Edd Johnson who is charged with the attempted murder of two Chesapeake police detectives on March 23, 1974 in Fentress, Virginia, went to trial October 4. He was unmercifully beaten and is in dire need of medical attention. After the beating he was taken back to his maximum security cell where a fire erupted several weeks later. Although the brother is the victim of this attack on his life (65 to 70% of his body is burned), the Sheriffs have charged him with arson. Rallies were held in Virginia by local political groups in support of the brother.

EUGENE ALLEN
B-45816
TRACY, CALIF.

ERNEST GRAHAM
B-32320
TRACY, CALIF.

DUEL VOCATIONAL INSTITUTE

These two young men are charged with murdering a guard at Duel Vocational Institute. The alleged killing resulted in a lockdown in the California Department of Corrections (CDC). The excuse was that the Black Guerrilla Family was planning to kill a guard a month. The murders that have been committed were perpetrated by the guards themselves with the help of the Aryan Brotherhood, a white nazi organization. The jury selection has started and the judge, William Woodward, has made outrageous demands such as not allowing spectators in court while the jury is being selected and the censorship of printing the names of informants in San Joaquin and northern California papers. The courtroom is a armed military police state, setting a climate of fear.

If these young brothers are convicted, the State will demand that they be placed on death row to await being gassed in the government's gas chamber. This is despite the fact that the alleged murder took place before the new death penalty law went into effect.

FORD ★ AND ★ ROCKEFELLER

INTRODUCTION

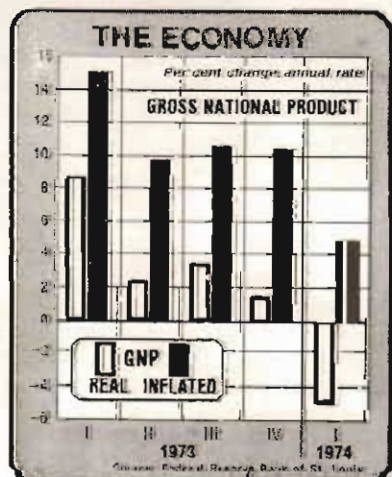
Recently the people of America have witnessed a spectacle of Vice-presidents and Presidents coming and going in the White House. First Agnew then Ford, Nixon then Ford and now Rockefeller. Cabinet posts have been like revolving doors. Officials have been asked to resign, fired, resigned in protest and indicted out of office. Conservative and liberal news media all are selling stories on the crisis of leadership, the crisis of confidence that faces America. The news analysis for once is correct. The whole rotten arrangement of American politics has finally surfaced into mass consciousness. But Rockefeller and the rest of Big Business have not given up their control of the American empire. They are busy reshuffling leaders like Ford and mapping out new programs that sound like FDR's New Deal. They are aware that they must achieve a new fascist arrangement in order to prevent the collapse of American imperialism and their own monstrous fortunes. They hope to subvert and co-opt the movement of Third World countries towards economic, military and political independence. They hope to win back the loyalties of white workers and set them against Third World people at home and abroad. Lastly they hope to crush the revolutionary movements within the US, particularly those of national liberation.

But the world is not the same as it was in the 30's. FDR may have rescued capitalism for another generation, but the outlook for Ford's new model is bleak. The victories of China, Vietnam, Korea, Algeria, Cuba, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, the organization of African states, non-aligned countries, producers of raw materials, the urban rebellions and Vietnam protests, Black Nationalism - all of this and much more history has brightened prospects for us, the oppressed and exploited people of the world. As the Chinese say, "History develops in struggle, and the world advances amidst turbulence. The imperialists, and the superpowers in particular, are beset with troubles and are on the decline. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution - this is the irresistible trend of history. We are convinced that, so as the Third World countries and people strengthen their unity, ally themselves with all forces that can be allied with and persist in a protracted struggle, they are sure to win continuous new victories."

We in America must take this advice to heart, because the struggle here will be particularly difficult. This is the belly of the beast. We must understand imperialism's new fascist "reform" in detail and use that understanding to destroy it.

ECONOMIC REPRESSION AND IMPERIALISM

In an October 9 press conference, Ford declared that the nation is not in a recession. In an effort to stir up patriotic support for his newly announced economic program, Ford redefined the world. The real value of the country's total production (Gross National Product) has fallen for 3 consecutive quarters (3 month periods). Before 1974 that was generally an indication of recession. Official unemployment has jumped from 5.5 to 5.8%,



meaning that hundreds of thousands of workers have lost their jobs. There are more unemployed workers now than any time since 1958. In areas of Vietnam-era prosperity, such as Hawaii and San Francisco, unemployment is about 9% officially and moving upward. Official unemployment during the Great Depression of the 1930's was about 10%. In the Black nation, official unemployment is 10%. Actual unemployment is above 35%.

Yet, in a way Ford is telling the truth. This is not just recession. Inflation in the U.S. is now running at about 12%, and moving upward because of food, petroleum and raw material shortages. The U.S. has been exporting inflation to its trading partners for years. Britain in a losing effort to fight that inflation, has fallen into a depression. France and Italy are witnessing a replay of the 20's and 30's, complete with neo-fascist. Japan inflation rate is now about 25%. Third World countries dependent on selling raw materials to the US without the protection of a producers' league are generally around 25%, although some countries are much higher (Chile 700%, Uruguay 77%, Philippines 40%).

Ford's new economic policy does not recognize recession. It is designed to fight inflation, but only for business. The tax relief that Ford proposes for the poor will not have much positive effect. Social services paid for by taxes will be cut in the next two years. Secretary Casper "Cap the Knife" Weinberger boasts about how his own agency should not be immune from cutbacks. Furthermore, the majority of poor families' budget go for food and housing, both of which are going up faster than the overall cost of living. Ford's policy has an obvious negative effect on families with two working adults and children, the 5% surcharge tax. It gives tax breaks to industry by granting higher tax credits on capital (machinery and building) investment.

Business leaders applauded Ford's proposal, and hope he will unify the American people, just like FDR did for them in the 30's. Richard Cortenberg, board chairman of GM said, "We congratulate the President on his broad program to win the fight against inflation." "It sounds like a vigorous, well thought out program," said Donald Regan, Chairman of Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, the nation's largest brokerage house. Undoubtedly, Mr. Regan also likes Mr. Greenspan, Ford's economic advisor, who said that stockbrokers have been hit hardest by the present economic crisis. Henry Ford II added, "The President's program appears to me to be a comprehensive start in a unified attack on the most serious problem facing the United States and all the nations of the world right now." The People's Republic of China, North Vietnam, North Korea, Cuba, Tanzania and Mongolia are some countries that have little or no inflation. Despite having been impoverished by imperialism, these countries have made great advances in providing all their people with the basic necessities of life, including education and medical care, at reasonable prices. America, for all its wealth and technology can not do this.

Ford's economic program is not designed to provide the people of the United States with life's necessities at a reasonable price. Instead it is part of an overall program to recoup the losses of Watergate disillusionment, economic dissatisfaction, national liberation and the new economic independence of Third World countries. The program has its political and military aspects as well. Where it can't buy-out and subvert, it tries to bully and crush.

Ford has named his economic policy WIN for Whip Inflation Now. WIN more appropriately stands for Widen Imperialism Now. Ford calls on all Americans "to grow more, waste less, drive less, heat less." He is in effect asking workers to be content with more intensive exploitation of their labor because it's for the good of the

country, and hopefully all this "goodness" will trickle down from business to the workers. Most workers, both Third World and white, will not go for that line by itself. This policy failed in the 1920's under Herbert Hoover. Ford and his Rockefeller advisors know this and have prepared a much more complex program. One of the key points of Ford's proposal was a national priority on food production and building up food stockpiles. In a well-coordinated attack, Ford and Kissinger laid major blame for inflation and job losses on the Arabs and their control of oil. This is despite the fact that the majority of imported oil in the US comes from non-Arab countries - Venezuela, Nigeria, Iran and Canada. However, Ford very pointedly talked about how the US was an exporter of foodstuffs and the Arab countries had to import food. He talked about a retaliatory food boycott if the Arabs cut oil shipments to the US, and how unfortunate it would be to have people starving in those countries.



By focusing such belligerent talk against the Arabs, Mr. Ford also gives American workers a foreign enemy to fight, a threat to the "common" national interests and a solution that doesn't require any basic changes in thinking. Military recruits for the last two years have reported that basic training now includes intensive desert training. Elite troops receive even more intensive desert training. Officers have told their men that fighting in the Middle East was imminent.

Ford's tactic will not inspire Third World people, especially Black people, to join up. However, it will work with a number of white workers. The exact number will be determined by how successfully the revolutionary movement, particularly white revolutionaries, can counter this imperialist and racist attack. This is very important because anti-Arab sentiments will have a domestic effect on white anti-Black sentiments. The Arab countries are part of Africa. Islamic influence in Black Africa is strong. This is part of the heritage of Black people in the US, and many of the cultural manifestations of Black nationalism have Arabic roots. For example, what kind of a name is Abdul Kareem Jabbar? The link is even closer for consciously fascist whites like police, FBI agents, government officials, the military, etc. They know about Black Muslims, Sunni Muslims, Malcolm X (Shabazz), H. Rap Brown's traditional name, the Organization of African States and the Sixth Pan-African Congress, etc.

Ford's push to produce more food also gives the US economic leverage on other Third World countries. Some of these have economies so unbalanced by a neo-colonial relationship to the US that they need to import food from the US despite rich agricultural lands. In the past this insured very cheap supplies of raw materials, relatively low food costs to Americans, relatively high prices for US finished goods a wide profit margin for US business a-

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AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM: TOWARD PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

There has been a flowering of revolutionary ideas and actions among White people in the US. We are influenced by the material conditions of imperialist crisis, and inspired by the example and theory of our heroic comrades in the many oppressed nations battling to smash imperialism and to build socialism.

More and more White workers recognize the failure of capitalist trade-unionism and see "some kind of socialism" as the answer to their growing problems. The women's movement, gathering strength in the working class, is raising questions which strike at the very heart of the capitalist system. Sections of White workers, especially veterans, and students have proven willing to fight in solidarity with oppressed nations outside of the US.

At the same time a fascist-racist mobilization of White workers is going on. Around husing, law-and-order, etc, the ruling class is attempting to mobilize white workers into a fascist base. An incredible number of "pig shows" are being pushed on television. The ranks of the KKK and the Nazi Party are suddenly swelling. Our people are being thrown into conflict with the oppressed nations. White revolutionary leadership must emerge to take on this new nazism.

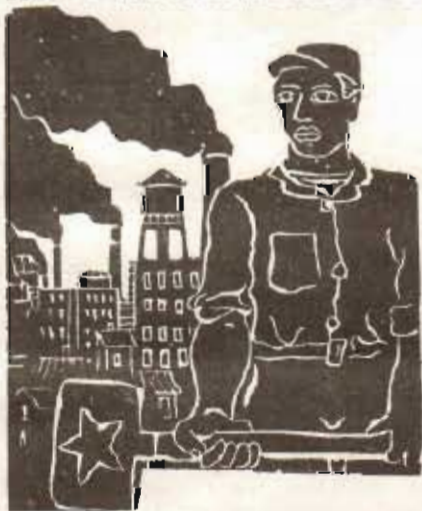
Always and everywhere, more and more as the crisis deepens, we come up against the crying need for a Marxist-Leninist Party. Without a party we are weak and disunited, and the working class lacks its own leadership-- with a party we can steer our movement and propel it forward.

DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE WHITE MOVEMENT

It is critical that we see that one key area for struggle and development today is within the White revolutionary movement.

"It (materialist dialectics) holds that external causes are the conditions of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and that external causes become operative through internal causes. In a suitable temperature an egg changes into a chicken, but no temperature can change a stone into a chicken." --Mao Tse Tung, On The Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People

So too under suitable conditions the White vanguard can lead the White masses into international revolutionary alliances for the smashing of imperialism and the construction of socialism,



But under no conditions can White national chauvinists do anything of the sort. NATIONS AND PARTY BUILDING

As members of the mightiest nation in the history of civilization, we occupy a particular historical position. We must understand the implications of that position, and with that understanding our work among our people as well as our relationships to the oppressed nations and colonized peoples can be based,

The world is an international community. Nations are not isolated from one another, but are united in struggle for liberation or controlled by the bonds of imperialism. Reflecting this

international unity, the working class is an international force. Communists always seek the highest possible unity with their comrades in other nations.

The main form of class struggle today is the struggle against imperialist domination and exploitation. National liberation movements have arisen throughout the world. Within the boundaries of the imperialist nations the colonized peoples living under national oppression have begun to move as nations to defeat imperialism.

National liberation movements are led by the vanguard of the proletariat of that nation. This has meant that relatively autonomous Leninist parties, based upon an independent development, are leading those battles. However, the nature of the communist movement demands that those parties be one day united in an international organization--a new Communist International.

The conditions within the US demand international organization. The imperialist unity of different nations, oppressor and oppressed, in the US is based on material conditions which also demand and promote the socialist unity of the working class. So here in the heart of the empire we must step beyond the organizational disunity which pervades the international communist movement. We must form an international communist party based on the alliance of the oppressed nations and the working class of the oppressor nation.

Two factors will determine the success or failure of this enterprise. The first is the independent development of the Black and Brown forces prior to the formation of the international party. The decision of the vanguard of an oppressed nation to ally wholeheartedly with the vanguard of the oppressor nation cannot be made by a White organization which decides to start recruiting individual Third World cadre. Only a period of independent development can insure that the unity will not be imperialist unity and prevent the sabotage of the national movement.

It is possible that this "independent development" will include the formation of one or more autonomous nationalist parties. This is a decision to be made by the vanguard of the oppressed nationalities. If such a party is formed it should be seen as a transitory phenomenon.

We believe that it is disastrous to cloud over the international relations within the US into some vague "multi-nationality." The internationalization of society in general, caused by the international nature of advanced capitalism, does not reduce the need for national integrity and self-determination. On the contrary, it promotes it as a precondition for unity. White communists occupy essentially the same relationship to communists of the Black nation as we do to the communists of Vietnam--except that thrown together we have the opportunity to forge an international communist party.

The second factor is the battle against White chauvinism in the revolutionary movement.

AGAINST WHITE CHAUVINISM (IN DEFENSE OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM)

The White revolutionary movement recognizes its interest in providing assistance to national movements today. With our support, the Vietnamese were able to move mountains.

But significant organizations are now leading the White revolutionary movement down the path of failure in this area. Their lines attack the rights of oppressed nations within the US and place the White revolutionary movement in an imperialist position.

These organizations must be seen for what they are--bourgeois forces caught up in the relations of imperialism,

attempting to dominate the Black and Brown liberation movements.

They weaken the revolutionary movement with their analysis concerning territory. Some decide what is the territory of the Black nation and confine the movement to that territory, then expel that same movement from the international working class. Some deny the need for territory. Some say that there is no territory and therefore no nation.

Are they afraid to recognize that they have little to say about territory? Has self-determination become a secondary priority? If a people decides to seize territory it will. Native Americans did not ask permission of White organizations before seizing Wounded Knee.



COMMUNIST LEAGUE

The Communist League (now "Communist Labor Party") is particularly guilty of trying to isolate and contain the Black liberation movement. "The Watts uprising objectively linked the struggle of the Anglo-American workers to the national liberation movement in the Negro Nation." (NEGRO NATIONAL COLONIAL QUESTION, pg38) According to CLP the Watts uprising was an uprising of Anglo-American workers and not a part of the Black liberation movement because it did not take place in the Black Belt.

CLP goes on to call for the separation of the Black Belt--on behalf of the White workers outside the south! When are the "Negroes" in the Black Belt to be consulted? After the secession takes place--then they can decide if they want to secede or not. The weakness of the CLP line would be easily exposed in the mass movement if the CLP were engaged in the mass movement.

REVOLUTIONARY UNION

On the other hand, the Revolutionary Union attempts to equate the struggle for national liberation to a fight for bourgeois civil rights as they attempt to convince us that all nationalism is bourgeois.

At a CASA (Center for Autonomous Social Action) demonstration against the US border patrol in which CASA had skillfully unfolded proletarian internationalism on the basis of an affirmation of revolutionary nationalism, White RU cadres showed up. They tried to shout down, "El Pueblo Unido Jemas Sera Vencido!" with "Workers United Can Never Be Defeated!"

While CASA put forward "one people, without borders!", referring to the entire Latino people, RU passed out a leaflet, "one class, without borders!"

The RU has done in its mind what the imperialists in all their power can not do in the real world. The RU has eliminated national movements.

Continue on Page B

AGAINST CHAUVINISM CONT.

FORCES OF IMPERIALISM IN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

These organizations struggle to co-opt revolutionary leadership in national movements by seeing national and proletarian liberation in contradiction and subordinating the former to the latter. They struggle to drain the national movement of revolutionary content by reducing its demands to "Against discrimination, for democratic rights," right in line with the NAACP and CPUSA. As they attempt to extend their hegemony over the revolutionary movement in the US, these organizations reveal themselves as conscious or unconscious forces of imperialism in the revolutionary movement. As the Chinese Cultural revolution has shown, these relations are internal to the communist movement as well as external.

The tendency to sabotage national struggles, to avoid concrete support for self-determination, can mean disaster for the White revolutionary movement. The lowest form of this deviation is the attack on revolutionary action,

IN DEFENSE OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTION

"Reformist and revisionist political groups are frightened by revolutionary violence, by the ascending tidal wave of the masses. They do not want to impose on the historical forces or become engaged in revolutionary struggle. Action is divorced from theory in the application of Marx's dialectic."

---Abraham Guillen (Spanish civil war veteran, a theoretical leader of the Latin American revolutionary movement, writing during the emergence of these forces in the mid-60's.)

The primary way in which the reformist White chauvinist groups tend to weaken the struggle for socialism and against imperialism is their line on armed struggle. They adhere to the national chauvinist line that, while revolutionary war is necessary for all colonized nations outside the US, it is not on the agenda here in the US. This is supposed to be because we are somehow more civilized. The fact that Chile is urbanized, unionized, industrialized, thoroughly literate, etc., and that history has proven people's war to be necessary there, does not seem to mean anything to these groups. This is nothing other than American Exceptionalism.

The Communist League, for example, calls for the immediate independence for the Black Belt on the one hand, and implies the possibility of eventual armed insurrection on the other. Do they think that the Black Nation can declare independence by the ballot? And does the RU think that the Black Nation can liberate itself by calling up and announcing it to CBS? Certainly we have been given clear evidence that the US does not surrender power over to its victims in a peaceful manner.

The struggle for liberation from imperialism and for socialism involves a protracted war against the imperialist state.

So we put it to these White chauvinists--do you believe the lessons of Chile do not apply to the US? (American exceptionalism) Where do you deal with the question of armed struggle at all?



PEOPLE'S ARMY

We do not believe that at some unclear point in history the working class will suddenly rise up and smash the most powerful state ever constructed. This line constitutes bowing to the spontaneity of the masses. There is a need to build a people's army and that need grows as the crisis deepens. It is criminal to conceal the question of armed struggle from the people and from the revolutionary movement.

In short, we believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat--not only in words but in fact.



ARMED STRUGGLE IN THE WHITE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

The white revolutionary movement has its own relation to the question of armed struggle. Community self-defense, defense of our children, is not yet a major mass question among our people. But in the Black community and increasingly in the Chicano community this issue is very important. Repeated murders by the police and the mobilization of white forces such as the Ku Klux Klan are calling forth armed self-defense and militant mass action.

White revolutionaries must take the lead in combatting the developing Nazi forces. We alone can teach our people that our interests lie in support of the militant and armed struggle of the national liberation movements.

Armed struggle is an element in the revolutionary power of the people. That does not mean that we make demands now and hope that the ruling class will comply because of the threat of a possible insurrection some time later on. It means that in the mass struggle our demands shall be enforced by our people's army. When that army backs up the demands of the mass movement--provides cover for a demonstration, enforces a strike, liberates us from jail--then it will become our duty to go to the masses and point out how it is in their interest to support the clandestine army that is supporting us.

If we fail to do that work we are cutting out the very guts of our force; we are doing the enemy's work and allowing a split to develop between our open and clandestine forces.

It is because of that split that groups like the SLA carry out such actions as shooting Marcus Foster, an abortive attempt to lead the masses into a struggle which they had little or no desire to carry out.

On the other hand groups like the RU and CLP denounce all guerilla action within the US as terrorist. Although the two positions are opposite in form, they both have the same content, they both disarm the working class,

In no way should a correct understanding of armed struggle divert us from our task of party building. A people's army can only be crystallized upon the formation of a party, because the party is the core and leadership of the army.

THE WEATHER UNDERGROUND

We declare our total solidarity with the action against Anaconda taken on September 11, 1974, the anniversary of the bloody CIA coup in Chile. We call on our sisters and brothers to read "PRAIRIE FIRE", carry on discussions and struggle over their line, and to publicize and support actions like the one taken on Sept. 11.

Our main criticism of the Weather Underground is that they fail to deal thoroughly with themselves as members of a White revolutionary movement. They have failed to enforce the progressive demands of White workers in the US, or carry out armed propaganda around those demands.

While our national movement is certainly no longer progressive, and while it is surely better to see ourselves as an international formation than as a national force, we are still certainly a distinct historical phenomenon, subject to our own internal basis of development. We are the White revolutionary movement. The Weather Underground is a manifestation of our movement.

Today, when White workers are being chased down the road to fascism by the Ku Klux Klan, drawn down by the action of the extreme backwards elements into a racist cop mentality, we desperately need revolutionary leadership in action in the White movement.

Weather Underground began a self-criticism in this area in PRAIRIE FIRE. We call on them to carry that self-criticism out.



"Breadline--No One Has Starved"
by Reginald Marsh, 1932

SUMMATION

We need to build an International Marxist-Leninist Party which bases its development on the conditions of the portion of the working class we are to lead. This means:

1. Prior development of national parties or organizations.
2. Combat national chauvinism among the White masses and in the revolutionary movement
3. Destroy the American exceptionalist ideology which denies the need for protracted war in the US, and which fails today to defend revolutionary masses from the attacks of the enemy.

We must seek at all times to organize and lead the White revolutionary masses. But our organizational tasks in the mass movement will not move forward until we have achieved ideological clarity within the White revolutionary movement.

FIGHT US IMPERIALISM, THE COMMON ENEMY!

---White staff of SEIZE THE TIME

THIRD WORLD STATEMENT ON WHITE MOVEMENT

The role of white revolutionaries is key to determining the role of the white working class in the coming revolution. Presently the white working class is mobilizing in two opposing directions. One is a contra-mobilization towards a new fascist arrangement with Ford, Rockefeller, Meany, Haig, Kissinger, etc. It is expressed in anti-busing demonstrations, anti-Arab sentiments and pro-national police force majority. The other direction is a mobilization towards revolution and socialism. This is expressed by the militant women's movement, support for the Chilean people, resistance to economic repression, Vietnam veteran struggles, etc. Only one of these two roads will eventually win. White revolutionaries are the deciding factor in this struggle.

White revolutionaries are the only ones who can start a cultural revolution to change the consciousness of the white working class. Right now there is a material basis, very real economic reasons for the white working class to want revolution and socialism. But this is not primary now. What is primary is a decades old ideology of racism, sexism, patriotism, individualism and the need to dominate other exploited people. This means that the subjective relations of imperialism (how people think) have become primary over the objective conditions of society. This ideology was used by imperialism to destroy the revolutionary white labor movement of the early 1900's and bury all progressive history of white working people.

The whole of revolutionary white labor history has been neatly cut out of white working people's past. Their working class heroes are forgotten or made out as villains: John Brown, Mother Jones, Bill Haywood, the nameless whites who went over to the side of the Native Americans. In their place are put landowners, slave-owners, bankowners and mine-owners - Hamilton, Calhoun, Rockefeller, Guggenheim, Carnegie.

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 re-inforced them. The whole imperialist society is set up to put the working class white in hostile competition against the Third World masses beneath him. Meanwhile Rockefeller and Hearst are counting their profits.

Third World revolutionaries know this situation must end. We would prefer not having to defend against the racist attacks of a misguided white working class. We would like to focus the full strength of our revolutionary national movements against the capitalist class and its dogs. But we can not ignore the lessons of history and our own experiences. The leadership of the labor movement has failed at critical moments too often by betraying Third world people. Because of these failures, the white working class has become subservient, to the "greater good" of the American empire. Racism, patriotism, sexism, the affluent society, and a "middle-class" mentality has united broad sections of the white working class with their class enemy, the white capitalist.

BOTH ENGELS and Lenin wrote about the corruption of the working class of imperialist nations. Engels said, "You ask me what the English workers think about colonial policy. Well, exactly the same 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 Eng-

land's monopoly of the world market and the colonies."

Lenin wrote about turn of the century America. "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 masses." Today those Europeans (whites) have been integrated into the American Imperial Profit Sharing Bonus Plan. They are often its frontline defenders. Recent immigrants from Asia, Latin America and the urban immigration of Blacks are now at the bottom of the industrial workforce. Only, this time racism strengthens imperialism.

To combat these tendencies, Third World revolutionaries in the active leadership of their people's struggles have consistently urged two principles. The first is that the struggle of Third World nations within the U.S. is independent of what the white working class or white revolutionaries do or do not do. This is not to deny the interconnected nature of the struggle against imperialism and capitalism. It means that national liberation struggles have their own internal laws, histories and development.



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. 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 in the past have provided a strong base for alliance of revolutionary nationalist movements (not just a few individuals) with white youth during Vietnam and white revolutionaries.

The second principle of Third World revolutionaries is that white revolutionaries must educate and organize the white working class for its own real interests. White revolutionaries must use everything they have experienced and learned - the ruthless turn of economic cycles, workers' hatred of jobs that produce useless, dangerous, wasteful things, Vietnam and Chile, Watergate and Rockefeller. They must at least encourage enough doubt in the imperialist, fascist ideology so that white workers do not battle the oppressed nations of America. If white revolutionaries can educate and organize the white working class to be actively anti-imperialist, anti-racist, anti-sexist and pro-socialist revolution, all the better.

The Third World staff of Seize The Time thinks that the development of primarily white organizations based on women, youth, progressive workers, Vietnam vets, etc. will help meet these goals. We also think that there are areas of work which must be internationally coordinated. Some of these areas are a cross-country revo-

lutionary newspaper and propaganda network, much workplace organizing and joint rebellion against fascist economic repression (welfare, food, etc.)

The Third World staff of Seize The Time wishes to congratulate the Weather Underground on its excellent work, Prairie Fire. It is an excellent summary of American revolutionary history. The Underground has consistently stressed that the concrete analysis of concrete conditions is the key to successful revolution in America.

The Third World staff sees the Weather Underground as a model white organization. They undertake successful guerrilla actions against the empire, in support of Third World struggles. The Underground also does excellent propaganda on its actions, something that many aboveground organizations seem to have problems doing.

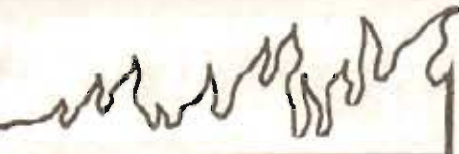
We do have criticisms of the Weather Underground. Little of their work is directed towards the white working class. For example, none of their actions have supported militant strikes that are directed against the capitalist. We are not suggesting though that they get into union work, or that they stop their excellent support of national liberation struggles. We would not mind seeing groups of whites organized to counter white racist marches that attempt to lynch Black people, like those in Boston. Certainly as the recession deepens, the Weather Underground and others will have many opportunities to act against economic repression. Jobless, hungry white people will appreciate acts of expropriation and the organization behind them if properly educated.

But more importantly, we do not suggest that all white revolutionaries join or build organizations like the Weather Underground. We think that the immediate task of white revolutionaries is smashing the fascist racist mentality of the white working class in their daily work. This mentality is standing in the way of any future development of the white working class. In Boston and across the country whites are organizing joint demonstrations against Blacks being bussed to their schools. Even in a militant labor union like the United Mine Workers, 20% of its members are striking in support of racist, fascist book banning. Recent polls have also shown that the majority of whites support the formation of a national police force. These events show how serious the need for revolutionary organization and leadership is among the white working class. This is the main responsibility of white revolutionaries. All organizational efforts must be based on this responsibility.

To summarize, the Third World staff of Seize The Time believe that:

1. National liberation movements must be independently organized to insure political decisions that correctly reflect the will of oppressed nations, which are overwhelmingly working class, within the U.S.
2. National forms of organization must include both fronts and parties. These are most effective in solving the problems of our peoples' struggle.
3. White revolutionaries must see their immediate task as smashing the racist, fascist mentality that grips the white working class and prevents the growth of their revolutionary consciousness and of cooperation with revolutionary national liberation movements.
4. Primarily white organizations and internationally coordinated areas of work must also be developed in the course of the overall revolution. Examples of mainly white organizations are women's groups, progressive workers' alliances, youth and vet groups. Examples of internationally coordinated areas of work are newspaper, propaganda network, workplace and combating economic repression.

PRAIRIE FIRE



A significant new contribution has been made to the revolutionary movement, PRAIRIE FIRE, by the Weather Underground, is an example of propaganda at its very best. From every part of the US we have received reports of sisters and brothers coming together, forming study groups and distribution committees, around this book.

We call on our friends to study the book and to distribute it widely. At the same time, we should not see PRAIRIE FIRE as being above criticism. We have made our criticisms clear in several articles in this centerfold.

No less than Black, Brown, and other oppressed peoples, we need "education that teaches us our true history and our role in present day society" (Black Panther Party Program, October, 1966). PRAIRIE FIRE is that kind of education. We thank the Weather Underground.

The following passages are from the section, "On the Road: Impressions of US History," (PRAIRIE FIRE, pp 61-97)

Due to problems with space, we were unable to include the section on the role of women in the early labor movement. We decided that, rather than include an edited version of that section, we would print it in another issue of the paper. PRAIRIE FIRE costs \$1.50 plus 25¢ or mailing. Order from:

PO Box 411
Times Plaza Station
Brooklyn, NY, 11217
OR
PO Box 40614
Station C.
San Francisco, CA 94110

* * * * *

A people's history is a powerful weapon. In the hands of the oppressors, history is twisted and caricatured. In the arsenal of the revolution, it helps us draw the difficult lessons from past struggles and identify the resistance which has always opposed the enemy.

But history is a weapon only if used honestly, only if reverses as well as high-points, accommodation with empire and white supremacy as well as resistance to it, are looked at straight-on. The real history of the US is almost totally unknown to the US people. The most important parts have been buried, falsified, hidden from our view. What must be unearthed are the possibilities for liberation at any given stage, how far these were carried, what held us back, what basis was laid for future struggles, including our own.

* * *

... The AFL came to represent mainly the aristocracy of labor. Daniel De Leon, a socialist organizer, called the AFL the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." Based in the highly skilled crafts, elitist, all white, opposed to militancy, the AFL even then served as an emergency brake on the class struggle.

THE OPPOSITION: Miners, Women, Immigrants, Wobblies

Alongside this history of accommodation to imperialism, there are also the great movements and acts of opposition--the stirrings, the militant strikes, the courage of the Haymarket martyrs, the women's shirtwaistmakers, the Wobblies, the Molly Maguires, the Western Federation of Miners, the day-to-day survival struggles of the immigrants. In this disloyal opposition, we can recognize our roots.

On May 4, 1886, in Chicago, a workers' rally was called to protest the murder of Striking McCormick Harvester employees a few days before. As it ended, a bomb was tossed killing one policeman. Seven labor and anarchist leaders were framed and convicted and four were executed for the act. From this struggle, people all around the world commemorate May Day. The city of Chicago erected a



MAY DAY RALLY NEW YORK, 1913.

monument to police power--the statue of a policeman which, until recently, stood in Haymarket Square.

* * *

In the 1890s, miners in Colorado and Idaho faced the guns of State and Federal troops as they fought for the eight hour day. After long hours in the mines, workers would meet, teach each other to read, argue politics, talk about socialism and revolution. In 1892, the Western Federation of Miners formed an organization which led major strikes throughout the next decade. In the same year, the Homestead strike was crushed when Federal troops massacred striking steelworkers in Pennsylvania.

* * *

A movement arose in this period called the Industrial Workers of the World--the Wobblies. The preamble to the IWW constitution, written in 1905, reads:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make the employing class, have all the good things of life.

"Between these two classes, a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organized as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system."

... The Wobblies had serious weaknesses--they underestimated the need for strong organization, downplayed political agitation and action, and never developed an effective long-range strategy... They advocated revolution and socialism, opposed imperialist war, and made great breakthroughs in work with immigrants, women, and children.

* * *

... A test for all opposition movements came with the onset of WWI. Although most of the Socialist parties in the Second International supported each their own governments in the war, there were major revolts against the war by workers, soldiers, and poor people.

The greatest event of the war years, as far as oppressed people were concerned, was the victory of the Russian Revolution in 1917. Establishment of the world's first socialist revolution sent waves of energy through radical movements around the world. The IWW supported the Bolsheviks. So did Seattle AFL longshoremen, who refused to load machine guns headed for the US anti-Bolshevik expeditionary forces in Siberia. It was in this period that the Socialist Party split and the Communist Party formed.

The example of the Bolshevik Revolution was powerful--and the capitalist fear of revolution was equally strong. The US government launched a major cam-

paign to crush the US left forces. The Wobblies came under intensive state attack.

... The Wobblies were finally crushed. Beset by internal division and lack of effective organization, they were unable to deal with the smashing force of state repression. Some of their great leaders, like Big Bill Haywood, were forced into exile.

Gompers and the AFL leadership joined in the anti-Bolshevik campaign. They became the mouthpiece for the rulers, the labor wedge in the onslaught against US leftists. "Americanism" was once again the watchword--the enemy was the immigrant, the Black, the Mexican, the militant woman striker--all the forces of opposition. This is similar to AFL-CIO President George Meany's "patriotic" attacks on the antiwar movement during the Vietnam War.

Attacks on the left were aimed at defusing the revolutionary movement in the wake of the Russian Revolution, and also at insuring that US gains made during World War I could be consolidated. With its European rivals badly battered from the war, the United States tightened its hold on Latin America and made aggressive moves toward China. The United States entered a new era as a major world power. While opposition continued (Debs drew one million votes in the Presidential campaign of 1920), masses of people were mobilized behind the goal of expanding the empire as the sure way to prosperity. William Green, who succeeded Gompers as President of the AFL, argued that strikes were no longer needed, that imperialism would bring the US working class great economic benefits. This kind of opportunism and national chauvinism within the U.S. labor movement helped isolate the radical forces.

... Parallel to these developments was a marked increase in terror directed at the Black population. This was reflected in a wave of lynchings, organized attacks on Black communities, and the rapid growth of the Klan in the post-World War I period...

* * * * *

SO BEGAN THE FASCIST/RACIST CONSOLIDATION OF MONOPOLY CAPITALIST POWER IN THE US. IN THAT PROCESS, OVER THE YEARS, WHITE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN CUT OFF FROM OUR HERITAGE OF HEROIC STRUGGLE. OUR "HISTORY" HAS BEEN MADE EMPTY AND ARTIFICIAL. WITH THE AID OF PRAIRIE FIRE WE CAN BE RE-UNITED WITH OUR PAST IN PRIDE AND ANGER.

No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement. C/S

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.

* * * * *

Center Section

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" 25 copies - - - - - \$.05 ea.

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FORD & ROCKY CONTINUED...

broad, and governments dependent on Washington for their politics and Wall Street for their economics. Ford hopes to recapture the past, but the wheel of history is turning the other way. "Countries want independence. nations want liberation and people want revolution." That ideology established the People's Republic of China 25 years ago. Since then it has spread around the world, and now US imperialism is caught in an ever-narrowing sphere of influence. China has also become a food exporter in the last five years shipping a greater volume each year. China frequently will sell food at no interest, no strings attached to countries turned down by the World Bank(Rockefeller) and western governments except under terms that would indebt these countries forever.

WHIPPING UP RACISM

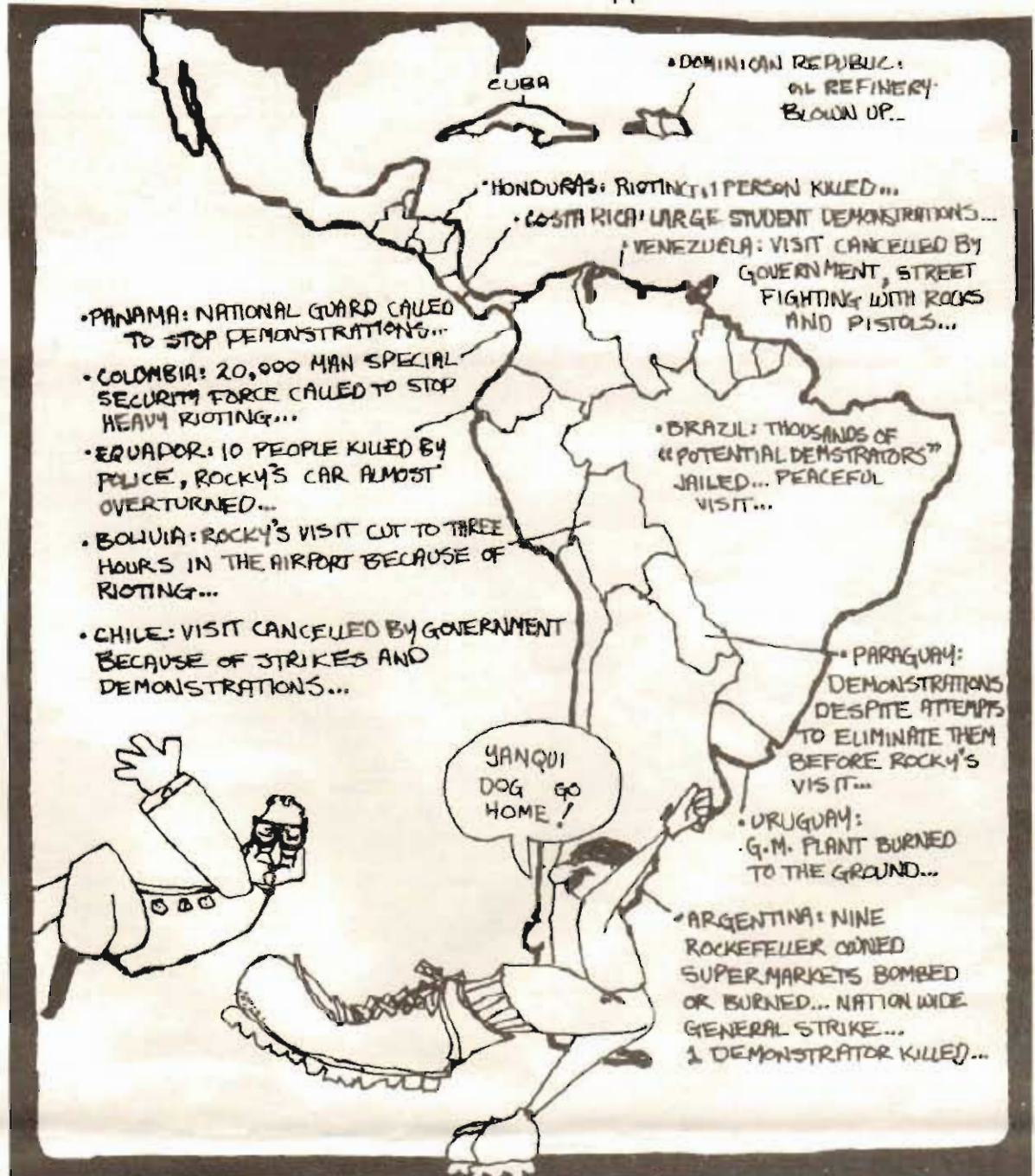
In the same press conference to defend his economic policy, Ford also outlined a stand on the racial strife in Boston. Ford opposes busing for school integration. Being a conservative he has a nostalgia for the way Black people were in the fifties. But being a member of the government and ruling class, he wants the white citizens of Boston to "respect the Law" and work through the courts and elected officials to bring back the old days. The effect of Ford's statement on Boston was inflammatory. It did almost as much to stop white attacks on Blacks as the KKK Grand Dragon's statement that the crime rate was lower when "we burned one a week on the cross". Actually forced school busing to achieve "equal" education is one of the most effective fascist reforms of modern America. It gained prominence after Black students began BSU's, after the Black communities demanded community control of schools, after Black Nationalism was rapidly gaining ground. It effectively inflamed white racism and sidetracked the issue of central city ghetto schools receiving funding in proportion to the percentage of school children they taught. Now the issue has come into national prominence again. Revolutionaries had better not sit on the sidelines this time.

RESTORING CONFIDENCE IN THE AMERICAN WAY

On the political front, Ford has sought to project himself as Mr. Clean, honest and open to the appeals of the people. Unfortunately for his strategy, the only person Ford could find for Vice-president was Nelson "Attica" Rockefeller. Newsmen joke that for Rockefeller to avoid a conflict of interest, the whole American economy has to be put into trust. Putting Rockefeller in office makes it obvious that the state is merely the agent of the bourgeoisie. Dean Acheson, John Foster Dulles, Simon Helms, and Richardson have all worked for Rockefeller companies and have trained at Rockefeller supported universities. Ford stated that one of the reasons why he picked Nelson was because of his expertise in foreign affairs. It's true that the Rockefellers take a large interest in foreign affairs(at least a couple 100%). Nelson's speciality is South America. From a "fact-finding" tour to South America, Nelson found out that, "No country can protect its internal security all by itself." To "protect" other peoples' security Rockefeller companies have supplied the CIA with directors. Allan Dulles was a top Rockefeller lawyer, John McCone was from Standard Oil of California, and Helms belonged to an exclusive Rockefeller New York bankers' club. The CIA along with ITT and Anaconda(also Rockefeller interests) is responsible for last year's coup in Chile. The code name for that coup was Djakarta(capital of Indonesia). In 1965 Indonesia was the scene of another CIA-sponsored coup. About one million communists, workers and peasants were massacred by the coup. Other CIA coups have occurred in Iran, Congo, Brazil, Guatemala, etc. - all countries whose governments before the coup were nationalizing Rockefeller companies.

In return for the favor that the CIA

In 1970 Rockefeller went on a "fact-finding" tour of Latin America. This is what happened:



did for the Chilean junta, the Chilean special agents have been operating in the U.S. Individuals and organizations that condemn the junta and support the MIR have been receiving threatening phone calls, shadowed and even beaten in one instance. The target of some of these attacks is the family of the author of a pamphlet detailing the role of CIA-front AFL-CIO organizations in breaking up progressive unions in Latin America.

CONSOLIDATION OF POLICE POWER

Unification of the Chilean and CIA operations speaks to the consolidation of repressive forces, political, police, throughout the American empire. Ford has kept on both Colby of the CIA who previously served as Agent in Charge of Indochina and the Phoenix Project, and Kelly, FBI head and former police chief. Kelly is a key part of the fascist program to consolidate police and military apparatus nationally and internationally. One of the weaknesses of anti-revolutionary(counter-insurgency) campaigns in the past has been the rivalry of police departments and special units with the FBI. Former police chief Kelly has been hired partly to smooth over these differences for a unified attack on revolutionaries. Notably, Ford, Kelly and Saxby have launched a propaganda campaign to promote the formation of a national police force, uniting the FBI's "professionalism" with the coverage of local police departments. This was supposedly to hail the "central city professional criminal", i.e. people who commit economic crimes and victims of government chemical warfare (heroin). Kelly is lobbying for practically unlimited wiretapping against the revolutionary movement supposedly to catch bombers, kidnapers and extortionists. But he will probably find uses for all the information collected--identifying and preventing potentially "subversive" activities and organizations.

On the legislative front, Rockefeller brings much experience on designing repressive laws. Rockefeller has campaigned for drug laws that put the victims of CIA-Mafia heroin trade in jail for life. He also pioneered "workfare" "reforms" forcing people to work for slave wages when they can not find decent paying jobs. His welfare "reform" also pressures women, mostly third world, to accept contraception, abortion and sterilization. (His brother, John D. the third heads a world population control, "non-profit" organization.)

While governor of New York, Rockefeller raised taxes for poor and working people and lowered corporate taxes, just like Ford's new program. The new Rockefeller-Ford program centralizes the bourgeoisie and the military, government and police apparatus. It was made in response to the weakening of bourgeois rule caused by internal and external factors. It will try to control and subdue those threatening factors. Its aim is to make the world safe for U.S. imperialism for another 200 years. This is fascism. This is what George Jackson said about fascism:

"I am an extremist, a communist (not communistist, a communist), and I must be destroyed or I will join my comrades. I will give them my all, every dirty fighting trick in the annals of war. Nothing will defeat our revenge and nothing will counterwill our march to victory. We come to our conclusion: the only historical recourse that is left to us. Freedom means warmth and protection against harsh exposure to the elements. It means food, not garbage. It means truth, harmony, and the social relations that spring from these. It means the best medical attention whenever it's needed. It means employment that is reasonable, that coincides with the individual necessities and feelings. We will have this freedom even at the cost of total war."--BLOOD IN MY EYE, p.151

PUERTO RICAN SOLIDARITY DAY

WE, RESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES, DECLARE OUR SUPPORT FOR THE DECEMBER 1973 HISTORY-MAKING UNITED NATIONS' RESOLUTION RECOGNIZING "THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE" AND DEMAND A BICENTENNIAL WITHOUT COLONIES.

BECAUSE Puerto Rico is a Classic Colony of The United States. This has been true since the 1898 invasion by United States troops, which violated the autonomous political status, ceded to Puerto Rico by Spain a year earlier. Although Puerto Rico today supposedly has its own government and constitution, in fact the U.S. Congress has jurisdiction over eighty-five vital areas of Puerto Rican political and economic life. These include migration, citizenship, currency, trade relationships with other countries, labor relations, communications, postal service, maintenance of an army, and military use of land (13% of Puerto Rico's best agricultural land is occupied by U.S. military bases.) In 1917, Puerto Ricans were deprived of their rights of a nation and forced to become U.S. citizens, in time to be drafted into the World War I army.

THIS POLITICAL CONTROL IS DEEPENED BY ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE. North American corporations control 85% of all industry in Puerto Rico. These corporations, exempt from taxes and benefitting from the low wage-scale, extract huge profits. A dramatic example of this economic colonialism is the escalating investment in the petro-chemical industry on the island over the last 15 years. Puerto Rico now refines a significant amount of oil used in the U.S. Thus, the ecologically hazardous refining process remains under full control of U.S. oil interests without endangering the North American continent.

For the Puerto Rican people this means that industrial development is based on the needs of North American industry. Puerto Ricans produce what they cannot consume and consume what they do not produce. In fact, Puerto Rico is the fourth largest market for U.S.-produced goods in the world!

U.S. control of Puerto Rico has created a life and death crisis for this nation of four million people, with a history of more than four hundred years. US domination stifles any real economic development on the island, bringing starvation wages and a cost of living even higher than in the U.S., and causing chronic unemployment for 30% of the workers. Forced to look for work, over one and a half million Puerto Ricans migrated to the United States. Those who leave face brutal racist oppression on the mainland, live in the worst slums or migrant camps, and find only the lowest paying jobs available.

The corrupt government of Puerto Rico, unwilling and unable to resolve the people's problems, and losing popular support, has become more repressive. Five political prisoners, members of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, have been

in U.S. jails for more than twenty years. Today there are mounting political arrests, constant police brutality, and threats on the lives of political activists. Right-wing groups, with proven financial ties to the CIA, have been linked to several bombings of *Claridad*, a pro-independence newspaper, and attacks on the offices of both the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP).

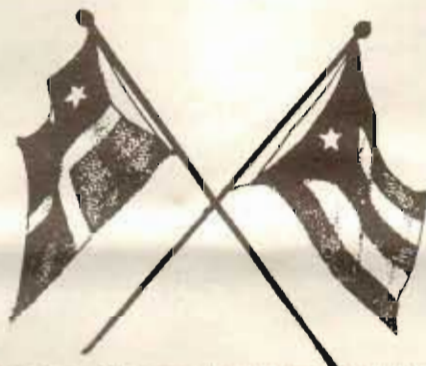
THESE REALITIES HAVE NOT GONE UNCHALLENGED. From the very beginning at the time of the Spanish invasion, Puerto Rico has had a long history of anti-colonial struggle, with traditions of courage and resistance. Today, the Puerto Rican independence movement is growing by leaps and bounds. Labor strikes this past year-on a national level-have halted all trucking, municipal transportation, school services, sanitation collection, electrical and power utilities operations. The student movement, the most militant sector of the independence movement since the early sixties, has closed down the University twice this year-once in support of labor struggles.

This resistance brought the colonial condition of the Puerto Rican people to the attention of the nations of the world. Last year, after listening to Ruben Berrios and Juan Mari Bras, the leaders of the Puerto Rican Independence Party and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, in a precedent-setting moment the United Nations approved the resolution which declared that Puerto Rico has the right to independence and instructed the United

States and the corporations under its jurisdiction to refrain from any measure-economic or social-which might serve as an obstacle to decolonization. Current U.S. plans for building a superport petroleum complex and massive strip mining for copper in the central mountain range clearly show that the United States intends to ignore this resolution.

The United States government continues to deny the existence of the massive independence movement. The mass media maintains a conspiracy of silence about it, promoting the myth that Puerto Rico is the "showcase of democracy."

In 1976, the United States 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 U.S. imperialism in Vietnam must also join in demanding an end to U.S. do-



mination of the courageous Puerto Rican people.

THE MOMENT OF UNITY IS HERE. It is up to us, people living in the U.S., to make the government stop its illegal and immoral activity in Puerto Rico, to pull out its troops and stop its repressive intervention-to get out of the Puerto Rican people's lives.

On May 1, 1974 the Puerto Rican Socialist Party called for a massive demonstration of support for the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for their independence in New York on October 27, 1974.

WE CALL ON THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES TO SHOW CONCRETE SUPPORT FOR THE STRUGGLE OF THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE IN THIS MASSIVE NATIONAL MOBILIZATION.

There, 20,000 of us - Puerto Rican, Afro-American, white, Mexican, Chicano, Asian, Native American - will demand:

INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO!
A BICENTENNIAL WITHOUT COLONIES!
---Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee



NEW YORK 5 STATEMENT OF SUPPORT

We greet you with outstretched hearts and unwavering dedication to the struggle against American imperialism.

Comrades, friends, October 27th will be a day of great historical importance... not just to the Puerto Rican people and their heroic fighters for freedom, but also to all of us here in Amerika who fight against and are tired of wearing the chains of American imperialism.

As we all should know, the struggle in Puerto Rico, like the struggles in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, the Middle East, to name a few, cannot be separated from our struggle here in Amerika.

We call out to all of you who are sincere in heart, to those of you who feel the five deaths of our comrades of the SLA, those of you who support the never-ending struggles of the BLA and Weather Underground, those of you who feel the pains suffered by our many imprisoned brothers, sisters, sons and daughters, those of you who in whatever way cry out against police brutality and the killing of our young in our communities, to come out in support of the demonstration for Puerto Rican Solidarity Day.

We must show the American oppressor and its cohorts that they're being fought, not by a few, but by an ever-growing army of peace and freedom loving peoples, who will not be turned back by neither lies, guns, nor fire.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES
LIFE TO THE PEOPLE

SIGNED THE NEW YORK 5
ALBERT WASHINGTON
ANTHONY L. BOTTOM
FRANCISCO TORRES
HERMAN BELL
GABRIEL TORRES

Where else can you get 100% exemption from all taxes, federal taxes included? Most localities competing for new plants offer tax breaks of one sort or another. But only Puerto Rico can free you from all taxes of any kind.

Your plant is not subject to federal taxes, corporate or personal—they don't apply in Puerto Rico. And you are exempted from 10 to 25 years from all Puerto Rican taxes, including corporate income, real, property, excise, municipal taxes, license fees.

Plus all the labor you need—eager, young, able, productive. Full employment is not yet in sight in Puerto Rico. People need jobs and they want to work.

One company required 400 bilingual workers with high-school diplomas. Within a week the Commonwealth Department of Labor had sent them 1200 candidates, with hundreds more ready in reserve.

A major Japanese electronics firm with a plant in Puerto Rico says that its Puerto Rican workers match the legendary productivity of its Japanese workers back home.

The workers are there. The government will help you find them and train them. And your company can be reimbursed for the salaries of both trainees and instructors.

Plus reasonable wages. Per capita income in Puerto Rico is now the second highest in

Latin America, yet wages are lower than in any other industrial area of the U.S. It is not cheap labor. But, it is reasonable.

Plus a congenial environment already bustling with U.S. industry. Puerto Rico is on the move. Your plant would have plenty of company.

Operation Bootstrap, the island's dynamic industrial development program, has already brought some 2000 factories to Puerto Rico. 124 of the companies of *Fortune's 1000* have opened no fewer than 397 plants there.

You will have a choice of good sites, many in thriving industrial parks. Modern factory buildings rent for as little as 75¢ per square foot.

Puerto Rico's billion-dollar petrochemical industry provides raw materials for plastics, fibers, paints, agricultural chemicals, synthetic rubbers.

Whatever your company may need in the way of power, services, transportation facilities, communications, or financing, chances are you'll find it on this booming island.

Plus the protection of the U.S. Constitution. Puerto Rico is a Commonwealth freely associated with the United States. Your property and investments are protected by the U.S. Constitution as well as by Puerto Rico's:

The currency is the U.S. dollar. No de-

valuation worries. Goods and people move freely between Puerto Rico and the mainland. No quotas. No tariffs. No passports.

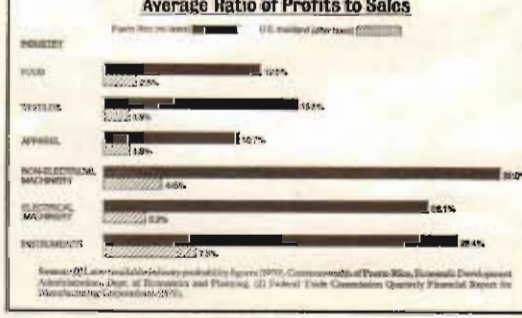
And no communications problem with the mainland. You can direct dial major U.S. cities (Puerto Rico is Area Code 809).

Unless you're sure you can do better than all this elsewhere, you'd be smart to clip the coupon and get the full story.

Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
Economic Development Administration
Century City, 10100 Santa Monica Blvd.
Dept. SX-1
Los Angeles, California 90067
I'd like to learn more about Puerto Rico's advantages as a plant site, including 100-percent exemption from all taxes, and how they can help me make better profits than on the U.S. mainland. Send me your free booklet, "When It's Time to Extend Your Business Horizons." Enclosed is my letterhead.
The products I may be interested in manufacturing in Puerto Rico are:
Name _____
Title _____ Company _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Country _____
©1973, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico challenges West Coast manufacturers to match their profits against those being made in Puerto Rico

From the financial page of a major newspaper



WORLD REVOLUTION

On October 1, The People's Republic of China celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. In solidarity with the great people of China, led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the staff of Seize the Time is publishing in two parts the Chinese delegation's speech at the U.N. In the next issue we will also publish Owusu Gadauki's speech at the October 1st Friendship celebration.

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

CHINA AT U.N.

Chairman Chiao Kun-hua's Speech at UN
Mr. President,

New and important victories have been won by the people of all countries in their struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism since the start of the 28th Session of the United Nations General Assembly last year. The numerous Third World countries have become the main force in the revolutionary struggle against the two hegemonic powers. More and more people have seen through the so-called "detente" played up by the superpowers. All the basic contradictions in the world are further sharpening particularly the contradiction between the two superpowers themselves. It is now evident to all that the world today is amidst more intense turbulence and unrest.

What should be noted here first is the great October war in the Middle East. The heroic people of Egypt, Syria, Palestine and other Arab countries, in defiance of superpower obstruction and disruption, boldly took up arms and successfully rebuffed Israeli Zionist aggression. This fight exploded the myth of Israeli "invincibility," upset the state of "nowar, no peace," imposed by the superpowers and demonstrated the might of the united struggle of the Arab people.

In this Middle East war, the Arab countries used oil as a weapon to deal a heavy blow at Zionism and hegemonism. This was a historic pioneering action. Its impact far exceeds the scope of the Arab people's struggle. It has opened up a new dimension for the Third World's struggle in defence of national resources against imperialist plunder and exploitation.

The African people's struggle for national liberation has made great progress. Portugal is one of the oldest colonial empires. The downfall of the former fascist regime in Portugal is a victory for the African people who have persevered in a long armed struggle as well as for the Portuguese people who have persistently opposed the reactionary colonial war.

The peoples of Indochina have steadily achieved new successes in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national liberation. The Vietnamese people have carried on an unremitting struggle for the strict implementation of the Paris agreement and against the Nguyen Van Thieu clique's violations of the agreement. In Laos, the Provisional Government of National Union ever stronger in their fight against the traitorous Lon Nol clique. The struggle of the Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland has won ever wider support. There is a growing tendency among the Southeast Asian countries to free themselves from superpower interference and contention.

The struggle of the Latin American peoples against hegemonism and in defence of their state sovereignty, independence and national economic rights and interests has continued to surge forward. They initiated the struggle for the 200-nautical-mile maritime rights, which has become common battle cry of

the great majority of nations.

The Asian, African and Latin American peoples have supported each other in struggle, and they have become ever more keenly aware that unity is strength. At various conferences, they have strongly denounced colonialism, racism, Zionism, imperialism and hegemonism. Their just struggles and those of the people of other countries, supporting and complementing each other, are pounding away at the old international order which the superpowers vainly attempt to maintain.

Lenin pointed out, "the content of imperialist politics is 'world domination' and the continuation of this politics is imperialist war." So long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, there will be the danger of war, and genuine detente or "lasting peace" will be impossible. Today the danger of war comes from the superpowers' spheres of influence in Europe and other parts of the world in order to supersede that super and realize its own wild ambition of world domination. With this fierce contention between the superpowers going on as it is eventually, either the superpowers will go to war against each other or the people will rise in revolution; either the war will give rise to revolution, or revolution will prevent the war. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today."

AFRICA,

I. ON AFRICA'S FIGHT AGAINST COLONIALISM

China consistently supports the liberation struggles of all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples and considers this to be her bounden internationalist duty. In Africa, we firmly support the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Azania and other regions in their just struggle against colonialism and racism. We hail the birth of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and warmly welcome its admission to the United Nations. We firmly demand that Spain terminate its colonial domination in Spanish Sahara and sincerely hope that the Arab countries concerned will work together with the people of Spanish Sahara to seek a reasonable solution to the existing questions of this region through friendly consultations on the basis of unity against colonialism.

We hold that the colonial peoples can win national liberation only by relying mainly on their own efforts to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against colonialism. Moribund colonialism relies on armed force to carry on its death-bed struggle, and it will never step down from the stage of history unless it is defeated by the armed struggle of the colonial peoples. Both the birth of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the more recent agreement on the independence of Mozambique are in essence the result of the result of the long and persistent armed struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, and are by no

WORLD REVOLUTION NOTES

SANTIAGO- October has seen an increase in fascist repression in Chile. On October 5, informers led the secret police to an headquarters of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR). In the following shootout several MIR militants were wounded and killed. Among the killed was the Secretary-General of the MIR. Several other militants were killed and captured. Martyred President Allende's nephew was able to escape with other comrades.

Among the captured was MIR militant Carmen Castillo. A former university professor before the coup, she is now eight months pregnant. She is being held incommunicado and faces exceptionally vicious torture and execution. International concern has been raised a-



means favours bestowed by colonialism.

The downfall of the former fascist regime in Portugal which persisted in the colonial war is, of course, an important event. But this development in no way implies that Portugal will bring independence to the colonial peoples on a silver platter. Recently, under the pressure of the people, the new Portuguese Government had to recognize the right to independence of the of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies; this is a manifestation of the general trend. But it is yet to be seen whether the new Portuguese Government will suit its actions to its words. Even when this Government has reached an agreement with a colony, it remains to be seen whether the agreement will truly be implemented. The declaration of the 11th Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity points out that if Portugal does not take "a clear position" on "the right to total independence" of its colonies in Africa, "there will be no other way but pursuit and intensification of the struggle for national liberation." We warmly endorse this correct stand. According to our experience in China, all reactionaries habitually use counter-revolutionary dual tactics, and we must use revolutionary dual tactics to deal with them. Armed struggle is fundamental, but negotiations are not excluded. Sometimes, going to negotiations is tit-for-tat; and, sometimes, not going to negotiations is also tit-for-tat. Even in negotiations one must base himself on fighting. In the course of negotiations, the fundamental interests of the people must be protected. The armed forces of the people must be strengthened, not weakened.

Moreover, it must be pointed out that while old-line colonialisms have not died out, neo-colonialisms of various descriptions, including the neo-colonialism flaunting the banner of socialism, are stepping up their infiltration. They are sowing discord among African countries and within the national-liberation movements to split and demoralize them in a vain attempt to supplant old-line colonialisms and control the regions concerned. Sharp vigilance should be maintained against this. The future of the African liberation struggle is bright, but the road ahead remains tortuous. We believe that great and increasingly awakening African people, strengthening their unity and persevering in a long struggle, will certainly surmount all difficulties and triumph in the end.

THE NEXT ISSUE OF SEIZE THE TIME WILL HAVE THE REMAINDER OF THIS SPEECH, INCLUDING SECTIONS ON INDO-CHINA AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

about her safety. Both Britain and Sweden have offered her political asylum. Women and anti-Coup groups and organizations are organizing internationally to try and win her release. The MIR has vowed to avenge their comrades. Venceremos!

INDOCHINA- The people's struggle grows in leaps and bounds. Entire provinces are being liberated from the puppet troops by the NLF. In Saigon the "Third Force" and the NLF have effectively mobilized all segments of the masses against Thieu. The NLF has stated that it will no longer negotiate until Thieu has been deposed. Forces that supported Thieu a month ago are openly denouncing him. The situation is fine! •MORE NOTES ON PG.15•



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PEOPLE'S WAR: THE FILIPINO PEOPLE'S ANSWER TO MARTIAL LAW

1. U.S.-Marcos Dictatorship

The Philippines today suffers under the repression of a martial law regime which was imposed on September 22, 1972, by President Ferdinand E. Marcos. With the declaration came military censorship of the press, radio and television; a ban on strikes and demonstrations; the closing down of the legislature and supreme court; in short, the abolition of all the basic democratic rights of the Filipino people.

A steadily worsening economic and political situation and the subsequent rise of mass discontent and protest were the conditions which led up to the declaration of martial law. By the 1970's the cost of living had gone up 25% since 1963. With the devaluation of the peso, the prices of all prime commodities rose nearly 40%. The costs of food, transportation, education, medical care and housing again spiraled when Marcos agreed to an increase in the cost of oil because of pressure by U.S. oil companies. And to add insult to injury, Marcos spent huge sums of government money for bribes in his re-election campaign of 1969.

It was in this atmosphere that popular protest intensified in what came to be known as the "first quarter storm" of 1970. There were mass demonstrations at Malacanang Presidential Palace and the U.S. embassy, people's marches and anti-imperialist rallies and the dramatic defection to the New People's Army of Lt. Victor Corpus, an instructor at the Philippine Military Academy.

The growing nationalist sentiment in the country prompted Marcos into more and more repressive measures. In a "Reichstag fire" type incident Marcos suspended the writ of habeas corpus in August of 1971 after the mysterious bombing of a Liberal Party rally at Plaza Miranda in Manila. Marcos alleged that "lawless elements" supported by an unnamed "foreign power" were conspiring to overthrow his regime and proceeded to arrest hundreds of his nationalist critics.

Outraged citizens immediately protested the suspension of the writ and the threat of martial law which seemed imminent. A broad-based, anti-fascist coalition called forth demonstrations numbering over 50,000 people. Then on August 22 the Supreme Court ruled to set an end to US parity rights. Marcos concocted a bogus assassination attempt on his Defense Secretary, Enrile, and blaming the "communists" and the New People's Army, he declared martial law.

Martial law was declared with the close "advice" of the American ambassador and active support of the U.S. government. The U.S. is interested in "stability" in the Philippines in order to protect both its vast economic interests, as well as, its strategic military bases in relationship to the rest of Asia. For the U.S. imperialists the Marcos dictatorship is a good thing. However, for the Filipino people, the much heralded "New Society" of Marcos has proven to be nothing more than

an extension and aggravation of the ills of the old society. Under martial law the Filipino people have witnessed more government corruption, only now transferred directly into the hands of the army and military police; ever worsening inflation; severe food shortages of rice and other staples; most blatant penetration of Philippine economy by foreign business interests; continued land grabbing and widespread genocide in Mindanao, in general, increased hardship and suffering.

The mounting resistance movement to end these inequities in Philippine life may have been forced underground by the martial law, but the revolution can not be stifled and the movement continues to expand even under the fascist conditions imposed by the U.S. Marcos dictatorship.

2. Basic Problems of the Filipino People

Revolutionary ideas are not imported; they grow directly out of the harsh realities of Philippine society. Because of this, Marcos cannot suppress the growth of revolutionary consciousness among the Filipino masses. It has emerged and reemerged throughout the many years of U.S. imperialist rule and Spanish rule before that. Today, all the numerous injustices and brutality experienced by the Filipino people can be traced back to three problems:

IMPERIALISM: U.S. imperialism continues to control (ie. have deciding influence in) all aspects of Philippine national life: economy, politics, culture, military affairs and foreign relations. At least twenty active military bases serve as the armed force protecting the multi-billion dollar American investments which amount to well over 50% of the total business assets of the country. In addition, American capital is concentrated in the most strategic sectors of the economy such as finance, import/export, fuel, etc. It is estimated that for every one U.S. dollar invested in the Philippines, five dollars in profits are taken out of the country! This amounts to one of the highest rates of profit return of any U.S. overseas investment area. This is the basic cause for why the Philippines can be so potentially rich while yet remaining so poor and backward. This exploitative relationship is bolstered by unequal treaties and agreements which guarantee that the Philippines will be maintained in a semi-colonial status in relation to the United States.

FEUDALISM: The control of US imperialism has also prevented the growth of a national capitalism and perpetuated feudal relations of production in the Philippine countryside. The close alliance between the landlord class and U.S. imperialism assures the continued subservience of Philippine agriculture to the needs of the imperialists for raw material export crops, as well as, a never ending supply of cheap labor from the impoverished Filipino peasantry who are forced to work in imperialist plantations and factories for extremely low wages, usually less than \$1 a day.

Over 70% of the Filipino people are peasants. The vast majority are poor and landless tenants living under extreme hardship and struggling to bare subsistence. Over the years the percentage of landless tenants has grown steadily larger, until today, in many provinces, up to 60% own no land whatsoever. Whereas the landlord class, who composes less than 1% of the population, controls over 50% of the agricultural lands. From the laboring masses, these parasites extract exorbitant rents as high as 70% of the harvest. They tighten the noose around the neck of the peasantry through the practice of usury - lending money to their tenants for seed and fertilizer at exorbitantly high interest rates. In addition, the peasantry is continuously terrorized and abused by the reactionary private armies of the landlord as well as the government army.

Since the landlords are not inter-

ested in developing an independent national economy, they do not introduce science and technology into agriculture. This curses the Filipino peasantry to a life of labor using back-breaking and primitive methods, while at the same time, it keeps agricultural production extremely low. However, this condition is inherent in the very nature of the semi-feudal character of the Philippines, and before the masses of peasants can cooperatively set out to find easier ways to conquer nature, they must first conquer their landlords who stand in the way of such progress.

BUREAUCRAT CAPITALISM: U.S. imperialism, by the end of World War II, could not maintain directly the colonial and feudal character of Philippine society in the face of the overwhelming national and democratic aspirations of the Filipino people. In order to do so indirectly, required the creation of a class of bureaucrat capitalists. These bureaucrats, drawn mostly from the landlord and comprador class, make their fortunes in "politics". They serve as the top political representative and managers for imperialist and landlord interests, while disguising themselves as "elected representatives of the Filipino people". In this sense they represent the first reactionary line of defense in maintaining the semi-colonial, semi-feudal system and they are the central political force in selling out the nation and the people to the imperialists.

Bureaucrat capitalists will go to any length to keep the sources of graft and corruption in their own hands or that of their clique. Because of this bureaucrat capitalism is the basis for local fascism. The best example of a bureaucrat capitalist is the present dictator Marcos who, during his term of office, has managed to make himself one of the richest men in Asia while unleashing fascist terror upon the impoverished Filipino masses.

Bureaucrat capitalism is not the "corruption of a political system"; it is a political system in and of itself by which the Philippines is maintained as a corrupt and puppet republic.

The Filipino people, especially during the past decade, have come to recognize U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism as their three main enemies obstructing the path toward genuine independence and democracy. Such growing revolutionary consciousness can not be held back in the face of rapidly deteriorating social conditions and the intensified hardships under the present U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.

3. National Democratic Revolution

One of the initial steps in the development of the revolutionary movement in

There was a noticeable change in the political atmosphere of the country, as broader and broader sectors of Philippine society began to take up these demands, voice them, form militant organizations and participate in mass protests. Frightened by this political awakening, the imperialists and Filipino ruling class stepped up their fascist repression. Demonstrations were brutally dispersed, killing and maiming people; arbitrary mass arrests were carried out; and active steps were taken to harass and suppress patriotic mass organizations. But with each new attack, the revolutionary movement continued to grow and win the sympathies of more and more of the Filipino masses.

By 1969 the national democratic movement had matured. With the rectification and re-establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines in 1968 a more comprehensive program and strategy for the National Democratic revolution was put forward. This program is outlined in the book, Philippine Society and Revolution - PSR written by the Party's chairman, Amado Guerrero; the PSR soon became the most widely read and studied book in the Philippines.

The program identifies the principal objective of the revolution to liberate the Filipino people from foreign exploitation and domestic feudal oppression; drive out the imperialists; carry out agrarian revolution in the countryside, and form a coalition government that would be representative of all the patriotic classes in Philippine society.

The National Democratic revolution will embrace all patriotic classes opposed to imperialism with principally the alliance of workers and peasants at its core. The urban petty bourgeoisie (ie. intelligentsia, students, professionals, craftsmen, and small businessmen) will be a reliable revolutionary force and the national bourgeoisie (ie. Filipino capitalists who want "nationalist industrialization" but are manipulated and outmaneuvered by imperialist interests) will be a less reliable, but important ally of the national democratic revolution.

The leading class force in the people's democratic revolution will be the Filipino working class and its revolutionary party, the Communist Party of the Philippines. Today the workers are the most concentrated, organized and disciplined class in Philippine society; they operate the country's industries and transport; labor in the huge imperialist-owned plantations and processing factories. While experiencing the most direct and brutal imperialist exploitation, yet they own nothing in their own country! Because of this, as a class, they have the best understanding of the needs of the whole nation to liberate itself from imperialism. At the same time, the Filipino working class has close and extensive ties with the peasantry. Most Filipino workers in the Philippines was to capture the attention, enthusiasm and determination of the country's youth and link them closely to the problems and struggles of the broader masses of workers and peasants. During the 1960's this was accomplished through the emergence of the national democratic movement. In its early stages, it was principally a propaganda and cultural movement carried out by such mass organizations like the Kabataang Makabayan-NM (Nationalist Youth).

The movement began to crystalize and popularize many of the major anti-imperialist and democratic demands of the Filipino people. It called for an end to all unequal military and economic treaties with the U.S. (ie. the Laurel Langley agreement) and put forward the demand for the nationalization of all imperialist owned industries and plantations. Tied to this were demands for a land reform program that would guarantee the distribution of lands to landless tenants, drastic reduction in rents, the right of peasants to form cooperatives and agricultural workers' unions, etc.

come from peasant families, they are keenly aware of feudal oppression and can exert much revolutionary influence in their home barrios.

At the same time the peasantry will be the main force in the national democratic revolution. They are the largest sector of Philippine society and without their powerful support there can be no success in revolution. The main problem facing the Filipino peasantry is the question of land. Consequently by leading a peasant war to free the masses from feudal oppression, the Philippine revolution will be fulfilling its main democratic task. This is also the principal way in which the Filipino working class builds a strong alliance with the peasantry and can mobilize them to also accomplish successfully the central task of driving out of the country the imperialists and their local puppets.

THE PHILIPPINES IN ITS SOUTHEAST ASIAN SETTING



4. People's War

On March 29, 1969 the New People's Army (NPA) was formed, under the guidance and leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines. With the NPA's establishment a new and higher stage of People's War began to unfold in the Philippines.

People's War is the popular term to describe the basic strategy and tactics that will guide the national democratic revolution to victory. It means principally that the people must be determined to wage an armed struggle in order to defeat the armies of the imperialists and their puppets, win political power and then defend their victory with arms. This is the cornerstone of People's War and it stems from the understanding that there has never been an example in the history of mankind where exploiting classes have voluntarily surrendered their ill-gotten wealth and power without a vicious fight.

The concept of People's War recognizes the need for a People's Army to lead

the armed struggle and seize political power; it recognizes the leading role of the working class and its Party, the Communist Party; and it recognized the need to build a strong United Front of all patriotic classes in order to support the armed struggle.

Since its formation, the NPA has paid close attention to the tactics of People's War. Recognizing that in the initial stages the people's army will be relatively weak while the imperialist and puppet armies will be well-equipped and in greater numbers, the NPA will concentrate its attacks in the countryside where the imperialists and their puppets have their weakest political and military links; build up the people's revolutionary power there first and "surround the cities from the countryside."

Beginning in the mountainous and backward areas, such as Isabela and Cagayan Valley, the NPA first concentrates on building up a mass base among the poor peasants through assisting them organize and lower their rents and improve the living conditions. This is coupled with propaganda and education work to explain to the peasantry the three basic enemies of the Filipino people - imperialism, feudalism, bureaucrat capitalism - and the need to wage national democratic revolution. With the people's support as a foundation, the NPA attacks the reactionary armed forces where they are the weakest, captures weapons, confuses them and keeps them always in fear and on the run. Whenever the landlord or government armies attack and abuse the people or try to destroy their mass organizations, the NPA will find some way to retaliate and punish them - in this way the masses begin to trust and rely on the New People's Army; they say, "the landlord has his armies, and now we have ours."

As the People's War reaches higher stages it will take on the clear character of a civil war as larger and larger areas will become "liberated" from imperialist and landlord control and administered directly by the National Democratic Front and the revolutionary mass organizations. These areas will be protected by the NPA and the people's militias.

This is the strategy of People's War and national democratic revolution. In the past decade it has taken deep root in the Philippines and is steadily advancing in spite of the fascism of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. With each new victory it strengthens confidence that the Filipino people will surely free themselves, once and for all, from the evils of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism through protracted struggle, relying on the masses of people and the New People's Army under the leadership of the Communist Party!

To the question, "What is the answer to martial law?" the Filipino masses shout, "People's War! ...People's War!"

WEATHER UNDERGROUND ATTACKS ANACONDA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

sistance..." MIR

Without US intervention, the fascist coup in Chile would not have been possible. Only massive US government and corporate support and aid keeps the murderous junta in power. It is our responsibility in the US to isolate and defeat the policies of Rockefeller/Kissinger/Ford--to brand them with full responsibility for the bloody fascist regime in Chile--to expose the connections between their crimes in Chile and their crimes of Attica, hunger and unemployment and tyranny at home.

**Take the issue of support for Chile to the people; build active support among workers, the poor, women, students and youth.

**stop all financial and military aid to Chile. Oppose the pending \$20 million congressional appropriation for military aid to the fascist Dictatorship, organize to defeat it.

**demand the release of all 40,000 political prisoners held by the junta, and an immediate end to torture and executions. Demand freedom for Bautista Von Schouen,

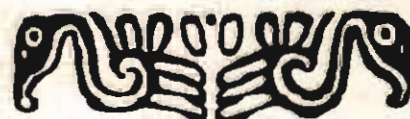
member of the Political Commission and the Central Committee of the MIR, tortured and his fate unknown: "Alive or Dead - Hero of the Chilean Popular Resistance!"

**support the San Francisco Dockworkers' vote to refuse to unload Chilean ships and encourage them to carry it thru. Stop the easy flow of fascist commerce.

**Conduct rallies and demonstrations at all Chilean consulates and embassies, demanding the Dictatorship lift the state of seige, end executions and torture and all forms of repression.

**Refuse to allow all delegations of junta apologists to spread their lies anywhere in the world.

**Study the words of those who participate in the Chilean revolution; the poetry of Gabriella Mistral and Pablo Neruda, the speeches of Salvador Allende and Fidel Castro, the writing of the MIR.



BUENOS AIRES- Revolutionary warfare is growing in Argentina. Since the July 1, death of President Juan Peron, there has

been almost constant battle. The People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), have increased their operations against both the ruling class and the military. Officials from multi-billion dollar companies have been seized. Multi-million dollar ransoms are being demanded to support the needs of the people. Attacks on the military are being increased to combat the militar's policy of executing all captured guerrillas. Mass support for the revolutionary movement is rapidly growing.

Right wing terror is also rapidly increasing. Leftist labor leaders, police chiefs, and provincial heads are being assassinated by right wing terrorists. Most recently a Chilean General under Allende and his wife were killed by the right in a vicious bombing. The government of Isabel Peron is trying to counteract the state of revolutionary war by passing extremely repressive laws. It is now impossible for the Argentine press to legally publish accounts of revolutionary actions. However her government and the governments of Thein, Pinochet (Chile), and all imperialist lackeys will fall as the people march toward victory.

FROM THE SISTERS

We have received strong criticism on our apparent lack of line (and therefore male chauvinist line of the question of women's liberation.

We accept that criticism wholeheartedly and are creating a women's section of paper in order to combat that tendency.

Our failure to address ourselves to the question of liberation of women reflects a tendency of the movement in general. We see our paper as a forum for ideological struggle in the party building movement and have attempted to address ourselves to burning question in that movement.

There is a general feeling that everything to be said about women's liberation has been said; the question has been resolved within our own ranks. That is obviously untrue.

There is a strong force of petty-bourgeois women attempting to change the struggle for women's liberation into a struggle for the equal right of white women to be oppressors. The women's movement is part of the class struggle and does not transcend class lines.

"In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line."

---Mac Tsetung, Introduction, "Important Documents on the Great Proletarian Revolution in China."

The following quotes are taken from "Prairie Fire":

"The women's movement has reached into every home, awakening women's potential and challenging our subjugation. Its achievements are substantial:

Reclaiming our heritage. Women are reconstructing the buried truth about women, weaving together the real history of women's contributions, rebellions and defeats. We are tearing apart the lies of docility and placing ourselves back in history. Unearthing knowledge of the past has led to a rediscovery of witches and warriors, abolitionists and artists, ancient myths and common women, labor organizers and healers."

"TASKS FOR REVOLUTIONARY WOMEN"

At this point, there is no widely-felt organized force of revolutionary women: this has yet to be defined and built. This force is necessary to realize the full potential of the uprising of women, to carry it forward, to embody and fight for the collective interests of women.

We recognize the necessity of resisting and destroying the anti-women institutions of society. We recognize that sexism and imperialism are the enemy of all oppressed women, and that is our common ground. Our goal is the development of a feminism which genuinely determines, safeguards and defends the collective interests of women, and which points in the direction of revolution. We need to build a revolutionary feminism.

Women are not isolated from the clashes and contradictions in US society. These are reflected in the contradictions holding back the development of a revolutionary women's politics. Class privilege, racism, liberalism and anti-militancy, if not met head on, will militate against the struggle for the full freedom of women."

"OVERCOMING CLASS PRIVILEGE
'God almighty made women; the Rockefeller gang made ladies.'

--Mother Jones

The women's movement grew up as a cross-class movement. The strength of this lies in our recognition of the commonality of women, exposing the shallowness of false middle-class consciousness, and making alliances widely against our real enemies.

Ruling-class women who are committed to their class are clearly enemies... They are collaborators.

Bourgeois feminism, in all its forms, has come to play a leading role in defining the voice of the women's movement. Bourgeois feminism... is the fight for individual solutions to the oppression of women, even though it may be cloaked in very radical language and the forms of liberation.

We can build the women's movement among poor and working women. The women's movement of the last five years has touched the consciousness of millions of women and raised the possibilities of seizing control over our lives, which is the first step into revolution. In this period of growing social and economic dislocation, women are at the intersection of the crises and will fight to survive."

"OPPOSING RACISM"

Anti-sexist work is not necessarily anti-racist, or anti-imperialist. Some women argue that we have always fought for other people, now women are fighting our own battles. Let us extend our sisterhood to the 100,000 women in Thieu's prisons, to the women in Palestine refugee camps, to the dispossessed women in Puerto Rico, and to the women in prison here. Let us encourage the women who work against the Indochina War. Set us not justify complacency in the name of women.

"MILITANCY"

Women fighters are frightening apparitions to the enemy and examples for us.

Women play a particular role in the armed struggle which guerillas cannot well afford to ignore. Women are fierce fighters, out of our righteous anger at oppression; but we also have to work hard to learn the necessary skills not naturally taught us... Women unite and center the revolutionary community, mobilize the comrades to fight. This necessarily involves grasping the tools of ideology and political struggle."

INEZ GARCIA

Inez Garcia was convicted of murdering her rapist by a Soledad jury October 4. She has received a 5 years to life sentence in prison. Inez is everything American society hates - a woman, Third World, poor, ready to defend herself and others from unjust attacks. The court found her guilty of resisting oppression. In a people's court, the jury of her peers would have wholeheartedly supported her actions. Her case is the essence of self-defense and defense of others against violent unprovoked attack. If some one does unprovoked violence to you and threatens you with more, you go to find him to prevent his planned violence. When you find him assaulting your friend,



INEZ GARCIA AND SON, JOHN

"I did what is right," she says

and he then attempts to kill you, what do you do?

Not only had Inez been raped, she also received a threatening phone call from her two attackers. When she went to find them, Inez took a 22-caliber rifle. Unfortunately in this society, many men think that they can attack a woman physically with no remorse or resistance. When Inez saw the two men, they were beating a friend of hers. One man, the 300-pound Jiminez, threw a knife at her and came at her. Inez then shot him. All this happened only 17 minutes after the rape.

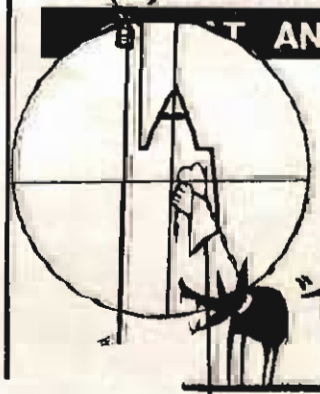
Rape is violence against women in a private property, male-dominated society. Ms. Stacey Fulton of the Inez Garcia Defense Committee explains that "rape laws like most U.S. laws are property laws, originally designed to protect the property of rich white men. If a woman is not the private property of a man (a father or husband) she is considered public property."

The authorities take rape lightly (unless a lower-class, Third World man tries to touch an upper-class, white woman). When Inez tried to report her rape to a police matron, she told Inez that she was not there to listen to her problem, to tell the DA. The DA, a white man, asked her, "How did you like it? How long did it take? Did he enter you?" The judge instructed the jury to ignore the evidence of rape except as a psychological factor that perhaps may have "unbalanced" Inez' state of mind.

The rape of women is treated like the police murders of Third World youth. If the brother of a murdered youth went to prevent a mad dog from killing more children, these same courts would execute him, or at least put the brother away long years for being "temporarily violently insane."

This is exactly how the court tried to portray Inez Garcia. To the oppressors any resistance to them is not only criminal, it is also psychopathic. To them, the victim is the one who's wrong, who's sick, not their people-eating society. Inez is Puerto Rican-Cuban. She was born in New York's Spanish Harlem. She can not read English. The defense, in a misguided attempt to gain pity for her, said her illiteracy was a psychological problem, like her killing her attacker. Inez herself said she did not want sympathy. What she wanted was a defense of her right to self-defense. "Charles (Garry) wanted me to say I'm sorry, but I wasn't. I've never said I was." "I did what was right."

AN UNARMED PEOPLE
ARE SUBJECT TO SLAVERY
AT ANY TIME



The KKK's Grand Dragon and National Minister of Information, DUKE, has been talking shit on a country-wide speaking tour. On nationwide television he made

the statement that "The crime rate was lower when we burned a cross a week." Mr. Duke should understand that people of color inside of the U.S. will not tolerate this type of racist propaganda. If the KKK can incite backward whites to start lynching Blacks, let Mr. Duke know that we will stop them in the streets and have our revenge. Let all vigilante killers know our slogan is "THREE FOR ONE!"

MOBILIZATION

Continued from page 6

Black nation are at best guilty of a gross distortion of the facts (80% of Black people live in the cities, evenly divided between north and south). Our study of the other National groups has not yet led us to any scientific conclusions except that Hawaii, Puerto Rico and Native Americans have the right to self-determination, including the right to secession. We feel that Asians do not constitute a nation but a national minority. We recognize the Chicano movement as an extremely powerful national movement, with full rights to self-determination. However there is sufficient struggle and investigation within the Chicano movement around a Chicano nation that we are awaiting positions from several Chicano organizations before taking a position.

The lines of struggle around both the political content of the national struggles and the form of organization best able to lead these movements are much clearer now. Organizations such as the October League have their heads sufficiently buried in the mud to be able to come up with such demands as "we must struggle to allow the Black bourgeoisie to equally compete with the white capitalists." This statement is not based either on historical experience, current practice or Marxism-Leninism. The USA is a monopoly capitalist state. The bourgeoisie is thoroughly corrupt. Blacks and other oppressed nations are thoroughly working class and heavily proletarian. The Black workers and masses do not want to trade white masters for negro masters (we have seen what has happened in Haiti!). The Black bourgeoisie to exist must be tied to the capitalist class. Its main role has been as a neo-colonialist (white lackey) comprador (traitor) class. Bourgeois Blacks mayors such as Gibson of Newark and Bradley of LA are strengthening the state's repressive apparatus in their cities. From Booker T. Washington (Rockefeller's first prominent negro lackey) to Roy Wilkins and Vernon Jordan (head of the Urban League), the Black comprador bourgeoisie has been used in an attempt to defuse and destroy the progressive and revolutionary Black movement. We are trying to destroy the ruling class, not provide them with Third World sidekicks. One half of oppressed peoples' demand is for socialism!

The other half of Third World people's oppression is national oppression. Many predominantly white organizations say that Third World peoples' demand is merely for democratic rights (the right to be "equal" to the other people exploited by capitalism). But this ignores that Blacks have largely given up on the road of trying to become part of the great American melting pot. The main thrust of Black people's struggles is the drive for self-determination. Control over local schools is considered more important to the Black masses than pie in the sky concepts of busing and integration. Self-defense is called for in response to vigilante attacks. Control the housing in your own communities rather than moving to others. The land question is critical for all TW people. Land is not simply a matter of who owns it. It also includes national autonomous control of social relationships, of collective defense, the economy, etc. We all occupy, let alone control, ridiculously miniscule parcels of land compared to the percentages of our numbers. However, many whites and petty bourgeois Black and Brown people refuse to discuss the question of self-determination concretely, which ultimately leads to the land question. Most revolutionaries of this group consider the borders of the present fifty so-called United States as being inviolate and assume they will exist in the same fashion after successful Revolutionary Mexico will certainly make some claims for areas of the Southwest. Native Americans, Black, Chicanos and the island peoples will also make just demands for land. Even if there is no secession, wealth, including land, will be drastically redistributed to correct centuries of cruel injustice. Secession is a question that will not be solved by armchair revo-

lutionaries. The masses will make that decision for themselves. Remember Wounded Knee! Any revolutionary who will not support the right to self-determination is not a revolutionary but a reactionary in disguise. This is a basic tenet of Marxism-Leninism. We must remember Comrade Lenin's statement, "The proletariat of the oppressed nations cannot confine itself to the general hackneyed phrases against annexations and for the equal rights of nations in general that may be repeated by any pacifist bourgeois. The proletariat cannot evade the question that is particularly 'unpleasant' for the imperialist bourgeoisie, namely, the question of the frontiers of a state that is based on national oppression. The proletariat cannot but fight against the forcible retention of the oppressed nations within the boundaries of a given state, and this is exactly what the struggle for the right of self-determination means."



March on African Liberation Day to show support and solidarity with the liberation struggles in African. These marches were coordinated with other activities, including leafleting factories about the role of US imperialism at home and Africa.

Another aspect of self-determination that causes considerable struggle is the form that organizations which lead the national movements should take. Most predominantly white organizations put forward the line that we must have a fully multinational communist party now. Most Black revolutionaries and their organizations put forward the line that in the present period, strong nationalist based Marxist parties are needed. The organizations which call for the immediate establishment of a multi-nationalist communist party now say, "One Class, One Party." Their reasoning is as follows: the vast united working class of the USA should be a powerful revolutionary force. They assert that the class contradictions are primary over the national contradictions and that therefore, a multinational communist party is the correct organizational form for right now.

To us this reasoning is very flawed. We recognize the fundamental contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. But to merely state that truth is to look merely at one side of a situation and not from all sides. First and foremost this line on organizational form does not recognize either the strength and content of the national movements or the deep historical contradictions within the working class. Many Black revolutionary observers including George Jackson have commented on how in the proletarian struggles of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, white and Black workers would be on strike together during the day but when night came frustrated white workers would invade Black and Chinese communities to find and lynch their "fellow" workers. We can see the same contradictions manifested today in the working class from West Virginia to Detroit. In West Virginia, there is a large right-wing mobilization of the white working class. A militant mass struggle against school books that have leftist politics, third world revolutionaries and

materialist conception of religious thought. Over 20% of the miners struck their jobs in support of banning these books. Boston's anti-busing struggles, Detroit's anti-Black struggles, all point to a concrete and sometimes antagonistic contradiction between Third World and white workers. What many revolutionaries do not understand is that there is a materialistic basis for these contradictions. Brother James Boggs has extended Lenin's teachings on the proletariat of imperialist nations. Lenin stated that the riches derived from imperialist exploitation are used in capitalist states to buy off a sector of the proletariat. They confuse this section with the shortrange advantages of imperialism in order to hide the long range benefits of socialism. Boggs has applied that analysis to the modern USA. His thesis is that the white working class has materially benefitted from both racism and imperialism. Furthermore, the short term material gain from imperialism and racism have been so great that there is a caste structure super-imposed on the class structure. The white working class is resting on the exploitation of Third World workers internally and of foreign workers. We need only to look at the difference between white working communities and Third World communities (streetlights, sidewalks, schools, etc.), the stratification in the factory by races (whites usually have the more "skilled" positions, TW people the hardest, most dangerous, lowest paid positions), to understand why the ideology of racism is so successful among white working people.

We feel that if Black revolutionaries were members of multinational parties, in the present period, it would be almost impossible for them to lead a community struggle to defend the community from vigilante attacks. There is a deep distrust of white workers by Third World workers and poor people. In any workshop one can see vividly the national contradictions. The experience of Third World revolutionaries for the past ten years shows that it is extraordinarily difficult to struggle for either national liberation or proletarian internationalism from the base of a multinational organization. The practice of both white revolutionaries and white workers has been too inconsistent for either Third World revolutionaries or masses to place trust in multinational organizations as viable leadership for the national movements. As George Jackson stated, "racism (of whites) is still the greatest obstacle to unity."

We also feel that revolutionaries who call for the immediate forming of a multinational communist party grossly underestimate both the strength and the political content of the national movements. Any honest analysis of the last ten years quickly shows that the most progressive political struggles have mostly sprung from the national movements. A more extensive examination of US history will show that since the Civil War this has almost always been the case. During the last ten years the Black Liberation struggle has been the leading edge of the revolutionary movement: in numbers, organizational form, militancy of the masses and ideology. The political content of these last ten years of struggle can best be summarized as a massive national move for self-determination.

The old (pre-1971) Black Panther Party (the most successful communist party since the thirties), Detroit Revolutionary Union Movement, the mass urban rebellions, community control struggles, AIO, Black Students struggles are all manifestations of the national struggle of Blacks. These struggles represent different aspects of the national struggle - community control, self-defense, revolutionary organization, international support, etc. Even the revolutionary Black union movement of Detroit and industrial centers grew out of the national aspects of working class oppression of Black people. One only has to look at the origins of most Black activists and cadre to realize the strength of this movement. They have come from either the

Continued on page 18

MOBILIZATION

Continued from page 17

Black Panther Party, the DRUM organizing, BSU struggles and/or ALD organizing. For similar reasons the best mass-based Puerto Rican organizations have strong lines on independence, nationalism as well as being socialist ideologically. Both the Chicano and Asian movements have strong histories of both activists and struggles coming out of aspects of their national movements. The Chicano Movement, farm-workers struggle, La Raza Unida, KDP, AIM, Wounded Knee, Red Guards, and I Wor Kuen are all examples of struggles, cadres and organizations that have sprung from their national movements.

We are not rejecting internationalism or the unity of the working class. But proceeding from the concrete analysis of concrete conditions (the living essence of Marxism), we realize that both the racism of the white working class and the development of the national movements preclude a unified organization at the present time. The primary aspect of the USA revolution is national liberation movements. We recognize that the different movements have different laws and history of development. Different movements will merge at different times, other movements will remain independent for a longer period. We also recognize the eventual need to unite with all internal revolutionary forces.

As the crisis of imperialism deepens, white workers will begin to lose some of their skin privilege. We can already see this process starting as schools become worse, neighborhoods more rundown and paychecks smaller. This new economic repression is sure to heighten class consciousness and struggle among white workers. The imperialists' strategy is to deflect the white masses from class struggle by inciting reconstruction-Hitler types of racist vigilante actions. If white revolutionaries can combat the racism of white workers and bring revolutionary politics to class struggles, the process of building a unified communist international within the United States will be possible.

We also recognized the need for joint practice now. We feel that certain forms of work, such as workplace, some propaganda, international support etc., demand joint practice. Strategically we must have councils of coordination at local, regional and national levels to coordinate the tasks of revolution. Jackson sums up well on the dialectical relation between independence and cooperation as applied to the Black Nation: "The Black Colony must actively invite other revolutionary people to follow their example. We must give refuge to the refugees, and eventually work on some means to coordinate our operations with theirs at every level (emphasis added). However, we cannot delay our own preparations towards a united Black revolutionary culture. No one will undertake to aid us unless they sense the power of our movement. It is Blacks who must play...the role of liberating the Black colony...To expect that someone else will take the full responsibility for our own liberation is suicide."

Mao tee-Tung sums up the experiences of the national liberation movements and the principle of self-determination. Chairman Mao teaches, "Can a Communist, who is an internationalist, at the same time be a patriot? We hold that he not only can be but must be. The specific content of patriotism is determined by historical conditions...Only by achieving national liberation will it be possible for the proletariat and other working people to achieve their own emancipation...In wars of national liberation patriotism is applied internationalism."

THE ROLE OF REVOLUTIONARIES AND THE MASS MOVEMENT

"However active the leading group may be, its activity will amount to fruitless effort by a handful of people unless combined with the activity of the masses. On the other hand, if the masses alone are active without a strong leading group to organize their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained

for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level." As Chairman Mao teaches, revolutionaries must on one hand be connected with the masses in their struggles, and on the other hand sufficiently organized to provide leadership for the mass struggles. The experience of the World Revolution teaches that revolutionaries cannot withdraw from the masses they are trying to organize. We believe that the primary task of the revolutionary movement is the building of Marxist-Leninist combat parties. Specifically we believe it is the immediate task of Black revolutionaries is to form a Black revolutionary party.

However we differ from some revolutionaries because we don't believe these organizations should be multinational for reasons we explained earlier. Also we feel that it is incorrect to pull cadre out of mass work to build the party. Party building is the primary task of every revolutionary, but we do not want to build parties that are divorced from the masses. It is a hard job to build a party and continue as much mass work as possible. It is a job we must do. To maximize our mass work we must be aware of certain principles to guide our work.



The FIRST PRINCIPLE we must be aware of is "who do we organize". The job of revolutionaries is to organize the advanced elements of the masses and then rely on them to organize the middle elements and win over the backward elements. "Leadership must be skilled in uniting the small number of active elements around the leadership and must rely on them to raise the level of the intermediate elements." Who are the advanced masses? This question must be answered differently for each national movement and the white working class. In general, the advanced masses are proletarian, semi-proletarian (including non- and under-employed workers) and the youth.

The SECOND PRINCIPLE we must be aware of is "where do we organize". The answer to this question may seem simplistic but every revolutionary movement has had to struggle over the answer. As Lenin states "If you want to help the 'masses' and win the sympathy and support of the masses, (you) must absolutely work wherever the masses are to be found." In the national movements the masses and activists are to be found in an amazing variety of struggles. But the main thrust of mass movement in the Black community is against police and vigilante action. Activists often become themselves aware of this principle and most of the advanced activists are found in the strongest mass struggles.

The THIRD PRINCIPLE is that activity of the masses and a strong, organized re-

volutionary leadership is not sufficient for successful revolution. The masses themselves must be organized and have their own organizations. In the US the struggles of mass organizations have had glaring weaknesses. Some organizations weakened and became service oriented as opposed to struggle organizations. Other mass organizations are destroyed because revolutionaries within these groups come into conflict with the masses. Revolutionaries confuse mass organizations with cadre organizations and try to force the discipline and ideology of cadre organizations on mass organizations that may not be ready for them. Sometimes revolutionaries treat mass organizations like they are merely farm clubs for "party" recruits, not organizations legitimately trying to deal with the daily needs of the masses. The problems we have had does not take away from the fact that the masses need organizations.

The FOURTH PRINCIPLE is that revolutionaries must have a disciplined and principled style of mass work. When attempting mass work we must start with the needs of the masses, crystalize it and take it back to the masses for action. There have been great problems with revolutionaries in mass organizations. Major problems have developed when the organization is mass in form but has a communist core. The practice of revolutionaries in the Black, Filipino and Chicano movements suggests that this is a very dangerous situation. When contradictions appear in the core, the organization as a whole is unprepared to deal with them. Usually the non-communists and/or non-revolutionaries outside the core drift away as the activists struggle over correct political line and the practice begins to slip. We must remember that the masses are taught first and foremost through practice. If the practice of a mass organization begins to slip, that organization is in serious trouble. It seems that this danger could be partially avoided in this period of time by forming mass organizations that do not have a thoroughly revolutionary core. This does not mean that revolutionaries cannot be in the core - they must! However it seems that mass organizations with leadership that represents the masses have a better chance of survival. Revolutionaries must struggle to raise the level of consciousness in these organizations by on one hand struggling with them and on the other hand presenting the revolutionary analysis and program through party practice and propaganda. After the seizure of state power and the establishment of revolutionary power, mass organizations will be thoroughly revolutionary. But this leadership must be developed through mass struggle now.

The FIFTH PRINCIPLE is that we must become competent in our mass work. Revolutionaries style of work has often been very damaging to our work. Our propaganda must be easily read and presented in an attractive manner. We must be prompt and keep our word and do our tasks. Sloppiness is criminal! We must pay much more attention to detail. We must become professionals. This is our life work. To save the children we must command the respect of the masses. We can only command respect when our work and our style of work deserve it.

The SIXTH PRINCIPLE is that we must develop correct forms of mass organizations. These organization should be around health, housing, education, women, drugs, culture and all concerns of the masses. In the present period especially important types of mass organizations are around the issues of self-defense and resistance to economic exploitation. One mass organization of importance that we must build from scratch are political workers' organizations. The IWW of the early 20th century era offers some lessons on the potential of this type of organization. During this era, the building of industrial unions was revolutionary. But now these unions are usually used to reinforce the rule of the bourgeoisie. This is why we must build our own revolutionary workers' organiza-

Continued on page 19

CLASS STRUGGLE!

SCISSOR BILL

JOE HILL, Wobbly songwriter and organizer, was framed and executed during a Utah Strike in 1915.

On the night before the execution of Joe Hill, a speaker cried at a protest meeting: "Something is going to happen. You hear it everybody? Joe Hill will never die."

"Scissor Bill" was Joe's song to the patriotic worker who refused to organize with his whole class... the racist scab.

By Joe Hill
(Tune: "Steamboat Bill")

You may ramble round the country anywhere you will,
You'll always run across the same old Scissor Bill.
He's found upon the desert, he is upon the hill,
He's found in every mining camp and lumber mill.
He looks just like a human, he can eat and walk,
But you will find he isn't, when he starts to talk.
He'll say, "This is my country," with an honest face,
While all the cops they chase him out of everyplace.

CHORUS:
Scissor Bill, he is a little dippy,
Scissor Bill, he has a funny face.
Scissor Bill should drown in Mississippi,
He is the missing link that Darwin tried to trace.

And Scissor Bill, he couldn't live without the booze,
He sits around all day and spits tobacco juice.
He takes a deck of cards and tries to beat the Chink!
Yes, Bill would be a smart guy if he could only think.
And Scissor Bill he says, "This country must be freed
From Niggers, Japs and Dutchmen and the god darn Swede."
He says that every cop would be a native son
If it wasn't for the Irishman, the son-of-a-gun.

CHORUS:
Scissor Bill, wouldn't join

Scissor Bill, the "foreigners" is cussin';
Scissor Bill, he says "I hate a Coon";
Scissor Bill is down on everybody
The hottentots, the bushmen and the man in the moon.

Don't try to talk your union dope to Scissor Bill,
He says he never organized and never will.
He'll always be satisfied until he's dead,
With coffee and a doughnut and a lousy old bed.
And Bill, he says he gets rewarded thousand fold,
When he gets up to Heaven on the streets of gold.
But I don't care who knows it, and right here I'll tell,
If Scissor Bill is going to heaven, I'll go to Hell,

CHORUS:
Scissor Bill, wouldn't join the union,
Scissor Bill, he says, "Not me, by Heck!"
Scissor Bill gets his reward in Heaven,
Oh! sure. He'll get it, but he'll get it in the neck.

Washington D.C.- The present negotiations between the UMW (United Mine Workers) and the coal industry are crucial to the future of the U.S. economy. If the miners go on strike, energy resources will be less than they were last winter and every major industry would be badly crippled. For example if the strike lasts longer than forty-five days the steel industry would have to completely shut down. Many utilities would also have to shut



Graphic by Irs

down. Federal energy chief Sawhill, predicts "economic disaster".

The issues are substantial. Safety is one of the major issues. Nearly four hundred miners have been killed in accidents since the last contract was negotiated. The miners are also demanding a cost of living escalator as part of the package. The miners state that since some companies had between four and eight hundred increases in profits since last year, the coal industry can well afford the union's demands. This strike highlights many of the contradictions facing the ruling class. If one hand they meet the miners demands, other unions and workers will want similar settlements and the ruling class profits would be seriously cut. On the other hand if they do not bow to the workers' demands the militant miners will surely strike, creating economic disorder. As our Chinese comrades state, "the world is in great disorder, The situation is excellent!"



Azania (Peking Review)-Some 5.6 million African workers are groaning under the reactionary rule of South African authorities. They are victims of oppression and exploitation by racism and colonialism. The discriminatory wage system enforced by the authorities is aimed at dividing the working class. The average wage of African workers is one-tenth that of white workers, and worse still in the mining industry where the figure is one-nineteenth. They toil under abominable working conditions and live without security. Inflation and soaring prices over the years have left them in abject poverty. In this unbearable situation, the workers have waged large scale and sustained strikes since the beginning of last year. This year has witnessed a new upsurge in the worker's struggle.

In January this year, 10,000 textile workers in Durban downed tools to protest against the discriminatory wage system. Armed police were called in to suppress the strike action, but this only resulted in mightier waves of protest. The strike, which persisted for two weeks, paralysed the production of 11 textile plants. Twenty thousand African workers at a gold mine southwest of Johannesburg walked out on June 9, demanding a wage increase. Despite brutal suppression by the South African authorities, the workers stood their ground. On July 9, 400 African and other coloured workers at a pharmaceutical factory near Durban went on strike. The action spread to Johannesburg, East London and other cities, rapidly bringing the number of striking African workers to 10,000.

Panic-stricken, the reactionary South African authorities, while stepping up arms expansion and suppression, indicated their willingness to meet the workers' wage increase demands. But their brutal suppression and political deception have served only to make the Azanian people see more clearly their hypocrisy and become more determined to continue the struggle. Encouraged and spurred on by the excellent revolutionary situation in Africa, the Azanian people are pressing on with their struggle against racism, ruthless exploitation and plunder by monopoly capital and for national liberation. They are sure to win final victory!

tions. At the same time we must work with-in mass organizations like trade unions, because that is where the masses are now.

National liberation movements abroad have taught us that in national struggles, the various mass organizations must be united into one broad National United Front that unites all the masses. The building of progressive political mass organizations should be the primary task in our mass work.

We must remember that mass organizations must be built around the most progressive demands of the masses. These new mass organizations must reflect a political level in line with the advanced section of the masses. Progressive mass organizations should include advanced and intermediate people but reflect the consciousness of advanced people.

SUMMATION

Revolutionaries must rely on the masses and be connected with them in order to lead the masses. In order to best lead the masses we must build Marxist-Leninist combat parties. In the process of building these parties we must clarify our ideology in several areas - the most important being fascism, clandestine work and the national question. Whatever ideological struggles take place must not be carried on only from the standpoint of revolutionary science but also that of history and the current situation. Also in the process of building revolutionary parties, we cannot allow ourselves to become isolated from the masses. It is extremely important that we correct several deficiencies in our mass line and mass work as we build the party. The international and domestic situation is characterized by great disorder. Internally repression is rapidly mounting in quantity and viciousness. In response, the masses are again taking up the banner of mass struggle. Revolutionaries have the choice of taking up the difficult task of leading the mass movement or bowing down to liberalism and letting it sweep past them. Chairman Mao summed up the experience of our Chinese comrades when he told the Chinese movement that, "In a very short time...several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power however great will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves. Every revolutionary party and every revolutionary comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at their head and lead them? to trail 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 the choice quickly." We too have to choose quickly!

Build Fighting Leninist Parties
Rely on the Masses
A Luta Continua
Staff of Seize the Time

How Much Money Do The Rockefellers Have?



"WE ARE FROM 25 TO 30 MILLION STRONG, AND WE ARE ARMED. AND WE ARE CONSCIOUS OF OUR SITUATION. AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO CHANGE IT. AND WE ARE UNAFRAID."



WARNING TO AMERICA