

OSAWATOMIE

SPRING 1975

NO.1

WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION

THE BATTLE OF BOSTON



**NO! to
RACISM**

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:
ROOTS OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS



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Cambodian People's Victory Edition

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Water Buffalo	Also distributed by:
Print Collective	Prairie Fire
P.O. Box 22184	Distributing Committee
Seattle, Washington	P.O. Box 411
98122	Times Plaza Station
	Brooklyn, N.Y. 11217

Single copies available for 30¢ plus 10¢ each for postage. Bulk orders of 6 or more for 20¢ each.



OSAWATOMIE

In 1856, at the Battle of Osawatomie, Kansas, John Brown and 30 other abolitionists, using guerrilla tactics, beat back an armed attack by 250 slavery supporters, who were trying to make Kansas a slave state. This was a turning point in the fight against slavery. For this, John Brown was given the name "Osawatomie" by his comrades.

WHO WE ARE

The Weather Underground Organization (WUO) is a revolutionary organization of communist women and men. We grow from the civil rights, anti-war and youth movements of the 1960's, in particular Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the group which called the first national protest against the Vietnam War in 1965, and became the largest radical youth organization of our time. The name of the organization comes from a line in "Subterranean Homesick Blues", a popular song in the last decade: "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows". For five years the clandestine WUO has been hated and hunted by the imperialist state.

In July 1974, we published Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism. To the best of our knowledge there are currently 25,000 copies of the book in circulation.

The Weather Underground Organization is responsible for over 25 armed actions against the enemy. Eight of these were bombings directed against imperialist war and in support of the people of Indochina. This includes the attack on the Pentagon in 1972 and on the State Department in 1975. Ten actions were directed against the repressive apparatus: courts, prisons, police, and in support of Black liberation. This includes attacks on N.Y. City Police Headquarters and the California Department of Corrections following the assassination of George Jackson at San Quentin Prison in 1971. One was a bombing of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, an action which was part of the freedom struggle of women. These actions were carried out in harmony with the demonstrations, marches and political activity of millions of people. Together they have resulted in approximately \$10 million damage to the imperialists and a significant blow to their arrogance. This is a bee sting against such a powerful enemy, but a bee sting whose strength is multiplied many times by the fact that these actions represent the early stages of sustained armed struggle led by a political organization.

The program of the Weather Underground Organization is:

- US imperialism out of the Third World.
- Peace. Oppose imperialist war and US intervention.
- Fight racism. Build an anti-racist base among white people. Support self-determination for oppressed peoples.
- Struggle against sexism and for the freedom of women.
- Wage the class struggle. Fight for socialism. Power to the people.

In one single phrase, the program means this: Mobilize the people to fight US imperialism, the common enemy.

DON'T MOURN, ORGANIZE!

Now comes a time of decision for the left. Can we overcome the small points that divide us? Can we come together to confront the enemy? Can we build a revolutionary practice firmly rooted among masses of people? Can we transform our lives in order to play our part in the developing storm?

These are the questions that press in on the left today. These are the questions because of this contradiction: millions of people are suffering from the crisis and conflicts generated by the imperialist system, and yet the left is small, dispersed and divided, not a visible force in the lives of the people. Revolutionary politics do not have a strong voice. The left is not situated to fulfill its historic mission -- to focus and lead and make sense of mass discontent -- to carry the present situation to its furthest limits.

Make no mistake about it: storm clouds are building up on the horizon. US imperialism, substantially weakened by Vietnam and under attack around the world, has entered the stage of decline. This is reflected in the tremendous economic and social crisis in our society: the system's inability to feed and house many millions of people, to care for old people, to educate children or to provide work for the people. Intense periodic crises like this are inherent in the contradictions of capitalism. The capitalist system, decadent, racist, and anarchic even in prosperous times is exposed as a system based on corporate greed rather than human need, a system creating enormous wealth for a handful and poverty for millions, an irrational system that wastes natural resources, human labor and life.

These things people see and feel clearly and directly in their daily lives. People are positively displeased, distrustful of politicians' promises, hungry, cold, and angry. This anger is beginning to spill over into spontaneous action.

Not only that, but all this is coming on the heels of the great movements of the last decade, the upheaval that brought millions of people into their first struggles, brought social consciousness to hundreds of thousands and birthed and trained a generation of serious revolutionaries. It is up to the anti-imperialist left to arm people with the correct understanding of the present conditions: the system itself is inhuman, and socialism is a real alternative; the energy crisis is the fault of Rockefeller and the oil companies, not the Arab people; unemployment is caused by capitalism not "illegal aliens" stealing jobs; war in Indochina or the Mideast is part of the problem, not the solution; political and social action can change things.

This is up to the left. But the left is not dug deeply into the people's discontent. Left analysis is seen mainly in papers circulated among leftists, left solutions are heard mainly in meetings of the left. And what a shame! Because some of that analysis and some of those solutions make sense, describe concrete conditions, prescribe real remedies. Some of that interpretation of events could provide needed leadership in struggle. But isolated from the people, the makers of history and the carriers of change, it is useless.

The immediate task for the left is this: organize the masses of people against imperialism and for revolution. Pull together friends and comrades, whether three or thirty. Explain the roots of the current economic and social crisis. Fight for jobs and for funds for urgent relief programs. Wealth should be taken from the Pentagon budget and used to rebuild our cities, schools and hospitals.

Revolutionaries must be organizers. Leftists who are uncomfortable on the unemployment line won't lead a march for jobs. Without the habit of revolutionary practice among the people, a generation of firebrands will slowly cool into positions of comfortable opposition.

This backward evolution needs some fierce opposition. There are serious antiracist organizers building a revolutionary base in working class communities -- in neighborhoods, shops, mills, mines, social institutions. There are those who are working among women, GI's, vets, prisoners, among youth, students and the unemployed in every part of the country. There are some who have been at it for years and some who have just begun. Thousands more are needed; and each particular piece of work will have to be linked up into a whole. We need to out-organize the sophisticated and well-financed forces of George Meany, Louise Day Hicks, Ronald Reagan, George Wallace and Albert Shanker. Organizers need to crush this reactionary leadership with a revolutionized torrent of people. This is urgent. Without a clear revolutionary alternative, the people can be misled by these prophets of racism and reaction.

Of course we face adversity in our work. In the face of adversity and fear, liberalism collapses in self-pity, while dogmatism creates magic solutions to real problems. But revolutionaries expect adversity, expect to be fought every inch of the way by an entrenched ruling class, expect to confront danger and demoralization and overcome it, with creativity and audacity.

Theory and ideology are important tools, and we should make study of Marxism-Leninism an important part of our work. Marxism-Leninism is a necessary guide for both understanding the contradictions of class society and developing correct revolutionary strategy. How will an organizer know if a particular theory is correct? Practice. Work among the people and learn from them. It is the oppressed and exploited people who understand the wretchedness of this system in detail, and it is the people who will create the ultimate solutions. Waiting to begin until the theory

is fully worked out is to create the certainty of failure.

Study the particular problems and concerns of the people. Look into things deeply. Organizers must be intimately aware of every problem and each injustice, and they must show that underneath each particular problem lies another problem, and another and another until you reach the system of imperialism itself. The system is designed to create problems for poor, Third World and working-class people. Organizers need to find small solutions to small problems and great solutions to great problems. Our solutions should be drastic.

We need to build a successful struggle, strong organization and a winning revolutionary party. This is a process, which will not emerge full-blown from our minds. It will emerge and change and grow from practice. We know where to begin.

It is with all this in mind that we have created OSAWATOMIE, the revolutionary voice of the Weather Underground Organization. Millions of people are asking profound questions about society, searching for fundamental analysis of the swirl of events around us. OSAWATOMIE is written to demystify the workings of the system, to expose and clarify the political meaning of things. Our purpose is to contribute to the unity of progressive forces around a revolutionary line. Ideology is for everyone.

Our intention is to publish OSAWATOMIE seasonally (four times a year) in the beginning, and to advance consistently with the Weather Underground Organization's development. Like all our work, OSAWATOMIE is guided by a commitment to struggle, a determination to fight the enemy, the certainty that we will see revolution in our lifetime, and a spirit of love for the exploited people of the world. There are many ways to make the most use of OSAWATOMIE immediately. If everyone who has a copy shows it to at least ten co-workers, friends, or people living in the same building, passing it hand to hand, tens of thousands of people can read it. If groups post a copy on their bulletin board, or call a meeting to discuss the articles, we can then be sure that the politics of the paper will be deepened thru struggle. If comrades with access to a press reprint and circulate OSAWATOMIE and if newspapers reprint parts of OSAWATOMIE, its reach can be multiplied many times over, into the peoples' hands.

* * * * *

by the Central Committee of the Weather Underground Organization



**BOSTON**

THE BATTLE OF BOSTON:

An Investigation of ROAR

Boston: October 5, 1974. A Black man, Yvon Jean-Louis, 31 years old, is pulled from his car by a white mob in South Boston. He runs for cover, is pursued, tries to climb onto a front porch, is beaten with fists and hockey sticks and then hospitalized. Attempted lynching, northern-style.

Millions of people saw this scene on TV. What they didn't see were the rocks and bottles hurled every day at Black children on their way to school. They didn't see the armed attacks by the Ku Klux Klan and other white vigilantes on the Black housing projects at Columbia Point or the residents' heroic defense. They didn't hear the daily insults directed at Black children inside their new classrooms. The TV news hasn't shown the writing on South Boston and Hyde Park walls: "Niggers, Beware", "Everyone Should Own a Nigger", "Niggers for Sale". It hasn't shown the police directing school buses into the racists' line of fire. It hasn't shown the courage and dignity with which Boston's Black community has withstood and fought back against the most sustained racist offensive in the US today.

Racism is the issue in Boston.

Racism is more than a bad idea, it's a bad reality. Racism is an institutionalized system in the US in which Black and Third world people are pushed down and out, forced to live in dilapidated housing, attend schools that don't teach and hospitals that don't heal, and work the dirtiest, most dangerous and poorest-paid jobs.

This system, built for years in Boston by the banks, insurance companies, big universities, real estate interests and the Democratic Party machine, has been under sustained attack by the Black community. The leaders of the so-called "antibusing" movement, operating out of their positions on the School Committee and the City Council, are fighting to keep this system intact. They have organized the violent attacks on Black people, building in the process a powerful base among all-white unions, white city government workers, white homeowners, realtors, and others who benefit from racism. They have also recruited poor and unemployed whites, who have little to gain from racism but a shallow feeling of superior-

ity over Black people.

A growing alliance, led by the Black and Puerto Rican communities, is fighting back, saying NO TO RACISM. On December 14, 1974, 20,000 people marched in Boston, rallying the determination of the anti-racist forces.

The fact that Boston is the scene, not Selma, and that white workers are now in the middle of mobs attacking Black children, muddles many people's thinking. Racist justifications -- "We're only fighting suburban liberals who try to shove busing down our throats," or "The little people of Southie are finally fighting back" -- gain dangerous credibility. "Antibusing" is not a genuine program to oppose ruling class interests by fighting, for example, for decent schools. A grim reality is hidden behind all the rhetoric and apologies: like George Wallace, the racist leaders in Boston use a thin "anti-Establishment" veil to cover for racism. This is a classic fascist strategy for mobilizing support within the working class.

Apologies also come disguised in "left" clothing. The Revolutionary Union (RU), focuses its attack on the busing plan, as if that were the central cause of racist violence. The RU refuses to name and fight racism among white workers, arguing that the ruling class is fomenting all the trouble. But, control of racism by the rulers does not explain away the important role played by those who carry out the front-line violence against Black people. It took both the plantation masters and the poor white slave-catchers to keep the slave system going; it took both Rockefeller and the state troopers to murder the brothers of Attica.

The RU and other groups argue that Black people should "unite" with white workers to oppose busing. This is "unity" based on acceptance of racism. Following this approach, Black people should join

the "antibusing" demonstrations, although they'd better be able to protect themselves against rocks and bricks. Real unity between Black and white people can only be built by directly confronting white racism.

Busing is not the issue in Boston. Of the 40% of all schoolchildren in the US who get to school by bus, only 2% are bused for purposes of integration. It's this busing that the racists call "forced busing" and oppose. As Amiri Baraka, Chairman of the Congress of Afrikan People (CAP), puts it, "The whites are not attacking busing, they're attacking Blacks. The buses only bring the Blacks. It is racism that is dividing, not busing."

"Antibusing" has a political meaning which is not at all about whether busing is the best way to achieve decent education for most children. The all-white Boston School Committee, which for years has raised high the banner of "antibusing" and the "neighborhood school", has never hesitated to bus children out of their neighborhoods for the purpose of maintaining forced segregation, and just this fall fought against Black and Puerto Rican proposals for community control of their schools. The real questions are: Who will control the schools? Will the children learn? White racist control has always aimed to prevent the Black child from succeeding in that dangerous and subversive endeavor: learning to read.

There is widespread discussion in Boston's Black and Puerto Rican communities about the merits of the busing plan, about how to educate children in a racist society. There are movements developing for community control and to defend bilingual education. What unites all these diverse struggles is the fundamental demand that BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN CHILDREN MUST HAVE THE RIGHT TO ATTEND ANY SCHOOL IN THE CITY WITHOUT FEAR OR INTIMIDATION.



The attack on Yvon Jean-Louis

* * * * *

The Weather Underground Organization has been active during the school crisis. From underground, we have put up antiracist stickers and talked with people in white working-class communities, stink-bombed the offices of the School Committee and marched in the National March Against Racism on December 14th. We've also secretly attended weekly meetings of ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), the racist spearhead of the Boston antibusing movement. Our purpose has been to gain knowledge of the enemy's strategy and goals, to expose ROAR's purposes, and to discover its vulnerable points. The information we have gathered proves that racism is the guiding, motive force behind the "antibusing" drive.

ROAR was formed by City Councillor Louise Day Hicks and 25 other women in April 1974. The name ROAR refers to the "alienated rights" of white people -- rights which ROAR claims are violated by the busing plan.

ROAR is led by "community leaders" and the diehard remnants of Boston's reactionary Democratic Party machine. ROAR power centers include the City Council, the School Committee and the Police Department. Most ROAR leaders are property owners, who represent the upper strata of white, ethnic working-class neighborhoods like South Boston, Charlestown and East Boston. Far from being a spontaneous upsurge, the racist movement has been carefully orchestrated for years from the inner circles of Boston's city government.

Average attendance at ROAR meetings ranges between 400 and 500 people. The gatherings are militant, with those present committed to their cause. ROAR has strong ties in many of Boston's white working-class neighborhoods, as well as in the all-white, wealthier suburbs. Since the start of the school year, ROAR has been the main force behind the white school boycott, and has organized rallies, motorcades and marches, sometimes drawing up to 20,000 people. ROAR is now planning a national March on Washington on March 18 to demand a constitutional amendment against busing. ROAR has created the climate in which racist violence has escalated.

It is difficult to investigate ROAR without being detected. ROAR members know at least a few others from their own communities. ROAR functions in semi-secret fashion; at each meeting, two or three people were removed, either because they were suspected of being with the press or because no one could vouch for them.

NOTES FROM ROAR MEETINGS

*** October 23, 1974: This meeting took place, like all weekly ROAR gatherings, in the chambers of the City Council, at one City Hall Plaza.

As we enter the chambers, we are confronted with a security force of 6 to 8 men, some wearing white berets. They look closely at each person entering the meetings and ask where you live. Inside, contingents from different neighborhoods are grouped together. There are 500 people, all white, at the meeting. Rita Gaul, long-time "executive secretary" to Louise Day Hicks and the leader of the South Boston Home and School Association, chairs the meeting. She opens with a few remarks:

"I want all of you to look to your left, look to your right to see if you recognize the person sitting next to you. We allow no notetaking in this meeting. Remember, it's a federal offense to interfere with desegregation and I don't want to be quoted on anything."

Next on the agenda are neighborhood reports. How is the white boycott going? Is any opposition surfacing against ROAR? A ROAR leader in Hyde Park, Richard Laws, is enthusiastic about activities in his neighborhood (where Black children have been stoned going to school). But Laws notes with concern that a coalition of Boston area tenants have just organized a march condemning racism. Laws shouts that the tenants are a "bunch of commies" who must be fought.

There are two main speakers: John Kerrigan, then the chairman of the School Committee and Leo Kahian, the candidate of George Wallace's American Party for Massachusetts Governor.

Kerrigan's speech attacks a group of Black and white teenagers from Charlotte, North Carolina who had come to Boston to argue for school integration. He calls them "liars" and says "they'll never get to use facilities in our schools to spread their filth." Kerrigan then paints the "true picture" of school integration in Charlotte: Black students attacking whites with knives, white girls being molested in the school bathrooms. No proof is offered, but his remarks draw shocked gasps from the audience.

Leo Kahian is next, the featured speaker. He speaks passionately of his love for God, Country and Family and his hatred for abortion. An ardent member of the John Birch Society, he looks out on the crowd and says, "Most of you here today are Birchers, only you don't realize it yet." For this he receives a standing ovation. Kahian ends with a warning against Communism. "In Russia and China they take your kids away from you at an early age. Just like they do in Boston --

when they force you to send your child into Roxbury."

Discussion of the "issues" in the school crisis follows. One person says that he doesn't want his child bused to the Elma Lewis School or the Lena Park Cultural Center in Roxbury, both renowned centers for art, dance and poetry:

"They call those places cultural centers. But these people don't have a culture. All they teach at those schools is how to use a knife."

The meeting ends after reports and discussion of future plans. City Councilor Albert O'Neill announces that 31 city politicians have just signed a statement supporting ROAR. This is less than 20 days after the attack on Yvon Jean-Louis in South Boston.

*** December 4, 1974: This meeting took place while momentum was building for the National March against Racism.

Security is even tighter than usual. Rita Gaul stops the meeting three times to question people. A few people are kicked out.

Speaker after speaker denounces the upcoming march. The mood is apprehensive, demoralized and divided. One man is angered about being called a racist. A woman from Dorchester gets up and says, "Don't worry. It was Lenin who started calling people names like racists and Nazis."

Adam Krapszak, the ROAR representative from Brighton, a working-class community with a large student population, talks openly about the difficulties in organizing there. At a recent rally, bullhorns were torn from the cars in ROAR's motorcades, and speakers were heckled. Krapszak is upset about a letter printed in a Boston newspaper from a Brighton resident who likens ROAR to "storm-troopers" and "Nazis". He gives out the man's phone number and urges people to harass him. There has also been trouble at a Brookline motorcade; ROAR opponents slashed the tires of over 100 cars and confronted the racists with picket signs in support of Black students. A ROAR leader announces that more "marshals" will be added to the next demonstration.

They are divided over strategy. Some people argue for a counter-demonstration on December 15th, others feel they will lose the "numbers game" to the antiracists. As it turned out, 20,000 people marched on the 14th and 3,000 came to an "antibusing" rally the next day.

There is a heated discussion about how to keep the white school boycott alive. Some ROAR members are worried that the School Committee will bow down to court pressure and urge students to return

WHO ARE ROAR'S LEADERS?

***LOUISE DAY HICKS has led the racist movement from the beginning, moving from positions on the School Committee to the US Congress to her present position on the City Council. She has fought for over 12 years to keep the schools segregated and her home community of South Boston all-white.

Richard Nixon once said that Louise Day Hicks would be a fine choice for the first woman President. Hicks was a long-time supporter of the Vietnam war. She is a lawyer and a landlord, whose comfortable home on Columbia Road Stands in sharp contrast to the D street and Old Colony projects. No friend of poor and working people, Hicks has fought for years to keep tenant organizing out of South Boston.

Hicks is now the head of the Ways and Means Committee of the City Council. She used this position to block \$1 million in Model Cities funds from going to renovate Franklin Park, in a mostly-Black section of Dorchester. Hicks complained that the money would not benefit "her people". Only after outraged protests from the Black community did Hicks and the City Council finally release the funds.

***JOHN KERRIGAN is a member of the School Committee and runs one of the worst school systems in the US. Reading scores in Boston are a year behind the national average and schools for most working-class children are run-down and overcrowded. Kerrigan has become the symbol of defiance of school desegregation.

Last year, Kerrigan ran unsuccessful-

fully for District Attorney on a platform calling for a "crackdown on those muggers in Roxbury", and a pledge to keep "those criminals" out of white schools. Kerrigan has mastered the art of blaming the "suburban liberals" for the Boston crisis. He has made the word "nigger" his personal trademark; one Black television reporter commented that "Kerrigan is the most racist person I've ever met, worse than Bull Connor or Lester Maddox."

***AVI NELSON is 32 years old, a fast-talking, Harvard-educated talk-show host on a local radio station. Nelson is a no-holds-barred rightwinger: he opposes minimum wage legislation, attacks unemployment compensation and supports right-to-work and other union-busting laws. Nelson has launched a big campaign to discredit the farmworkers' drive in the Boston area. Mayor Kevin White recently appeared on Nelson's show and gave full support to the racist movement.

***RITA GRAUL and VIRGINIA SHEEHY from South Boston, FRAN JOHENNE from Hyde Park, and ELVIRA (PIXIE) PALLADINO from East Boston are all ROAR leaders based in the Home and School Associations, Boston's all-white version of the PTA. The Home and School Associations have a clause in their constitutions which forbids members from criticizing the School Committee.

We have also seen seven out of the eight City Councillors, every member of the School Committee, State Senator WILLIAM BULGER and State Representative RAYMOND FLYNN, at the ROAR meetings.

SOUTH BOSTON

South Boston is 97% Irish and 100% white. It is the nerve center of the racist movement. Along Broadway, Southie's main street, are the offices of the American Nazi Party, the White People's National Socialist Party, and the ROAR-led South Boston Information Center. One window has a poster which says "Stop the Black Terror From Roxbury".

South Boston has an upper strata of small shopkeepers, lawyers, police and fireman, realtors, government employees. ROAR draws its leading members from this class.

ROAR is also active among the large numbers of poor and unemployed people who live in Southie's broken-down housing projects. South Boston has one of the highest crime rates in the city. 20% of South Boston High School students drop out every year, and only 4% of its graduates go on to college.

A quiet movement has been growing among some South Boston mothers urging an end to the white school boycott and a "return to peace" in the schools. ROAR labels these mothers "traitors" to their race and community. Others who are angry at their neighbors throwing rocks and attacking Black people are afraid to speak out. ROAR pressure silences most non-racist voices in Southie.

to school. Louise Day Hicks assures the crowd that ROAR will put its pressure on the School Committee. She then urges everyone to visit the schools in order to get pictures and stories of the horrors of integration.

A woman then jumps up and reports that a 12-year-old white girl was just "sexually assaulted" in a classroom by three Black students while the white teacher looked on. The woman offers no proof but her story is accepted as true, and everyone shudders. Some semblance of unity has been restored.

A national report follows. Big news is a letter of support from Senator Sam Ervin. ROAR members are overjoyed, and urge people to send thank-you notes to him.

FURTHER NOTES

*** ROAR members claim to be for "quality education" for their children. But, over our months of attending their meetings, not once did members discuss how to improve Boston's terrible schools.

*** ROAR members were buoyed by Gerald Ford's antibusing remarks a week after the attack on Yvon Jean-Louis. At a meeting following Ford's statement, the atmosphere was spirited as each speaker said, "The President is now officially on our side."

*** ROAR leader Pixie Palladino of East Boston said on October 9th, "We will ally with anyone who opposes busing, even the American Nazi Party." She added, "We will fight busing until the end, even if it means going underground."

*** ROAR blames busing on the "rich liberals" who live in the suburbs and are unaffected by integration plans. This has always been a thin cover for anti-Black organizing, a way for ROAR to mobilize working-class whites. When the white suburbs began to express support for "anti-busing", ROAR's tune changed. At an October 30th meeting, ROAR leaders argued that attacks on the suburbs should be muted, and that an alliance of suburban and inner-city whites should be built. One member said, "We have to tell the suburbs that if we lose here in Southie, they'll be busing Blacks to your schools next." Soon after, motorcades from the suburbs joined the racist demonstrations.

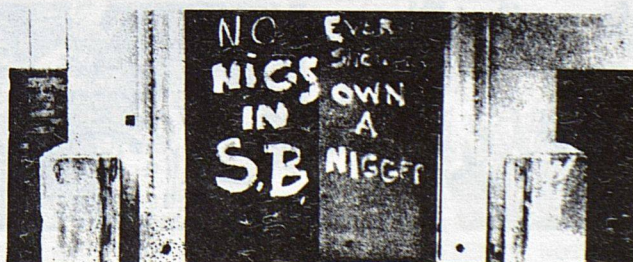
*** ROAR has just set up a "youth branch" headed by Michael Faith, a South Boston High School senior and a ringleader in assaults on Black youths. Three days before the December 14th march, Faith and a group of friends were threatening Black students in the halls. They saw one Black student, James White, and yelled, "That's the nigger we want." In the scuffle that followed, Faith was stabbed and White was charged with assault. ROAR leaflets had appeared outside the high school that morning, and a violent demonstration was

instantly organized of thousands of whites who tried to keep the Black students inside the school. ROAR strategy is to provoke violent racial conflict in the schools, to terrorize Black students and, in this case, to provoke an incident in the face of the upcoming march.

*** ROAR organizes women by convincing white mothers that protecting their children means protecting them from contact with Black people. ROAR also twists women's real fear of rape into fear and hatred of Black men. This is a vicious tactic used throughout US history, and is an ever-recurring theme at ROAR meetings. Early in the fall, twin sisters were harassed by Black youths outside Dorchester High School. The mainly-Black football team from the school intervened and the two girls went home. Their mother came to the next ROAR meeting, sending shock waves thru the room as she described the "eight or ten Blacks who beat my daughters". Two weeks later, she got up again and described the "15 or 20 Blacks who beat my girls and kicked them to the ground." By the next meeting, the number of assailants had grown to 40, who had "almost raped my daughters."

*** ROAR has won support from all-white, right-wing unions like the Firefighters, the Patrolman's Benevolent Association, the Sheetmetal Workers and the International Longshoreman's Association (Boston local). These unions, which represent a tiny, privileged sector of the working class, also gave their full support to the Vietnam War. The PBA is especially active, passing out its newsletter at several ROAR meetings. White workers who work with Black people -- in hospitals, clerical work, electrical shops -- have, on the whole, not been won over by ROAR. In addition, a number of unions with large Black memberships or radical histories, have openly opposed ROAR. The Amalgamated Meatcutters and the United Electrical Workers (UE) have stationed guards at South Boston transit stops to protect Black workers going to work in Southie.

*** ROAR works most effectively in communities where there are no Blacks, no Puerto Ricans, no students, no tenant organizing, no organized women's movement. In Jamaica Plain, Dorchester and Allston-Brighton, where active, open opposition exists, ROAR has been unable to dominate. ROAR leaders are concerned about these failures.



South Boston High School

* * * * *

"Antibusing" is a nationwide movement, a tragedy for children and a challenge to antiracist people. Spurred on by Ford and Wallace, it aims to crush the Black and Puerto Rican fight for education, to divert white people from class struggle, and to mobilize a fascist base.

Boston is now the stormcenter of the battle to defeat this cancer. The "liberals", like Mayor Kevin White and Senator Ted Kennedy, long ago capitulated to the racist tide. White, who this fall sent in the Tactical Patrol Force to terrorize the residents of Columbia Point, has just filed suit to block future desegregation plans. Kennedy remains silent, except for occasional expressions of "understanding" for the racists, who still pelt him with eggs and call him "niggerlover".

It's been the determination and courage of Black youth, who have fought with such dignity, that has set off a spark in the city. Many signs point to action and resistance this spring: Black community groups are uniting to defend James White; Puerto Rican parents are intensifying their fight to expand bilingual programs in the face of School Committee attempts to destroy them; citywide and national anti-racist mobilizations are being planned.

Antiracist organizers are also at work in Boston's white communities, grappling with the task of winning white working-people away from the leadership of Hicks and Kerrigan. This is the key task in Boston, and much more has to be done.

ROAR is weakened by each open action against racism. As the December 14th march built, ROAR grew less sure of strategy and more disunited. ROAR is aware of, and upset by, each antiracist demonstration, by the day-to-day work of community organizers.

A visible, militant antiracist program can win over the many white people who have not stoned school buses or supported the white school boycott. Open agitation can dispel fear and the illusion that the racists speak for all the white people in Boston. Racism can be challenged and its fascist ROAR silenced.

ROAR has close links to the anti-abortion movement. ROAR leaders Raymond Flynn and Albert (Dapper) O'Neill were instrumental in the recent prosecution and conviction for manslaughter in an abortion case of Dr. Kenneth Edelin, a Black doctor at Boston City Hospital. The conviction sparked angry protests from the women's movement and the Black community. Here are some comments by Professor Ramona Hoage Edelin, head of the Afro-American Studies Department at Northeastern University, after her husband's conviction.



"It is ironic that the man chosen to bear the burden of trial was one who is not making money hand over fist on abortions, as some are; one who was the first American Black chief resident in obstetrics and gynecology at Boston City Hospital; one who was primarily in service to the poor."

"What realistically do they care about a Black fetus? Yes, everyone has a right to life, but we (Blacks) have a right to starve and the right to be spit upon, all in the name of an insane morality."

"These same people are spitting and throwing rocks at Black children going to school on a bus. What they perceive now as a right to life would in six years be a right to be called names."

March Against Racism: December 14, 1974



Venom II

I wonder about the
tight-faced
work-worried women
in cloth coats and curlers
who collect in surly women crowds
spitting hate
in Birmingham or Boston.

I worry about their
sullen spite
collected in years of
shabby schools and sometimes jobs
poisoned and prodded
by habits
by fears
by landlords and leaders
who revile them
provoked and pitted
against their enemy's
enemy.

What turns class hatred
inside out?
freezes a longing for freedom
into splintered cries of ice
to pierce the heart
of those
Black people
who properly
are allies.

What is the bridge
to you?
our struggle
must reveal it.

Winter 1974

From SING A BATTLE SONG, poems by women in the Weather Underground Organization.

POPULATION CONTROL:

**"It is easier to kill a guerrilla
in the womb than in the mountains."**

**Why have all social services for poor people been cut -- welfare, school lunches, child care, dental services, hot meals for old people -- while family planning services multiply?

**Why has HEW cut funds for abortions, while it continues to pay 90% of the cost of sterilization?

**Why are women increasingly threatened with welfare cut-offs if they do not consent to sterilization?

THESE THINGS ARE HAPPENING BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT IS CREATING THE MYTH THAT LARGE FAMILIES ARE THE CAUSE OF POVERTY. IT IS IMPLEMENTING A PROGRAM DESIGNED NOT TO REDUCE HUNGER, BUT TO ELIMINATE HUNGRY PEOPLE.

LIE #1: "OVERPOPULATION"

When population experts say there are too many people in the world, what they really mean is too many poor people, too many people of color. A quick look at a population density chart tells you that Europe is far more densely populated than the Third World. England has twice the population density of India. Size of population is not the cause of hunger. China has a big population, and there is no hunger in China. Hunger is caused by the theft of a country's natural resources by imperialism. Hunger is caused by forcing Third World countries to produce for imperialism and not for their own needs.

LIE #2: "LIMITED RESOURCES"

Earl Butz stated recently that nothing could be done about starvation in Bangladesh. What he implied is this: that the natural resources of the world are limited, and it is not possible to produce enough food to feed the world's people. But the problem of food is not primarily a question of resources. The peoples' productive capacity is vast and unattained. The real question is: Who owns the productive forces? The problem is a system of distribution based on profits, not human needs. What crops are produced, what prices they sell for, who they are sold to--these are life and death questions. Under capitalism, food for profit means death for millions.

Twenty-five years ago, China was as poor as India, Cuba as poor as Santo Domingo. Today the socialist economies of Cuba and China, based on collective sharing rather than profits for a few, have eradicated hunger and malnutrition, while these conditions continue in India and Santo Domingo.

LIE #3: "FREEDOM FOR WOMEN"

The U.S. government is implementing its strategy of population control with gloved ferocity, selling population control through AID by obscenely mouthing the language of women's liberation: "freedom for women", "the right for women to control their bodies". To some women who have struggled to be free of the traditional family role, the official U.S. policy of advocating two chil-

dren per family for Third World families might sound benign. But this masks the difference between the liberating possibilities of birth control and population control in the hands of the imperialists.

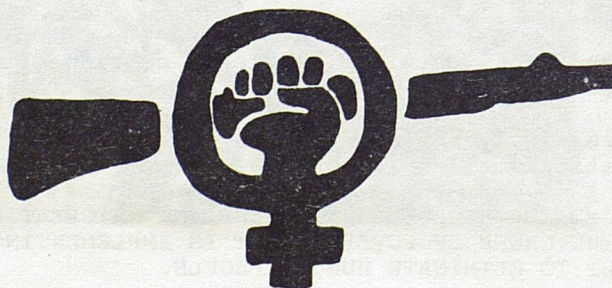
When birth control is used as a way to maintain a system of profits for the rich, it becomes a euphemism for genocide. The U.S. government tries to turn the just and righteous struggle of women for control of our bodies into counter-insurgency: "It is easier to kill a guerrilla in the womb than in the mountains."

In the last eight years, under the guise of alleviating hunger, the U.S. government has increased its population control budget 6,000%. This has meant massive global programs of sterilization and family planning. In less than ten years, US AID sterilized 34% of all women of child-bearing age in Puerto Rico, over one million Brazilian women, 40,000 Colombian women. In the US, 20% of all married Black women have been sterilized. The Indian health service in Claremore, Oklahoma is sterilizing one Native American woman for every seven who give birth. These sterilizations have been forced on women through misrepresentation, bribes, and coercion.

The purpose of US population control programs is to instill in people the false consciousness that poverty, unemployment and starvation are caused by the existence of too many people. Their purpose is to create fear: fear among white people of Third World people, fear of poor people. Their purpose is to divert attention away from the real cause of poverty. Their purpose is to prevent revolution.

"The revolution is not scared by population increase and it is not worried by a temporary drop in the birth rate. There are some countries that pretend that birth control is the solution, but the only ones who are saying this are the capitalists, the exploiters, because no one who understands what humanity can achieve through science and technology sets out to impose upon the number of human beings that can exist upon the face of the earth..."

Fidel Castro



TOOLBOX



Sometimes, people get discouraged about the prospects for revolution in the US. After all, US imperialism is so big and powerful. But the strength of imperialism -- its tentacles reaching into far corners of the globe to grab up wealth and power -- is really its strategic weakness. Each corner is another vulnerable point, each dominated people a potential Vietnam.

Internationalism makes it possible to join our struggles with the tremendous human energy that is revolutionizing our world. Third World liberation movements are leading; sisters and brothers, rising in rebellion, are our blood relations in a common battle. They are fighting the same corporations that are throwing us out of work and raising prices, and the same government that is responsible for the massacre at Attica.

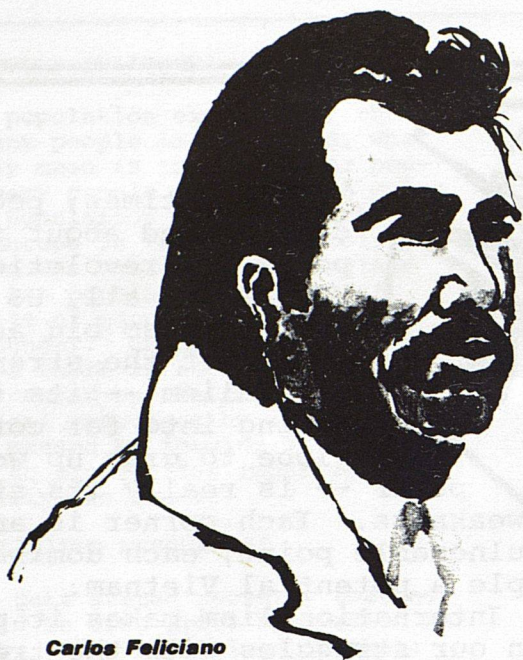
Internationalism stands opposed to racism and all other mechanisms to divide oppressed people. Internationalism is class solidarity on a world scale. The coming-together of people to stand with the Native Americans at Wounded Knee in 1973, and the support generated for the independence of Puerto Rico at the recent Solidarity Day Rally in New York, are powerful examples of internationalism at work.

Communists have always understood the meaning and importance of internationalism. Marx and Engels ended the Communist Manifesto with the famous slogan: "Workers of all countries, unite!" In 1920, at the Second Congress of the Communist International, Lenin presented the "principles of membership" and the section on internationalism remains a guide for revolutionaries:

Parties in countries whose bourgeoisie possess colonies and oppress other nations must pursue a most well-defined and clearcut policy in respect to colonies and oppressed nations. Any party wishing to join the Third International must ruthlessly expose the colonial machinations of the imperialists of its "own" country, must support -- in deed, not merely in words -- every colonial liberation movement, demand the expulsion of its compatriot imperialists from the colonies, inculcate in the hearts of the workers of its own country an attitude of true brotherhood with the working people of the colonies and oppressed nations, and conduct systematic agitation among the armed forces against all oppression of the colonial peoples.



Lenin



Carlos Feliciano

On October 27, 1974, 20,000 militant, spirited people gathered in Madison Square Garden to demand independence for Puerto Rico and freedom for the Nationalist prisoners. This historic rally was part of the continual resistance to US control that began in 1898, when the US invaded Puerto Rico and made the island into a colony thru force of arms.

OSCAR COLLAZO

In 1950, the US and the colonial government moved to destroy the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, fighters for independence. The Nationalists, prepared for such an attack, fought a battle for six days across the island. In the US, Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola brought the war to Washington, DC. They entered Blair House, where Truman was living, and attempted to shoot their way up the stairs. Torresola was killed, Collazo was wounded and sentenced to death. His sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment.

LOLITA LEBRÓN, IRVING FLORES, ANDRÉS FIGUEROA, RAFAEL MIRANDA

In 1954, the US succeeded in forcing thru its resolution at the UN, declaring Puerto Rico "self-governing". To bring international attention to the conditions of colonial oppression in Puerto Rico, the Nationalists attacked the House of Representatives, which has direct jurisdiction over Puerto Rico. On March 1, 1954, they entered Congress and began to shoot, shouting "Viva Puerto Rico Libre". The three men were condemned to 75 years in prison, and their leader, Lolita Lebron, to 50 years. In 1974, the UN recognized the 1954 resolution as a colonial maneuver, and voted to declare the true status of Puerto Rico as a colony of the US.

CARLOS FELICIANO

Carlos Feliciano was arrested in 1950 during the Nationalist insurrection on the island and served many years in prison there. He was acquitted of trumped-up bombing charges in his first trial in New York in 1973, but the Manhattan DA was out to get him for his agitation for independence among Puerto Rican people in New York. He was convicted of lesser offenses and is now serving a four year sentence.

Five of the revolutionaries have been in prison for over 20 years, the longest-held political prisoners in the country. All of them are uncompromising fighters for Puerto Rico's right to exist as a free nation.



Lolita Lebrón



Rafael Cancel



Irving Flores Rodríguez

INDEPENDENCIA PARA

LIBERTAD A TODOS LOS PRISIONEROS



Rafael Cancel Miranda



Andrés Figueroa Cordero



Oscar Collazo



El 27 de octubre de 1974 20,000 gentes -- militantes y animados -- reunieron en Madison Square Garden para demandar la independencia para Puerto Rico y la libertad para los prisioneros nacionalistas. Esta manifestación histórica fue parte de la resistencia continua frente al control norteamericano que empezó en 1898, cuando Estados Unidos invadió a Puerto Rico y convirtió la isla en su colonia a través de la fuerza de armas.

OSCAR COLLAZO

En 1950, Los Estado Unidos y el gobierno colonial se movilizó para destruir el Partido Nacionalista Puertorriqueño, luchador para la independencia. Los nacionalistas, preparados para tal ataque, libraron una batalla durante seis días a través de la isla. En Estados Unidos, Oscar Collazo y Griselio Torresola trajeron la guerra a Washington, DC. Estraron a la Casa Blair, donde vivía el Presidente Truman, y intentaron subir la escaleras con fuerza de armas. Torresola fué matado, Collazo fué herido y condenado a muerte. Su pena fue reducido al encarcelamiento para la vida.

LOLITA LEBRÓN, IRVING FLORES, ANDRÉS FIGUEROA, RAFAEL MIRANDA

En 1954, Los Estado Unidos lograron imponer una resolución en la Organización de Naciones Unidas, declarando que Puerto Rico había alcanzado gobierno propio. Para atraer la atención internacional a las condiciones de la opresión colonial en Puerto Rico, los nacionalistas atacaron a la Camara de Diputados en el capitolio norteamericano, porque tiene control jurídico sobre Puerto Rico. El 1 de marzo de 1954 estos heroes entraron en el Congreso y empezaron un tiroteo, gritando "Viva Puerto Rico Libre!" Los tres hombres fueron condenados a 75 años de prisión, y su lider, Lolita Lebrón, a 50 años. En 1974, la Organización de Naciones Unidas reconoció la resolución de 1954 como una maniobra colonial, y votó a declarar la verdadera condición de Puerto Rico como la de una colonia de los Estado Unidos.

CARLOS FELICIANO

Carlos Feliciano fue arrestado en 1950 durante la insurrección nacionalista en la isla y pasó muchos años en la prisión. En 1973 fue exonerado después de un primer juicio como resultado de una carga inventada de haber puesto una bomba en Nueva York. Pero el fiscal de Manhattan mantuvo su presión por su actividad pro-independencia entre el pueblo puertorriqueño en Nueva York. Fue enjuiciado por crímenes menores y ahora está sirviendo una sentencia de cuatro años.

Cinco de estos revolucionarios han estano en la prisión por más que 20 años, los prisioneros políticos con mayor antigüedad en el país. Son todos ellos luchadores sin equivocaciones para que Puerto Rico tenga el derecho de existir como una nación libre.

PARA PUERTO RICO!

NEROS POLITICOS PUERTORRIQUEÑOS!

THE WAR COMES HOME: Roots of the Economic Crisis

Scenes from an economic crisis -- not the 1930's but the 1970's: official unemployment at 8.2%, but as high as 41% for Black youth, with millions more not even included in the count because they have given up looking for work; livestock shot and buried while people go hungry; new office buildings standing half-constructed while thousands make the street their home; executives jumping from skyscrapers. The US, along with the rest of the capitalist world, is experiencing the most severe economic and political crisis since the Great Depression. Prices of necessities are skyrocketing and working people as well as unemployed are having a tougher time. Everyone is angry; and anger is moving people into strikes, protest and action.

The response of the Ford-Rockefeller administration is to put enormous energy and money into public-relations and a big lie campaign to divert this anger and shift the focus of attention away from those who own and rule the country -- away from the unprecedented profits of the oil companies and away from the \$94 billion Pentagon budget. They are laying the crisis at the door of working people and the Third World and insisting that it is the people who must bear the burden of the imperialist system's failure.

If you listen to Kissinger you would think that the energy crisis and all our economic difficulties are entirely the fault of the Arab peoples; if you listen to Simon and Butz you would think inflation is the fault of people who don't put enough money in the bank and people who don't clean their plates; if you listen to Dent and Rodino you would think that recession is caused by "aliens" stealing jobs, people not buying enough cars, and that labor unions are at fault for high prices.

In the name of fighting inflation the current federal budget proposal at-

tacks the very poorest people in the society: freezes veterans' benefits and social security payments to old people, cuts food stamp programs. But prices aren't high because wages are too high or because people get too much welfare; prices are high because of monopoly pricing for huge profits and enormous military spending. Capitalism is a system based on profit, and a system which has periodic crisis built deep into it. That is the underlying cause of the breakdown we are now living through.

Where do profits come from?

The drive to make a buck underlies the capitalist system. The only planning is how to maximize profits, and production only occurs to the degree that it makes money and wins power for the individual capitalist and corporation. Priorities are determined by corporate greed not human need: low cost housing is not as profitable as a shopping center, a day care center is not as profitable as television, public transportation is not as profitable as the automobile.

No capitalist concern can survive

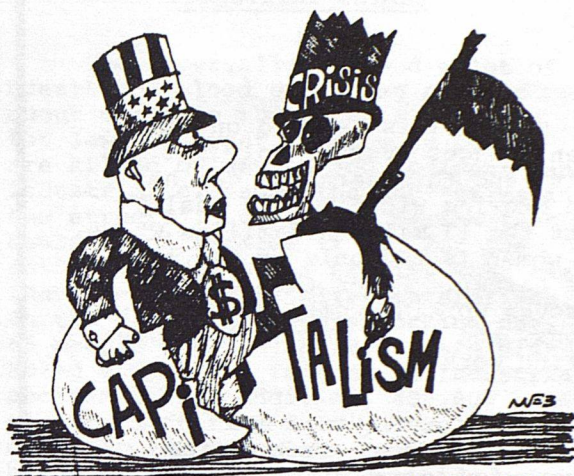


unless its profits are expanding. This is because they compete with each other. It's a dog eat dog world. The capitalist drive for profit leads inevitably to monopolization -- fewer and fewer corporations become larger and larger as they swallow the competition. Monopolies come to dominate and characterize the system, and they extend their hunt for profit throughout the world. This stage of capitalism is imperialism.

Profit doesn't fall from the sky. The labor of men, women and children produces all social wealth. The chair you're sitting on, the food you eat, the paper in your hands, all are products of people's labor. The basis for comparing the worth of different goods is how much human labor went into their making. Bourgeois economists say that raw materials, machines and labor together, are the "costs of production"; but raw materials and machines themselves were produced -- or logged, mined, smelted -- by human labor. This is the labor theory of value, developed by Marx and Engels. All wealth is created by the labor of people. Workers produce much more wealth than the company pays for in the form of wages. This surplus is taken by the capitalist. Profit comes out of the difference between what the workers produce and what they are paid in wages. Thus profit results from the exploitation of labor.

These concepts are tools to understand political economy which is mystified and kept from us by "experts" and politicians. Economics is simply about relations among people. Political economy is an essential way to understand the fundamental workings of society -- who produces the things people need to live, and who owns the means to produce these things. This can be grasped by everyone.

The capitalist system's drive for ever-expanding profits plunges it into periodic and inevitable crises. As the system develops, the capitalists accumulate more and more money, and invest this money in more advanced machinery and technology -- larger-scale means of production. This increased productivity could be a tremendous benefit to humanity. But the contradiction of capitalism is that the immense productivity creates crises and suffering. This is because



TWINS!

Granma 1/19/ '75

the capitalists have an increasingly difficult time finding consumers for their products or maintaining a high rate of profit to cover their vast capital investments.

In this situation there are two main ways a crisis can begin. First, since workers are paid a small portion of what they produce, they can't provide an adequate consumer market for the growing production. There is an apparent glut of goods on the market. Unsold goods mean falling profits which leads to cutbacks in production, laying-off of workers, further reducing consumption as the system cycles downward toward depression. Second, the working class at home and abroad fights for a higher share of what they produce. This cuts into the high profits of the capitalists. The capitalists cut back on new investment, leading to production cutbacks, layoffs and further downward cycle.

We can see this irrationality of the profit system in the US economy today. Take the auto industry, the backbone of the economy: there are all those cars sitting in lots and people don't have enough money to buy them. Meanwhile hundreds of thousands of people have been thrown out of jobs and can buy even less. Capitalism is increasingly unable to use its productive capacity to anywhere near its fullest potential, increasingly unable to employ workers in productive

OLD PEOPLE

Inflation hits old people the hardest. Even before the current inflation spiral, 50% of all old people were officially classified as poor. Malnutrition is widespread. Many old people eat only one or two meals a day and the crime of old people having to live on dog and cat food has recently been publicized. Fixed pensions and Social Security benefits don't keep pace with inflation, price rises for food and other necessities. High rents throw many old people onto the streets. Ford has requested a limit of increase in Social Security of 5% while inflation is running at 12%. This is a dramatic comment on how the capitalist system discards older people because it sees them as no longer productive.

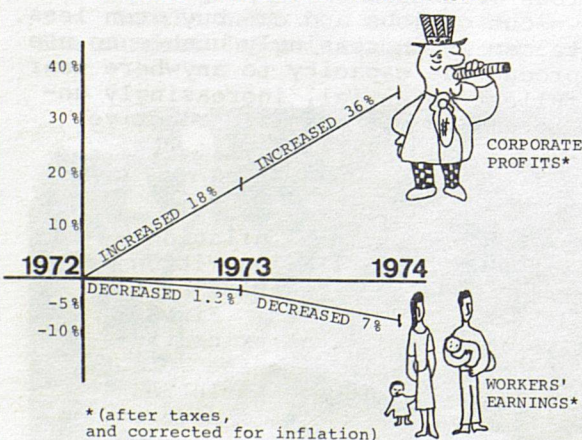
WOMEN

This crisis is hard on women. Women's wages average only 57% of men's, and this earnings gap has been growing wider. This really hurts the 13 million families where the woman is the only or the main wage earner. Fewer than one out of seven working women belong to unions, and it is harder for women to find work.

At the same time, new restrictions make welfare another form of slavery for women with children. For example, New York State is trying to impose a new fee scale for daycare. This means that a family of four with an income of \$8,500 a year could use daycare only if they pay the full cost: \$70 a week. That means many women, to afford daycare, have to go on welfare -- where they are forced to "work off" their welfare checks on the so-called work incentive plan, at pay far below the minimum wage.

As one mother put it, "What's welfare? Welfare's when the government passes a law to give aid to the poor and then tries to keep the poor from getting it. Now I don't like to use the word welfare because according to Noah Webster welfare means health, happiness and comfort and I haven't had any of that for the six years that I've been on ADC (Aid for Dependent Children)."

HOW DO PROFITS COMPARE WITH WAGES? ...SINCE 1972



labor or meet human needs.

Capitalism is torn from within by the struggles of people subjugated by it. Those whose labor produces wealth resist their exploitation thru both class struggle and national struggle. This ranges from organizing for higher wages to oppressed nations reclaiming their resources from imperialism, to the fight for socialism. As the class struggle becomes politicized and organized it threatens the capitalists' very ownership of the means of production.

During the present crisis workers in many different areas have been fighting -- sometimes for higher wages, sometimes for their jobs. The Appalachian coal fields have been in turmoil. Farm workers have been fighting to become unionized. Auto workers in Detroit and elsewhere are in deep trouble due to layoffs. Clerical workers, hospital workers, the unemployed and others have been forced to act by the worsening conditions. In times like these, the true nature of the capitalist system becomes visible to many more people. Increasingly, the struggles of working people are struggles for survival.

Over the last 15 years, the struggle has grown the most among the people of the Third World. The exploitation of the Third World buoyed imperialism's profits. From 1950 to 1965, US companies invested \$9 billion in Third World countries and extracted \$23.6 billion in profits. The reclaiming of Third World resources and wealth is an important factor shaking the capitalist system today.

These contradictions are an inherent part of the capitalist system and they produce crises. But where did this present crisis begin and why is it happening now?

The current economic crisis is tied with a ball and chain to US aggression in Vietnam. In 1964 the economy looked strong, suffering only what the government economists called 'moderate' unemployment and inflation. This surface prosperity masked the precariousness of an economy dependent on harsh exploitation of people in the Third World, continuing depression in the ghettos and barrios of the US, exploitation of the labor of working people for corporate profit and inflationary military spending. Military spending was running at \$50 billion a year. The Pentagon is imperialism's method of maintaining world domination, and war spending plays an important role in the domestic economy: it means high taxes for people and huge profits for the military-industrial complex. This is what the government means by stimulating the economy thru defense spending. It does serve to partly offset unemployment, but it hardly cures the underlying problem. Military spend-

ing is like taking pep pills for anemia: there is a temporary boost but in the long run it is deadly.

War spending produces nothing that is useful to people, neither sustenance nor raw materials nor products for the market. It produces only death and waste. The over \$1,500,000,000,000 (one trillion five-hundred billion dollars) spent on the military since the end of World War II is burnt up like napalm or sits in the ground like an atomic missile. The resources that went into the planes lost in Indochina, for example -- over \$12 billion -- could easily have provided \$2.1 billion for the vetoed child-care program, \$2.3 billion to make up the federal health budget deficiency, \$4.5 billion to eliminate hunger in the US and \$3 billion toward reparations to Third World nations, which could build 43 fertilizer factories to increase vital food yield.

In 1965, the US government began full scale bombing and invasion of Vietnam. This meant more money to finance war when an essentially war-time budget was already in effect. The unpopularity of the war meant that Lyndon Johnson was limited in his ability to raise taxes or cut social programs. So LBJ borrowed the money to fight the war. The US government went heavily into debt. Banks found it easy to raise interest rates for loans to their best customer: the US government. This made it harder for others to borrow money for investment in production or to begin building houses. The economic priorities were bent even more deeply toward war.

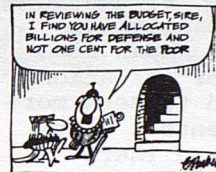
LBJ promised "guns and butter" and gambled on a quick victory. The successful struggle of the Vietnamese people defeated this gamble. The war dragged on. Prices soared, so US sales abroad slipped and people here found imports less expensive than domestically produced goods. This led to production cutbacks. A half-million GI's came home, looking for jobs that weren't here, and unemployment became even more serious.

The Tet Offensive of 1968 made it clear that the US had no chance of winning in Vietnam, and this was a decisive turning point in the decline of US imperialism. Now imperialist control over the productive forces of other countries is being challenged in several ways:

*** Successful national liberation struggles aim to place economic and social power in the hands of their peoples. They are leading examples of people regaining their stolen wealth. When this route of struggle is carried thru to the establishment of socialism it takes the country out of the capitalist system's circle of power altogether, making it impossible for imperialism to profit even in hidden or indirect ways from the nation's resources and labor.

INDUSTRIAL CRIMES

The imperialists spend a lot of breath and blood promoting a panic about crime in the streets, calling for law and order. But more people are killed by on-the-job accidents and industrial diseases than by "crime in the streets". These are deaths that could be eliminated if not for the anti-human drive for profits that characterizes capitalist enterprises. In the US, during every working day, 65 people are killed, 8,500 are disabled and 27,000 injured in industrial accidents. In addition, 400,000 people are suffering from job-related diseases such as black lung (miners), brown lung (textile), pesticide poisoning (farm workers), asbestiosis (chemical), and radiation poisoning (nuclear energy). Over 100,000 die annually of these conditions.



The effect of the crisis on Black people is deadly. A depression stalks the Black communities. The rate of unemployment for Black people is twice that of the population as a whole. 41% of all Black teenagers are now out of work.

*** Imperialism buys cheap and sells dear. Monopoly pricing and imperial control over what each country can produce and where it can sell it have always kept down the price of raw materials while inflating the price of manufactured goods. Now, some Third World nations are banding together to demand higher prices for the raw materials that have been taken from them for centuries at dirt-cheap prices.

*** Some Third World countries are now putting restrictions on the amount of profit that can legally be extracted from their labor. Some are nationalizing big capitalist enterprises operating inside their borders.

*** The internationally weakened position of US imperialism is reflected in growing economic competition between capitalist countries. The capitalist countries of West Europe and Japan also are affected by the crises of inflation and recession and are forced to seek more markets at each other's expense. Trade competition has heightened and there is increased struggle over control of raw materials.

Both higher raw materials prices and restrictions on profit are attempts to regain control of a country's wealth within the framework of the world capitalist economy. US corporations still control many of the materials and profit from the price rises; some of the governments getting the higher profits are still in collusion with imperialism and use the new wealth to oppress their people. However, these price and profit limits are a part of the struggle against imperialism.

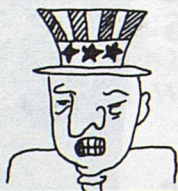
Exploitation of the Third World has been seen as the salvation of a stagnating capitalism, fertile ground for investment and exploitation, but now it is the Third World which is playing a decisive role in digging the grave of imperialism. This is good, because as imperialism succeeded in dominating the Third World, it also tightened its grip over the lives of working people here. As imperialism declines worldwide, the possibility of breaking that iron grip rises before us.

The imperialist corporations have shown that they will go to any lengths to

THE RULING CLASS EXPLAINS UNEMPLOYMENT TO THE U.S. WORKING CLASS

THOSE DAMN ARABS WON'T LET ME STEAL THEIR OIL ANY MORE...

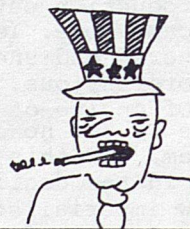
SO I'M RAISING MY PRICES ON THE PRODUCTS YOU MAKE.



IF YOU CAN'T AFFORD MY PRICES, THEN YOU DON'T NEED MY PRODUCT.



IF YOU DON'T NEED (BUY) MY PRODUCT, THEN I'LL HAVE TO CUT BACK PRODUCTION.



IF I CUT BACK PRODUCTION — YOU'RE OUT OF A JOB.



SO YOU SEE, IT'S ALL THE ARAB'S FAULT... AND YOURS, TOO, IF YOU MAKE ANY TROUBLE



BUT THE ARABS DIDN'T FIRE ME... HE DID.

THEY CAN'T FOOL US ANYMORE... WE'RE JOINING THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OUR REAL ENEMY — US IMPERIALISM!



"ENERGY CRISIS"

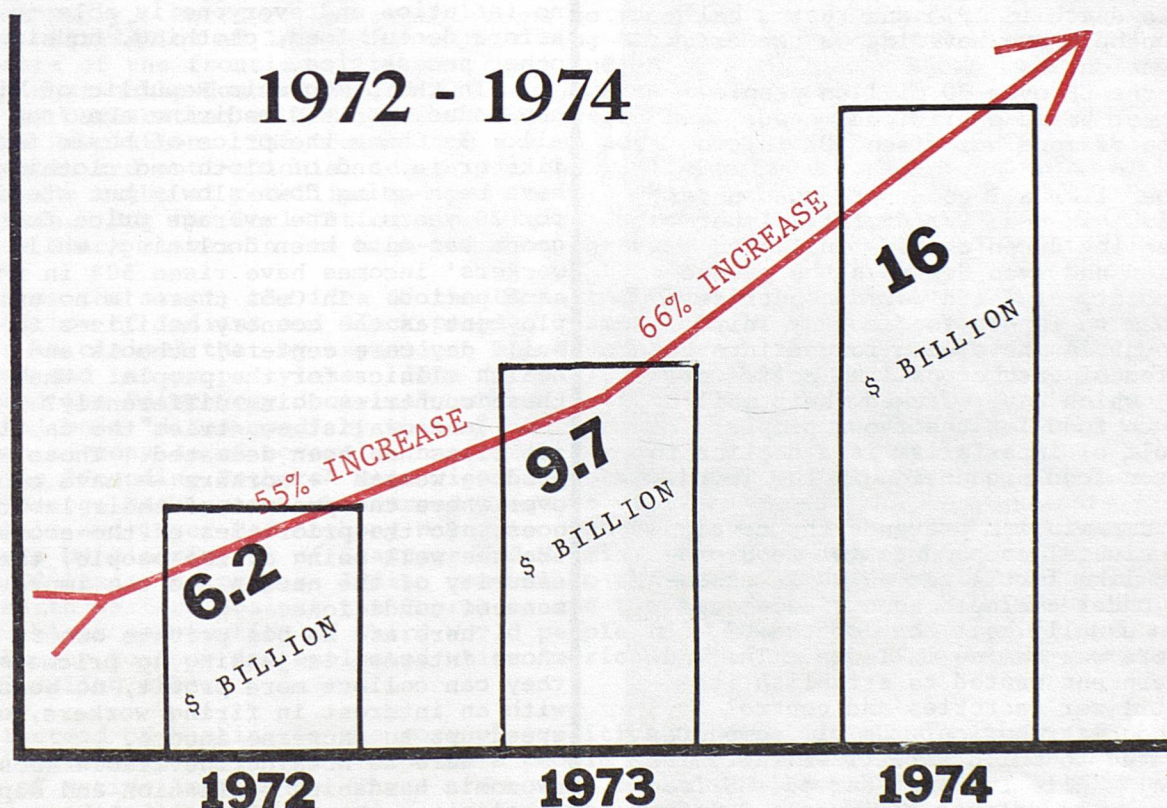
A recent poll indicates that 68% of the American people believe that the main cause of the current economic crisis is the Arab countries raising the price of their oil. A massive public relations job, orchestrated by Henry Kissinger, is responsible for this distortion taking root. Nelson Rockefeller, who is saturated in oil wealth from Exxon, now the largest corporation in the world, and whose family has more wealth than all the Black, Puerto Rican, Native American, Asian, Mexican-American and poor white people have put together, tries to stand the situation on its head by claiming that "the Arabs in a week accumulate more money than my family has after three generations of work." This is ridiculous.

High oil prices are the result of monopoly pricing and government policy. This explains the astronomical profits of the oil monopolies in time of apparent shortage. In the last several years the oil companies have moved to monopolize other sources of energy, like coal and natural gas, as a means of making greater

profits, even if Arab oil is nationalized in the future. The oil monopolies are rich and getting richer.

In the early 1960's it cost the oil monopolies 16¢ to produce a barrel of crude oil in the Mideast, yet they sold this barrel for over \$1.73, which was the cost to produce a barrel in the US. The companies took at least \$1 billion a year in profits out of the Mideast. But the world's resources don't belong to the US by some special right. Today, the oil producing nations are reclaiming a larger share of their own natural and human resources. The big oil monopolies try to turn the current world situation to their own advantage, passing the cost on to the consumers in the form of price increases and general inflation. US oil company profits rose 55% in 1973 and 66% in 1974. In million-dollar ad campaigns the oil companies paint themselves as progressive and forward-looking, concerned about birds and beaches, only taking their share in a world made hostile by the greedy Arabs. But the root cause of the "energy crisis" is imperialism.

OIL COMPANIES' PROFITS SOAR

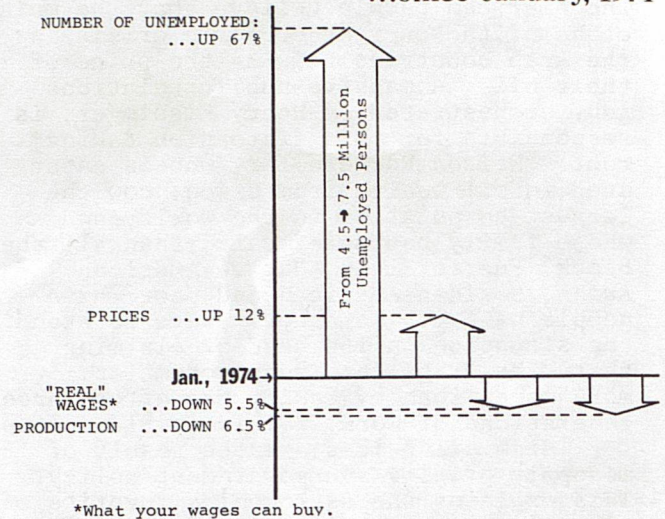


maintain their profits -- the US government and ITT overthrew the elected government of Chile, now they threaten war in the Mideast to capture the oil fields. These machinations must be defeated by our movement. Their attempt to use imperialist war as a cure for economic troubles must be exposed, and opposed as diverting the people from the real source of our woes. The tremendous energy that grew up to oppose the war in Vietnam must be joined with the energy that is arising in opposition to hunger, unemployment and economic dislocation. A strong class conscious anti-imperialist movement can develop to destroy the present system and build socialism.

* * * * *

WHAT'S HAPPENING?

...since January, 1974



"MAKE MILLIONS ON WORLD'S STARVING BILLION"

--Forbes Magazine

People are starving to death throughout the capitalist "free world". The UN estimates that 10 million people will starve to death in 1975 and that a half billion people are hovering on the brink of starvation.

In the US over 30 million people cannot meet basic nutritional needs, and the price of food has risen 30% in two years.

Food, like all goods produced under capitalism, is made for profit. Imperialist policy doesn't allow full food production and even destroys the productive capacity of Third World countries to force them to import food. Many Third World countries have been forced into the production of cash crops like coffee or tobacco, which have wrecked their ability to produce food for their own people. The result of imperialism is a decline in per person food production in the Third World.

US imperialism prevents the development of crucial components for food production, like fertilizer which is essential in underdeveloped countries where yield is usually half that of the US. In 1966 there was famine in India. The Indian government wanted to establish its own fertilizer factories and control sales and distribution. US oil companies also wanted to build fertilizer factories in India. While Indians starved, US food shipments were delayed to force the Indian government to give in to the demands of the oil companies.

THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE

The newspapers report a "world-wide" economic crisis. But look around. In some countries there is no unemployment, no inflation and everyone is able to afford decent food, clothing, housing and other necessities.

In the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, education and medicine are free to all. In China the price of basic foods, like grain, and of cloth and clothing, have been going down slowly but steadily for 20 years. The average price for all goods has also been declining, while workers' incomes have risen 50% in the same period. In Cuba there is no unemployment as the country mobilizes to build day care centers, schools and health clinics for the people. What are these countries doing differently?

In socialist countries the capitalist class has been defeated. Those who produce wealth -- workers -- have control over where the product of their labor goes. So the priorities of the economy are the well-being of the people, the security of the nation and the improvement of conditions.

There are no big private owners whose interest is jacking up prices so they can collect more profit, no boss with an interest in firing workers, or speed-ups to increase income.

There is nothing inevitable about economic hardship. Inflation and depression are the result of putting profit ahead of people.

FIREWORKS**SMOKE SIGNALS**

The US Bicentennial is a giant, chauvinistic fraternity party. What myths are the greedy, decaying men who run the US government trying to lay on the US people?

They want to use the 200th anniversary of independence from England to firm up national unity in the face of challenges to US world power and grave crisis at home. By telling their version of the "glories" of US history, they aim to deny opposition any historical roots, to brand those dissatisfied with North American imperial society as outsiders and traitors. For revolutionaries, this ought to be a time for taking an honest look at US history, exploding ruling myths, searching out ancestors in struggle, making demands on the ruling class. The rulers have set the time for the party. Let us bring the FIREWORKS.

Let's begin by checking out the effect of the American Revolution on the original inhabitants of this continent, the Native Americans. From the earliest European interventions here, there was conflict with the Indians. Antagonism increased as the colonists began to think of themselves as a new nation, a nation with a huge, unclaimed continent at hand.

In the 1760's, Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, felt the growing pressure of the colonists in the old Northwest Territory (now Michigan, Ohio and Indiana). Pontiac chose to ally with the French, who were then fighting England for control over India and North America. Lord Jeffrey Amherst, a British general, passed out smallpox-infected blankets to the Ottawas in an early use of germ warfare. For this, he had a college and a number of towns named after him. One way to act during the Bicentennial is to support the current campaign to change the name of Amherst, Massachusetts and all other towns named for Indian-killers.

Pontiac was defeated, but the British were drained by the Ottawas' determined resistance. Hoping for peace with the Indians, they imposed the Proclamation of 1763 on the colonists. This act recognized Indian rights to all land west of the Appalachians and was bitterly opposed by such wealthy land speculators as Washington, Franklin and Patrick Henry. Further land restrictions so incensed the colonists that they complained in the Declaration of Independence that King George "has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of the frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is indistinguishable destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions."

The Declaration of Independence expresses the contradictions at the heart of the American Revolution. The Declaration was an advanced expression of anti-feudal, anti-monarchist and anti-colonial ideas. It had worldwide impact as a document which justified the right of rebellion and put forward democratic ideals. This was its progressive side. But the Declaration also viewed Indians as "savages" and refused even to mention Black slaves in its high-sounding phrases.

From the start, the idea of the US as the "land of opportunity" has been based on subjugation of Indians and Black people. James Madison referred to the US as "the empire"; he claimed that by expansion, the US could avoid class struggle between the propertied and the propertyless. John Marshall, first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, promoted the "discovery doctrine", which justified US claim to Indian lands because the land had been "discovered" by whites, and because the Indians were supposedly too backward to be considered sovereign nations.

The "Founding Fathers" went right to work putting these ideas into practice. President George Washington, who burned Iroquois villages during the Revolutionary War, sent St. Clair and later Mad Anthony Wayne to open up the Ohio Valley for fur-trappers and settlers by clearing it of Shawnees and Miamis. Later, Thomas Jefferson became the first US leader to propose Indian removal to the West. And Andrew Jackson started scorched earth warfare against the Cherokees and the Seminoles. This relentless expansion and ruthless persecution of Third World people, combined with extravagant promises of opportunity to poor and exploited white Americans, has continued to be the trademark of the US ruling class.

Instead of basking in the corrupt tradition of Washington and Madison, we can use the Bicentennial period to recapture a people's history and to support the urgent struggles of Native Americans. There are now 30 million Indians living in the Western hemisphere, and Indian culture and resistance has survived over 500 years of foreign attack. Support the Wounded Knee defendants. Self-determination for the Menominees in Wisconsin, the Mohawks in New York, all Indian nations. Knock over the nearest monument to an Indian-killer. Turn the Bicentennial on its head.

VICTORY TO THE CHILEAN RESISTANCE!

"THERE IS MUCH TO BE DONE TO SUPPORT THE RESISTANCE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP. THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS TO ALLOW THE DICTATORSHIP NO RESPIRE, TO INCREASE DAY BY DAY ITS ISOLATION, STRENGTHENING THE SUPPORT OF THE WORKERS AND PEOPLES OF THE WORLD FOR THE CHILEAN PEOPLE AND THEIR HEROIC RESISTANCE."

-MIR

MOVEMENT OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY LEFT



STOP
ALL US
MILITARY AID
TO THE JUNTA!

REVIEW: CUBAN WOMEN NOW

Cuban Women Now, a book of interviews with Cuban women by Margaret Randall, takes us direct to the heart of the Cuban revolution. Cuba is a beacon of light in Latin America shining on revolutionaries all over the world. Socialism is being built just 90 miles south of Miami, in our own hemisphere. What a revolution for us to learn from! Cuban women, once the slaves of slaves, are now making their own history.

Socialism brings with it many changes for women. As long as the mighty US dollar ruled, people's lives were exploited and miserable. Cubans could only realize their full human potential once the capitalist economic base of their society was overturned. Socialism released the energies of freedom.

Before the revolution in 1959, life was wretched for Cuban women. Cuba was a colony of the US, kept underdeveloped by a one-crop economy (sugar) and by backward Yanqui values. There were thousands of prostitutes, gambling halls, fancy hotels, servants. Few people knew how to read, most were hungry, those who had jobs were worked to the bone for slave wages.

The poorest women worked as maids and prostitutes. Alicia, now the president of her CDR (Committee to Defend the Revolution), described her life as a prostitute. First she had worked as a maid for five pesos a month, washing, ironing and cooking. Even her next job in a cafeteria, for 15 pesos, couldn't support her children and her parents. So she began work in "a house": "It was a dog's life. I had to go to bed with twenty men I didn't know to earn enough to raise my children and help my mother out... I felt twenty bitternesses, twenty torments, never anything you could call happiness... But that was the sacrifice you had to make because there was no other way, because women's life was very hard before. Now there is no reason why a woman has to sell herself for a peso... before you had to."

Women's lives were tied up with preparation for marriage. As Teresa Sanchez, the National Coordinator of the CDR's says, "When I finished high school I just stayed at home washing, ironing, waiting for the man to come along who would be the prince charming that every girl in those days waited for, a poor girl waiting for liberation through the man who would one day knock at her door." Even when marriage didn't work out, women often wouldn't leave because they needed to feed their children.

Women attest to the fundamental changes the Revolution has made in their lives. The poorest women, those who had been most excluded from society, are the first to be trained politically and given

jobs. Schools have been tailored to fit the needs of those attending. For example, peasant women and maids are taught to hate the ideology responsible for keeping them subservient. Then they become familiarized with the goals of socialism and their dignity as part of the Cuban people. Prostitutes, who were among the most abused and self-hating, go to schools where patient comrades work through their problems and help to build their confidence and strength.

Before the revolution work was slavery. Socialist work has new meaning for women. It is demanding work, hard and tiring work, because Cuba is an underdeveloped country. But through their contribution to the productive forces women grow more confident and proud. A woman is a canecutter, a teacher, a factory worker -- independent of a man for her economic survival or for self-definition. A woman working in a sugar factory describes how the revolution changes women's lives: "Tremendously. Why women can be themselves. Because before women were submissive; they thought they couldn't do anything. And today we can do anything any man can do, we can be useful to the revolution the same as men."



The central organization for women is the Federation of Cuban Women, which formed in August 1960. Its goal is to "raise the ideological, political, cultural and scientific level of women in order to incorporate them into the tasks assigned by the Revolution and so to allow them the role they are entitled to play in the new society." Reaching into every corner of the island, the Federation has launched hundreds of programs which have educated women, created widely available childcare called children's circles, trained women politically, involved women in production. The children's circles provide the daycare essential for working women. These productive places, filled with life, are described by Clementina Serra: "In each circle, every month, we celebrate one birthday for all the children who are one year older that month. So they have the party there, the parents may participate if they want, there's a cake, sweets, ice cream, the meals served that day are special ones... This is a good thing and the parents like it too because in this way the child learns to collectivize his party."

The Federation also confronts men who hold women back. Men are sometimes fearful of their wives and lovers joining the militia, driving a tractor, or working in the Young Communists. Some fathers cling to their daughters, worrying about what will happen to their femininity. Each step forward for women involves a shake-up in tradition and has to be fought for.

The Federation and the Cuban Communist Party have spawned true internationalist consciousness among women. Cuban women don't think only of themselves but reach out to sisters all over the world. They have gone on work-brigades to countries like Vietnam to help heal the wounds of war. They have invited women from many revolutionary movements to their country to participate in the building of socialism. They take to heart the problems faced by oppressed people in every country.

The Cuban Revolution is only 16 years old. Only 16 years since the shedding of Yanqui domination. Cuban life and culture before 1959 had been saturated with US-promoted sexism. Imperialism affirms the most backward attitudes and elevates them to a model for human conduct. Sexist attitudes take years to root out and transform completely.

In the last few years in Cuba it has become evident that all obstacles to women's freedom must be erased. Fidel has called the struggle of women a "revolution within the revolution." It is precisely because women have been incorporated into the process of revolution that the need for their full participation is understood.

Last year, in Matanzas province, an election for the People's Assembly was held, the first of its kind. Only 3% of



Tobacco pickers in Pinar del Rio.

the delegates elected were women. Fidel criticized this because it reflected backwardness in mass consciousness about women's role.

Since the Matanzas election, a campaign has begun to confront attitudes about women. Proposals for the Women's Congress just held in November, 1974, were taken to every organization, every factory, every house. The Family Code, proposed a few months earlier, requires men by law to do half the housework and childcare for their working wives. This proposal is still being hotly debated, adding to the swirl of the struggle.

The Second National Congress of the Federation of Cuban Women was an exciting milestone in this struggle to fully incorporate women into the revolution. The slogan on the walls was "Profundizand La Accion Revolucionaria de la Mujer"/ "Deepen the Revolutionary Action of Women." The goals and spirit of the Congress were true to this slogan. Delegates came from all over Cuba to work on the questions of the Federation's relationship to: the housewife, working women, young women, peasant women, raising children, laws, solidarity. There were women delegates from more than 50 countries, including the US. Delegates came from all over Cuba, wearing colored blouses and tapping tambourines to show what province they were from.

The Congress made a firm commitment to broadening the scope of women's participation in the struggle. They proposed better and more diversified education for women, the removal of sexist images from society and expressed a desire for the Family Code to also apply to women who don't work.

Fidel was present for the entire conference. His speech in the closing session was both confident and critical. He spoke of the advances women had made since the revolution, culminating in this Congress, and also of the obstacles yet to overcome. Objective obstacles to involving women in production can be overcome by building more nurseries and training more women for jobs in production. This battle for the integration of Cuban women is historic and advancing rapidly. Subjective obstacles, the prejudices from the old culture, have to be confronted again and again. The women of Cuba, Fidel says, have put the struggle for equality and integration into the center of women's political activity for future years.

Internationalism is a key to victory in this fight of Cuban women. They look especially to Vietnamese sisters who have played such an important role in their own revolution. Women in Vietnam have a long tradition of resistance to invaders. They have also demanded from their comrades full dignity and respect. They have carried the banner for women everywhere in their heroic struggle for freedom. Vietnamese sisters are always welcomed in

Cuba, visit frequently and have much to share with Cuban women. Madame Binh, Foreign Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG) has spoken to hundreds of thousands of Cubans. There are strong ties between these sister revolutions.

A refrain from a song by the women from Las Villas province, sung at the recent Congress, says:

"La Mayor conquista de la mujer
es verse en la lucha,
su incorporacion a la vida social,
su voz yaase escucha."

"Women's greatest conquest
is seeing herself in struggle,
her incorporation in society,
her voice now is heard."

Cuban Women Now is published by The Women's Press, 280 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. It costs \$5.25. But the book is extraordinary and important, and five or more people can join together to buy a copy and pass it hand to hand.





On January 28, 1975, the Weather Underground Organization entered the State Department in Washington, D.C., and carried out a bombing of the Vietnam Section of the US Agency for International Development. Another bomb, placed in the Department of War's Defense Supply Agency in Oakland, California, failed to detonate.

This action was an important part of the resurgence of anti-war forces mobilizing to block additional aid to the Thieu and Lon Nol Governments, demanding a total withdrawal of all US forces from Indochina.

US FAILURE IN CAMBODIA

In the past few weeks, both Secretary of State Kissinger and Secretary of War Schlesinger have admitted the defeat of US policy in Cambodia. Schlesinger said that without immediate increases in US aid, the Lon Nol Dictatorship would "absolutely fall", and Kissinger has said that it "could collapse in the near future." After decades of US intervention in the political affairs of Indochina, including five years of direct aggression in Cambodia, after billions and billions of dollars of aid, the US is about to suffer one of its most serious losses. The collapse of the Dictatorship draws near.

Since 1970, when Nixon expanded the Vietnam war into Cambodia and the CIA engineered the overthrow of Cambodian Head of State Sisoweth Norodom Sihanouk, the Peoples National Liberation Armed Forces of Cambodia (PNLAF), led by the National United Front of Kampuchea (FUNK), and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia (GRUNC), have liberated over 90% of the countryside. After five years of resistance to the US invasion, 5½ million people live in the liberated areas, while 1½ million remain in the enclaves controlled by Lon Nol. The FUNK and the GRUNC have been recognized by over 62 countries and liberation movements around the world, and last summer, only behind-the-scenes pressure by the US prevented the Lon Nol Dictatorship from being thrown out of the United Nations and replaced by the GRUNC.

The liberated territory of Cambodia stretches without a break from east to west and from north to south, extending to the very edges of Phnom Penh.

Unlike the Phnom Penh government, the Cambodian revolution has won the support of the majority of Cambodian people. Land rents, which used to be more than 50% of a family's annual production, have been greatly decreased and interest rates are now forbidden. Health care, education and equality for women are all basic goals of the revolution.

Phnom Penh is under heavy pressure. It depends on the Mekong River for 80% of its supplies, and the river has been completely closed to shipping since February 3. This leaves the Pochentong Airport as the Capital's only lifeline to the outside world. Phnom Penh needs 600 tons of ammunition and 600 tons of rice a day, and at the present rate of consumption, its supplies will run out in 2 to 3 months. By late February, military

advisors to Lon Nol were urging him to pull troops out of some of the remaining provincial enclaves in order to bolster the sagging defenses of the Capital.

Battambang, in the northwest rice-growing region has been the scene of violent food riots and general disorder. The district capital of Moun Russei fell on February 23, along with 2000 tons of rice, and liberation forces recently freed the inhabitants of a strategic hamlet in Kompong Chhnang Province, built by the Agency for International Development. All this points out the deteriorating political, military and economic situation.

The US continues its deadly role in the Cambodian fighting. Bird Air, a "civilian" contractor hired by the US Embassy last October, has been making 20 cargo flights a day, amounting to 500 tons, mostly ammunition. Bird Air uses leased USAF transports with the insignia's painted out. The USAF has also been flying secret bombing raids against the PNLAF forces dug in along the Mekong. USAF planes recently dropped a newly developed anti-personnel bomb, which consumes all oxygen within several hundred feet of impact and suffocates every living thing.

The prospect for the total national liberation of the people of Cambodia grows every day, and the victory will be a great victory for the people of Vietnam and Laos as well. As surely as Spring follows the Winter, the people of Indochina will force the agents of US imperialism to leave their countries. Every last attempt by the US to exploit and control the people and resources of Indochina will have been defeated.



**TOGETHER WE CELEBRATE
THIS DAY OF WOMEN'S
VICTORIES
AROUND THE WORLD**

**Masses of women -- strong
Fighting oppression -- together
Can overturn
Mountains of US power
And Sow the Seeds of
People's Liberation**

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**Women of the
Weather Underground Organization**

