



Struggle against racism mounts in Forest Hills

see pp. 3, 4

WWP on Black flag...p.2

U.S. threat to Chile...p.11

"Greening of America"...p.15

WORKERS WORLD

Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite

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Nixon's warships threaten Bengali people

SEE

FOUR-PAGE

SECTION ON

THE WAR IN

SOUTH ASIA

pp.7-10



Newark

Black liberation flag attacked by racists



Black students at Jackson State. Ask Fred Hampton.

The imperialist ruling class in the U.S., Britain, Japan, France, etc., have divided and redivided the capitalist world. They found that while they could exploit workers of the mother countries, they could superexploit the colonial workers. The profits were incredible. They plotted to prevent any significant economic or political development among the colonial peoples. They also plotted to turn the workers of the oppressor nations against all of the people of the oppressed nations—whites against Blacks, English against Irish, Japanese against Koreans—so that superexploitation would be protected. They are the ones who are divisive.

The 17-year-old Black Board member who sponsored the liberation flag resolution spoke in moderate terms. He said that this "... event will signify a new day of Black pride among the Black students of Newark." Nevertheless, it terrified the white ruling class because the flag has become a symbol of the desire of the oppressed Black nation for self-determination. That is exactly why the ruling class does not want it, especially in a city that is overwhelmingly Black.

by M. MARGOLIES

Two weeks ago, four Blacks and one Puerto Rican member of the Newark, New Jersey Board of Education passed a resolution which called for the displaying of the black, red, and green Black liberation flag in all schools and classrooms that are majority Black. All hell broke loose among the white ruling class.

Super-patriotic, law-and-order racists threatened to tear down the flags. Various law-suits were filed. The big business New York

Times wrote an editorial called "Divisiveness in Newark. . . ." The editorial said, "Students are free to subscribe privately to dissenting political doctrines but no group, nor any official body, has the right to impose such doctrines on the schools."

What hypocrisy. The white ruling class kidnapped the Black people from Africa, imposed death on countless numbers, destroyed families, cultures, and languages. Today, the Black people are a poverty-stricken internal colony of U.S. imperialism. How much dissension have the Black people been permitted? Ask the dead

Workers World Party supports the right of the Black people of Newark to have this flag in the classrooms. It supports the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, which means their right to choose any course in the struggle against their imperialist oppressor—whether it be integration, autonomy, or separation. It is the duty and is in the interest of the workers of the oppressor nation to support that right. The working class can only free itself from capitalist exploitation and superexploitation by a common struggle of all the workers. It cannot be done without a struggle for the rights of the oppressed colonial peoples by the workers of the oppressor nations. Socialism is the wave of the future but it is only possible on these terms.

Black-white solidarity wins strike in South

After three hard months of struggle, a strike, which saw Black and white workers united for the first time in Mississippi, ended in victory for the strikers. Some 2,500 woodcutters and haulers forced the paper mills there to give in to their demands for a pay increase. In addition, the huge Masonite Corporation—where the strike began—was forced to give in on a vital demand of the workers: return to the old method of measuring wood hauled in.

The strike had initially been started by 200 Masonite workers, but rapidly spread to over 3,900 woodcutters throughout the state. Masonite had tried in September to initiate a new method of weighing wood brought in rather than measuring it as previously. This would have forced the woodcutters and haulers to cart in an additional

1,400 pounds of wood per load in order to earn the same wages as before.

The unity of the workers in a state such as Mississippi—a stronghold of racism and the KKK—was engendered by their common economic oppression. The woodcutters who work 12 to 13 hours a day average \$3,000 a year in wages. About 60 percent of them are Black and the rest white.

One white worker summed up the feelings of many of the strikers when he said, "People are beginning to see that the rich people are out for just one thing—more money. The only way to stop it is for all poor people to get together, no matter what color their skin is. Black and white is brothers."

At present, about 1,200 workers are still out in Mississippi. The dealers, to whom these workers sell



Woodcutters, Black and white, joined to defeat lumber monopolies. their logs and who then sell them to the paper companies, have refused to pass on the gain made by the other woodcutters in the state. Help is still needed, as many of the wood-

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Demonstrations oppose racist anti-housing mobilization

FOREST HILLS, N.Y., December 12 — Over 250 people demonstrated here today in opposition to a campaign by local landlords and residents to stop construction of a low-income housing project. The demonstration today, organized by Youth Against War & Fascism, was a sequel to another YAWF demonstration of some 200 people one week before.

The picket line, carrying banners such as "Racism — tool of robber landlords!" and "Housing for the poor, not for profit!" was the object of verbal abuse from local residents mobilized by the area's landlords Jerry Birbach and millionaire builder Lefrak, and supported by the pro-fascist Young Americans for Freedom and the racist Jewish Defense League. The demonstrators, however, militantly answered the abuse with chants of "Housing yes! Racism no!"

The center of the struggle is a low-income housing project at 108th Street and 69th Drive in Forest Hills. The project is one of several scatter-site developments planned by New York's Mayor John Lindsay. Lindsay and other government officials have been desperately seeking ways to diffuse the explosive anger in the center cities where millions barely survive in the unlivable conditions of run-down tenements. The Kerner Commission (Lindsay was its vice-chairman) developed the idea of "transferring" the poor, Blacks, and other oppressed peoples

from ghettos to projects scattered around the city. Included in the plan to appease local racists were scrupulous medical tests for all applicants for drug addiction and City Hall's pledge that 40 percent of the new low-income tenants would be elderly and white.

BIRBACH A SLUMLORD

For landlords like Jerry Birbach and Lefrak, however, Lindsay's pledges didn't touch the real issue — low-income housing per se. Such government projects cut into their own profits as housing developers. Birbach himself is a slumlord in Manhattan who has made a fortune out of buying up tenements, forcing out the mostly poor and Black residents, and transforming buildings into smaller, higher-rent apartments.

When news came out of the City's plan to build a project in Forest Hills, Birbach and another millionaire landlord, Lefrak (who owns "Lefrak City" and millions of dollars worth of property in the area), promptly began beating the drums of racism, claiming the project would bring crime and overcrowding of schools and subways.

Birbach, of course, did not mention that official statistics show that there is no difference in the crime rate of a low-income project from that of its surrounding area. Nor did Birbach's group press for more schools and mass transit to ease overcrowding (as if Harlem isn't even more overcrowded!). And the signs and slogans of today's mobil-

ization showed just how deeply racist the anti-project protest is — calling the project a "slum-ridden jungle," "We are thrifty, they are shifty," and other vicious attacks on welfare recipients and the poor.

YAWF DEFENDS DECENT HOUSING FOR ALL

"Racism is the tool of robber landlords," answered Youth Against War & Fascism. "Among those leading and financing this racist drive," said Jerry Leo, a member of YAWF and a Forest Hills resident, "are landlords who get rich by keeping Black and Latin people in rat-infested fire traps and robbing them through high rents."

Today's demonstration, and the continuing drive by YAWF to oppose the racist campaign in Forest Hills, is a vital part of the struggle against racism in this country. With the right wing mobilizing, it is essential that all progressives raise their voices in protest to show that there is real community feeling for the poor, and to help those residents of Forest Hills who are intimidated by the racist hysteria to stand up to the pressure and come out on the side of the project.

The cops showed which side of the issue they were on today when they arrested one demonstrator, John Lewis of the American Servicemen's Union, for not moving across the street quickly enough. Last week one YAWF leafletter was also viciously punched by a goon from the anti-project mob and the police, of course, stood by.

YAWF demonstrates at Forest Hills construction site.



Tenants accuse Forest Hills landlord of arson

The following article is reprinted from the CHELSEA CLINTON NEWS of April 23, 1970. It provides an interesting insight into the kind of leadership that is heading the Forest Hills struggle against decent housing for the poor. The evidence strongly indicates that landlord Birbach, who is now the most vociferous, racist opponent of the Forest Hills project, resorted to arson at another housing site when he wanted to get rid of poor tenants and build luxury apartments.

A one alarm fire, described by fire marshal Joseph Kelly as arson, broke out in the basement of 249 West 15th Street Wednesday, April 15, at 2:38 p.m. The adjacent building, 247 West 15th, was also scorched. Windows in both buildings are marked with large Xs, indicating the tenants are part of the We Shall Not Be Moved Tenants Association. Twelve families remain in the 15 floor-thru apartments.

Marshall Kelly said there were actually five separate fires set; "They were set simultaneously," he said. He added that it was "obvious" that the cause was arson, and that only someone with a key

could have entered the basement to start the blazes.

The two landlords, Jerry Birbach and Joseph Albani, purchased both buildings in April, 1969 for renovation purposes.

Asked if he wanted the tenants removed so he could raise rents Albani said, "Now that's not the way to put it. We're improving the city. We're making more places for people to live." He said he wants to transform the 15 apartments into 24.

Keith Crandell, one of the tenants whose wife and infant son had to work their way out of the burning building through billows of smoke, said the tenants would continue to resist any attempts to remove them.

According to Crandell, there are only five keys to the basement. Two are held by the landlords, two by workmen employed by the landlords, and one by the super. Mrs. Crandell said the tenants never had access to the basement.

"We couldn't even get down there to fix a fuse," she said. "If you go down there now you'll see that the fuse is much too large for the wiring."

Albani said he had no idea how many keys were around. "We've had three supers in the last few

months," he said. He added that "dope addicts and all sorts of people" get into the building. He said the tenants let them in.

Asked how somebody could get into the basement without a key (the door had been locked when the fire broke out), Albani said there was a dumbwaiter entrance from a first floor apartment.

The dumbwaiter entrance had been boarded up before the fire. It was broken down by firemen.

The day after the fire, the two landlords were on the scene surveying the damage. An argument had broken out between Birbach and the tenants. Birbach refused to comment, but Mrs. Crandell said Birbach had informed the tenants that he wasn't going to make repairs until he obtained an estimate from an engineer.

Mrs. Erika Clark, a tenant whose apartment was heavily damaged, said Birbach had used abusive language, and had threatened to "bomb the boiler" in a fit of rage. Later Birbach said, "I won't talk to these people until they stop acting like animals."

Aside from being part-owner of the damaged buildings, Albani is the contractor for a building under-



Jerry Birbach

going extensive renovation directly across the street from the fire. That building had also been the scene of a long landlord-tenant struggle based on eviction.

Apartments in the renovated building are renting at about \$240 for small no-bedroom apartments, and up to \$440 for small one-bedroom apartments, according to Mrs. Joan Wexler, a woman on the block who posed as a prospective tenant searching for apartments. Mrs. Wexler said Albani had told her he plans to renovate 247 and 249.

"I told him there were people living there," she said. "You know what he told me? 'Don't worry, I can get them out.'"

editorial

Forest Hills—

Anatomy of a racist campaign

Is Richard Nixon known for his eagerness to help people with their problems? Well, yes, he certainly jumped in quickly when mass murderer Calley was on the spot. But what about when poor people are evicted from their homes? What about when the farm workers go on strike against starvation wages? Where was the power of his office when the inmates of Attica were being massacred, and the survivors tortured and beaten?

Reactionary Senator Buckley says Nixon is concerned about the housing project in Forest Hills, Queens. The President of the United States is a pretty powerful man. He could do a lot to help the people who have to fight rats and roaches every night. He could cut through a lot of red tape to see that some of the billions that go through the hands of the federal government each year get turned over to build homes for people who are living in firetraps and molding tenements.

But that's not what Nixon is concerned about. He's backing the forces who don't want to see a public housing project built in Forest Hills. Nixon's involvement in the Forest Hills debate is just one more indication that this is more than a community issue, it is a national issue—and it has been blown up so big because of racism.

Those organizing opposition to the project publicly proclaim they are concerned about overcrowding of schools, subways, etc. What hypocrisy, when they have done nothing about fighting for more schools, or improving the transportation system. The truth is the opposition is led by a bunch of landlords and businessmen who are whipping up racist fears and hatreds because they know a large public housing project will cut into their private real estate and other property. It has been the greed of their class over many years that has created the abominable conditions in New York City under which so many poor live—and which sections of the middle class are in such a frenzy of fear to wall themselves off from.

Since Nixon has come into the picture, and the right wing has succeeded in mobilizing some support in Forest Hills (although there are many residents who vigorously oppose the racist hysteria), the liberals of this city have capitulated ignominiously. Congressmen Koch and Rosenthal, the New York Times, the Village Voice—they are all suddenly finding that this or that aspect of the project is faulty. Is this really the question?

Public housing has always been the skimpiest of concessions to the masses, combining drabness with the barest minimum of facilities. But the shortcomings, which are nothing new in this particular planned project, are all the more reason to fight harder for better public housing. Instead, the liberals are giving up the whole idea at the first whisper of right-wing, racist opposition.

Some have called the Forest Hills issue a question of "community control." This is a cynical reversal of what community control is really all about. In the oppressed communities, the people have wielded no power at all, either to solve the immediate problems in their communities, or in the nation as a whole. There the struggle for community control is to achieve some base of power for the oppressed, even if it is only over certain local functions of their lives, as a first step toward power over their total destiny.

But the men who are running this racist show in Forest Hills do have the power. They control the businesses, the real estate, the banks—and not only in Forest Hills, but in many other parts of the city, too. Their friends—like Buckley and Nixon—are the ruling class in this nation and impose their profit interests on poor people all over the capitalist world.

Mere community control for these businessmen would mean a cut in their profits. It's farcical for them to cloak their racist campaign under such a name, especially since they already control the Forest Hills community and so much more. At the same time, they have no real intention of letting the workers and middle class residents of Forest Hills control the community any more than they would let the people run their banks or businesses, or expropriate the apartment buildings for the tenants' use.

We support building public housing for the poor in Forest Hills. But it shouldn't stop there. There are magnificent apartments on Park Avenue and Fifth Avenue whose tenants own other property. The Rockefeller's have a whole floor of one luxury building converted into a nursery for their one child. There are showrooms, banks, and offices all over this city that produce nothing useful for the people.

The workers and oppressed have every right to take these properties as indemnity for all the unpaid labor robbed from the generations who built this country. Compared to what is owed the people—and what they will surely take in time—the Forest Hills project is but the smallest concession.

S. Korea repression masks with war threat

The dictatorship of Pak Jung Hi in southern Korea is under heavy attack today, not from the socialist government in the North, but from the oppressed Korean people. In a country divided, by U.S. policy, from over half its population and land area and where U.S. corporations pay an average wage of only 40¢ a day, revolt has been the common scene. Recent uprisings, however, have deeply sharpened the crisis for Pak's regime and have led to threats of war against the North. People's China immediately expressed support for People's Korea.

On Nov. 26, reported the Korean News Agency from Pyongyang, 32,000 Korean workers at U.S. bases united in a demand for a 30 percent pay raise, threatening to call a general strike on Dec. 15 if these demands were not met. On Nov. 30, 54,000 more workers in railways, communications, transport and harbor also raised the 30 percent wage hike demand. The next day, employees at Tokyo Bank and Mitsubishi Bank held a sit-in strike calling for a 35 percent wage hike.

Moreover, army revolts, including an open mutiny at Simla Island, have been spreading, while reunification talks between Red Cross societies from North and South, despite Pak's objections, have rekindled the strong popular desire for unity with the socialist People's Republic.

On Dec. 6, Pak frantically proclaimed a state of "national emergency," outlawing all strikes, demonstrations, and civil liberties. Beating the drums of war, Pak wildly claimed that invasion from the North was imminent. Pak's reference to his own domestic crisis, however, was more revealing, blaming the crisis on "social unrest" which his regime "would not permit," pledging to "purge elements causing unrest."

People's Korea immediately announced from Pyongyang that it had "no intention to invade the South" pointing out that such war cries were also made in 1962 and 1950, both periods of uprisings in the South.

From around the world came denunciations of Pak's new campaign of belligerence, but perhaps the most revealing came from within Japan. The Central Standing Committee of Chongryon (the General Association of some 600,000 Korean residents in Japan) condemned Pak's proclamation as "a desperate attempt to maintain the colonial ruling system of U.S. Imperialism."

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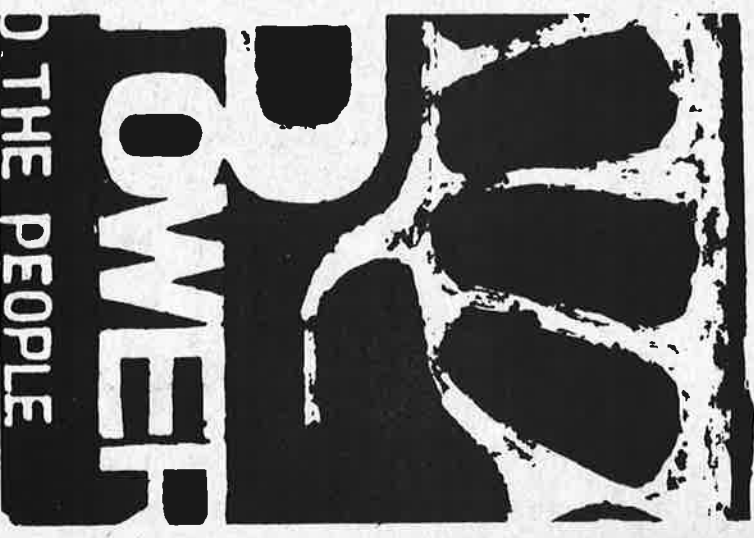
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NLF celebrates

Eleven years of victorious struggle

by BOB MCCUBBIN

December 20 will be the eleventh anniversary of the founding of the South Vietnam Front for Liberation. Born in the seething ferment of struggle against the bloodthirsty dictator Diem, the Front, usually referred to in this country as the NLF or Viet Cong, quickly developed into an invincible force, organizing the will and determination of the whole people against the U.S. invaders. The glorious history of the South Vietnamese people under the leadership of the NLF, a story of incredible sacrifice and unparalleled heroism, has been a source of inspiration to oppressed people all over the world.

On January 1, 1963, after several years of steadily intensifying, but mainly defensive, armed struggle against the Saigon puppet troops and their U.S. "advisors," the NLF began the first of a whole series of devastating offensive operations. The battle of Ap Bac was a turning point in the war.

In terrain favorable to them, with at least

ten to one superiority in numbers, the Saigon forces were badly mauled by the entrenched NLF forces. Their helicopters, tanks, and heavy

artillery were no more than easy targets for the NLF who held their ground as the Diem units repeatedly attacked. The Ap Bac battle set the pace for a whole series of NLF victories, so damaging to the Saigon puppets that, by 1965, the

500,000 U.S. troops were required to hold the line at the approaches to Saigon.

ANOTHER DIENBIENPHU

As the U.S. troop buildup continued, U.S. officials repeatedly forecast imminent victory for the U.S. and its puppets. By the beginning of 1968, Johnson and Westmoreland could see "a light" at the end of the tunnel. It turned out to be an air field full of burning U.S. planes.

The events of early 1968 began with the seizure, by the forces of People's Korea, of the U.S. Pueblo spy ship. A greater act of solidarity with the struggle of the Vietnamese can scarcely be imagined. This was at a time when the U.S. military and ruling circles were becoming aware of an ominous situation at a formerly obscure highland Marine base named Khe Sanh. As NLF forces began tightening the noose on the isolated but important base, one U.S. commander said, "The situation is entirely different (from Dienbienphu—ed.) owing to the overwhelming U.S. air and artillery might."

A week later, NLF forces attacked or occupied 64 towns and cities, 35 military headquarters, 25 airbases, and five broadcasting stations. In Saigon, students acted as guides for the liberation soldiers. The U.S. embassy, a



NLF men and women on watch for U.S. warplanes.

fortress in the center of Saigon, was captured and held for five hours.

Hue was completely liberated. Many soldiers from the Saigon army, and even some officers, joined the liberation forces. Over 2,000 prisoners were released from the Hue prison, as was the case in jails and concentration camps throughout the country.

A NEW FUTURE FOR VIETNAM

This heroic uprising, including the wholehearted participation of the vast masses of the people, has come to be known as the Tet offensive. It was followed by the evacuation of Khe Sanh, the firing of Westmoreland, the retirement of Johnson, and the beginning of U.S. troop withdrawals.

No one, least of all the South Vietnamese under the leadership of the NLF, are fooled that the U.S. has given up its plan to enslave Southeast Asia. But the NLF and the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the liberation government, are confident, as they continue to build up the country and organize a new life for the masses, that the years of the pig are coming to a close, and the epoch of the people has already begun.

Protest

U.S. jets

to Israel

BUFFALO, Dec. 5—Buffalo YAWF demonstrated in front of the Statler Hilton Hotel in downtown Buffalo, tonight, in support of Middle East liberation. About 20 dem-

onstrators, carrying "Palestine Will Win" flags and a banner reading "Stop Wall Street's Other Viet Nam War—Support Middle East Liberation," chanted protests against the sale of Phantom jets to the state of Israel. (Inside the hotel, speaking to a B'nai B'rith dinner, U.S. Senator Gale McGee plugged for more U.S. military aid to Israel.)

With the chants "Jewish People YES—Zionism NO" and "Standard Oil Gets Rich—Arab People Die," in the background, the YAWF protesters explained to newsmen and men the meaning of the demonstration—resulting in radio, TV, and press coverage. But most important, the few bystanders, hearing the chant "Rockefeller Gets Rich—Arab People Die," related favorably to the demonstration and the issue!



Buffalo protest against Israeli aggression.

Picket

Israeli

Premier

by NIKKI GREEN

NEW YORK, Dec. 11—Chants of "U.S. Out of the Middle East, Palestine Will Win" and "Israel is the Tool of Wall Street's Rule" could be heard in the streets last night as over 100 people demonstrated against Israeli Premier Golda Meir outside the New York Hilton Hotel. The Israeli Premier was a guest of honor at a dinner for the United Jewish Appeal, after her recent visit last week with Nixon when she tried to whip up support for another Vietnam war in the Mid-East.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Committee to Support Middle East Liberation, which initiated the first demonstration in 1967 against the war in the Middle East and has consistently supported Arab liber-

ation. Other organizations at the demonstration were Youth Against War & Fascism, Progressive Arab Students, Iranian Students Association, Arab Club of Jersey City and the American Servicemen's Union. After a brief scuffle with police across the street from the hotel, the demonstrators set up a picket line on 53rd Street, on the south side of the hotel. Because of a strong defense guard, the few members from JDL who ventured over to the demonstration were quickly gotten rid of.

A leaflet issued by the Committee read in part "Israel's war... is an American war.... The same bankers and businessmen that get rich while GIs and Asians die in Indochina rake in \$3 billion a year by plundering the Arab people of their oil.... The U.S. government finances Israel to the tune of \$500 million a year, out of our pockets." The Committee then called on "all progressive people to... say NO to Wall Street's other war."

At a brief rally at the end of the demonstration, Bill Doares from the Committee, told the crowd that "those same businessmen winning and dining with Golda Meir are the same businessmen who get rich off the war in Vietnam." He then thanked the demonstrators for coming and for showing their support for the Palestinian people and said that "we are only a small movement now, but just as the struggle against the war in Vietnam grew, so will the struggle against the war in the Mid-East. No Vietnam's in the Mid-East, Palestine Will Win!"

AT&T —

"largest oppressor of women, Blacks,"

by BARBARA KOWALSKI

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission recently charged the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and its 22 operating companies in the Bell System with extensive job discrimination against women, Blacks, and Latin people.

In a 20,000-page complaint to the Federal Communications Commission the EEOC called AT&T a "monolith" which is "without doubt the largest oppressor of women workers in the U.S." It also charged that since the phone companies began a so-called minority hiring program in the sixties, Black workers were "largely relegated to the lowest paying, least desirable jobs in the companies."

When AT&T petitioned the government for a long-distance rate increase in December 1970, the EEOC opposed it, accusing the corporation of "blatantly unlawful dis-

crimination in employment" throughout its system. The FCC gave the commission until early December of this year to substantiate its charges, which the report satisfies.

The FCC is now being forced to hold a public hearing on the report on Jan. 31. It will be the first hearing ever to consider the employment record of a federally regulated company.

AT&T responded to the report by claiming, "We have a good record."

According to the EEOC the corporation's record shows recruitment, hiring, and promotion practices structured to prevent women

NO REAL EQUALITY FOR BLACK, LATIN WORKERS

The EEOC also accused the company of a failure to provide "real equality for Blacks," and that Spanish-surnamed employees are the "invisible" minority at Bell. Most minority workers are operators or installers or other low-paid workers. They are seldom seen in management positions.

Since most of the Black telephone workers are women, they suffer from the dual discrimination of

race and sex.

In New York 55 percent of the operators are Black. The Commission called the job of operators—1/3 of the system's work force—"horrendous" with annual pay ceilings of \$5,000 to \$6,000, "virtually intolerable" working conditions, and essentially no opportunity for promotion.

Two New York telephone operators from the Center for United Labor Action commented on their jobs for WORKERS WORLD. The Commission's findings were no surprise to them.

Sue is a toll operator, and Sarah is an information operator.

SUE: An operator's top pay is lower than a craft worker's starting pay. The pay ceiling is \$118 a week.

SARAH: There are no pension benefits and no sick leave.

SUE: One of the women where I work was out for two days with

laryngitis. She returned with a doctor's note, but was fired for "failure to call in properly."

SARAH: There is no job security. You can be laid off any time. Since the wage freeze there has been a 33 percent speed-up in the number of calls you're required to carry.

SUE: We have to take 1,000 calls per hour. When calls are waiting, a bell rings for you to pick up the calls. You hurry to pick them up, but more calls come in and that bell just keeps on ringing. They torture us!

WOMEN MUST TAKE RACIST ABUSE

SARAH: Two of the worst conditions are the constant supervision and the racism of the management and the public.

SUE: If a woman is called "nigger" by a customer, she can't fight back. She can be fired if she does.

SARAH: When I started my job I had to sign a piece of paper stating that if I was rude or talked back to anyone I could be fired on the spot. There's discrimination against Spanish-speaking people, too. It's forbidden to speak Spanish on the board — with New York's large Spanish-speaking population! The supervisors can't control what you're saying if you speak another language.

SUE: They want to control everything you do. You can't even scratch the bugs that crawl on you because it slows you down. The boards are only cleaned every five years!

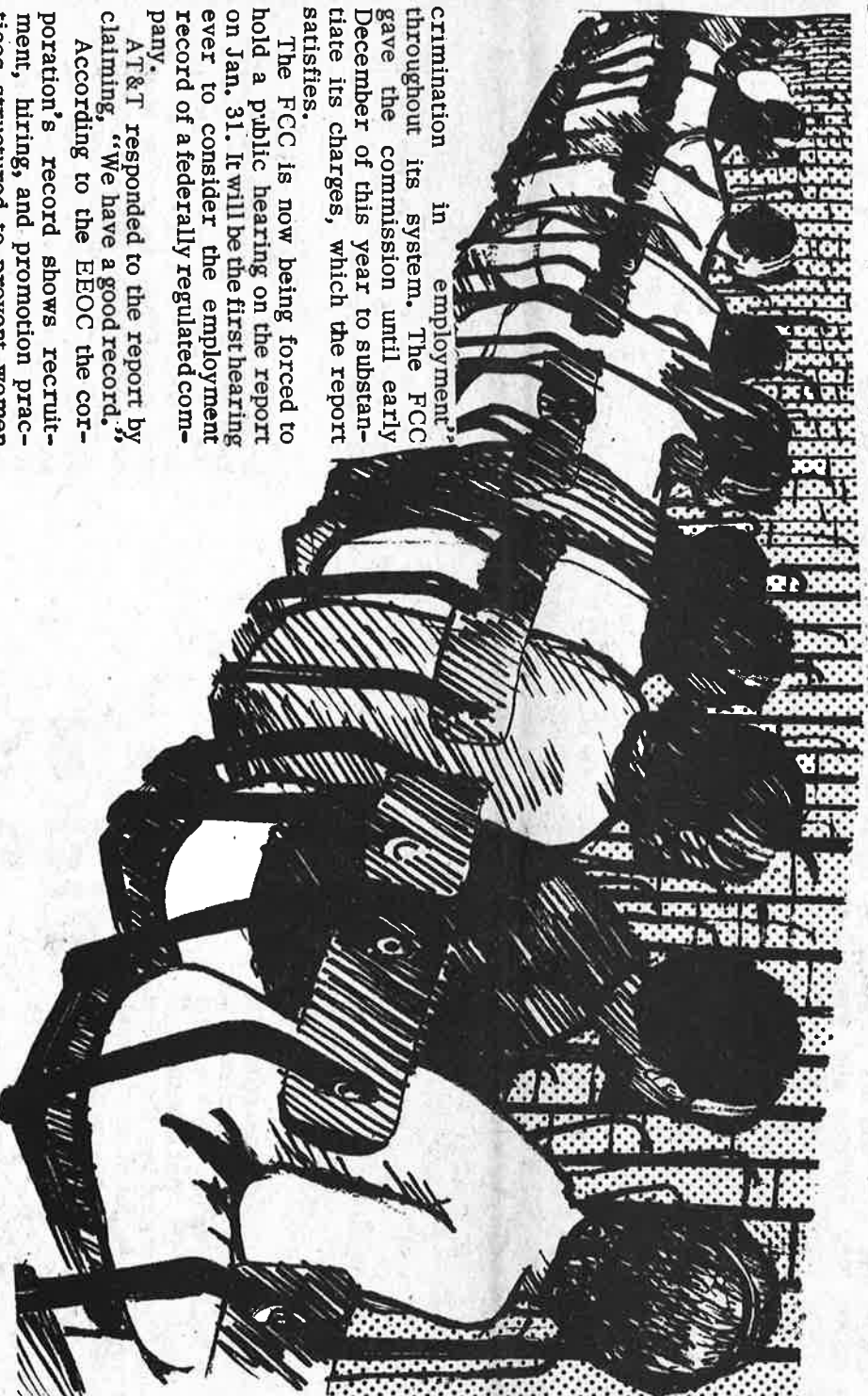
SARAH: Conditions have gotten worse in the last month. They've cancelled days off. We now work 7 to 11 days in a row and receive only overtime for our days off. We don't have a union except for the Telephone Traffic Union, a company union. And although company unions are supposed to be illegal, the government ignores it.

SUE: If you report a grievance to the company union, they report it to the company and you get fired.

SARAH: Bell is the biggest oppressor of Black and women workers. All you have to do is ask any operator. It's good that the Commission is exposing it, but it's been this way for years. We want to know what they will really do about it.

SUE: The Commission should make sure the operators can attend that public hearing without fear of losing their jobs.

SARAH: If the Commission is serious, on Jan. 31 AT&T will be found guilty of racism and oppression.



Injunction to attack

women's abortion rights

by ALICE ROBINSON

NEW YORK — Hypocritically using such phrases as "sanctity of life" and "the right to live," a Fordham University law professor has been declared by the court "a guardian of all fetuses" in a vicious campaign against the right to abortion of poor and working women in this state. In a move to overturn New York State's recently passed abortion law, Professor Robert M. Byrns, a bachelor and recently appointed "guardian of all fetuses between the fourth and twenty-fourth week of gestation," has sought an injunction to stop all abortions in New York City hospitals until his suit challenging the law is settled. Byrns' injunction would apply only

to city hospitals. In other words, women who can afford private physicians and hospitals, and the care that only money can buy in this society, will still be able to get abortions. Only poor and working women — those on welfare and those who work in low-paying jobs and are forced to use city hospitals where health care is degrading and minimal — only they would be forced to bear children they may not want or cannot afford to feed and clothe.

The hypocrisy involved in advocating the rights of unborn fetuses while ignoring the sufferings and misery of millions of poor children in New York City is obvious. Where are the cries for those children

forced to live on welfare — with rats crawling over them at night, living in apartments without heat in winter, suffering brain damage and retardation from lead paint poisoning? Where is Byrns' humanitarian concern for them?

In a capitalist society such as this one, where most women are not economically free to raise children in decent living conditions and good health, abortion becomes not so much a choice as a necessity. And for super-oppressed Third World women in this racist society, abortion and forced sterilization are often used as weapons against oppressed people. Nevertheless, the recently passed abortion law is a step forward for women. At least those women who do not want to have children don't have to resort to dangerous, illegal methods, risking prosecution or even death. Where abortion has not been legalized, as in Florida, a woman, Shirley Wheeler, was recently sentenced to 20 years in jail on charges of "manslaughter" for having an abortion.

In response to this attack on a woman's basic right to choose whether or not to have children, women's groups in the city have

organized to fight this action. At the hearing on Byrns' suit on Thursday, December 9, at the State Supreme Court in Queens, about 50 women paced the courtroom and demonstrated outside in protest against this vicious campaign. Among the chants raised by the demonstrators was "Not the church, not the state, women must decide our fate." A sign carried by a YAWF woman read "Health care, housing, day care for our children — Free, safe, legal abortion — Women must have both."

The hearings on Byrns' suit will continue next week and women have said they will continue next week to be there to oppose it. In this struggle against a reactionary attack on women's rights, however, it is essential to remember that we must fight to defend the right of all women to obtain an abortion — and secure free and safe abortions — we must also fight for the right of all women to be able to raise a child to a decent life. After all, what Byrns and his cohorts like to forget is that the right to life belongs to those children already alive.

Nixon's warships threaten Bengali people

"Get all nations renounce military force in settling international disputes."



An ominous new note has been injected into the ongoing war between India and Pakistan and the struggle of the Bengali people for liberation. Reports from Vietnam indicate that the U.S. Navy's nuclear-powered aircraft carrier Enterprise, along with a task force of several amphibious ships and destroyers left the waters off Vietnam last Friday and are steaming toward the Indian Ocean.

The orders to send the huge warship to the Bay of Bengal can only be interpreted as a direct threat by the U.S. military to intervene in the fighting there. The Enterprise is the largest aircraft carrier in the U.S. fleet and holds about 100 fighter-bombers, helicopters, reconnaissance planes, and cargo planes. It is responsible for about half the bombing missions over Laos and North Vietnam.

Pentagon claims that the ship's mission is only to rescue U.S. citizens from Dacca are but a thinly veiled excuse. (In 1965, the U.S., under the same pretext, landed Marines in the Dominican Republic. The result was the overthrow of the Juan Bosch government there.)

Washington is also rushing in to protect its naval hegemony in the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal. The freedom to deploy U.S. ships and nuclear submarines at will anywhere on Asia's southern flank will be seriously curtailed by the existence of an independent Bangla Desh and greater Soviet influence in India. The U.S. still seeks unchallenged power over the seas.

This new development should serve as a grim reminder of the urgent need for the unity of the socialist countries in the face of this U.S. threat. It underlines once again the fact that U.S. imperialism is still the predominant obstacle to the workers' and oppressed people's revolution everywhere.

In the light of this U.S. threat, it is most unfortunate that U.S. imperialism has come out of the recent UN debates on this war unscathed. U.S. maneuvering and deceit have gone unchallenged. Instead, the two great socialist powers in the UN, China and the Soviet Union, have displayed toward each other on a world stage, all the animosity which should have been reserved for imperialist powers, particularly the U.S.

In the bitter exchange, the Soviet and Chinese delegations have used phrases such as "social imperialist" and "socialist traitors" for each other. In so characterizing each other they seem to have forgotten that they both have a socialist base and a common enemy in U.S. imperialism.

Under the present conditions in South Asia, where the U.S. is sanctimoniously demanding a mutual withdrawal of Pakistani and Indian forces from each other's countries, it would be only elementary to remind the world of the continuing U.S. military presence in Vietnam and Korea, among other U.S.-occupied countries. Nothing like this was done.

It is not in the socialist interests of either the Soviet Union or of People's China to use the UN as a forum to discredit each other. The U.S. imperialist monster is the most immediate and dangerous enemy of all the workers and oppressed of the world. It should be the main target of attack.

Self-determination — road to socialism in Bengal

by DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

Bangla Desh was artificially united to West Pakistan in the British-manuevered partition of 1947. Its people speak a different language than the Pakistanis, come from a different culture and ethnic stock, and are separated from West Pakistan by 1,000 miles of Indian territory. They have been heavily exploited by the West since being incorporated into the Pakistani state, enjoying a much lower standard of living and keeping West Pakistan supplied with raw materials and cheap labor.

Political control over Bangla Desh was firmly in the hands of the Yahya Khan military dictatorship until last December, when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, a bourgeois nationalist advocating autonomy for Bangla Desh, won an absolute majority in the national election including both the East and West. Yahya Khan refused to seat the new government and in March began the bloody suppression of the liberation forces in Bangla Desh that led to the migration of 10 million refugees to India.

Support for the struggle of the Bengali people to free themselves from Yahya Khan's tyranny is an absolute precondition for the furtherance of the revolutionary cause of the Bengali workers and peasants.

Marxists are, of course, for the liberation of the oppressed workers and peasants from all exploiters, domestic as well as foreign. But it is pseudo-Marxism to deny (as do some parties in this country) the progressive character of the national liberation struggles. On the contrary, revolutionary communists support the right of self-determination of all oppressed peoples, that is, their right to choose separation, autonomy, federation or whatever form of political entity best protects their interests against the oppressor nation.

This is not to subordinate the class struggle, but rather to recognize that respect for the desire of the masses for national self-determina-

tion is a necessary precondition for heightened class-consciousness and the battle against class oppression. The socialist revolution cannot be achieved unless the masses of an oppressed nation are at least convinced that Marxists are for this elementary democratic right of self-determination. To deny the conscious revolutionary elements their place in the struggle against national oppression is to doom the masses to bourgeois leadership which, historically, has been incapable in the epoch of imperialism of resolving the national question, since it leaves more or less intact the economic relations through which foreign oppression operates.

The question of Pakistani oppression of Bangla Desh may have been resolved by the crushing defeat of Yahya's troops in the recent war with India. At this point, the people of Bangla Desh view the Indian troops as liberators, and they have every right to seek assistance in their struggle for self-determination from whatever quarter they can.

However, the Bengali people will not be free under Indian occupation, nor is the Indian bourgeoisie one whit more progressive than the Pakistani ruling class. There are reports that already the Indian army is trying to confine the power of the Bengali people's liberation forces and prevent especially the more revolutionary elements from obtaining arms.

The correct approach for all progressive persons, and particularly those who consider themselves communists, is to support the continuing struggle of the Bengali people for self-determination and freedom from all foreign domination, while giving aid and comfort to the revolutionary elements within Bangla Desh and the entire sub-continent whose goal of socialist revolution and class solidarity of all the oppressed and exploited is, in the final analysis, the only permanent solution of the national question.

by P. MEISNER

It has become fashionable these days for liberal politicians to pose as humanitarians in relation to the bloody repression of the East Bengali people by the Yahya regime. Their sympathies with the suffering of the Bengalis, however, are solely motivated by political expedience rather than by genuine support for the liberation of the oppressed people of Bangla Desh.

The likes of Senator Frank Church and John Galbraith really believe that the Nixon Administration is mistaken to side with West Pakistan, since India to them is a more "democratic" and also more reliable ally for U.S. imperialism. They seem to have forgotten that the New Delhi "democracy" is no less oppressive than the West Pakistani government when it comes to suppressing the many national minorities in India (there are 14 recognized language groups).

Thus the liberal bourgeoisie has only a difference in tactics with Nixon as to whom to side with in the India-Pakistan war. But the "hawks" and "doves" are completely united on suppressing the national liberation movements of the Black people in the U.S. and of the people of Puerto Rico. In fact, there are striking similarities in the colonial oppression of Puerto Rico by U.S. imperialism and of East Bengal by West Pakistan. But the liberals, somehow, are only impressed by the facts surrounding colonialism in East Bengal.

EAST BENGAL A COLONY

East Bengal (claimed by Pakistan to be East Pakistan) is separated by 1,000 miles of Indian territory from West Pakistan. The latter has a population of 55 million compared to 75 million in East Bengal. The dominant national group in West Pakistan is Punjabi, which bears no resemblance to the Bengali nationality, although both East and West Pakistan are predominantly Moslem. (No one would argue that Spain and Ireland constitute one nation because of their common Roman Catholic religion.) Needless to say, Punjabi and Bengali are very distinct and different languages.

East Bengal has a climate more like that of Southeast Asia and has a huge delta, like the

SOCIALISM AND DIPLOMACY

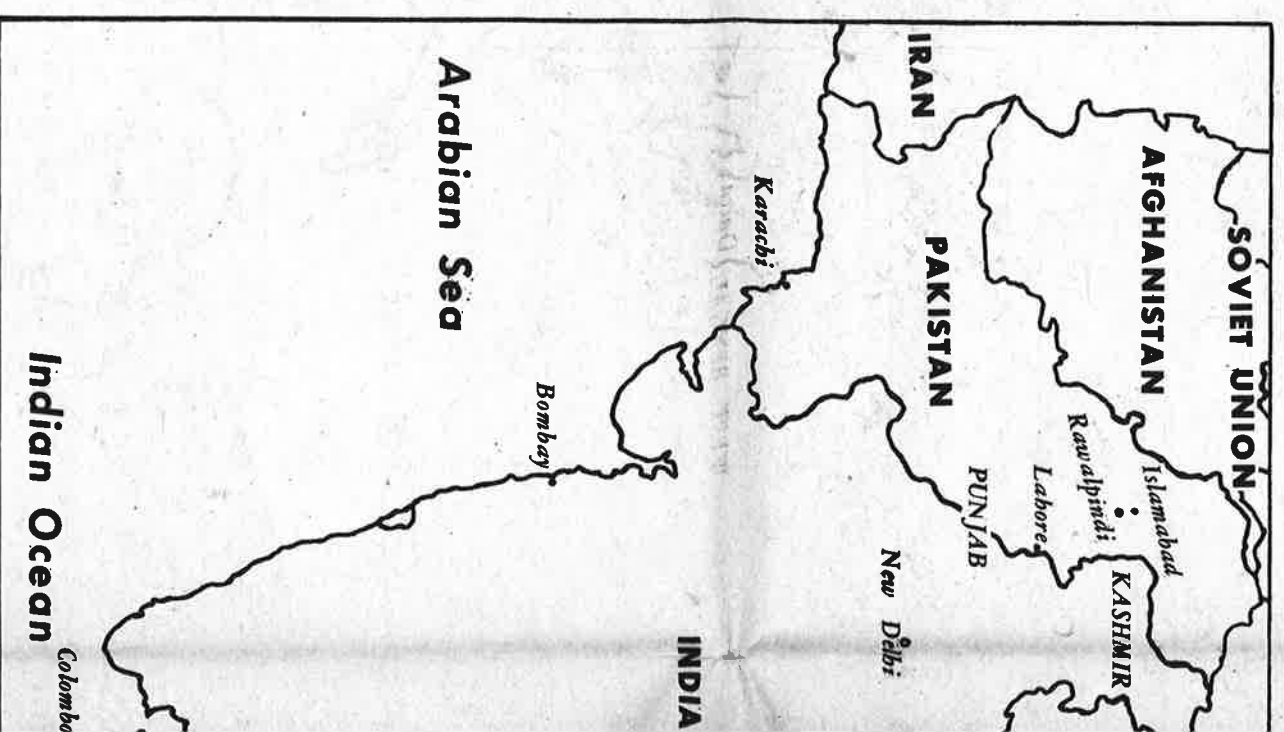
Class Solidarity

by NAOMI COHEN

One of the most disorienting aspects of the present war between India and Pakistan is the diplomatic support being given the contending sides by the USSR on the one hand, and the People's Republic of China on the other. Both socialist countries have gone far beyond the diplomatic niceties necessary to maintain normal relations with capitalist countries and have wholeheartedly endorsed the policies of the ruling classes of India and Pakistan respectively.

The Soviet leaders, who are echoed in this country by the CP organ, the Daily World, are claiming to support "democratic" India as against the military dictatorship ruling Pakistan. At the same time, the Chinese leaders have, in effect, underwritten the slaughter of the Bengali people by holding that the rebellion of the oppressed East Bengalis is a purely internal problem for Pakistan, in the midst of all the thundering against each

other ideological move India makes the r Pakistan bourgeoisie Soviet of Communist of Bequest move exist M have



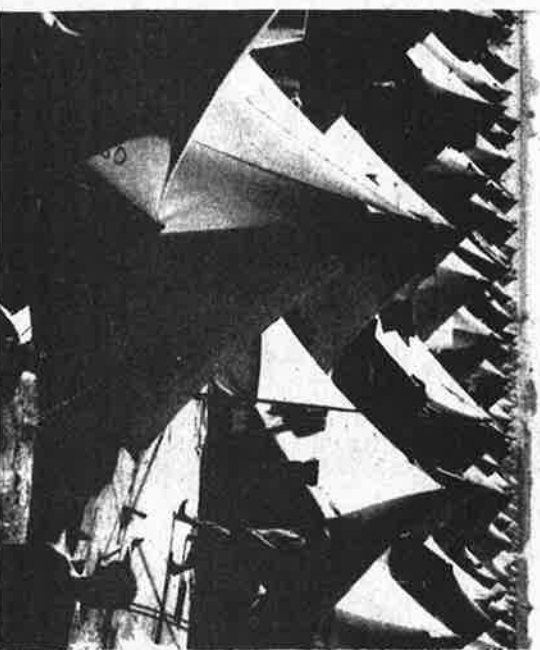
Mekong Delta in Vietnam. West Pakistan's climate is that of a Central Asian country, suitable for large wheat and cotton production. East Bengal produces rice and fish, and also provides 60 percent of the world's jute. West Pakistan has been industrialized at the expense of underdeveloped East Pakistan, largely by the export earnings gained from the sale of jute produced in East Pakistan.

The average Bengali earns little more than half of what the West Pakistani earns. There are 20 Pakistani families who own most of the wealth in both East and West Pakistan, but all 20 are from West Pakistan. Also, the Pakistani army is run by a completely West Pakistani military brass.

PUERTO RICO A COLONY, TOO!

All of the above facts will be pointed to by the so-called liberal champions of Bangla Desh. But what about some facts about the colonial oppression of Puerto Rico? Puerto Rico is 600 miles from Miami and 1,600 miles from New York. The Puerto Rican people (like their Bengali sisters

and their American people) are also being oppressed by the U.S. imperialist system. The Puerto Rican people are also being oppressed by the U.S. imperialist system. The Puerto Rican people are also being oppressed by the U.S. imperialist system.



Bengali refugees in India.

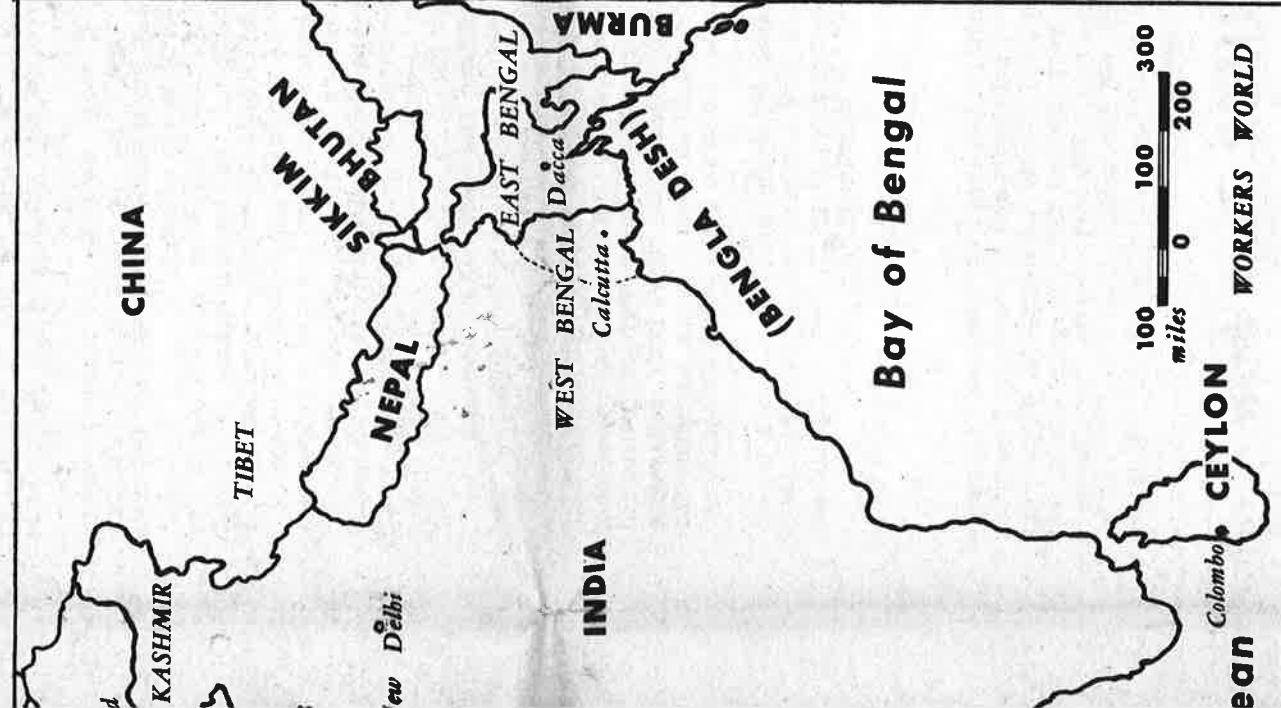
MACY

Solidarity best defense of workers' states

other, both socialist countries have failed to give ideological leadership to the world revolutionary movement. Neither has pointed out that both India and Pakistan are ruled by equally oppressive capitalist classes. Neither has defended the right of the Bengali people to self-determination, without interference from either India or Pakistan.

This kind of blank-check approval given a bourgeois government has long been characteristic of the foreign policy of the conservative Soviet bureaucracy. Fully endorsing the rule of Egyptian President Sadat while he jails Egyptian Communists is only one example in a long history of betrayals of the international working class movement by the Soviet revisionists in their quest for class collaboration and peaceful co-existence with imperialism.

Many supporters of the socialist revolution have looked to revolutionary China for a more



and brothers) speak a different language from their (Yankee) oppressors and have a Latin American culture quite distinct from North American culture. Only a tiny minority of North American executives and professionals live in Puerto Rico. But big corporations (hotels, airlines, etc.) make millions of dollars in profits from the tourist business. The tropical climate of Puerto Rico is also much more Latin American than North American.

The native Puerto Rican earns about half the income made by a Mississippian (the lowest in the U.S.). Wall Street permits no heavy industry in Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico's small industry, manufacturing and commerce is 80 percent owned by U.S. monopolies. And not only does the Pentagon exercise military control over Puerto Rico, but it has seized 13 percent of the island's best land for U.S. military bases.

Are the liberals that blind about U.S. colonial oppression in Puerto Rico, or are they merely apologists for their bosses on Wall Street when it comes to really supporting an oppressed people — closer to home?

militant defense of the world's workers and oppressed in their struggles for liberation. It was therefore with a sense of profound disappointment that we noted China's support for the bloody repression carried out by Yahya Khan's government against the people of East Bengal. A message sent to Yahya Khan by Premier Chou En-Lai only further confirms China's endorsement of the suppression of the Bengali liberation movement.

CHOU EN-LAI'S MESSAGE TO YAHYA

Printed in the "Pakistan Times" on April 13, 1971, the message read in part:

"Your Excellency and leaders of various quarters in Pakistan have done a lot of useful work to uphold the unification of Pakistan and to prevent it from moving towards a split. We believe that through the wise consultations and efforts of Your Excellency and leaders of various quarters in Pakistan, the situation in Pakistan will certainly be restored to normal. In our opinion, the unification of Pakistan and the unity of the people of East and West Pakistan are the basic guarantees for Pakistan to attain prosperity and strength. Here it is most important to differentiate the broad masses of the people from a handful of persons who want to sabotage the unification of Pakistan. As a genuine friend of Pakistan, we would like to present these views for Your Excellency's reference."

"The Chinese Government holds that what is happening in Pakistan at present is purely an internal affair of Pakistan, which can only be settled by the Pakistan people themselves and which brooks no foreign interference whatsoever. Your Excellency may rest assured that should the Indian expansionists dare to launch aggression against Pakistan, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle to safeguard state sovereignty and national independence."

It was perfectly correct for China to establish diplomatic relations with Pakistan in an attempt to break out of its isolation and also as a way of neutralizing U.S. influence there. It was absolutely principled for the Chinese government to attempt to break up the SEATO alliance between the U.S. and Pakistan which was a threat to People's China. That is fighting U.S. imperialism! Even giving economic aid in order to minimize U.S. influence in Pakistan was correct in principle.

However, in any such diplomatic maneuver, it is essential for a socialist country to keep in mind not only its own interests, but the interests of the workers and peasants in other countries who are struggling against bourgeois regimes. But when Chou En-Lai publicly and unequivocally supported Yahya Khan's repression in East Bengal, diplomatic relations with Pakistan turned into an endorsement of a genocidal war against an oppressed people.

For both the Soviet Union and China to back the policies of India and Pakistan respectively can only distort the revolutionary movements fighting in those countries against their own ruling classes. What effect, for example, can China's support for Yahya Khan have on the revolutionaries among the Bengali people? Disillusionment with the socialist powers and downright demoralization among the revolutionaries of India, East Bengal, and even West Pakistan are the very real dangers of following such a short-sighted policy.

LENIN'S REVOLUTIONARY DIPLOMACY

This kind of diplomacy is a far cry from the example set by Lenin's government in 1918 when it was forced to sign the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. The terms of the treaty with German imperialism were clearly unfavorable to the new Soviet government which was forced to cede territory (the whole of the Ukraine) to the German bourgeoisie. In signing such a pact with Germany, however, Lenin did not once try to pretty up the character of the German ruling class or rationalize that Germany was any better than any of the other European imperialist powers.

Lenin faced the problem squarely, explaining to the world proletariat that the treaty had been



signed with the imperialist enemy only in order to save the revolution in the Soviet Union. And most important of all, Lenin's clear policy at the talks was to urge the German working class to carry forward the struggle for a proletarian revolution. The fact that they were negotiating with the German imperialist government at the time did not mean that the Bolsheviks gave up the prosecution of the class struggle for one moment.

So important did Lenin consider an explanation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty to the world proletariat, that on August 20, 1918, he wrote an open letter to American workers pointing out that the "predatory German capitalists" had "foisted the annexationist and coercive Brest-Litovsk Peace on Russia."

Lenin explained that the compromise with the "German imperialist robbers" was not a compromise by socialists with the bourgeoisie against the workers. It was a compromise aimed at protecting the victory of the Russian working class, aimed at dividing the capitalist classes of different countries against one another, to try to weaken the bourgeoisie everywhere.

INEVITABILITY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

The letter ends with a call for the American workers and the world proletariat to carry forward the class struggle. "We place our stakes on the inevitability of the international revolution," Lenin said. "We are invincible, for the world revolution is invincible."

Today, both the USSR and China are claiming that their national security depends on alliances with the ruling classes of India and Pakistan. But as Lenin's policy showed, the security of the socialist countries ultimately depends on the strength of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world in their struggle against imperialism. Will history show that any alliances with the historically doomed ruling classes of India or Pakistan helped the socialist countries in any significant way?

The best defense for the Soviet Union and People's China is the prosecution of the revolution in East Bengal, Pakistan, and India, and, of course, the destruction of imperialism by the workers and oppressed people all over the world.

The partition of Indian subcontinent

How

Pakistan was born

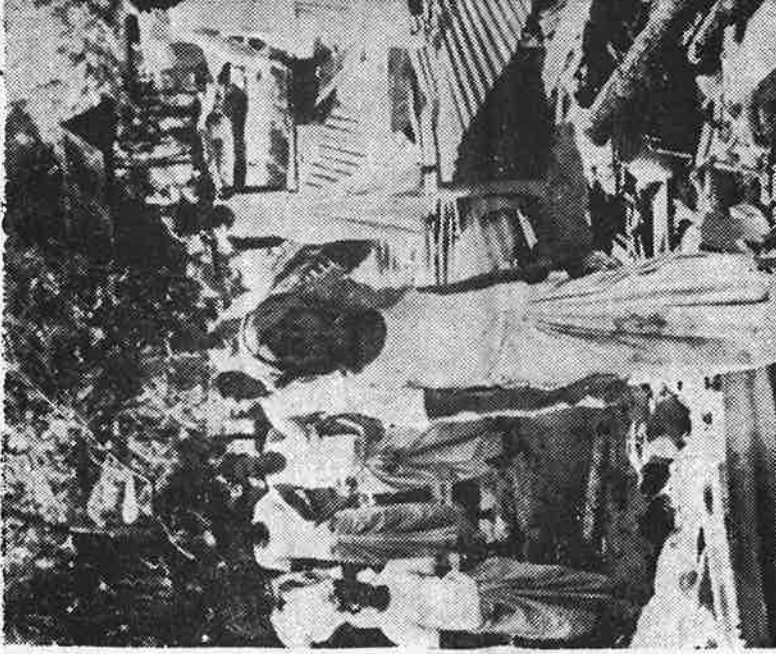
by JERRY ZILG

"Our endeavor should be to uphold in full force the (for us fortunate) separation which exists between the different religions and races, not to endeavor to amalgamate them. Divide et impera should be the principle of Indian government."

— Lt. Colonel Coke, British Commandant, Moradabad, India, 1860

In February of 1946 an Indian naval mutiny broke out in Bombay and quickly spread to Madras and Karachi. Jubilantly, the Indian sailors, Muslim and Hindu alike, hoisted the red flag of workers' revolution. Both organizations of the Indian capitalist class, the Congress Party and the Muslim League, refused to extend support, but Indian troops sent to crush the mutiny refused to fire on their class brothers.

At this point, the infuriated British Admiral threatened destruction of the entire Indian fleet unless the sailors surrendered. Instead, the



Bengali village destroyed by army of Pakistan.

sailors appealed for a general strike, and the working class of Bombay was quick to respond, effectively closing down all the city's textile mills, factories, and railway workshops.

The British responded also—with a massacre—shooting down some 250 workers according to British accounts. Indian accounts run the figure killed four times that high. Whatever the real number murdered, it was enough for the Indian capitalists to run scared. Both the Congress Party and the Muslim League appealed to the sailors to surrender, promising to intervene in their behalf. Lacking leadership, the sailors accepted the bargain, only to see their central leaders quickly imprisoned.

Meanwhile, Mohatma Gandhi, the non-violent leader of the independence movement, denounced the strikes in the April 7, 1946 issue of his newspaper, Harijan. The strikes, he said, meant "delivering India over to the rabble. I would not want to live up to 125 to witness that consummation. I would rather perish in the flames."

RULERS FEAR WORKER SOLIDARITY

The solidarity of the Indian working class—Muslim and Hindu—was exactly what the British feared would happen, too. Gandhi and the Indian capitalists were clearly losing control over the mass independence movement. Better, London reasoned, to have a capitalist India nominally independent but tied to British capital than to have an independent socialist India where they would lose everything to the Indian workers and peasants. Better even yet, they reasoned, to divide up the Indian subcontinent into Muslim and Hindu states, further dividing the Indian working class along lines of religious bigotry and keeping the Indian capitalists also weak through division.

Those of the Indian capitalists who were Muslim and fearful of Hindu competition for what small piece of the pie was left after London stole its chunk, were only too happy to agree to the idea of separation. Thus, Pakistan was born to the cheers of the British Parliament; imperialism had won through divisive diplomacy what it couldn't preserve by force of arms—the continued subjugation of the Indian subcontinent.

Such divisive policy had long been a fundamental principle of British colonial rule throughout the world, including India. For over 100 years, British imperialists had aggravated

religious rivalry between Hindu and Muslim in India, dispensing small political and economic favors on one to infuriate the other. In those days of direct rule from London, a small Indian bourgeoisie had sprouted up in the shadow of the British Empire, totally dependent on British capital, totally tied to British interests, and totally influenced therefore by the religious divisiveness encouraged by British rulers. Although both Muslim and Hindu members of the Indian bourgeoisie had identical class interest (exploiting workers and peasants), they were nevertheless gripped in a competitive struggle masked by religious and caste differences.

DIVIDE AND CONQUER

When, in 1906, 70 leading Muslim landlords visited the summer retreat of Lord Minto, the British Viceroy, asking for a separate Muslim state, their coming had been long anticipated by their British rulers. In fact, it was British colonial policy that sired the birth of the landlords' Muslim League in 1908. The call for a separate Muslim state by the Muslim League in 1940 was indeed no mere stroke of fortune for London, but the fruits of a century of imperial design: "Divide and conquer."

As the British well knew, this divisive policy deepened the internal contradictions of a bourgeoisie dominated by foreign imperialism, and fostered the rationale for separatism on the part of those Indian capitalists and landlords who were Muslim. In a separate Muslim state, they reasoned, no Hindu capitalist competition would exist; no Hindu commerce would hinder their own capitalist development and profits. As Tariq Ali points out in his newest work, *Pakistan*, for the bourgeoisie who were Muslim, the cry "Long live Pakistan!" actually meant "Long live free enterprise!"

In East Bengal, however, a different class orientation prevailed. There, peasants of both religions supported the separatist movement because they saw it as a way of getting rid of their Hindu landlords. Years later, separation only replaced Hindu with Muslim landlords for the Bengalis; the same class ruled and oppressed them.

Weakened by world war, London was unable to keep its direct control over India after 1945. After the mass uprisings in 1946, independence

(continued on p. 15)

Also, it was clear that the Tibetan nobility had the backing of U.S. imperialism and its semi-colonial ally in India. Not having the full support from the Tibetan masses, who were still under the heel of a rigid feudal system, for the sweeping revolutionary socialist measures instituted throughout the rest of China in 1949, the People's Government of China allowed the archaic Tibetan social system to remain almost intact, on the condition that gradual reform take place to enable the Tibetan serfs and peasants themselves to carry out the Chinese Revolution in Tibet.

By 1965, China's correct policy in Tibet was borne out by the mass support shown for Tibet's becoming officially one of the Autonomous Regions of the People's Republic of China.

China-India border war

In October 1962, Workers World was for the total and unconditional support of People's China, a workers' state, in its border war with the neo-colonial and capitalist state of India. While many so-called leftist organizations throughout the world blamed China for the war, Workers World characterized the border war as resulting from the Nehru regime's naked aggression against socialist China, which was spurred on by U.S. imperialism to divert attention from the deep political and economic crisis facing India.

Kashmir war

In October 1965, Workers World supported the people of Kashmir in their struggle for self-

determination, whether for complete independence from both India and Pakistan, or federation with Pakistan. While branding the reactionary Indian government as the aggressor in the war over Kashmir, Workers World nevertheless denounced the Pakistani ruling class for calling in the imperialist-dominated UN to settle the Kashmir issue.

US-USSR Test Ban

In July 1963, Workers World exposed the partial nuclear test ban treaty signed by Khrushchev and Kennedy as a maneuver of the Kennedy Administration to bar the Chinese People's Republic from acquiring nuclear weapons for self-defense against U.S. imperialist aggression. The treaty was designed to ban weapons already developed and tested by both the U.S. and the USSR, but, of course, not yet developed by China. The People's Republic of China had always advocated the total prohibition of nuclear weapons but warned the Soviet leadership that the test ban treaty was a "trap for the Soviet Union" aimed at disarming China, while U.S. imperialism arms itself to the teeth. Workers World stated:

"It was incorrect, to say the least, for the leadership of the USSR to begin any kind of negotiations on such critical issues, without full consultation and agreement with the Chinese People's Republic. In carrying on the negotiations with the U.S., while at the same time carrying out a campaign of vilification against the Chinese Communist Party, Khrushchev has not only undermined the strength of the socialist countries and the international communist movement, but the Soviet Union itself."

A review of WW positions on China

Following are summaries of the positions taken by Workers World Party on several major issues in the last 13 years that have vitally affected People's China.

elaboration of our support for China in the Sino-Soviet border dispute, and for the Cultural Revolution.

The Tibet crisis

In March 1959, Workers World stood behind the People's Republic of China and the People's Liberation Army in its struggle against the rebellion in Tibet led by the Dalai Lama and his feudal theocracy. The rebels were not leading a movement for national liberation in Tibet, a province of China for much longer than California has been a state of the U.S., but were desperately trying to keep Tibet as a brutal feudal society based on a system of complete serfdom.

U.S. fomenting counterrevolution in Chile

by P. MEISNER

There can be no doubt in any progressive person's mind by now that U.S. imperialism is backing the Chilean bourgeoisie in its recent mobilization for a counterrevolution against the Allende government. What may be seriously underestimated, however, is the breadth and scope of this highly organized bloc of bourgeois-imperialist reaction.

The Chilean capitalist class, despite its long political experience, is not organizing the counterrevolutionary upsurge without the active collaboration of Wall Street and Washington. The so-called "March of the Empty Pots" of middle and upper class women held on December 1 was well timed to coincide with U.S. maneuvers aimed at dismantling the popular Allende regime.

On the next day, December 2, the two giant U.S. copper companies, Anaconda and Kennecott, began legal appeals before Chilean courts to press Allende for high compensation awards for the nationalized copper mines. Also on the same day, the White House disclosed that Nixon and his Latin American "advisor" Robert Finch, who had just returned from a "goodwill" mission to Latin America, felt confident that the present government of Chile "won't last long."

BOURGEOIS ARMY A THREAT

The Nixon Administration, through its Pentagon and CIA tentacles, still has close ties and deep

connections within the Chilean military, which was left intact as a bourgeois army after Allende's taking office. The CIA and its lackeys inside the Chilean armed forces are still prime suspects in the assassination of Chilean army commander General Rene Schneider, two days before Allende's election on October 25, 1970. It was also no accident that a U.S. naval ship was coming to Chile for a visit just at that time. General Schneider was considered a moderate who would abide by the election results even if Allende were elected.

Perhaps even more significant than the December 1 demonstration was a rally held the next night in Santiago's Caupolicán Stadium of over 5,000 shopkeepers, merchants, rich farmers, bankers, industrialists, and other businessmen denouncing Allende's measures against "free enterprise." Behind both the rightwing demonstration and rally were the Christian Democratic and National Parties, the largest bourgeois parties in Chile.

The timing of the counterrevolutionary mobilization also has a lot to do with Allende's plans to dissolve the Chilean legislature, where the bourgeois parties hold a majority opposition. Allende could then call for a national plebiscite and replace the legislature with a People's Assembly.

The Allende government's response to the counterrevolutionary mobilization has been, so far, complete reliance on the Chilean army, national police, and local police.

MPI conference

founds Socialist Party

by NAOMI COHEN

BAYAMON, Puerto Rico, Nov. 28—Over 5,000 Puerto Rican militants descended on this working class suburb of San Juan today to attend the Eighth Assembly of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI) and publicly proclaim the foundation of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). Last week, on November 21, the MPI national conference voted to found the PSP in order to carry forward the struggle for independence and socialism in this colony of U.S. imperialism.

Manuel de J. Gonzalez, a member of the political commission of the new party, told this writer that MPI, which began as a broad group of independentistas of varying views, had gradually changed since its foundation in 1959. "It slowly acquired a Marxist ideology.... Originally it was a petty bourgeois movement. But it was necessary to turn toward the working class because they have the power to produce change," Gonzalez said. "In Puerto Rico there can't be socialism without independence, but it is also not possible to

have true independence without socialism—unless Puerto Rico became a 'banana republic,'" he stressed.

Today's rally began with a cultural event—songs of Puerto Rico and the struggle for the liberation of the nation from Yankee imperialism. Then messages of solidarity were read from various socialist parties in North and Latin America, including greetings from Cuba, Chile, and the Dominican Republic. A message of solidarity was also read from Workers World Party.

CALL FOR LATIN INTERNATIONAL

Several of the resolutions which had been adopted at the conference last week were read. One called for a Latin American International of revolutionary parties and national liberation movements to further the common struggle against U.S. imperialism. Others pledged solidarity with the Cuban revolution, demanded freedom for William Tapia and Humberto Pagan (two Puerto Rican militants framed up and jailed by the colonialist regime) and recognized

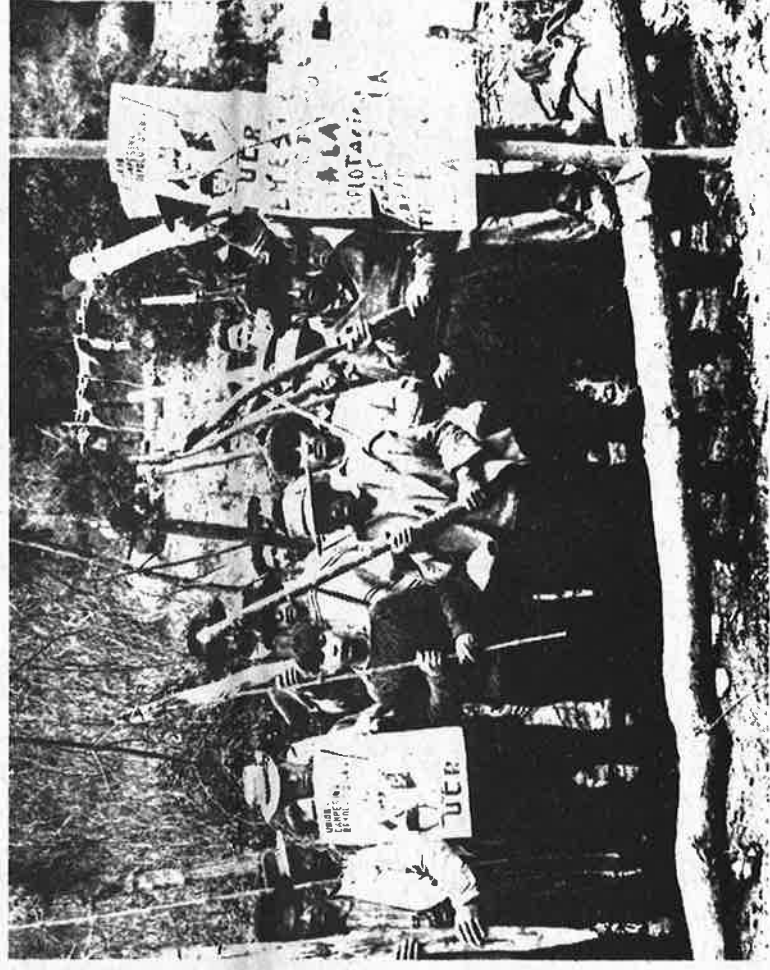
The bourgeois character of those institutions has not been changed by the electoral victory of Allende's leftwing coalition.

One carabineer (of the national police), as quoted by the New York Times correspondent in Santiago, quietly told one participant in the reactionary demonstration of December 1:

"Keep it up, we are with you."

FIDEL ADVISES — MOBILIZE MASSES

It was also reported that the carabinieri unleashed some tear gas canisters on militants of the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR) as well as on the rightwing demonstrators. With the Allende regime relying on the bourgeois military to defend its government rather than by arming the masses, i.e., workers' militias and a people's army, visit-



Chilean peasants defending land seizures.

the oppression of women and their struggle as part of the world revolutionary struggle.

One resolution that was particularly stressed dealt with a proposed united front of all the independence forces for the 1972 elections. The PSP has proposed this united front to the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP). However, despite the fact that Ruben Berrios, president of the PIP, came to the rally today and spoke, he avoided any commitment to such a united front. The PSP resolved that if there was no united front, they would boycott the elections rather than split the independence vote.

Juan Mari Bras wound up the rally with a call for an "end to the system of capitalist exploitation" in Puerto Rico and "a fight for the complete expropriation of the means of production and the establishment of socialism."

RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM

Reading from the General Declaration of the PSP, Mari Bras out-

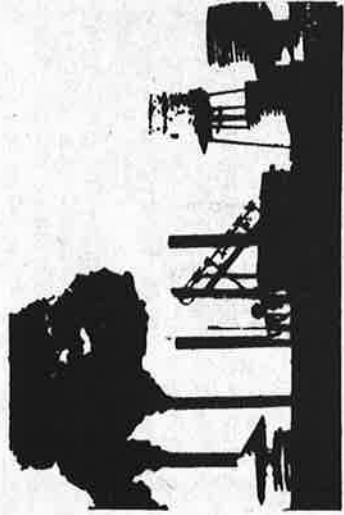
lined the four basic rights of the Puerto Rican people to: independence; to take back all the wealth that has been stolen from the people by corporations and governments; the right of the workers to socialize all the means of production and to construct a socialist society where there will be no exploitation; and finally, the right of the people to use all forms of struggle, including revolutionary violence in the face of the repressive violence of the system, to gain their fundamental rights.

This last demand was met with shouts of approval from the audience which broke into chants of "Fuego, fuego, fuego, los yanquis quieren fuego!" (Fire, fire, fire, the yankees are asking for fire!)

When Mari Bras finished his speech he raised the popular slogan, "Despierta Boricua! Defiende lo tuyo!" (Arise Puerto Ricans! Defend what is yours!) This call brought the audience to its feet in a show of determination to struggle against the colonial oppression of the Puerto Rican people.

Here is where Castro is drawing the lesson of the Cuban Revolution as a valuable guide for the Chilean revolution. The reactionary forces in Cuba never had the opportunity to regain the offensive since the Cuban revolutionary forces completely destroyed Batista's bourgeois army and police and replaced it with a revolutionary workers' and peasants' army to defend the victorious Revolution.

With U.S. imperialism retreating in every corner of the globe from the blows of peoples' struggles, the revolutionary forces supporting President Allende now have the opportunity of handing Washington and Wall Street a decisive defeat. Workers, peasants, and the oppressed all over the world are now looking to the progressive forces of Chile to mobilize and turn back the wave of counterrevolution and score a victory.



Phase 2

"price freeze"

by ELIZABETH ROSS

When the servants of Wall Street talk to their own bosses, they're likely to be franker than when they give a statement to the "public."

An example can be found in a letter from Kidder, Peabody and Co., who give advice to bankers, investors, and other assorted crooks in the business world.

Dated November 19, 1971—right after Phase Two went into effect—Kidder, Peabody's letter tells it like it is. For business, Phase Two is not so bad! In fact, the prospects are rosy.

"... many businessmen and investors have taken too gloomy a

explain that price increases can be based on the best two of the last three fiscal years—which includes 1968 and 1969, both of which were great years for the profit-hungry. "Average pretax margins could rise about 19 percent before hitting the ceiling," the letter drools on.

That may sound like a pretty lush profit margin to you and me, but that's not the half of it. It's the after tax picture businessmen are interested in. Well, that's taken care of, too, by the boys in Washington. Kidder, Peabody reminds its clients that the little matter of the removal of the 10 percent surcharge tax is something to be really ecstatic about. With that tax out of the way, "we calculate that the average ceiling for after tax profit margins would be about 28 percent above the average after tax profit margins of first half 1971."

Now, that's not too bad a profit margin, is it? If you were a businessman, and you knew your employees couldn't get more than a 5.5 percent raise (and you aren't compelled to give them any raise at all, especially if they haven't got a union behind them—which is what about 60 million workers haven't got), you'd think the Phase Two

Business

as usual

view of the Price Commission's rulings on permissible price increases and profit margins," they joyfully tell their readers. In the jargon of the marketplace they

cards were stacked pretty much in your favor.

But what about that 2.5 percent ceiling on prices we've all been reading about in the papers? Won't the Price Commission crack down on any company that dares to try to break through the ceiling? Here's what K., P. & Co. say about that:

"... price increases can be justified on the basis of cost increases with an allowance for productivity gains. Since it is extremely difficult to calculate productivity gains for a single company, it is obvious that the rule will have to be applied very loosely. Chairman Grayson of the Price Commission has admitted that he does not know how the rule will be applied. ... As decisions begin to flow from the Commission, the fog that has blanketed the business and financial community will be lifted. After all, the stated purpose of Phase Two is to facilitate the transition to a free economy."

And that's what a free economy means, and always has meant, to the "business" and financial community—a good solid ceiling on wages and a sky-high limit on profits.

that every 13th of the month we are fasting and would like their solidarity in this.

Please keep me up to date on our struggle out there. News is something hard to get, especially the truth.

Peace and Power

Prison letters call for support

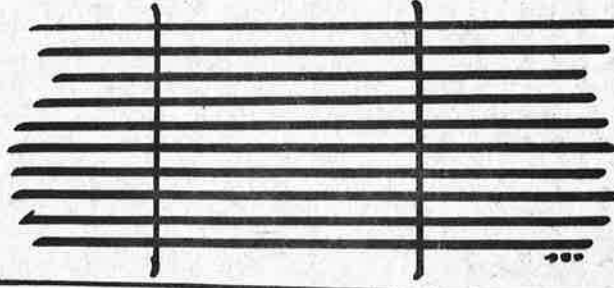
The following are letters sent to Workers World newspaper by the Prisoners Solidarity Committee and show the continuing struggle of the prisoners incarcerated within America's concentration camps.

Strip cell, Attica

Peace and Power,

...As it stands at present I am in satisfactory health although I was wounded by a shotgun blast as a result of the Sept. 13 slaughter by the Bay of pigs. Since then the situation here has become unbearably worse. We are still being denied basic health necessities such as our own soap, toothpaste, afro combs, etc. Also, all of our personal home-sent property has been deliberately lost or destroyed! As it is now I am stripped bare of all my property. The many issues relating to Attica cannot be expressed in ordinary terms of brutality, and if I attempted to relate them to you, our censorship would prevent this letter from getting to you....

Peace and Power



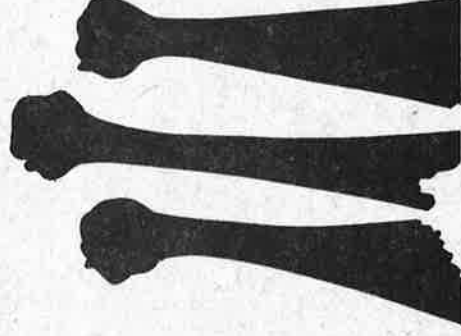
**' WE ARE MEN!
WE ARE NOT BEASTS
AND DO NOT INTEND
TO BE BEATEN OR
DRIVEN AS SUCH."**

INMATES OF ATTICA PRISON

The above card can be ordered from
the Prisoners Solidarity Committee
58 West 25th Street, NYC 10010

Send a card to a prisoner —

During holidays, cards can be sent to prisoners by the public.



Green Haven, October 13, 1971

...There is an issue of grave importance that must not be overlooked. At present, this psychopathic and sadistic system is trying to put together a maximum, maximum prison, for what they term, "Hard-core Prisoners," and if they are allowed to construct this tomb, it will be the legalizing of Mass Genocide (not that it was not before this) of all oppressed people in concentration camps.

Do you realize that the slightest show of manhood would automatically label you as a "Hard Core Militant?"

There will be a lot of feedback from that maxi-maxi prison if it is allowed to be built.

So let this be known to individuals who are available to help at once, because all efforts should be made to stop Oswald and Rockefeller from committing another mass genocide against the oppressed.

Attica, October 16, 1971

It has been some time since I have been able to contact you. I guess I do not have to tell you the reason. I am still in the process of getting myself together, mentally and physically from the recent Genocide that took place here last month.

At present I am in the box (segregation). Mancusi ("warden") has alleged I was one of the leaders of Attica's struggle for humane treatment. There is many other Brothers up here with me. The conditions up here are pure hell. We all live in constant fear of death. There is complete solidarity up here with all Brothers. Just a few days ago we all went on a one-day fast (October 13) in memory of our Brothers that were murdered by Rockefeller's racist dogs. We would all appreciate you letting our brothers and sisters know

Auburn, September 13, 1971

I write this letter as a voice asking to be heard, as the voices of all two million of us will ask, caught up in this Prison web, unable to move left or right, for oppression's grip is so tight around our throats, making it difficult to even breathe. "Domestic Prisoners of War," outcasts of a social system which balances its budgets with our lives and souls. Born to Poverty, raised in Jungles of concrete and steel, Pig sties of filth and garbage, taught to steal and kill, as only a way to survive, to eat to live, brought up in reform schools, houses of detention, bred by the machine which always pulls us back to be unprepared, looked upon as animals and freaks, unhuman, treated as though we had the plague. And what is our crime? What was our assault on society, when you assaulted, and maimed us at birth?

Branded with social rejection, born with a face too black, lips too wide, a nose styled different than yours—our crime is having been born in this racist society, where Black is repulsive instead of beautiful. Yet we dance and sing beautiful, excel as we entertain you with our sporting achievements, but now, baby, you'll have to see the rest, the boy who is becoming a warrior, the broad, is now a woman!

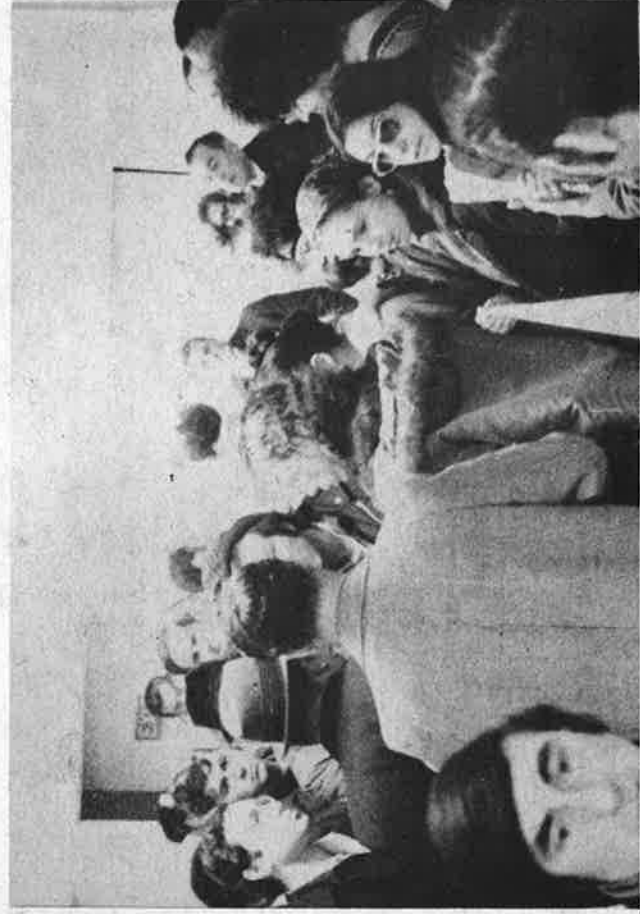
Our forefathers were kidnapped and enslaved to build this country. Now we want what is rightfully ours, no more blood or any more tears have spread on this earth, than the pain and sorrow you have subjected us to. Bloodshed and death are nothing new to us, it's the only peace we've ever known. Get it together quick. If our dreams don't soon become reality, you're in for a terrible nightmare.

Peace and Power

(Continued on page 16)

"For a free subway fare! Let the people vote on it!"

Labor group stomps secret meeting on subway fare



CULA confronts police at MTA headquarters.



Labor group demands banks pay for fares.

NEW YORK, Dec. 10—Escalating its campaign for free subway fares in this city, the Center for United Labor Action (CULA) today demanded entrance into the Manhattan Transit Authority's (MTA) secret meeting on a proposed fare increase.

After a series of street meetings, in which it demanded the free fare and after attendance at token "hearings" on the proposed fare increase, twenty of the group demanded entrance at the conspiratorial meeting of the so-called "public" transit agency.

The MTA attempted to intimidate the demonstrators inside the building with a phalanx of plainclothes cops, after a public relations effort to "soothe" them. (See accompanying photos.) Two of the protestors were arrested during the subsequent picket in front of the building.

CULA declared that it will immediately step up its fight and will appeal to the broad masses for an all-out struggle for free subways.

tion (December 11) the PSC received a letter from a Jackson inmate exposing the vicious violence being used against the prisoners. He reported that on December 8 Jackson guards battled prisoners in cellblock 5—the maximum security area. Shots were fired to put down the rebellion and then 10 to 15 guards went from cell to cell beating up those involved.

Fifteen people from Detroit and Lansing picketed for over an hour outside the walls of Jackson. They chanted "Jail the rich, Free the poor, Hands off cellblock 5" into the faces of ten guards and state police. Many visiting families saw the demonstration and read the literature on the situation at Jackson. After marching past the entire prison, the demonstration ended with "Break the wall of silence, Expose the fascist violence, Hands off the prisoners."

— Detroit PSC

Protest attack on prisoners

DETROIT—Deep inside the Detroit News on December 10 was a tiny article on an "insignificant fight" at Jackson State Prison where some prisoners and four guards were injured. But the Detroit Prisoners Solidarity Committee realized that something serious had happened.

A demonstration was called on less than a day's notice to be held at the prison, 90 miles west of Detroit. In a press release, the PSC called for breaking the wall of silence around what is really going on inside Jackson, and demanded that the prison be opened to inspection by inmates' families, organizations like the PSC and the public in general.

On the morning of the demonstra-

tion (December 11) the PSC received a letter from a Jackson inmate exposing the vicious violence being used against the prisoners. He reported that on December 8 Jackson guards battled prisoners in cellblock 5—the maximum security area. Shots were fired to put down the rebellion and then 10 to 15 guards went from cell to cell beating up those involved.

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What is a gunman?

(On the tyranny of
ruling class words)

A mercenary thug sent from Britain to Ireland and paid a monthly wage to put down the Irish rebellion is called a "British soldier" by the U.S. press. But an idealistic youth with no income and no protection from the state, who takes up arms to defend his or her people against the former rulers of the world and the butchers of his country, is a "gunman."

Scores of civilians, including little children, have been murdered by the good "soldiers," while these soldiers, armed to the teeth, have occasionally been destroyed by "gunmen."

It is the same in the USA, of

course. The people who suffer and struggle are called "dissatisfied elements," and "angry mob," or at best, "Black protesters."

But the pigs who kill them are called "the forces of law and order," even though they are periodically revealed (as by the Knapp Commission in New York City) to have the highest rate of crime in their ranks of any organized or unorganized group in the country.

But it was always this way in class society. The word villain, for instance, was invented by the French feudal nobility to describe a peasant-serf, whose main crime was that he did all the work around the "villa."

The word "carpet-bagger" was coined by the then-defeated Southern Bourbons to characterize a Northerner who came to the South to aid in Black Reconstruction and help defeat the white aristocracy.

And even the now-forgotten word "scalawag" was originally pinned on a Southern white who dared to give aid and comfort to the Black revolutionaries.

Contrariwise, the sweet word, "gentleman," and the even sweeter word, "lady," were always meant to imply that the rulers were gentle and considerate when they were really callous and bloody in their suppression of the exploited masses.

It was always the "gentleman" who sliced up the bodies of Nat Turner and his people; or put their heads on poles to warn the oppressed of what their fate would be if they too tried to be the equals of ladies and gentlemen.

Today, the "gentlemen" who run the British and American empires are a thousand times deeper in bloodshed than their ancestors ever were. And they still have to supplement their bloodshed by the tyranny of words, calling the gunmen soldiers, and the soldiers gunmen—like they call the robber the victim, and the victim the robber.

Indonesia-

the second greatest
crime of the
century

by DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

The story of the U.S.-backed coup in Indonesia which resulted in the murder of almost one million Indonesian people and the jailing of hundreds of thousands of political prisoners.

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The economic origins of the Supreme Court

Part IV

The rise of the rails

by JERRY ZILG

"General Grant is a safe man.... The railroad rings are clear in the conviction that one good turn deserves another, and have come down handsomely for the general's campaign fund."

— Springfield Republican, 1868

"We are informed and believe that the great railroad corporations of the country are endeavoring to obtain control of this court."

— New York Board of Trade, 1880

The old Speaker of the House rapped his gavel again and again amidst pandemonium. Congress was about to approve a \$3 million payment to a railroad that owed the public treasury \$60 million in principal and interest. A few shouts of outrage were shaking the House chamber from its normally sleepy decorum, and the speaker wanted the uproar (and the protest) ended. It wasn't long before his heavy gavel had pounded the opposing minority into silence. Then the Speaker sternly pointed across the sea of hands. "The chair recognizes Mr. McKenna."

Joseph McKenna, congressman from California, nervously rose from his seat. His appearance on the floor of the House was a rare occasion, but where the profits of his promoter, the Central Pacific Railroad, were concerned, McKenna was willing to make any sacrifice. "We know, sir," he bellowed, "that the grants

to the railroad had their impulse in patriotism—a patriotism enterprising and conservative." And bought with more than \$4,000,000 in bribes, according to the Wilson Senate Investigating Committee.

The motion passed; the Central Pacific got its millions.

RR REPRESENTATIVE PROMOTED

One year later, in 1892, Joseph McKenna got his reward, a Federal Circuit Court appointment, from another former railroad lawyer, President Grover Cleveland. In 1897, when McKenna was nominated to the Supreme Court by President William McKinley, a public clamor arose. "His entire career," protested the New York World, "has been one of servitude to the Pacific Railway robbers, trust magnates and their kind." Needless to say, the Senate confirmed his appointment for those very reasons, for this was the age of the railroads, when railroad magnates held sway over the country's economy, the federal government and the Supreme Court.

Since its very inception, the Court's composition (and therefore its decisions) had reflected the dominant section of the capitalist class. Before the Civil War, landed, commercial, and slaveholding interests had held a firm grip over the Court. This control, however, was broken by the war and since the North's conflict with the slaveholders of the South was financed by northern private banks, it was the bankers who then wore the black robes of the highest court in the land. (These banks, as powerful as they were, did not have a monopoly control over the economy as do today's banks which grew out of the merger of industrial and finance capital.) But the war had nurtured other capitalist interests besides bankers: among them were the railroads.

A 20-year-long shower of bribes to Congress and the Texas Legislature had nurtured a powerful new section of the capitalist class—the railroad magnates. Between 1850 and 1870 over 212,000,000 acres of public lands and millions of public dollars were donated to private railroad companies for their own profit and railroad construction. Railroad construction, however, usually required a heavy demand for cold cash in the legally required form of gold. And there was the rub.

Although gold's annual output rose from 43 to 53 million dollars between 1861 and 1865, the yellow metal from California was not easily available. It was locked safely in the vaults of hoarding bankers. Railroad corporations were thereby forced to take out more and more bank mortgages. As the railroads were legally required to pay their mounting debts in gold, it became apparent to all that the rails would soon be at the banks' mercy. Mercy, the railroad owners knew, was not something to expect of bankers or any

other capitalist. If things were allowed to continue, the financiers would soon control every railroad in the country.

RAILROADS CAPTURE THE COURT

When the Supreme Court began deliberating on the Legal Tender Act, its composition of bankers did not lend much hope for railroad kings like Cornelius Vanderbilt and Jay Gould. Their pessimism was confirmed when the Court overruled the law and upheld a gold currency controlled by the banks, as against the Act's intention to legalize government control over the volume of currency. If they were to survive, the rail kings realized, they must capture the Court for themselves.

By 1868 the railroad barons had secured control over Congress, which since Lincoln's death had been the holder of the government's whip hand. Predictably, the new Congress happily expanded the Court to nine justices, raising the seven-justice ceiling it has imposed on Lincoln's successor, President Andrew Johnson, when he attempted to reinstall slaveholders in power in the South.

The next year a new president and close friend of railroad interests was in the White House, Ulysses S. Grant. Grant was shameless in flaunting his close personal friendship with the railroad barons, often appearing publicly at the theatre and at junketing steam boat parties with Jay Gould and James Fisk. In fact, the President's own brother-in-law, A.R. Corbin, was a lobbyist in Congress for Gould's Illinois Central Railroad. It was indeed no accident that Grant would appeal later to railroad king William Vanderbilt when his law firm collapsed in 1884—and quickly receive a \$150,000 "loan."

It was to no one's surprise, then, that in 1869 Grant chose two railroad owners to fill the Supreme Court vacancies. William Strong, a former railroad lawyer was a director of the Lebanon Valley Railroad at the time of his appointment. The other new justice, Joseph P. Bradley, was on the board of directors of the Camden and Amboy and the Morris and Essex railroads. All three railroads were linked up to the Vanderbilt-Gould empire and were later merged into the Pennsylvania and Reading railroads.

No sooner had these princes of the rails been confirmed in 1870 as justices, than the Supreme Court completely reversed its pro-bank Legal Tender decision of only eleven months before. Bradley, Swayne, Miller, Davis, and Strong (who wrote the majority opinion) outvoted bankers Chase, Clifford, Field, and states' banker Nelson. The railroads were now freed from their chains of bankers' gold. Now their plunder of the country would really begin.

(Next issue: Railroadroading the people)



Huey Newton

Hands

off

Huey!

Once again a jury has been unable to reach a verdict against Huey P. Newton on charges of killing a cop. This, in spite of the ruling class' most frantic attempts to get them to convict him. Three frameup trials are three too many. No more harassment! Hands off Huey!

CHICAGO, Dec. 4—Over 500 people filled up a West Side church today to hear Bobby Seale and other speakers at a rally commemorating the third anniversary of the murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. The rally was the climax of Survival Week, a week-long series of activities sponsored by the Black Panther Party to mobilize support for their many serve-the-people programs in Chicago.

The Panthers feed over 1500 children every morning in Chicago, and they also have free clothing, prison transportation, free health care, political education, and numerous other community programs. At the rally, free shoes and bags of groceries were distributed, and sickle cell anemia tests were conducted.

The depth of community support for the Panthers can be gauged by the fact that members of Youth A-

gainst War & Fascism were able to raise over \$75 worth of food in less than two hours by asking for donations at supermarkets before the rally. The food was divided between the Panthers and the United Front of Cairo.

In his speech, Bobby Seale traced the development of the Panther survival programs since their inception in 1968. He stressed the determination of the Panthers and the Black community to defend these programs at all costs. He said that "if the racist capitalists dare to attack our free breakfast and free clothing programs, we'll have to institute one more survival program—free guns!" The crowd roared with approval.

—Jeffrey Sables
Chicago YAWF

read WORKERS WORLD

...and help to build one!

Subscription rates — 6 mo. only \$2.00; 1 yr. \$4.00

Book Review

"The Greening of America"

by Charles Reich

Reich- revolution by fantasy

by LARS LEANDER

This recent best-seller comes on as a revolutionary work but is in reality a sly promotion job for capitalism. The author thinks there is no class struggle and the state is ruled by no one. He treats consciousness (his pet term) as if divorced from production relations, yet gives it material force. He is a pacifist, and a male chauvinist to boot.

As social science, "The Greening of America" is drivel. Nevertheless, it must be analyzed and exposed, for it is sold in the drug stores all over the land and is now part of the polluting machinery of the American mass media.

LATTER-DAY UTOPIA

The text is written in the artless prose of academic sociology, but, as the title suggests, "The Greening of America" is actually a latter-day utopia. It is both a personal record and a social document. As the first, it reveals the unattractive sentiments of an envious Yale professor about his fondness for the liberalized life styles of the younger generation in sex, drug use, clothing, etc. Yet this is the only truth in "The Greening of America," an emotional one: the author wishes that capitalism would get out of its mess.

The youth culture, however, which Reich so longs to be part of and which he hopes will "revolutionize" a decrepit capitalism, is itself a symptomatic reaction to that decay. And at the bottom of his heart flutters the impossible dream: "There is a revolution coming. It will not require violence to succeed. This is the revolution of the new generation." And this leads us to more serious considerations.

As a social document "The Greening of America" is pure bourgeois ideology, that is, a book of lies. Reich's hobby horse is Consciousness III, a myth of his own creation which is the cause both of his fame and of the difficulty in analyzing his ideas. The treatment of consciousness is idealist to the point of mysticism; to Reich it reflects not property relations and class struggle, but, apparently, some enormous, amorphous ghost flapping its wings over the American landscape.

Before turning to his pet myth, let us look at Consciousnesses I and II, in Reich's terminology: "Consciousness I is the traditional outlook of the American farmer, small businessman, and worker who is trying to get ahead." (Presumably he is referring to early laissez-faire capitalism.) Note how he unhesitatingly gives the same consciousness to the businessman and to the worker. Need we read more? Yes, to get to the heart of his lies.

Consciousness II is what Reich dislikes: the reflection of monopoly capitalism and imperialism -- though he shies away from these words, using "the Corporate State," which he adapted from J.K. Galbraith's flawed analysis in "The Industrial State." This critique of imperialist culture sounds progressive, until we read that there is no ruling class! This is the warmed-up Burnham thesis of "the

Expanding Empire

"The basic cause of the U.S. invasion of Vietnam lies deep within the social and economic system of the United States, itself. The aggression was built in, and the Asian war was predetermined before Lyndon Johnson was born."

by VINCENT COPELAND

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by DOROTHY BALLAN

— Pakistan

(continued from p. 10)

was granted, but at a price—a separate Muslim state carved out of India, called Pakistan.

On August 14, 1947, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, became the first Governor-General of the new state of Pakistan. The real ruler, however, was still London. Ninety percent of Pakistan's capital was in the hands of British banks, such as Lloyds & Grindlay's Bank, Robert Gill & Co., Imperial Tobacco, and other British corporations still controlled over 87 percent of Pakistan's import trade. Significantly, all British banks also refused to advance long-term loans on credit which would have advanced the country's industrialization. Britain still wanted a colony and still had one.

Bound to the pound sterling for its existence,

managerial revolution": the state runs by itself, if aided timidly by technicians and managers.

In Reich's words, "Thus we may be in the grip, not of capitalist exploiters, but of mindless, impersonal forces that pursue their own, non-human logic." Reich has now turned topsy-turvy from idealism to 18th-century mechanical materialism. Need we read more?

STATE POWER VS. DRUGS?

Yes, the climax in his fraud comes with Consciousness III, which is that of idealized youth culture—rock music, drugs, loose pants, tight pants, copping out, love of nature, love of self, love of others, love of freedom, yoga, and what not, in short: bourgeois romanticism gone whole hog. Yet this despair of capitalist youth is Reich's tool of revolution, "the only means that is realistic, given the nature of the contemporary State: revolution by consciousness." This is nonsense, of course. While people are indeed moved by ideas, state power is ultimately material.

Reich has not even been fair to his beloved youth culture. Many members of this movement are genuinely struggling to transform the horrendous environment they were born into. They need encouragement and direction, but Reich makes them into buffoons in order to make them conform to his scheme of "peaceful" revolution. The question now is whether the youth revolt is essentially a thing within capitalism, or a thing against capitalism.

And here is the center of Reich's deception: the Consciousness III that Reich describes in "The Greening of America" is not, as he claims, a revolution against the state, but in reality a mere modification of his hated Consciousness II. In other words, II and III turn out to be two versions of the same: aspects of imperialist culture in decay—one mainly conservative, the other liberal. So, is that what all the noise is about—Reich is just another liberal, an intellectual mercenary?

But beware, for "Fortune," the magazine of oil, steel, and electronics, finds Reich's discussion of Consciousness III "important."

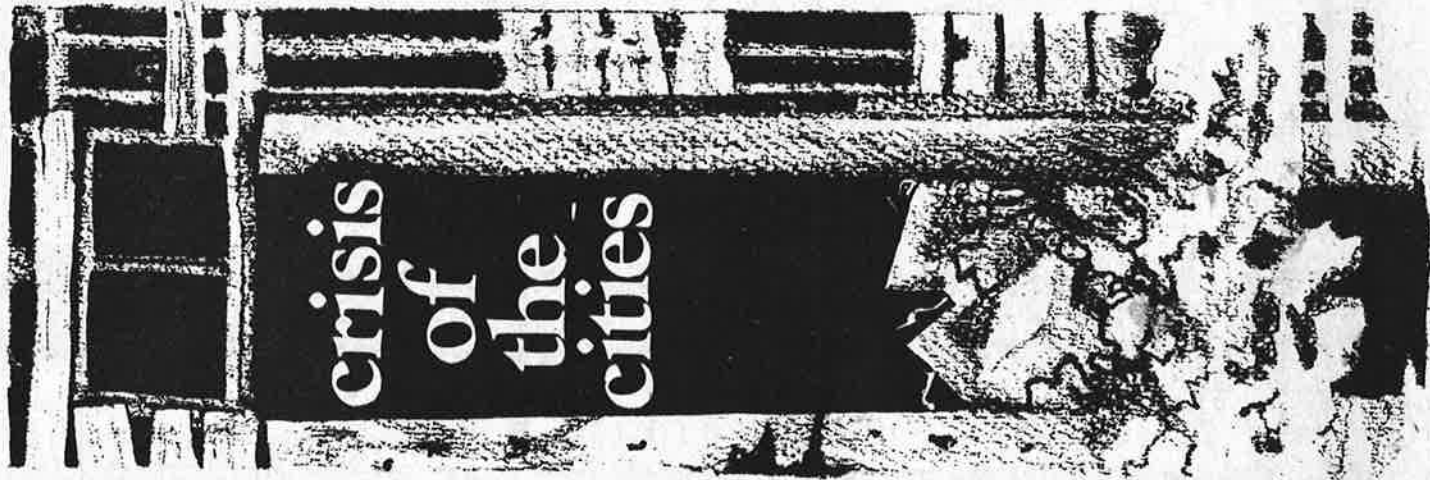
And why is this?

Class domination and national oppression are maintained not only through the overt violence of the armed forces, the police, the courts, and the concentration camps (prisons), but also through lies, by fooling people. The function of books, the press, TV, and the schools in a class society is to manipulate consciousness so as to implant ruling class ideas—"private-property-equals-freedom," for instance—into the working class and oppressed nations.

A book like "The Greening of America" can serve such ruling class aims. Thus in the end Reich's view of consciousness is in itself false consciousness, a deceptively designed distortion and mystification of social reality. For we know that freedom lies not in private property, but in its destruction.

the bourgeoisie of Pakistan were still puppets. Even Pakistan's insurance business was directed from London, the Mecca of the bourgeoisie of Lahore. Not surprisingly, it was only a few months after independence that Pakistan had its first resurgence of revolutionary activity—in East Bengal.

Now, as then, as also 100 years before, the whole Indian subcontinent remains slave to the dictates of the London and Wall Street Stock Exchanges. Divided and led by a weak bourgeoisie totally tied to British and U.S. capital, the Indian subcontinent will never be free. In the age of imperialism, only a proletarian socialist revolution which overthrows the rule of the landlords, bankers, and industrialists, resulting in the socialist federation of nations on the Indian subcontinent can ultimately establish and preserve the area's independence and freedom. Only such a federation based on the equality of all the oppressed nationalities can save one fifth of the human race from domination by London and Wall Street.



crisis of the cities

Part III — Transportation

Taking the people for a ride

by DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

At 8 p.m., when most of the Black domestic workers have done their last chore for the day and gone home, the buses stop running in Oklahoma City. People without cars have a 24-hour problem in Los Angeles, for there is virtually no public transit system in the sprawling metropolis. New Yorkers pay \$140 million a year just to cover interest on the transit debt.

Is there a crisis in transportation? Don't just take our word for it.

"Urban regions show every sign of social disorder known to man—decay, violence, unrest, pollution, ugliness, and crowding.... Unless we act now the biggest roadblock to a better life for all of us will be in transportation—the sick giant of the cities," John Volpe, U.S. Secretary of Transportation, ought to know.

Volpe's career illustrates how the interests of private capital have created the amazingly inefficient and uncomfortable transportation situation that he has described so well.

Volpe went from being the head of a Massachusetts construction company to Commissioner of Public Works and then Federal Highway Commissioner before he landed in his present job. The construction interests, like the automobile companies, the oil monopolies, rubber giants, and other associated industries have made the private automobile the main carrier of people in this country—at a fantastic cost.

Urban travel moves overwhelmingly in private cars—some 93 percent of all passenger miles (excluding foot travel). That means that only 7 percent of all city travel in the U.S. is by bus, subway, taxi, and trolley. The resulting problems—traffic jams, pollution, large areas of urban real estate turned into highways and parking lots—are known to everyone.

CARS FORCED ON THE PEOPLE

But there is more than just aggravation and annoyance involved in this. What the transportation crisis really boils down to is the fact that a much cheaper, more efficient, more comfortable system of mass transit has been denied to the American people, at a tremendous cost to the people, and resulting in phenomenal profits for the giant corporations.

New York State Congressman Halpern recently estimated that it costs \$11,000 to operate a car over a four-year period, including purchase price, repairs, gas and oil, insurance, etc. This comes to almost \$3,000 a year. If we were to be conservative and cut this estimate in half, and then multiply it by the 87 million autos registered in the U.S., the result would still be the staggering sum of \$130 billion spent on private automobiles each year—one-eighth of the gross national product!

For workers in Los Angeles, Detroit, Buffalo,

— Parish demands

(Continued from page 12)

The following set of demands is from the prisoners of Tier C-3, Parish Prison, New Orleans:

1. Abolish the Bill of Information. We believe the B.I., as it is used now, gives the D.A. a weapon to use against the poor and oppressed people. Because the D.A. has the power to indict or drop charges regardless of the evidence, we believe this to be too much power for one man. The Constitutional guarantee of an indictment by a grand jury for all infamous crimes is completely ignored by the D.A. when applicable to poor and oppressed people. We want the same protection given to "Clay Shaws" and more recently "Jim Garrison."
2. Abolish Outrageous Bail Bonds, which are nothing more than ransom for the poor and oppressed. The Supreme Court ruled it is unconstitutional to set a bail bond which cannot be made. Yet time and time again poor and oppressed people remain imprisoned because of bonds in excess of \$50,000.00.

DEMONSTRATE

Friday, Dec. 17 at 3:00 p.m., Canadian Embassy (53 St. & Fifth Ave)

Sponsored by the Humberto Pagan Defense Committee

and hundreds of other cities, cars are an absolute necessity to get and keep a job. And even in New York City, which is least suited to car travel because of the dense population concentrated on an island with limited access, there are hundreds of thousands who fight traffic rather than subject themselves to the exhausting and degrading experience of riding the mass transit system.

The incredible inefficiency of a transportation system dominated by the private automobile is made even clearer when you figure that an average worker earning \$6,000 a year spends at least one working day each week paying for his or her car. While initially having a car may have saved the worker some time in getting to work, it is now responsible for lengthening the working day to 10 or more hours as both drivers and those on public conveyances fight the traffic jams.

Thus, the bosses and corporations benefit from the decrepit state of public transportation because it creates the need for private cars, forcing workers to put in more hours for the boss to cover this terrible strain on their budgets, while the many hours spent each week going to and from work is unpaid labor.

Thus, it is no wonder that in cities across the country where transit systems are demanding more and more fare increases for service that is on a par with a trip to Hades, riders are grumbling, venting their anger, and often fighting back.

DEGRADING, DETERIORATING MASS TRANSIT

New York City subways are in a class of their own when it comes to dirt, noise, overcrowding, and sheer hysteria. They are also unrivaled in the extent of the swindle that has taken place to keep these rotten conveyances running while the people pay through the nose to the bankers. The city originally built the tunnels for the subways, then gave the IRT and the BMT the franchise to operate the subways at a guaranteed profit. The construction of the subways was paid for by municipal bonds issued in 1919, and interest is still being paid on these bonds to the same banks that controlled the IRT and BMT.

In 1940, the city bought the subways for \$310 million (still part of the transit debt), after a decade of depression when the companies practically stopped all maintenance and let the trains and tunnels deteriorate. Altogether, the city has paid \$2.5 billion to build the subways, and paid or committed another \$2.8 billion in interest to the banks!

Incensed at repeated increases in the fare which just wind up in the bankers' safes, riders have refused to pay. (Youth Against War & Fascism organized a campaign against the fare increase two years ago. This year, the Center for United Labor Action is organizing against the rate hike. See page 13.) These struggles are the first step in taking on the monopoly capitalists who are responsible for the transportation crisis, and who will have to be toppled from power before it can be fully solved.

Next — Education

3. Abolish the Discriminatory Way in which the Release on Own Recognition Program is Implemented. One reason ROR was initiated was to help the poor and oppressed people charged with lesser offenses so they could be released on their recognition. Yet it seems as though just the opposite is true, because those few of us who make a recognition bond must wait for days and sometimes weeks before leaving the concentration camps.

4. Abolish the Long Waiting Periods Endured by the Poor and Oppressed People while Awaiting Trial. Why should Jim Garrison and Co. be scheduled for trial only a few weeks after their indictment by the grand jury, while the poor must wait from 6 months to 3 years? This long period of incarceration causes extreme hardships on the inmates and their families. Perhaps this is what is meant by the expression "justice is blind."
5. Abolish the Inadequate Legal Representation Poor and Oppressed People Must Contend With, espec-

ially when dealing with representatives of the Legal Aid Bureau. We want an end to practices of selling out and railroading the poor people!!!

6. Abolish the Scare Tactics Now Employed by Judges, D.A.'s, and So-called "Defense" Lawyers in Order to Obtain a Guilty Plea. We want an end to the threats of 2 or 3 times the maximum penalty if we fight our charges in the courtroom and are found guilty. This manipulation of poor people is done solely to save the time and expense of a jury.

7. We Desire the Creation of a Review Board to Investigate the Handling of Cases by So-called "Defense" Lawyers, and this Board Shall Answer Directly to the "People."

8. We Desire "Special" Visitor Permits on a Week Day. We Feel that Because Sunday is Not a Day of Rest for Poor People, Other Arrangements Must be Made to Insure All Inmates the Right to Visitors.