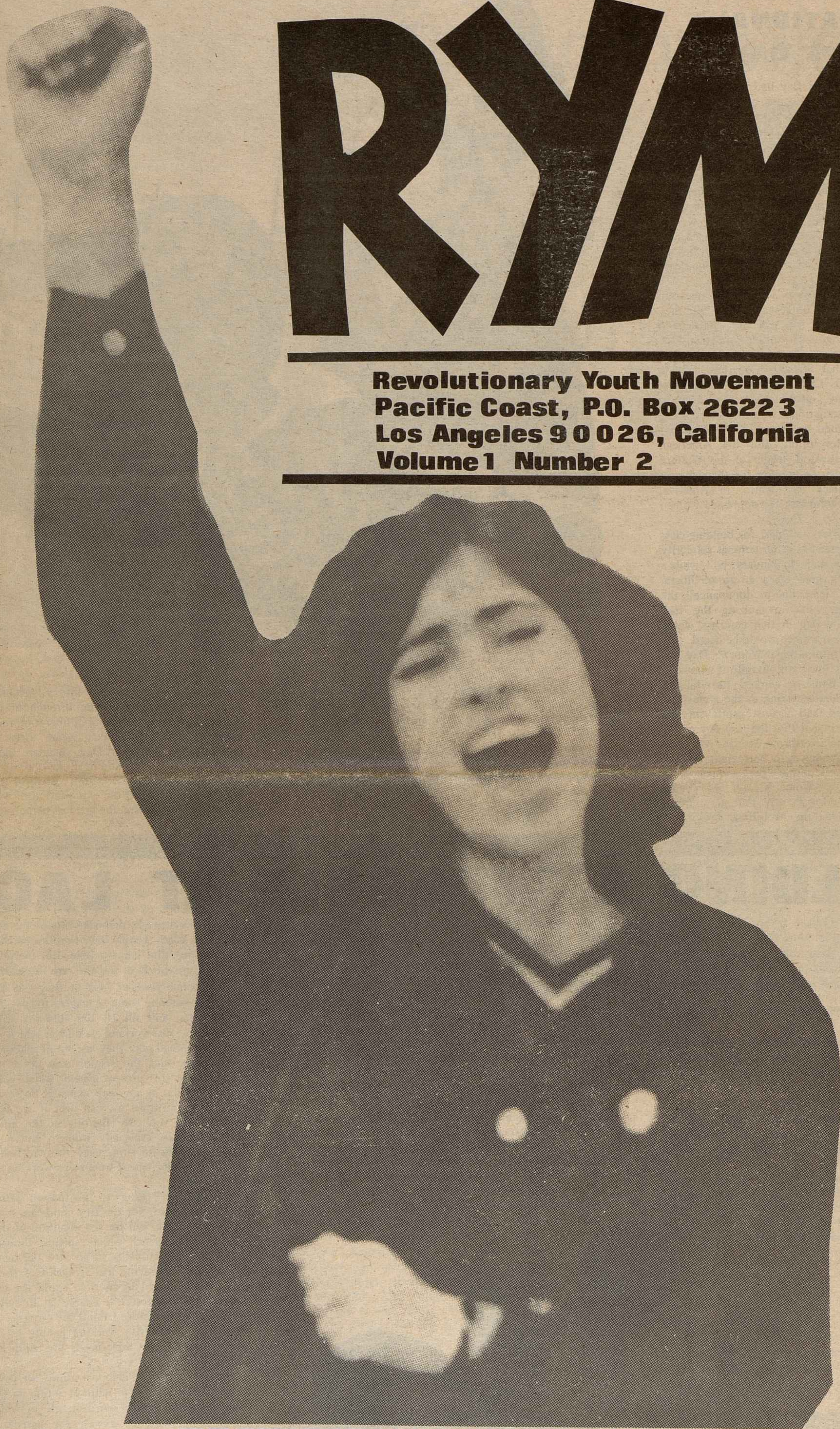


# RYM

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**INTERNATIONAL  
WOMEN'S DAY · MARCH 8**

## A HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

International Women's Day had its beginnings in the movement of working women within the United States. On New York's Lower East Side, the Socialist Women's Committee was agitating for laws against sweat shops, for a minimum wage, against child labor, and for shorter working hours. Some sections of the suffrage movement, made up of wealthy property-owning women and college graduates, saw the vote as the only issue for the women's movement. They did not recognize the oppression of women workers as part of the oppression of all women, and by failing in this respect many of the suffragettes fell into organizing in their own self-interest, in their own class interest.

In 1904 the Socialist Women's Committee began to call a series of Women's-Conferences and in 1908 they adopted March 8 as the day to agitate and demonstrate for the rights of working women and the vote for all women.

At an International Socialist Congress, held in Copenhagen in 1910, Clara Zetkin, a Communist leader from Germany, introduced a resolution to make March 8 an international women's day. Among the delegates who voted for it was Lenin, the leader of the Russian Revolution; and the American delegate, Big Bill Haywood, leader of the Western mine workers. The day of struggle for the rights of working women, black and white, in America, became a symbol of solidarity for oppressed women all over the world.

In Russia, this day was set apart for building class consciousness and spreading international solidarity among the working women. In January, 1913, while a conference was being held by a group of liberal capitalists discussing "masculine predominance", the women of Russia were organizing the first International Women's Day in that country, where the real voice of Russian women would be heard.

In St. Petersburg, International Women's Day was observed for the first time by thousands of women — telephone operators, domestic workers, hospital and laundry workers — demonstrating in the streets for the rights of women and against capitalism and Czarism. It was no accident that the first day of the Russian Revolution to overthrow Czarism coincided with this Day. On March 8 in Petrograd, the old government tried to prevent the women from celebrating International Women's Day. This caused an uproar at the Putilov factory that grew into a general strike and sparked the revolution.



In the United States, the government, in an effort to stop the rising revolutionary tide of women workers, tried to turn International Women's Day into "Mother's Day", a day to "celebrate" the isolation and slavery of women in the home and perpetuate the role of women as solely mothers and housewives, paying them off with chocolates and flowers on one day of the year for 364 days of drudgery.

Despite the attempts by the ruling class to turn

International Women's Day into a "celebration" of women's oppression, women throughout the world still see this day as a symbol of liberation for working women. This year, sixty years after the first International Women's Day, women fighting for liberation in Vietnam and in all the oppressed nations are joining with their sisters all over the world demanding an end to the exploitation of women and an end to imperialism, the greatest perpetrator of this oppression.

## BUILDING A STRUGGLE AT LACC

Los Angeles City College is one of the biggest junior colleges in the U.S. More than 20,000 students attend day and night classes there. More than half of them are Black, Chicano, or Asian, and nearly all come from working-class backgrounds. This is due to the easy admissions system and low tuition. It is in schools such as LACC where the tracking system becomes evident.

Only 5% of the students who enroll at City ever finish college. The rest are tracked into the worst paying jobs, the unemployment lines, or into the Army and Vietnam.

RYM-SDS at LACC is working on a program to: (1) kick police science off the campus, and (2) demand a free child-care center for children of campus workers, students and working people in the surrounding community.

Many women are unable to go to school or work because they are stuck with the task of taking care of children and most of the housework. One of the main aspects of a capitalist society is male supremacy. If the capitalist can make childcare and housework

"women's work" and make the best jobs a privileged position for white men, then he can play worker off against worker by making them compete against each other. Male supremacy means higher profits for the capitalist and because he runs the educational institutions, male supremacy is a way of life at LACC.

Women are channelled into classes that teach "women's stuff", such as Home Economics, Nursing, Secretarial Science, etc... Most women, especially, working class women, cannot go to school in the first place because they are stuck in the home through the sexual division of labor upon which the family is built upon under capitalism.

The chapter at LACC feels that winning a free child-care center would help working parents hold jobs, go to school or take part in political struggle. When working people are forced to pay for child care, they often have to pay one-third to one-half of their wages for baby-sitters. But in the socialist countries like North Vietnam, China, Albania, and Cuba, free child-care exists for all working people.

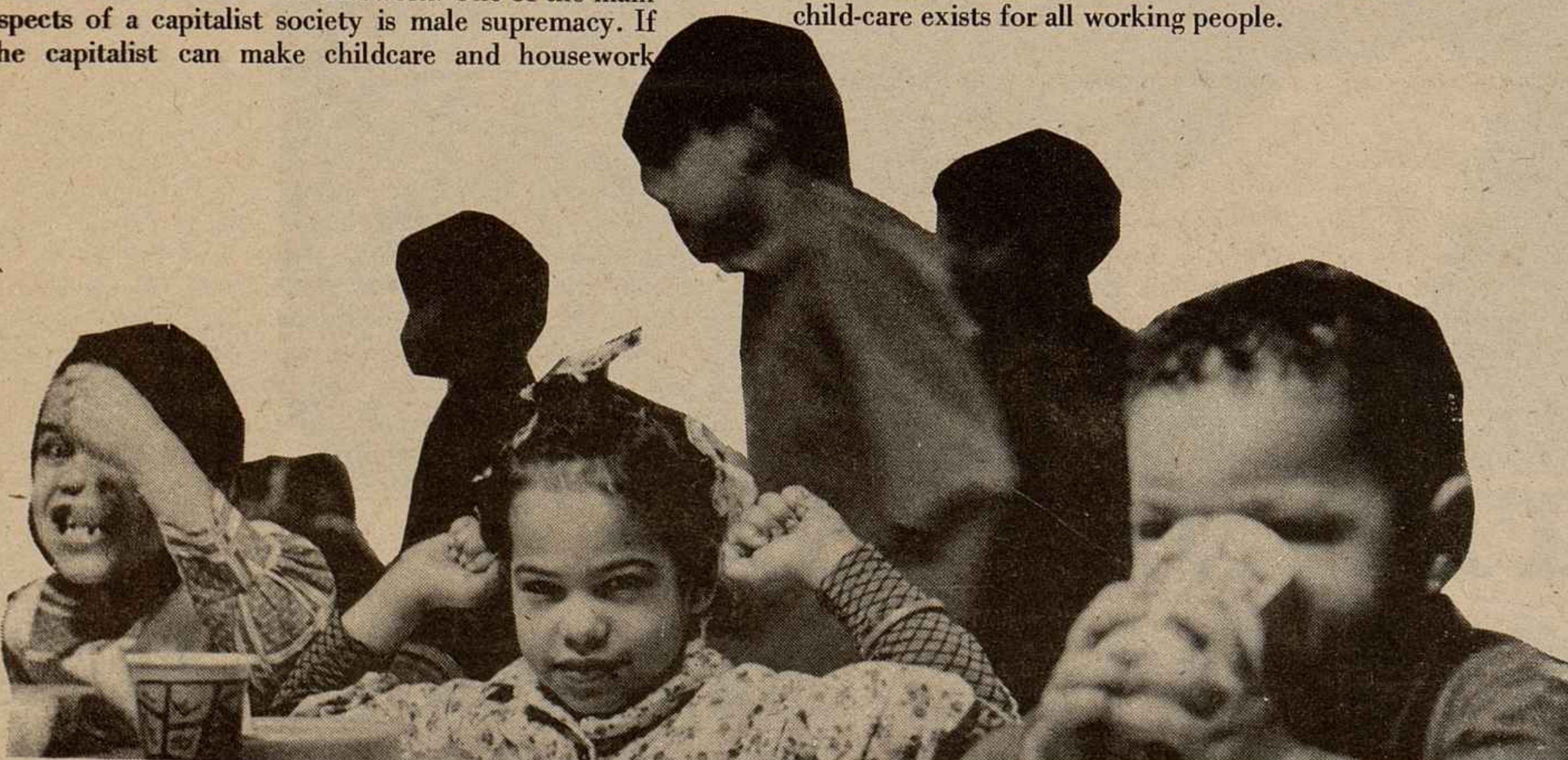
This is a struggle that can expose the school for what it is. Many people have the illusion that college is something that helps people. But the people who control the schools in the U.S. are interested only in training some workers so that they can be better exploited, training some managers to play boss over the workers, and fill all the students with white supremacist, anti-working class ideas which they will be able to spread once they are out of school.

We know that the schools can never serve the people under this present system which is based on making a dollar at anyone's expense; however, this is one reform struggle we can win if we fight in a revolutionary way. By fighting in the interests of working people, especially women, and raising the fight against white supremacy, we can build unity. This is especially true if we involve working people in the struggle.

Petitions are going to be passed around the community calling for the free child-care center. The petitions will also call for the abolition of the police science department, which spends thousands of dollars to train students to go into the barrios and ghettos to repress the just struggles of the people. This money should be used to equip the child-care center. This petition will enable us to talk to the people about the issues behind the struggle. In a few weeks, we will invite working people to come to campus and express their needs for child-care in an evening rally.

Through rallies and demonstrations, we will be able to involve the people in militant action and political education. Until we win our demands, we will operate a collective child-care center for parents on the campus and try to serve the people as best we can. This means that men as well as women will help with child-care. We are also demanding that this work become paid labor so that people will be able to afford time to work on the child-care center.

FREE CHILD CARE FOR ALL WORKING PEOPLE!  
KICK POLICE SCIENCE OFF CAMPUS!  
SERVE THE PEOPLE!



# FREE, SAFE ABORTIONS

On February 11th, about 100 women (and men) demonstrated in front of the Los Angeles Hall of Justice demanding the immediate repeal of all abortion laws, free abortions available to all women who WANT them, and an end to the prosecution of those who have had and/or performed abortions. The women picketed, handed out leaflets to passers-by, and chanted "FREE ABORTIONS" and "REPEAL THE LAWS NOW," for about an hour. As the crowd gathered together to listen to the scheduled speakers, a "respectable-looking" businessman yelled out, "You broads don't know what you're talking about — you just want to create chaos. You need chastity belts, not abortions!"

"Women are not demanding free abortions just for the hell of it," the first speaker explained. "We are denied access to basic information about birth control at the same time as we are penalized and made to feel guilty about getting pregnant. Unjust abortion laws are just one of the *many* ways women are maintained in an inferior position in this society. Don't tell us we don't know what we're talking about! No one knows better than women — we are not even allowed to decide if and when we will have children or how many we will have. We want the fundamental right to control our own bodies, and that does not merely mean being fed experimental birth control pills that are medically unsound. We will no longer be treated as child-producing slaves of the state or as the private property of men."

The second speaker, a female psychiatrist from UCLA, charged that the existing abortion laws are anti-poor and white supremacist. She talked about the difficulty of obtaining a legal, therapeutic abortion. "We must first submit ourselves to the degrading process of scrutiny by a board of medical doctors. We are then granted an abortion only if it is performed in an accredited hospital, approved in advance by a hospital committee of at least 2 doctors, and done before the 20th week. And what are the criteria for getting a therapeutic abortion? The woman must prove that (1) the pregnancy resulted from rape or incest (she must supply the name, address, phone number, social security number, etc., of the rapist) or (2) she will die as a result of giving birth, or (3) she is 'Mentally Unstable.' Many women, driven by necessity to declare 'mental instability' in order to get abortions, are haunted for the rest of their lives by the 'voluntary' admission. For poor women, especially, it becomes incredibly difficult to find decent employment afterwards."

Poor women who are granted therapeutic abortions are often coerced into being sterilized. Black and Chicano women, in particular, are threatened with welfare check stoppage and with the argument that "over-population is becoming rampant; the whole world is going to starve, and you can't even support your kids." What we must realize is that in a society which denies its people adequate free medical care, housing, and food because it is not profitable, this "scientific" Malthusian argument merely becomes an excuse for wiping out poor and working people, with the colored peoples all over the world the first to go! For example, of the 5-7 daily sterilizations at County General Hospital in Los Angeles, 80% are performed on black and brown sisters.

Other speakers at the rally cited amazing statistics illustrating how women are forced to turn to the medically dangerous, illegal abortion profiteering racket. Therapeutic abortions are both expensive and hard to get — in fact only 2% of the 1 million abortions performed annually in the United States are legally sanctioned. 5,000-10,000 women die each year, butchered by self-ordained abortionists who know nothing of safe medical procedures. And this figure does not even take into account the thousands of women who attempt to abort themselves by doing everything from using coat hangers to douching with All Detergent (!) to committing suicide!

A woman who had recently been busted with another sister for doing abortion counseling told the crowd about how she was treated like an "Imbecile" (a dumb chick) by the cops. "The men in power cannot stand women getting and exercising control over their own bodies. We demand that Evell Younger (L.A. District Attorney) drop charges against us or prosecute every woman in the entire state who has been complicitous to abortion. And since over half of the women in this country have had abortions at one time or another in their lives, he is going to have quite some job."

Unfortunately, the speakers generally gave a very one-sided view of abortion. They made it sound as if having a child was the worst misfortune that could befall woman. We must make it clear, however, that it is a society based on private property and the



WOMEN ACROSS THE NATION DEMAND ABORTION LAW REPEAL

exploitation of one human being by another for wealth, which makes children into a burden rather than a source of happiness. In socialist countries like North Vietnam, China, and Cuba, abortion is the legal right of all women who want or need one. Few women, however, exercise this right, for they are also guaranteed free access to birth control, and the traditional "woman's work" of cooking, cleaning, laundry, and caring for the children is shared equally by men and women of the community. The people build free child care cooperatives, and free decent medical care, food, clothing, and housing, are available to all. So while abortions can be obtained for *free*, women do not face the same awful choice they do in America.

Further, the speakers tended to glorify abortion and abortionists. Abortion is not the panacea to all our problems. And while there are a few good abortionists around who have tried to help women gain their rights, for the most part, abortion has become a very lucrative racket and many men have grown fat by capitalizing upon their sisters' miseries.

The militancy of the protest was dampened by the continual stress on the electoral aspects of the abortion issue, such as pressuring liberal legislators to repeal abortion laws, working through the courts, and petition campaigns. This line was pushed most consistently by the Communist Party—United States of America. The legal fight for our rights *as women* is vital, but we must realize that in and of themselves, reforms cannot put an end to male supremacy. We do not ask the iron hand to don the traditional velvet glove. The oppression of women is a mainstay of the capitalist system, and it is just that system we will

have to destroy if we are ever to gain our freedom! However, throughout the demonstration, the CPUSA consistently held down the level of struggle to pure reformism. Rather than taking every chance to expose the inherent contradictions between the liberation of women and the system of imperialism, the CP leadership felt it was more "effective" to attempt to win reforms by allying with the liberal bourgeoisie like Judge Paul ("we love you") Mast of Orange County. As if male supremacy or imperialism could be reformed or legislated out of existence! Therefore, it is no wonder that the CP would consider a response on the abortion issue from the District Attorney more noteworthy than seizing the opportunity to build a mass movement of women who are conscious not only of their own oppression, but also understand the relationship of that oppression to imperialism. This attitude of capitulation also explains why the demonstration consisted solely of students and professional women. Though much lip-service was given to reaching working-class women, in practice the organizers of the protest felt that it was more crucial to hold press conferences and to demand the D.A.'s office to prosecute them for abortion *than* to do mass agitation and propaganda among working class women. (The majority of publicity about the demonstration was focused on the campuses.)

Not only was the action attended predominantly by professionals and students, it was also almost completely white. There were no black or Chicano organizations officially supporting the demonstration and no blacks or Chicanos spoke. This is not because

# IMPERIALISM & WHITE SUPREMACY...

by Mike Klonsky

There has been much debate lately about the subject of white supremacy and white-skin privilege. Some of the differences which have arisen about what this system of imperialism really is and how it is related to white supremacy have done so because RYM members and RYM publications have been vague and confused. Other differences are due to the fact that movement people today (just as always) are the victims of white supremacy and white chauvinism at the same time that they oppose them.

White supremacy is an integral part of U.S. imperialism and is so inextricably bound to this system that nobody can take on U.S. imperialism without, at the same time, attacking white supremacy, the cornerstone upon which it is built.

## WHAT IS IMPERIALISM?

Imperialism is simply the system of capitalism in its final stage of development where a small group of monopolies and controllers of finance capital dominate most of the world. In its monopoly stage, capitalism and capitalist corporations export capital as well as commodities around the world, and exploit the workers of countries around the globe as well as those right here in the heart of the monster. So we see the wealth of the world concentrated into the hands of a few and the masses of the world's people coming into sharp contradiction with this elite class. This in part explains the character of the class struggle in the world today, in 1970, where the sharpest blows being struck against U.S. imperialism are coming from the oppressed nations of the world (mostly people of color). These nations, then, have become the strongest ally of the U.S. working class, in its long, difficult struggle to topple the system of imperialism and exploitation and replace it with socialism and a society free from both oppression of poor people and the oppression of some nations by others.

## BLACK LABOR

The system of imperialism here in the U.S. was born in the slave trade of the 19th century. As W.E.B. DuBois wrote: *"It was thus the black worker, as founding stone of a new economic system in the nineteenth century and for the modern world, who brought civil war to America... The dark and vast sea of human labor in China and India, the South Seas and all Africa; in the West Indies and Central America and in the United States -- that great majority of mankind, on whose bent, broken backs rest today the founding stones of modern industry -- shares a common destiny..."*

(W.E.B. DuBois, *BLACK RECONSTRUCTION IN AMERICA, 1860-1880, p.15*)

It was mostly black Africans, from many tribes and many peoples, speaking many languages, who were brought here in chains on slave ships (upon which millions died on the way) and concentrated in the deep South, who formed the bulk of the labor force in that area for hundreds of years. During that time, these enslaved millions evolved a common language, economic life (a developed class structure with a black bourgeoisie and proletariat in the late half of the 19th century), common territory, common psychological make-up developed out of years of common oppression and manifested in a community of culture. In other words, a nation was born out of slavery and oppression.

## NATIONS

It was not unusual for capitalism to give birth to nations. In fact, this is exactly how the modern nations as we know them were all developed. As Stalin wrote in *MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION*, *"The process of elimination of feudalism and development of capitalism was at the same time a process of amalgamation of people into nations."*

It was only later (approximately 1917) that black people, like many other members of oppressed nations, colonized by imperialism, were driven from their homeland, robbed of their land and culture, and sent by the thousands throughout the U.S. to serve as cheap labor for the growing industrial state (mostly for the war industry). Until today we find that nearly a majority of black people have been driven from the South, imprisoned in ghettos, and along with a

majority of Puerto Ricans, likewise driven from their nation, and Chicanos and Chinese, form the most exploited sector of the U.S. working class, the oppressed national minorities.

## DIVISION OF THE WORLD

The division of the world among the imperialist powers and the colonization of the people of color around the world was no accident. This was a necessary direction for the capitalist system to take. Lenin quotes Cecil Rhodes, the British imperialist, telling of an extraordinary experience in 1895:

*"I was in the East End of London (working class quarter) yesterday and attended a meeting of the unemployed. I listened to the wild speeches, which were just a cry for 'bread!' and on my way home I pondered over the scene and I became more than ever convinced of the importance of imperialism... My cherished idea is a solution for the social problem, i.e., in order to save the 40,000,000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom from bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced in the factories and mines. The Empire, as I have always said is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists."*

(Lenin, *IMPERIALISM, THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM, p.93.*)

So we see that in order to preserve the stability of the capitalist country and save temporarily, the capitalists from working-class revolution, imperialism, colonialism, violence and war were necessary. This should be a lesson for those in the peace movement who still believe that peace is possible under the system of imperialism. As long as there is imperialism, there will be wars of liberation and wars between the imperialists themselves to divide up the spoils of world domination.

## OPPORTUNISM

In order to keep the system intact at home, the imperialists used many methods to divide their class enemy, the workers. A united working class, in alliance with the oppressed nations around the world would certainly mean the destruction of capitalism and its parasite class of millionaires. Large numbers of workers had to be brought to the allegiance of the capitalists if they were to have people to fight their wars for them and keep the oppressed divided. Even before the rise of imperialism, Marx wrote about the manner in which the Irish workers were divided from the English workers. Ireland was and is a colony of England:

*"Owing to the constantly increasing concentration of tenant farming, Ireland steadily supplies its own surplus to the English labor market, and thus forces down the wages and lowers the moral and material condition of the English working class."*

*"And most important of all! Every industrial and commercial center in England now possesses a working class divided into two hostile camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he feels himself a member of the ruling nation and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists of his country against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself. He cherishes religious, social and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude towards him is much the same as that of the 'poor whites' to the 'niggers' in the former slave states of the U.S.A. The Irishman pays him back in interest in his own money. He sees in the English worker at once an accomplice and the stupid tool of the English rule in Ireland."*

(Marx in a letter to S. Meyer and A. Vogt, April 9, 1870)

The willingness of a section or sections of the working class to unite on the side of the capitalists against other workers is called "opportunism." Opportunism takes on different forms. The tremendous superprofits bled from the Third World and from domestic workers, makes it possible for the imperialists to bribe a small section of workers. This aristocracy of labor, primarily the union leaders and a small group of workers in a given industry or nation who are paid much more than the rest of the class

and are free from much class oppression; this privileged stratum of workers, is responsible for pushing the ideology of the ruling class among the workers and are the leaders of the opportunists.

## WHITE SUPREMACY

Another form of opportunism affects many more workers, in fact most of the white workers in this country. This form is white supremacy and white chauvinism, the ideological bulwark for U.S. imperialism. White supremacy and chauvinism is rampant even among the poorest of white workers. The material basis for white supremacy and chauvinism is the uneven distribution of privilege among the working class, in the case to white workers. Whites in the U.S. have a monopoly on the skilled trades, union leadership, and the ability to promote an occasional member of their ranks out of the working class. Black workers have a near-monopoly on the jails, the front lines in Vietnam, the worst jobs, and the lynching tree.

Lenin wrote much about national chauvinism as a principle form of opportunism, a form which would permit a section of the proletariat "to be led by men bought by, or at least paid by the bourgeoisie." In America, national chauvinism means white, anglo-nation chauvinism and supremacy. The main aspect of white supremacy is the oppression of the black nation in the deep South. Just as the oppression of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. is rooted in the oppression of Puerto Rico; just as the oppression of Irish workers in England was rooted in the oppression of the Irish nation; just as the oppression of Chicano people in the U.S. has its roots in the oppression of Mexico; so the murderous oppression of black people in the ghettos of the U.S. relates directly to the genocidal attack over a 400-year period, on the black nation, and only through the liberation of the black nation and other oppressed nations can white supremacy and national chauvinism be ended. In other words, as long as imperialism exists, white supremacy will exist as the principle for opportunism among the workers in this country. For us who are fighting imperialism in the heart of the monster, this means a relentless attack on white supremacy as well as opportunism of all kinds. We cannot say simply that "imperialism is the enemy" and let it go at that. As Lenin said, "The most dangerous of all in this respect are those who do not wish to understand that the fight against imperialism is a sham and a humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism." (Lenin, *Imperialism, p.153.*)

## ATTACK ON PRIVILEGE

White workers have got to see that privilege over black workers is their enemy because it ties them to their real enemy, the boss. As Noel Ignatin writes in his pamphlet, "The White Blindspot",

*"...in order to draw upon the strength of the Negro people's movement, the white workers must, first of all, break the links which tie them to the bosses (to the 'leading-strings' of the ruling classes,' as Marx wrote to Kugelmann) by repudiating the white supremacist contract."*

When we have spoken before of "repudiating white-skin privilege" and fighting on the side of the black workers, people have accused us of "guilt organizing" and said, "you can't ask white workers to give up anything, after all, they're getting screwed too."

While it is certainly true that white workers are getting screwed, and in fact there exists a contradiction between them and the imperialists that is irreconcilable, they do have to sacrifice their white supremacist position with the class for class unity is to be built. Fighting privilege does not mean asking the boss to be fired or demanding a cut in pay. However, it may mean losing your life just as any struggle demands sacrifice. But who has known and learned sacrifice better than working people. In practice, this means support for so-called "black demands" and black caucuses, demanding an end to the infamous "white caucus" in the plant, and even the promotion of black workers out of the racist seniority pattern to make up for years of Jim Crow in the unions. In general, it means that white workers have to make common cause with the struggles of the black

continued on page 9

# HARVESTER SHUT DOWN!

*This leaflet was given to workers at International Harvester's Tractor Works in Chicago by a militant caucus of organizers working in the plant. IH is planning a plant shutdown this spring which will mean the layoff of 2,400 workers.*



## TRACTOR WORKERS'

### DEFENDER

#### THE ONLY WAY TO STOP THE SHUTDOWN

#### TAKE THE PLANT AND HOLD IT!

The time for action is drawing near. GET READY. We're not going out of here without a fight. The so-called union officials are preparing to sign a shutdown agreement. Let them sign agreements until they get writer's cramp. *We are the ones who make tractors.* There is no such thing as a good shutdown agreement.

There is only one way to stop the shutdown. Union negotiations won't do it. Court injunctions won't do it. The mayor won't do it.

#### THE ONLY ONE WHO CAN DO IT IS YOU

The company needs production. If we disrupt their smooth, orderly transfer of operations, they will be as up-tight as a goat in a tiger cage.

#### PREPARE THE STRIKE, THEN STRIKE TO WIN!

We're not going to commit decisive forces before we're ready, although there might be some trial operations. And when we lay down tools, we're not going out on the street where they can freeze us out.

We're going to stay right in the plant. If they come in to throw us out, we will defend ourselves by any means necessary. Let them worry about their machines and their smooth phase-out.

The company and the UAW officials will scream black power, communist takeover, law and order. They will curse us till they are hoarse. Let them scream. Once we take over, we mean to stay until we win. And we are going to be all together — black, brown and white, women and men, Democrats, Republicans, Third Party and everybody else.

#### GET READY

Talk to your wives and families. We will need food brought in from the outside. We will need to organize defense, security, public relations, and everything necessary for a serious battle.

GET READY... ORGANIZE... GET READY... ORGANIZE... GET READY... ORGANIZE...  
GET READY... ORGANIZE... GET READY... ORGANIZE... GET READY... ORGANIZE...

#### A PAGE FROM HISTORY

On Dec. 30, 1936, the workers at the Chevrolet plant in Flint, Michigan, sat down. They held the plant for 44 days. Their action forced GM to give in to their demands for union recognition, an end to speed up and a wage increase.

For 44 days they held out against court injunctions, the police, GM's private cops, the National Guard and everything else GM could throw at them. The strike slogan was — Damn the injunction, damn the courts, damn the army, and double damn General Motors.

The men organized committees for defense, security, education, food distribution, entertainment and public relations. They banned liquor and gambling from the plant, and made their beds on car seats. They published a mimeographed newspaper, the entertainment committee put on jazz concerts and plays. The education committee gave classes in labor history, Negro history, English and strike tactics.

A very important role in the strike was played by wives and families of the strikers. They organized a womans auxiliary flying squad, and formed a mass picket line outside the plant, which prevented the police and guards from getting in and kept the food supply line open to the men. About half way through the strike, GM decided to starve the men out by breaking up the food line. They called out the cops against the pickets, and then followed the Battle of Bull Run — so called because the bulls ran. Although 14 pickets, including strikers wives, were hurt the lines were kept open.

After 10 days in the plant, when the governor threatened to send in the Guard, the strikers announced that they would fight to the last man. GM and the governor backed down.

When GM threatened to turn off the heat in the plant, the strikers threw open the windows, freezing the firefighting equipment and causing GM's insurance to cancel them out.

Again on the 40th day, the governor threatened to use the Guard. The men replied that they would not be moved and that they would defend themselves.

Finally, 3 days later, GM gave in.

The men marched out, bearded, tired and happy. They had brought mighty GM to its knees.

#### THE FLINT STRIKE IS HISTORY

WE ARE GOING TO MAKE HISTORY AT TRACTOR WORKS

فلسطين الحرة

# Free Palestine

by Susan Eanet

"When we occupy the land...we shall expropriate the private property on the estates assigned to us, we shall try to spirit out the penniless population across the border by procuring employment for it in the transit countries, and by denying it any employment in our country...Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly..."

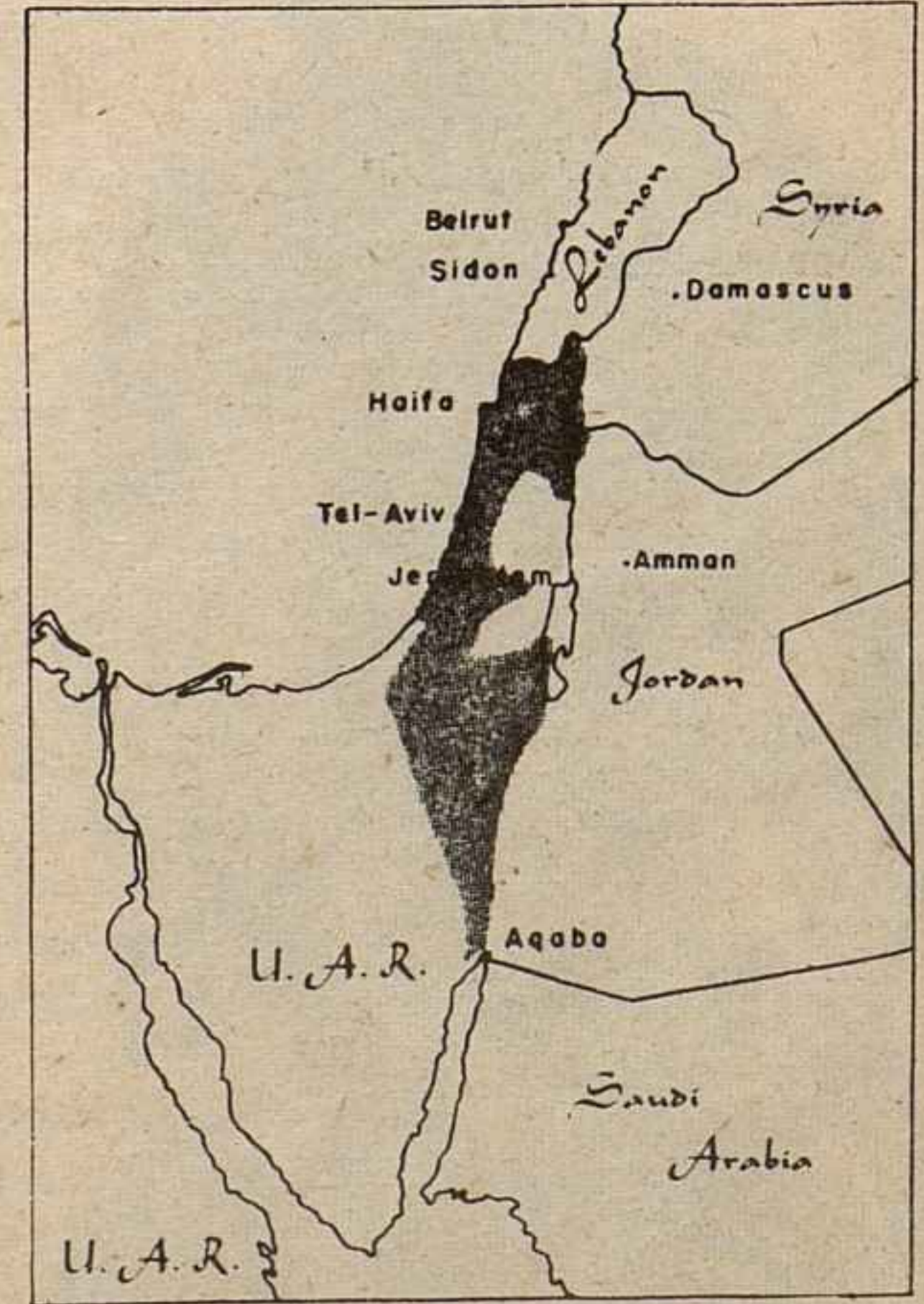
(From THE COMPLETE DIARIES OF THEODORE HERZL, Vol.I, p.88.)

The aggression against the Palestinians by Zionism and imperialism is a historical fact. The land of the Palestinian people was seized forcibly, and turned over to the Zionists for the formation of the Jewish state. This aggression was met by armed resistance. Theodore Herzl was dead wrong when he wrote that the "penniless population" could be "spirited away." Nothing short of armed terrorism by the Zionists was necessary in order to remove the Palestinians from their land.

## ZIONISM AND OUR MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.

In 1965, SNCC released a statement in support of the Palestinian struggle. They did this at a certain organizational risk. SNCC depended heavily for money to maintain its southern projects on liberals, including many prominent Jewish Americans. Some of the more famous "civil rights supporters" such as Theodore Bikel withdrew their endorsement and financial support from SNCC over this question, and accused SNCC of "black racism" and anti-semitism. SNCC could have chosen to put its own organizational survival first, and kept silent on the question of the Middle East. SNCC was also the first organization to oppose the Vietnam war. Keeping silent at the expense of the international struggle would have betrayed the Vietnamese, the Palestinians, and all the oppressed people.

The Black Panther Party has likewise refused to be intimidated by threats against it from liberal Zionists who have objected to its up-front position of full support for Al Fatah, the Palestine national liberation movement. It has exposed Zionism within the ranks of the movement. It has shown that white chauvinism here is allied with Zionism.



Areas Conquered 1949

They are spending a lot of money on such projects as "Jewish Free Universities" at local colleges in L.A., "Jewish Radical" organizations and newspapers, whose principle of unity is support for Israel under the guise of being revolutionary.

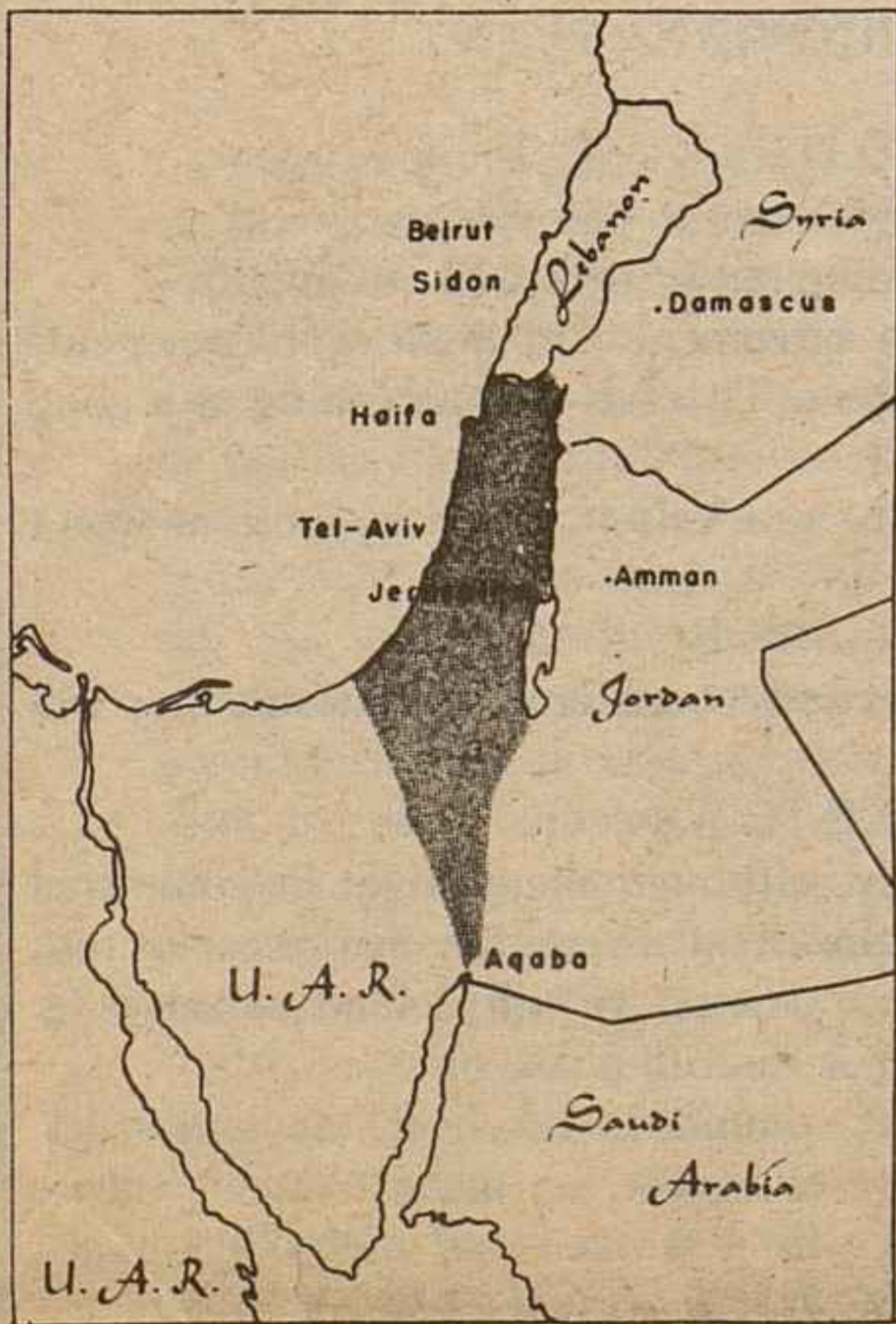
## "NEW" ZIONISM

A good example of this "new breed" of Zionist propaganda, aimed at left-liberal young people, is the Israeli journalist Amos Kenan who is now on a speaking tour of the U.S. Kenan is advertised as a deserter from the Israeli Army. He refused to help exterminate a Palestinian village in 1957. However, he stood by and watched the people being killed and he has never raised an arm to assist the Palestinians, who are clearly being threatened with genocide. Now he is representing himself as an "Israeli leftist" about what he feels is the "solution" to the "Arab Problem." His proposal is that a small area inside of Israel should be sectioned off and given back to the Palestinians for an independent state, the new homeland of the Palestinians. Kenan does not support the basic Palestinian rights, such as the right of repatriation (being allowed to return to their old homes, farmlands, etc.). He feels that this new separate Palestinian state is a workable solution which would not interfere with the Jewish state.

Amos Kenan spoke at the Haymarket last week. He put forth the idea that:

1. Jews are a nation which has been separated from its homeland, Israel.
2. Zionism is the Jewish National Liberation Movement.
3. Israel should partition off a separate area for an independent Palestinian state.
4. The Palestinians should not be allowed to return to Israel because then it wouldn't be a Jewish state anymore.
5. The Israelis are the "Vietcong" of the Middle East, because they will fight to the last man.

Why is this solution, put forth by Kenan and many other Zionists unacceptable? Because the creation of a "client" state of Palestine, would still not deal with the basic needs of the Palestinian nation, such as to return to their farms and homes, to their relatives and their places of worship and culture, from which they were driven by the Zionists. It would not solve the terrible poverty of the Palestinian refugees, for what industry, what development would be possible in a tiny, undeveloped "instant" state with no resources and totally dependent on the outside for commodities. What jobs for the people? What restitution for the destroyed homes and lives of thousands and thousands of Palestinians? The surrounding Arab states, have never been safe from having portions of their land seized by Israel in the last 20 years (see map). If Jordan, Egypt and Syria have been invaded by Israel, how can the smaller Palestinian nation accept a meager piece of what is rightfully their land, along with the constant threat of a new total invasion by Israel. What assures that Israel will allow this "independent state" to arm itself for defense from genocide?



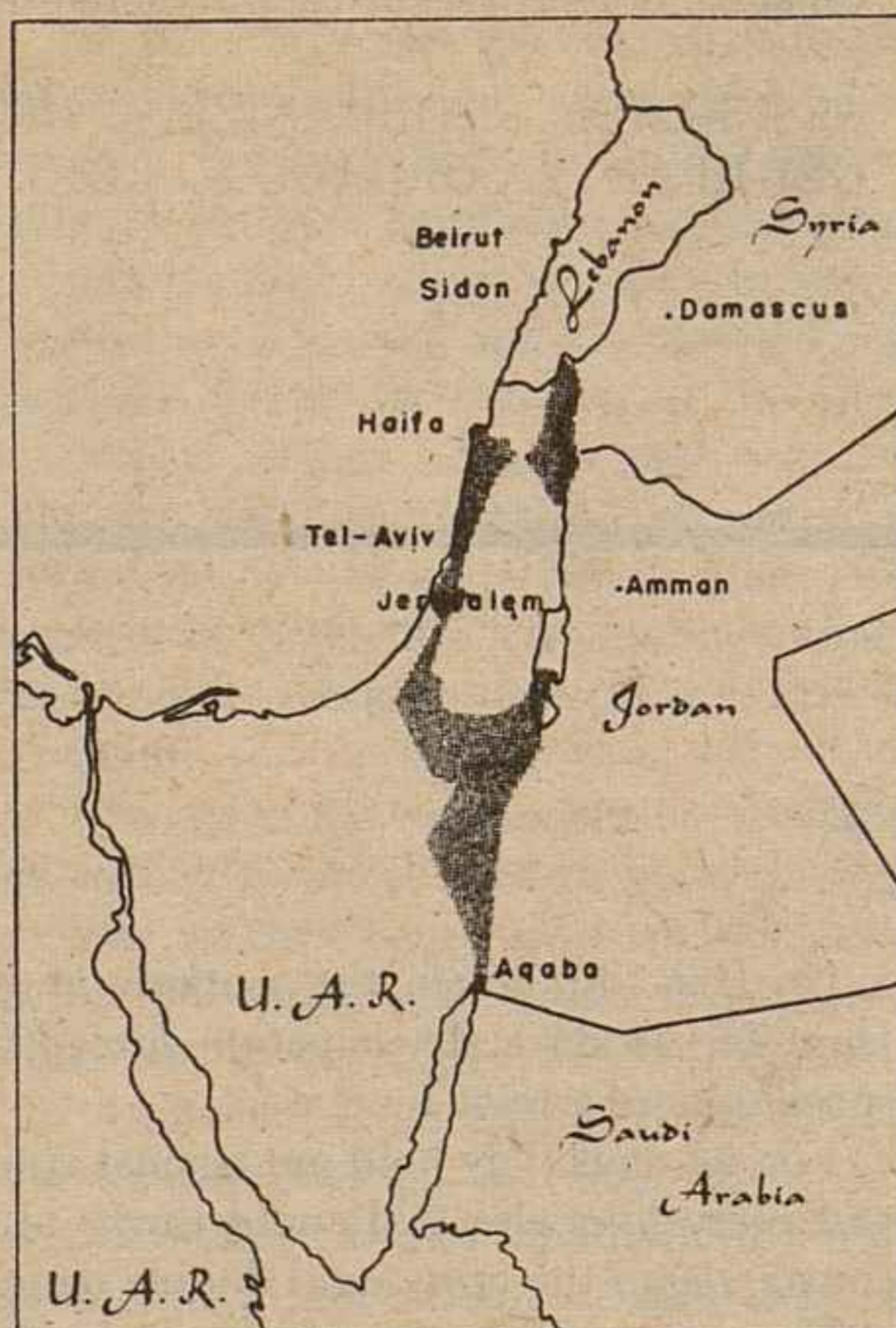
Original Land of Palestine

Theodore Herzl, one of the founders of Zionism, laid out the master plan for the seizure of Arab lands as early as 1893. This strategy, for establishing the state of Israel on the land that belongs to the Palestinian Arab Nation, has been carried out pretty much to the letter ever since, by the Zionist movement with the assistance of imperialist nations.

The war in the Middle East is clearly becoming one of the main life-and-death struggles against imperialism; it is among the oldest anti-colonial, anti-imperialist wars in the world. Since 1930, constant struggles by the workers and peasants of the Arab nations, led by the Palestinian nation, have been waged against foreign domination and exploitation. The theft of the land of the Palestinian nation by the organized forces of Zionism and British imperialism began at the end of World War I. It was met by revolts and armed struggle which have never ceased.

But so much mythology and lies surround the political history and current situation in the Middle East that most Americans don't know the truth about the war there. Using the tools of slander, white chauvinism, and religious mythology, the U.S. and British ruling classes have managed to cover up their real purposes in the Middle East. Look at any newspaper cartoon portraying Israel and the Arab peoples: they try to make the Arab look like a bloodthirsty, conniving, sneaky rat; and the Israeli is a straightforward, clean, brave, white, All-American. Although many people in the U.S. have been fooled by the imperialist support for Israel, the people of the world have not been fooled. The people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America stand firmly in support of the struggle to liberate Palestine for the Palestinians.

In the past few weeks we have seen the deliberate Israeli bombings and the napalming of Arab hospitals, factories and villages, and refugee camps in Egypt and Jordan. It must be recognized that this new wave of aggression against the Arab people is only the latest in a history of aggression. From the first time Palestinian Arabs were driven from their homes by the early Zionist "pioneers" there have been Palestinian refugees. Following the U.N. creation of the official state of Israel in 1947, over 1 1/2 million Palestinians were driven into refugee camps outside of Palestine. The first official act of the Haganah, the Israeli Army, was to massacre two hundred and fifty inhabitants of the Palestinian village of Deir Yassin, who wished to remain at home in their village.



State Granted to Zionists by U.N. 5/47

These two organizations have shown the way for the movement. They have not put themselves first. They have not put their subjective feelings first. They have put POLITICS IN COMMAND and lined up with the anti-imperialist struggle. Many so-called progressive people in the U.S. have used the Panther support for Al Fatah as their excuse for not supporting the black liberation struggle. This is nothing but a cover for white chauvinism; siding with Israel against the people of color, the Arabs, who surround Israel. The Panthers have consistently published informative, historical articles about the history of Palestine, Zionism, and the current guerilla war in their newspaper.

We should follow the lead of these organizations in unmasking the Zionism in the movement, educating ourselves, and getting rid of white chauvinism and Zionism wherever they appear.

As the struggle intensifies in the Middle East, more and more people are coming to realize the truth and side with the oppressed nation Palestine. The Zionists are working around the clock to produce propaganda designed to win American youth to support them.

فلسطين الحرة

# Free Palestine

Proposals like this one are sure to be promoted by imperialists. Just as the cutting in two of the nations of Korea and Vietnam into North and South were pushed by the imperialists in the United Nations, these solutions hope to divide, isolate and disarm oppressed nations. The solutions never work because these nations cannot be split in two by a line drawn on a map.

So Kenan, under the disguise of being a great friend of the Palestinian people, is really trying to set up a way out for the Zionists; a way to avoid returning the stolen land and a way of appearing to oppose Zionism. These phony proposals must be exposed. They are common here in our movement among those who try and hide their basically Zionist positions. We must openly support the right of Palestinians to liberate their nation.

## THE MYTH OF PROGRESSIVE ISRAEL

Let's look at some of the commonly asked questions about Zionism and Palestine Liberation.

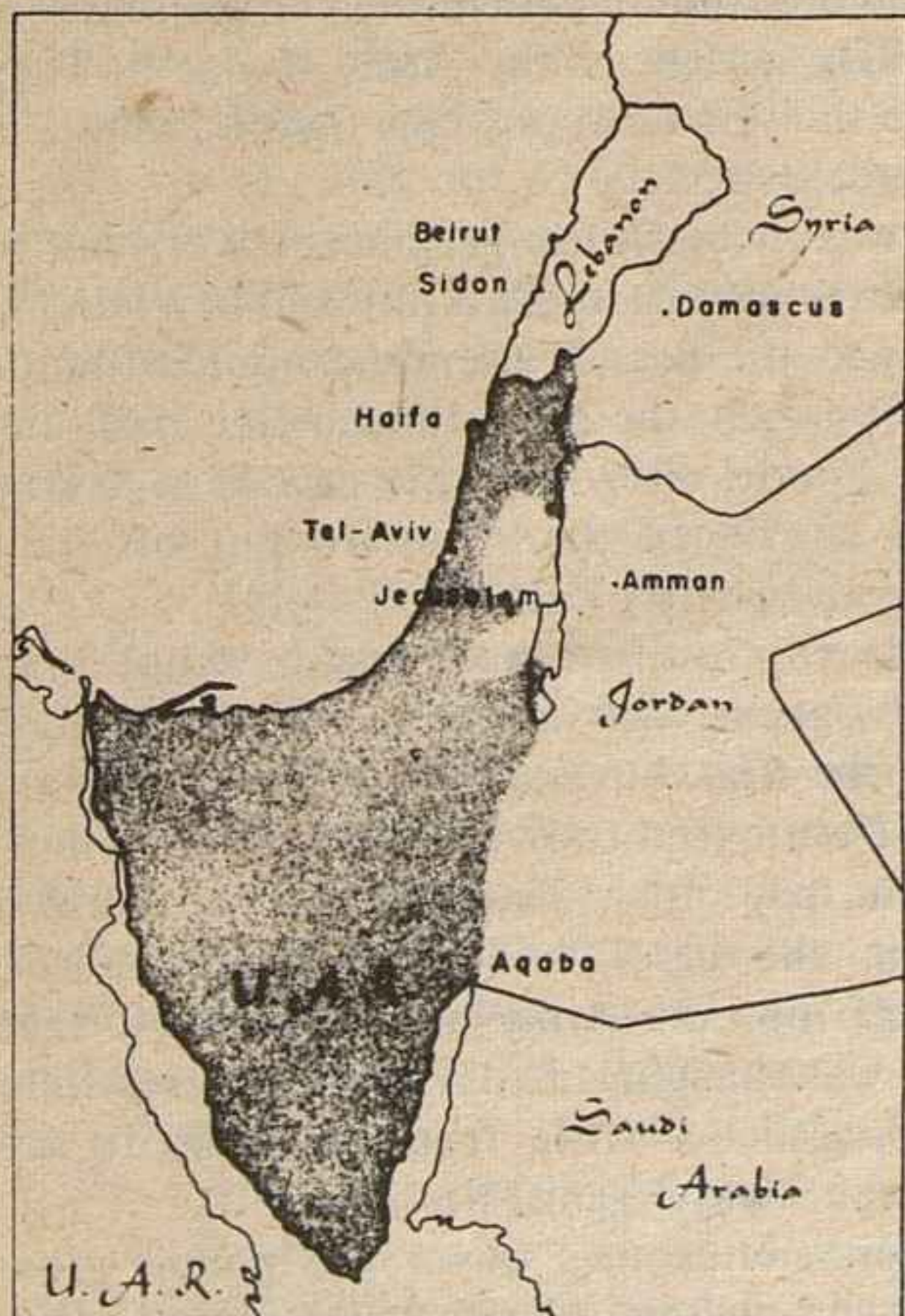
1. "Isn't Israel a socialist nation?" This "progressive, socialistic" image is pushed consciously by the Zionists. They want their country to look as democratic as possible.

In the early settlements in Israel, throughout the struggle for statehood, collective farms were started. These walled settlements served 3 main purposes: first, they were agricultural developments which helped launch the Israeli economy; second, they excluded Arabs from working the land or obtaining employment in the rural areas; third, they were excellent defense fortresses, they were the only way the Zionist settlers could survive after occupying Arab lands.

Today the "border kibbutz" is a virtual garrison, an outpost of Israeli expansion.

The main thing is that no socialist state can be built on the backs of dead Palestinians, or any other nation. No socialism can be built on land stolen from another nation, and armed and financed by imperialism. A socialist nation does not bomb and napalm workers in the factories of its neighboring states.

Some people have the idea that because the Zionists fought and won a war of independence against the British, they are therefore a revolutionary country. Examining the development of Israel, we can see how independence was an economic necessity, once Israel began to develop its own capitalism. Industrialization, the economic stimulation of World War II, brought about a boom in Israel. A contradiction developed between Israel, the British Colony, and Britain, the mother country. But even while fighting the bloody war against the British, the Zionist would still ally with the British when it came to a question of driving the Arabs off the land, or putting down an Arab revolt.

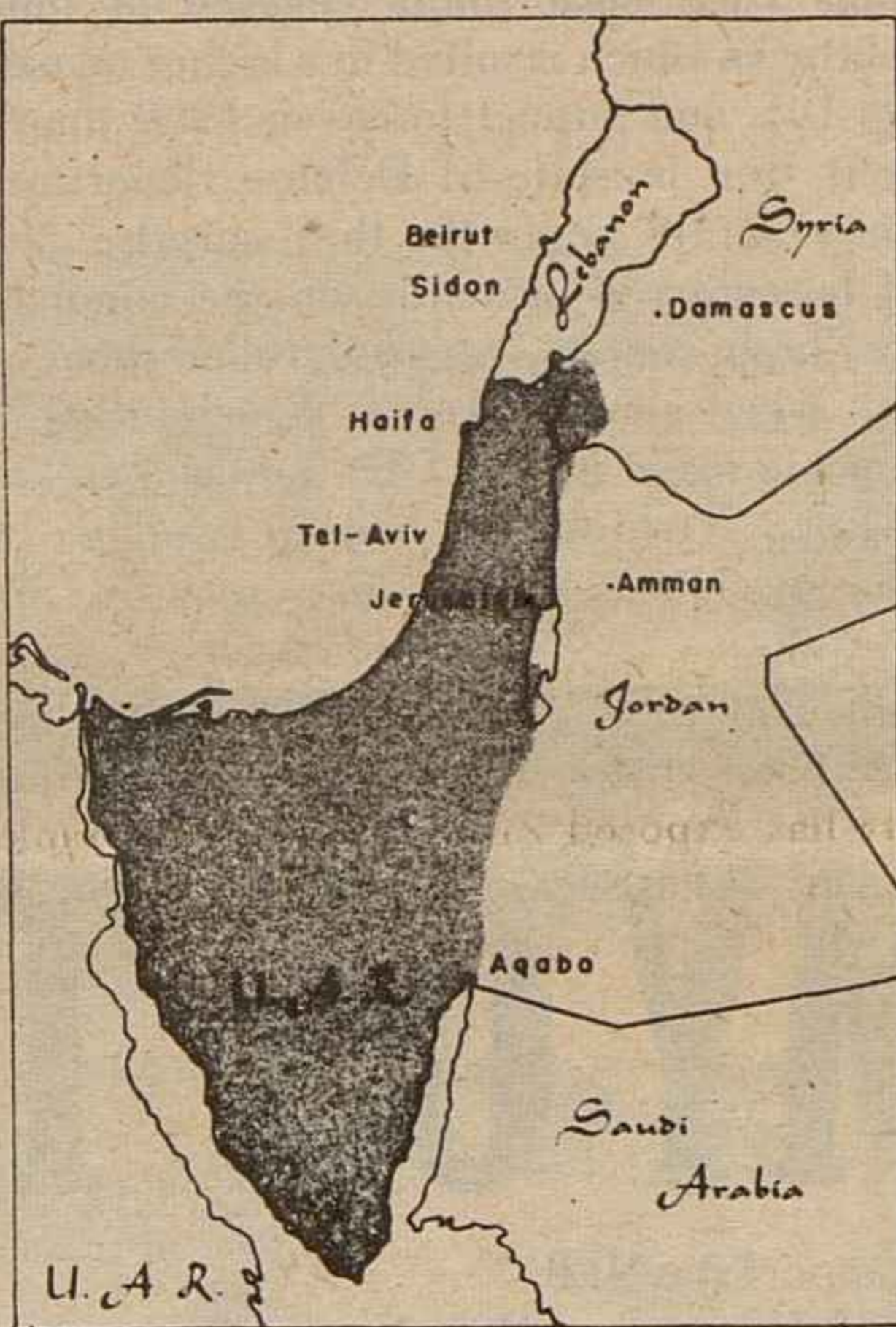


Area Occupied 1956

The ambition of the founders of Zionism had always been to build a Jewish state, with Jewish labor, a Jewish working class. This meant from the beginning, excluding Arabs from employment. As Israeli capitalism grew more freely, the Palestinian Arabs were used as a reserve force of cheap labor, in the dirty mineral mines, in road building, and pipe-laying in the desert.

2. "But what about the sufferings and genocide of the Jews in Europe?"

This is the main subjective argument that was used to win world sympathy to the Zionist aggression following World War II. As an excuse for all the anti-Jewish hatred, pogroms, and genocide which the ruling classes of Europe and the U.S. have ever permitted and promoted, these imperialists suddenly started acting like the best friends of the Jewish people -- a few years too late.



Area Occupied 1967

It is obvious that the U.S. government knew quite well what was happening to the European Jews as early as 1936. It would have been quite possible to save millions of Jews in emigrating to the U.S. and escaping from the Nazi massacre. The U.S. could have saved the Jews of Europe and it didn't. It didn't because it needed to allow a situation which would mobilize world sympathy in favor of the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine. Today Israel is the stronghold of U.S. imperialism in the Middle East.

So the first fact is that the blame for the tragedy of the genocide in Europe must be placed in large part on U.S. imperialism. The Zionists say that the Nazi massacres "proved" the need for a Jewish state.

The second fact is that because people have been oppressed before does not give them the right to then turn around and oppress others. Using the argument that the wronged should now wrong is another excuse for imperialism.

3. "The Arabs will kill all the Jews. We have to save the Jews from another genocide."

This is the biggest lie that is constantly repeated about the struggle to liberate Palestine. The ruling class newspapers tell us that the Arabs intend to commit genocide, to "drive them into the sea" is the frequently quoted threat that somebody is supposed to have made. Quoted below is the actual position of Al Fatah and the National Palestine Council (a coalition of liberation organizations), of which the chairman of Al Fatah is also the chairman. This position concerns relations between Palestinians and Jews:

### PRINCIPLES OF THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE (quoted in FREE PALESTINE)

1. Abolition of the Zionist entity in Palestine does not necessarily mean the removal of Jews from Palestine.

2. Acceptance of the right of Jews to Palestinian citizenship, but rejection of any right of the Jews to a national presence.

3. No special rights for Jewish citizens full participation and full civil rights assured for all Jews. A constant vigilance against anti-semitism and racialism against Jews.

4. Just as spiritual ties do not give any political rights or privileges to Christians or Moslems, the spiritual ties of Jews do not bestow on them political rights in Palestine. Jews are a religion and not a nation.



Having answered some of the fundamental questions about Palestine, we will move on in the next issue to some of the history of imperialist aggression in the Middle East countries, and about the guerilla movements there. For those who would like to read and study more about Palestine, there is a newspaper printed in English by the Palestine liberation movement FREE PALESTINE is available from RYM. Send 25c for a sample copy to RYM.

In coming issues, we will have more articles about the struggle and what we can do to support it.

PALESTINE FOR PALESTINIANS! DEFEAT U.S. IMPERIALISM AND ZIONISM! EXPOSE "LEFT" ZIONISM! SUPPORT AL FATAH!



# VIETNAMESE IN VANCOUVER

The Vancouver Peace Conference held February 7 and 8 was called to initiate international protests against the war in Vietnam. Demanding immediate withdrawal, the protests will take place April 15.

The conference was attended by 100 predominantly white and elderly representatives of the U.S. and Canadian peace movement. The Black Panther Party did attend, as did some Chicano youth, but there was no representation from the local Canadian student movement (rumor had it that they were barred from attending the meeting).

Three representatives of the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam addressed the conference. Tran Cong Tuong, North Vietnamese delegate to the Paris talks, explained the importance of building a strong broad-based movement united around ending the war in Vietnam. He told the story of the 2,000 year old struggle of the Vietnamese people for liberation; first against the feudal Chinese, then against the French, then the Japanese, the French again, and now against the Americans.

He asked the conference members to go home and explain to the American people that Nixon's "peace plans" are nothing but a hoax, and that his "troop withdrawals" are just "droplets" which will never bring the war to an end. "During the last year under Mr. Nixon," Tuong explained, "the war had been intensified in South Vietnam, the tonnage of bombs dropped has been over half of the total tonnage of the four years of the Johnson Administration, equal to the tonnage dropped over Europe in the Second World War."

"Mr. Nixon pretends that Song My is an isolated case - this is not true! In November of last year during an operation, eight battalions of American GI's were mobilized to carry out a sweep in an area of Quan Nam Province, in which they killed over 700 civilians in a village. It is a crime to drop 1,200,000 tons of bombs during 1969 in Vietnam," said Tuong. "It is a crime to carry out the policy of 'vietnamization.' It is a crime to condemn American youth to death in Vietnam."

A half dozen workshops were held to discuss how to build support for the Spring protests. In the workshop on *Racism, Poverty and Repression*, many spoke of the attacks on the Black Panthers. One man from Long Beach saw this attack as a "precursor" to an attack on the anti-war movement. The representatives from RYM who attended the conference tried to put forward the fight against white supremacy as key to building the united anti-war movement that the Vietnamese had asked for. We called for this not just to make the anti-war movement bigger as one woman suggested, but to show how the war against the people of Vietnam is the same as the genocidal attacks on people of color all over the world, whether it is in South Africa, the Middle East, or on 41st and Central. The attack on the Panthers is not simply a "precursor" to an attack on the anti-war movement, It IS an attack on the anti-war movement. "The black liberation movement was the first to speak out against the war," one of us explained. What has happened since SNCC first condemned the war eight years ago, is that they have been excluded from the 'white' peace movement."

RYM also had a chance to talk with Xuan Oanh, Deputy Chairman of the DRV's Vietnamese-American Solidarity Committee. He described the 1968 Tet Offensive as the first of many surprises for the Americans. He called it the first stage attack in which the Vietnamese people showed the Americans that no area of Vietnam was "pacified" and that the liberated areas extended right up to the American Embassy's doorstep. All of 1969 was the second surprise! This time small units engaged in quick hit-and-run attacks which resulted in a higher casualty rates among U.S. and puppet forces in 1969 than in 1968. This is true in spite of Defense Department figures. This year Tet began the third surprise. Now attacks will be centered primarily on the command posts, or the "brain centers," as Oanh called them.

One of us asked about "Day of Planehunting," a very good movie made by the DRV and shown here by NEWSREEL. It shows the women handling the anti-aircraft guns in a village just north of the



demilitarized zone. We asked why there were only women left behind - where were the men?

Oanh explained the enormously important role of the women in the war. Earlier in the struggle, however, women were assigned different positions than the men; i.e. political education and the home militia. In 1967 a movement among Vietnamese women began which said that if equality was to mean anything, then there could be no such separation of jobs between men and women. Oanh described the self-criticism of the leadership, and he told of the resolution which was passed stating that women must play an equal part in all areas of struggle,

# THE ARMY ON TRIAL!

On January 21, GI's from Fort Lewis and McChord Base held a trial of the Army and the war in Vietnam before an audience of 1500 at the University of Washington in Seattle. A jury of twelve active-duty soldiers (black, white, and one woman) found the military guilty on charges of genocide, crimes against humanity and violations of soldier's rights.

Fifteen GI witnesses, most of whom had been in Vietnam, told of observing atrocities like the massacre at My Lai. They also spoke of the full support given the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam by the peasants.

One of the soldiers, Dennis Leonard, an American Indian who participated in the occupation of Alcatraz, told how he had entered the army "ready to do anything." But he refused to go to Vietnam after seeing Army training films glorifying the Indian wars. "America grew on genocide," he told the jury, and described how he realized that the Vietnamese were being treated in the same way as the Indians.

Tyrone Riddle, told how the Black GIs are getting together and standing up to the brass. Referring to a meeting of the brothers that had been broken up by the brass, Riddle said, "You can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail the revolution."

All the soldiers testifying stressed their sympathy for the Vietnamese people and the National Liberation Front. One Vietnam vet told of having witnessed elections for the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG). Seeing how the NLF carried out its tax collection (even in Saigon) and elections convinced him that they had the full support of the people.

The high point of the trial came when a young man with a beard came up to the stage from the audience surrounded by a defense guard of ASU members. He was asked his name. "Bruce McLean." Affiliation? "U.S. Army." Status? "I am AWOL." McLean explained why he had gone AWOL. He had applied for conscientious objector status. According to military law, he could not be transferred while a decision on his CO appeal was pending.

But the Army tried to shanghai him to Vietnam. When he found out that he was being sent to Vietnam, he split. McLean ended his testimony by

declaring "I support the NLF!"

A veteran of Hamburger Hill described how the Marines had had their own "truce" with the NLF. There just wasn't any shooting going on. When one gung-ho lieutenant tried to get the men into combat, the Marines put a price on his head, and the brass had to transfer him to another company.



GI at funeral for Panther leader Fred Hampton.

Among civilian witnesses at the trial were Fred Gardner of the GI coffee-houses and a union representative from the grape strike who accused the Army of strike-breaking (the Defense Department now buys five times more grapes than before the strike).

The brass were dealt a final blow by John Lewis, National Field Organizer of the American Serviceman's Union (ASU). Lewis went into the class nature of the brass, the "businessmen in uniform" who send young workers to die in defense of the profits of U.S. Imperialism. The NLF is fighting the U.S. ruling class, he emphasized, which is the GIs enemy too. Lewis read a statement from a Black GI who deserted in Vietnam to fight with the NLF. He pledged that ASU brothers will never go into the ghettos to kill their class brothers or into the factories to break strikes.

The jury of twelve servicemen and women needed little time to reach their verdict of "guilty" on all counts. And they didn't equivocate on the sentence either. The GIs sentenced the Army to death. They went back to their bases to organize their buddies and carry out the sentence.

The trial was successful in getting the word out to people about conditions in the Army and in Vietnam. Also it stopped the Brass's attempt to put off-limits the coffee house in the area, the Shelter Half. The tremendous support shown by the people in Seattle and Tacoma convinced the Army to put off their hearing about the Shelter Half indefinitely.

But the GIs who testified in the trial have not fared so well. Wade Carson, who had been restricted to base the night of the trial, but had sent his testimony on tape, was just sentenced to five months at hard labor, plus docks in pay, for "distributing unauthorized literature" on the base. And Bruce McLean, who turned himself into the Army after the trial to face courtmartial was shanghaied to Vietnam successfully last week. He called Seattle from Honolulu to say that he was on his way, against his will.

As the repression comes down, the people grow stronger, and are planning demonstrations and other activities to bring about the sentence-death to the Army.



# SEATTLE: TDA

by Larry Baker, Seattle RYM

On Tuesday, February 17, more than 2,000 young people stormed the Federal courthouse in Seattle chanting "Free Bobby! Stop the Courts!" in one of a series of nationwide "TDA" demonstrations. It marked the birth of a new "movement," a movement with strength and vitality never seen before in Seattle. This was a movement which no longer relied on middle class university students, but whose real strength came from working class youth, both black and white. This new composition of the "movement" was brought about by concrete changes within the AmeriKKKan system. Large numbers of working class youth were responding for the first time in a clearly political way to their own increasing oppression at the hands of an imperialist ruling class whose defeats by national liberation movements around the world have caused it to turn to fascist attacks on the people at home in order to continue making their superprofits.

The 2,000 demonstrators gathered at three points within two blocks of the courthouse and merged in front of the building itself shortly after 2 p.m. Upon coming together most of the crowd surged up the grassy slopes of the courthouse lawn to the locked doors of the building. In spite of the presence of squads of TAC squad pigs inside the glass doors, the people smashed in the doors and most of the windows on the first three floors of the building. When tear gas canisters failed to disperse the people more than momentarily (they were thrown back into the building to actually force closure of the courthouse), the pigs began a propaganda barrage over their loud speakers. The U.S. Marshall urged all those "not personally committed to violence" to move out of the area or across the street to the plaza of the public library. These "fools" soon got an education from the pigs, who had set up a trap, as the TAC squad broke out of the library in a flying wedge — clubbing everyone within reach as they charged across the street to clear the courthouse grounds of the approximately 1,000 people still there. The people were driven from the lawn, and the first few busts of the afternoon took place. The next two hours were to see several groups of 150 to 200 people moving through the streets smashing windows in banks and the federal office building. Before the afternoon ended 89 people had been busted — the great majority coming after most people had left when the pigs swept downtown streets between 4:30 and 5:00.

The large number of busts, as well as the strength and militancy of the demonstration, was probably due in large part to the youth and inexperience of the leadership. The Seattle Liberation Front was founded only a few weeks before the demonstration and was made up almost entirely of people new to the movement. They

came together in several loosely-knit "collectives" around a program based on the Berkeley Liberation School program. The "collectives" used their tremendous energy to organize at every high school in the Seattle area, to disrupt over 50 classes at the University of Washington over the Conspiracy trial, and do some work at Seattle Community College and the welfare and unemployment offices. Close to 200 people from all over the city were organized into affinity groups for moving together in the streets, although they tended to fall apart due to the lack of experience working together.

In organizing for the demonstration the SLF on the whole encountered the ruling class propaganda that there were "7" defendants in Chicago. Bobby Seale was raised as the central figure in the Conspiracy trial. The trial was talked about in the broader context of the fascist attacks on the Black Panther Party and the continuation of the war.

The SLF propaganda tended to err in not emphasizing the issue of freedom for all political prisoners within the context of the rise of fascism in AmeriKKKa. Seattle RYM, working both within the SLF and independently, saw the rise of fascism and white supremacy of the movement which had failed to recognize it as the central focus of organizing for the TDA demonstrations. A RYM leaflet before the demonstration defined the situation clearly:

*"White people ('revolutionaries,' radicals, liberals — everyone of them) sat at home when Bobby Seale was chained, gagged like a slave, and locked away. They cried a little bit when Chairman Fred Hampton was murdered — but it was left up to black people alone to do the real work of stopping the pigs. Black people saw the attack on the Black Panther Party as an attack on all black people — what white people didn't see was that it was an attack on all of them too.*

*"The 'legal' attack on the Conspiracy is an attack on all people opposed to white supremacy of this society and its wars. No matter what happens to the seven still in the courtroom, Bobby Seale remains inseparably linked to the trial. He is what the trial was all about — and in jailing him, the fascists have been successful. But we have learned what we must do — we must join the united front against these fascist attacks on the people."*

And this is without a doubt the significance of the TDA demonstration — that for the first time, hundreds of white youths joined in the united front against fascism.

**FREE BOBBY! FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!**

## IMPERIALISM...

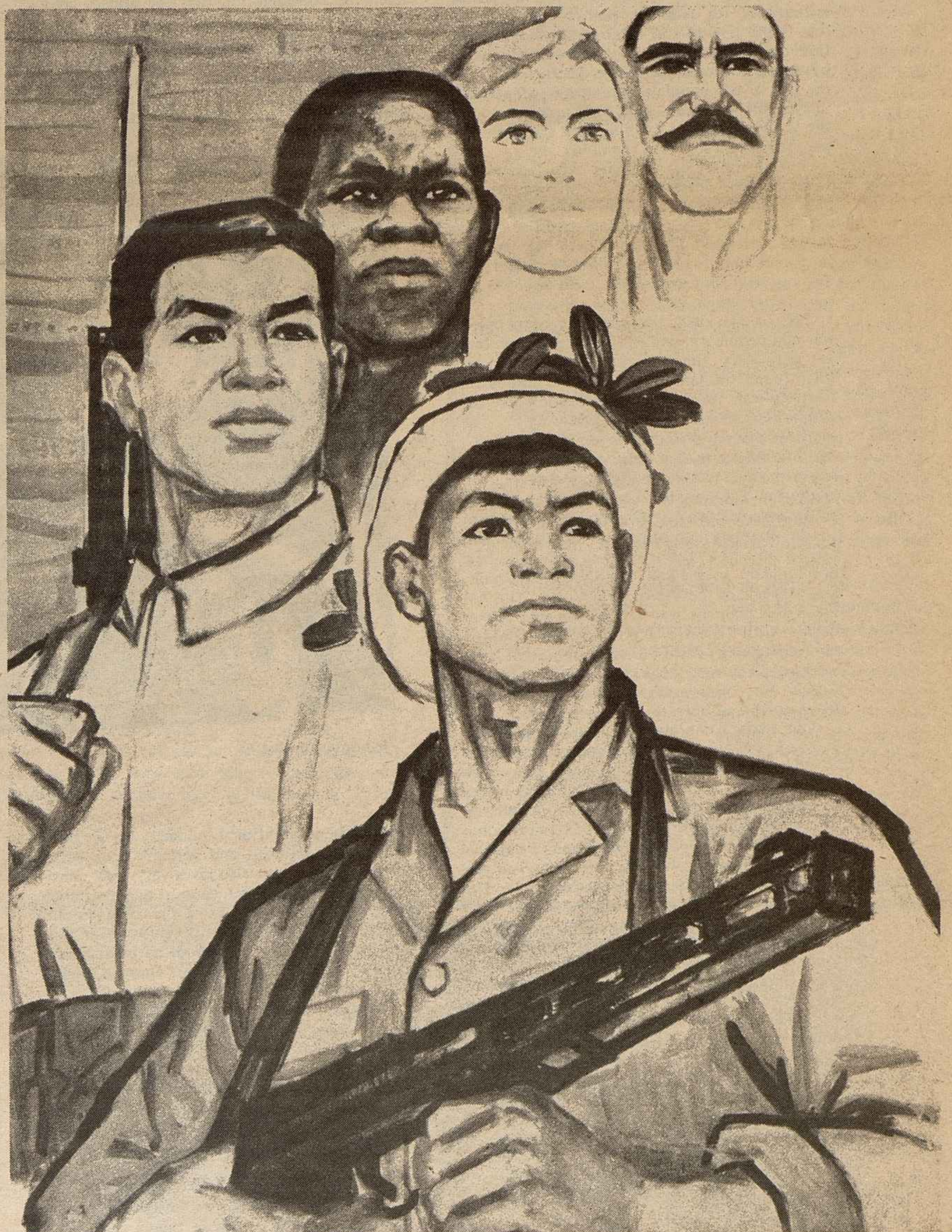
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workers because he is a worker and break with the common cause of the boss because he is white. It means that workers in the U.S. must support the liberation struggles in all of the colonies of the U.S., including the black nation in the South, calling for "independence" and the right of the nation to secede.

Do we say this out of guilt? Well, if whites begin feeling guilty for the way they have treated blacks, that is a good thing and a beginning, if that guilt leads to action. Certainly the historic problem among the whites in this country has not been that they have been burdened with the guilt of white supremacy. However, this is not liberal guilt but revolutionary guilt. As Marx wrote about the Irish question:

*"Hence it is the task of the International everywhere to put the conflict between England and Ireland in the foreground, and everywhere side openly with Ireland. And it is the special task of the Central Council in London to awaken a consciousness in the English workers that for them the national emancipation of Ireland is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment but the first condition of their own social emancipation." (Letter to Meyer and Vogt, our emphasis added.)*

It is likewise true for the white worker -- support for the black liberation struggle and repudiation of white-skin privilege is not a question of liberal guilt, but are the first steps to his own emancipation.



**"PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM!"**

# Interview with Giap on people's war in Vietnam

The Vietnamese people are not winning the war against U.S. aggression simply because they are an heroic people, though their heroism cannot be minimized. They are winning because they are waging a people's war for national liberation and salvation. People's war is a very specific concept. It is a communist concept.

December marks the ninth anniversary of the founding of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the 25th anniversary of the founding of the People's Liberation Armed Forces of the DRV. Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, DRV defense minister and military chief, has been instrumental in developing the theory and practice of people's war adopted by the NLF in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and in welding the PLAF into one of history's great armies. Following is an interview with Giap conducted this month by the Hungarian army paper, *Nephadsereg*, concerning people's war and the Paris talks.

*Question: Please tell us about the characteristics of people's war.*

Giap: In the course of their struggle, every people can draw useful experiences not only for themselves but also for the common revolutionary cause. In the last decades, under the leadership of the Vietnam Workers Party [Communist] and President Ho Chi Minh, our people have successively confronted three cruel imperialisms which they have all defeated: Japanese fascism, French imperialism and now U.S. imperialism. This great reality proves that in the present epoch, if a small country which has neither a large territory nor a large population but resolutely stands up to fight along a correct line to defend its freedom, independence and sacred rights, it is completely capable of defeating any aggressor, including U.S. imperialism.

In our struggle for national liberation . . . we consider the correct political and military line of the vanguard party as the factor of prime importance for winning victory. Our party's line is the line of the democratic people's national revolution, advancing toward socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage. In the war, it is the line of the people's war, that is, all people, united like one man, fight the aggressor under the leadership of the working class and with the people's armed forces as the hard core.

During thousands of years of national construction and defense, the Vietnamese people have many times stood up in unity against the aggressors and since the beginning of the Christian era there have been many national insurrections and wars for liberation. In the history of our country [however], not until now do we see a people's war.

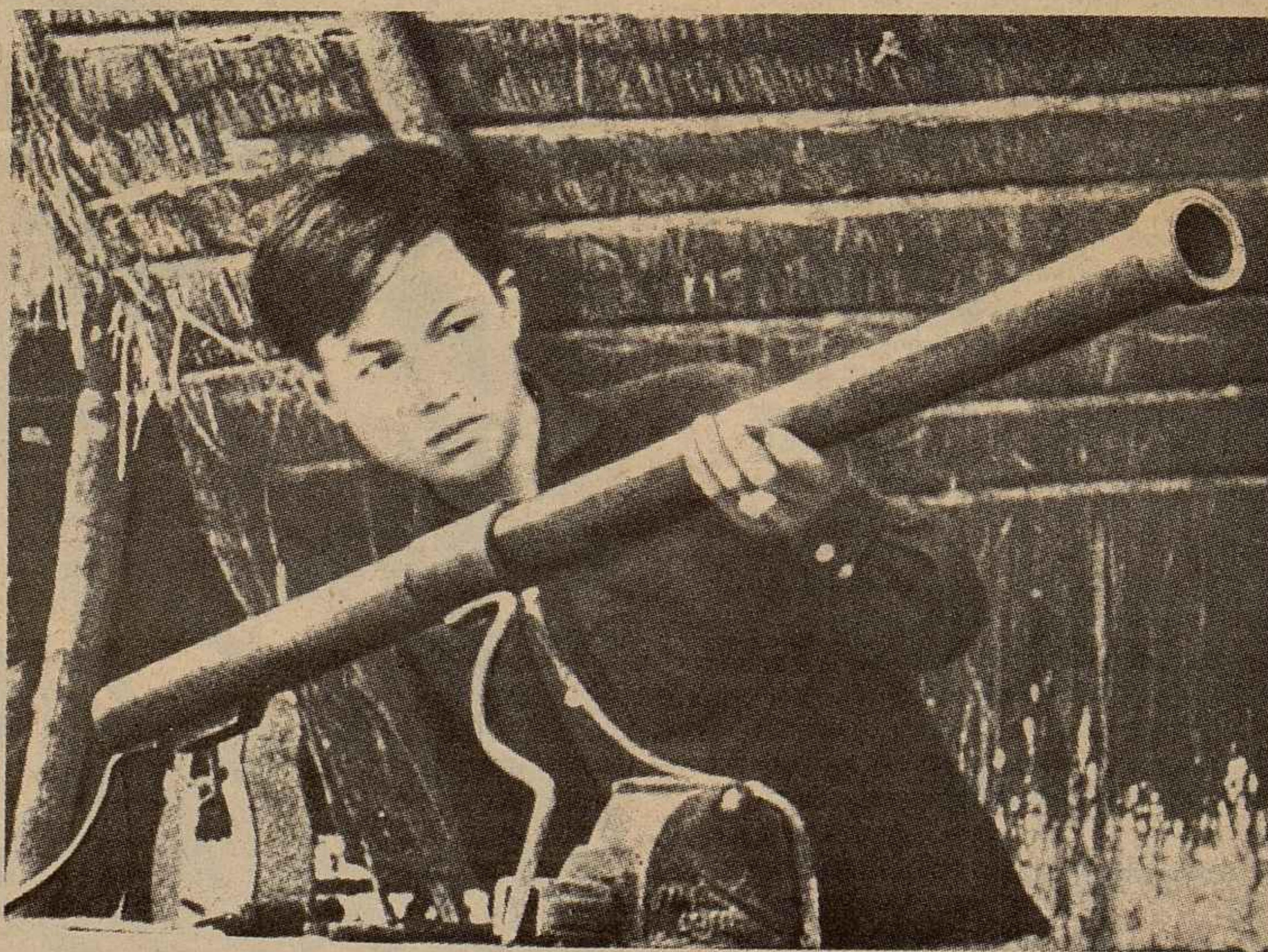
For us Marxists, the concepts of people's war and people's armed forces are not new. It is precisely Marx, Engels and then Lenin who set forth theses on handing arms to the masses, on people's war, on national insurrection, on the people's army and on a new-type army . . . The merit of our party and comrade Ho Chi Minh—the first Vietnamese Communist—is to have illuminated the path of the Vietnamese revolution in the light of Marxism-Leninism, to have correctly and creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of the Vietnamese revolution and at the same time brought a new development to the old traditions of indomitable struggle of the Vietnamese nation. This has taken the people's war in Vietnam to a higher degree, with a creative and rich content and the thorough-going revolutionary spirit of the working class. Also, thanks to this, the people's war in our country has acquired an invincible force capable of defeating all aggressors.

Our party's line gives first consideration to the task of rousing the political consciousness of the entire people, to mobilize the entire people and to build the people's armed forces so that all the 31 million Vietnamese people rise up against the aggressor and all of them become valiant fighters for national salvation. We attach great importance to the force of unity and the combat force of the people placed under the leadership of the working class and on the basis of the alliance between the workers and the peasantry. We consider it a factor determining the victory of the revolutionary war. We attach great importance to the material basis of the war and are greatly concerned with equipping our soldiers well—but we hold that the decisive factor is man. That is why our party and President Ho Chi Minh have been greatly concerned with educating and forging *man* in Vietnam, so that every citizen, every fighter, every youth, every party member in our country will be highly awakened politically, love his fatherland, socialism and communism . . .

Drawing experiences from practice, our party has found out the line to guide it in the

building of the people's armed forces in Vietnam. These forces are composed of three elements: The main force built on a national scale charged with operating with mobility on all operational theatres, the regional forces whose task is to operate in their own regions, the people's militia and self-defense units operating in the villages, urban quarters, industrial and agricultural enterprises . . . These three categories of armed forces closely cooperate with one another and help one another, each playing a very important strategic role under the close and unified leadership of the party and, with the protection and coordination of the masses on the basis of the people's war, our people's armed forces struggle all of one mind for the cause of the people, the fatherland and socialism. Therefore, the force of people's war is much more strengthened.

I want to say a few words about a very important point in our party's line. Proceeding from the consideration that the masses create history, our party has endeavored to inculcate in the people the consciousness that they must count mainly on their own forces in the struggle for liberation. At the same time, aware that the Vietnamese revolution is part of the world revolution, our party gives very high consider-



A home-made gun

ation to the international solidarity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and genuine proletarian internationalism and also gives very high consideration to the approval, support and assistance of the brother countries and progressive peoples in the world. We note with enthusiasm that never has our people's cause of national liberation and socialist construction enjoyed such a broad approval and support as at present.

The great victories of our people eloquently testify to the force of unity in combat of the heroic Vietnamese people and at the same time the growth and might of the socialist camp and the world revolutionary forces. The victories of the Vietnamese people are common victories of the world people struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

*Question: How do you view the goals of the United States, its present military activities*

*against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the character of these activities?*

Giap: Though having sustained heavy defeats in the North as well as in the South of Vietnam and though facing mounting difficulties, the U.S. imperialists have not yet renounced their dark design against our country. On the one hand, they persist in prolonging their war of aggression in South Vietnam and on the other hand continue sending aircraft to reconnoiter and attack North Vietnam, perpetrating war acts and violating the territory, sovereignty and security of the DRV. These are reckless acts proving the extremely bellicose and aggressive nature of the U.S. imperialists . . .

*Question: What is your opinion about the Paris conference and the American strategy in Vietnam, about the question of gradual troop withdrawal and about "Vietnamization" of the war.*

Giap: The U.S. imperialists were compelled to agree to the holding of the four-party conference in Paris because they had sustained bitter defeats on the battlefield, faced enormous difficulties in all fields at home and strong opposition from the world's people including the American people. But they remain very obdurate, still refusing to renounce their aggressive stand in Vietnam. That is why the Paris conference has not been able to make any progress and this is because the Nixon administration does not want peace in Vietnam and instead only plans to continue the war of aggression. The U.S. subterfuge of drop-by-drop troop withdrawal only aims at camouflaging its intention to continue the war of aggression. The "Vietnamization" of the war trick now resorted to by the U.S. imperialists only sheds

more light on their obstinate policy of aggression.

At a moment when the U.S. is making quite a din about the "Vietnamization" of the war, the Saigon puppet administration dares not use this term for fear of being unmasked as a group of henchmen of the U.S. imperialists . . . "Vietnamization" will become a tragedy not only for the puppet army but also for the American troops. The U.S. and puppet troops who have both taken severe beatings will get yet harder ones.

The U.S. imperialists have sent troops to invade Vietnam. The Vietnamese people demand that the United States put an immediate end to its crime of aggression and withdraw totally, immediately and unconditionally its troops from the territory of Vietnam. As long as there is a single aggressor in our country, we must fight on to sweep him away . . .

# RAP!

In response to the Calley trial which is taking place in Columbus, Georgia, RAP!, a collective (composed of GIs and civilians) working primarily with GIs at Fort Benning, published the following:

## POSITION PAPER OF THE RAP! COLLECTIVE ON THE LT. CALLEY CASE

Why does the RAP! Collective feel the responsibility to take a position on the Calley case? The demonstrators at the Chicago Democrat Convention chanted "The Whole World is Watching" while being clubbed by the pigs. The whole world is watching the court martial of Lt. William Calley but nobody, if the Army gets its way, is going to see what is really happening here. What they are seeing through the international press and television is what the military wants them to see — "solidarity" behind Lt. Calley as a fellow soldier; clean-cut, well-groomed GIs, high morale; all the appearances of a fair and impartial trial, and the brass at their best.

What the world is not seeing — attempts at forced solidarity; Commanding Officers using their authority to intimidate the GIs into not speaking their opinion to reporters, EM suddenly harassed about length of hair, moustaches, and tidiness of uniform, GIs from other parts of the post being frisked before allowed on Main Post where the trial is being held, GIs being restricted from a five block radius of the trial building. And then the "fair and impartial" trial itself — Nixon's telegram demanding Calley be tried for murder; knowing full well that the Green Beret case was dropped for this very reason — "Command Influence," the hassle over advance adverse publicity, Calley's trip to mental hygiene with the implication that if all else fails, temporary insanity might be the plea.

The RAP! Collective feels obligated to tell the world what's really happening here.

The American Legion is raising money for Calley's defense on the grounds that massacres are just the natural product of warfare and the war is justified because it defends the American System. The Veteran's Committee on My Lai, on the other hand, argues that the purveyors of American Imperialism are the real criminals of My Lai. In practice, this means that both parties advocate the slogan "No Court Martial for My Lai GIs."

We agree that the system is responsible for this massacre; for this war. It is a white supremacist war that turns people into gooks, that forces our sisters in Vietnam into prostitutes, that crowds people into concentration camps (i.e., "strategic hamlets") and forces Vietnamese men to fight their brothers and sisters in the NLF. It is a genocidal war directed against the perpetual Oriental menace, the 'yellow peril.' So many TV shows, movies, and comic books have portrayed a villain with yellow skin and slanted eyes. So have our wars: the Japanese, the Koreans, Chinese, and now Vietnamese. A genocidal war would not have been directed against white Europeans.

Officers are trained as individual leaders, able to handle emergency situations as they arise, which makes them personally responsible for their actions. The precedent for this is the Nuremberg Trials. At the same time, each GI is responsible for his actions. War does not give anyone — Officer or EM — license to rape or massacre innocent civilians. Every GI under the Uniform Code of Military Justice has the right and duty to refuse to obey orders of this nature.

"Communist" propaganda. These claims can no longer be ignored — full investigation must be made of each one and those guilty arrested. Every GI who knows of similar instances must be encouraged to speak out and his claims fully investigated.

Because the Military concealed information of the My Lai massacre until forced to release it, it proved itself an accessory after the fact, and is therefore incapable of handling the Calley trial. It is obvious because of its own role in concealing the massacre of its own people, the Saigon puppet regime is incapable of handling the trial. Therefore, the RAP! Collective demands that Calley and all others connected with this and all other atrocities against all Vietnamese people be extradited to the people of Vietnam.

RAP! Collective  
Main Post Office, Box 894  
Columbus, Georgia 31902

## RYM 5 TRIAL

The trial of five RYM members begins in Chicago on March 17, in the wake of the convictions of the Chicago Conspiracy defendants. The five are Michael Klonsky (L.A. RYM), David Slavin (N.Y. RYM), Les Coleman, Ed Jennings, and Tim McCarthy (Chicago RYM). They are presently out on bail, charged with everything from battery on a policeman to mob action.

The charges stem from a raid which took place on the Chicago SDS National Office last May, when scores of police and firemen equipped with axes and clubs, broke into the office and attempted to wreck it. The raid was part of the nation-wide sweep of movement organizations which came to be known as the "Mitchell Raids", coordinated out of the Justice Department by Attorney General John G. Mitchell.

The raid followed an SDS National Interim Committee meeting in Chicago and was planned at a time when SDS leaders from around the country would be in the office. It also followed in the wake of a national television show on which Klonsky, then SDS National Secretary, revealed information given to SDS by sources inside the Justice Department indicating that raids would take place within the next ten days. The movement didn't have to wait that long as the sweep began twelve hours after the broadcast. Within the next two days, hundreds of activists around the U.S. were picked up on everything from pot busts to midnight office raids.

The defendants hope to be able to expose the class nature of the courts during the trial as well as show the pattern of repression used to smash every organization which fights in the interest of the oppressed. All but two will act as their own lawyers since most of the movement lawyers in Chicago are overburdened with defending the hundreds of victims of repression in the city.

Contributions can be sent to RYM DEFENSE FUND, P.O. Box 26223, L.A., Calif. 90026.

## ABORTION REPEAL continued from page 3

repeal of abortion laws and free abortions are contrary to their interests. Certainly, of all working people, blacks and Chicanos are hit hardest by the discriminatory laws. The fault again lies with the planners of the demonstration, who in spite of many high-flown speeches about the racism of the abortion laws, failed to contact and involve black and brown sisters and brothers in the fight. Instead of trying to understand and deal with the particular needs of black and brown people regarding the very survival of their communities, the organizers saw white supremacy as a secondary issue — said that black and brown people had their own special demands that were "different" from demands that women would make as a group. Every day, Third World people see abortion being turned into its opposite. Rather than allowing women freedom, abortion is used as an excuse for ensuing sterilization, resulting ultimately in the extermination of the black and Chicano communities. Alongside the demand "FREE ABORTIONS AVAILABLE TO ALL WOMEN," two other demands should have been raised by the entire coalition:

STOP THE GENOCIDE AGAINST  
BLACK & BROWN PEOPLE

END THE STERILIZATION  
OF WOMEN

Too many times, we have seen the women's movement split asunder because of white supremacy. We cannot allow this to happen again, for the struggles of black and brown sisters and brothers are the struggles of all women! The only way we can really win our freedom is to fight in the interests of those who suffer most.

The rally and speeches also only related to women in the United States. No mention was made of the especially harsh way imperialism uses women in other countries. The abortion issue is not an isolated phenomenon. It is a sister to birth control, sterilization, prostitution, and all other sexual misuses of women. Our sisters in Vietnam today are leading the most advanced fights for the rights of women. While the American government institutionalizes whorehouses in Saigon, the NLF and the North Vietnamese actively stop the prostitution of women. While abortion in America remains a "right" of the rich, in Cuba, China, and North Vietnam, all women have access to free abortions. Not to recognize this and further not to expose the inhuman way US imperialism uses women outside its borders (Puerto Rican women, for instance, were used as guinea pigs in the first experiments with birth control pills) can only be construed as great nation chauvinism. We are not just fighting for the liberation of American women — our fight is for the liberation of *all women everywhere!*

Under imperialism, women suffer inequality in every phase of life — on the job, in education, at home, in sexual relationships. Free legal abortions are only the beginning. We must make this society serve the needs of the people rather than the interests of the Kennedys, Rockefellers, and Norrises who not only screw us, but also our brothers and sisters all over the world. We are not only for the right to abortion. We are for all those things which make abortion unnecessary!

SISTERS! UNITE TO  
STRUGGLE FOR OUR RIGHTS!

— Elizabeth Stanley



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GI'S PUT ARMY ON TRIAL  
story on page eight

# RYM PRINCIPLES OF UNITY

1) We are committed to the fight against white supremacy and an attack upon white skin privilege.

*It is white supremacy upon which the whole system of U.S. imperialism has been built. It was forged out of the early slave trade and has been carried out against people of color around the world. Whites in America, no matter how poor they might be, have carried out this oppression of black and brown people in exchange for a few extra bones from the rich man's table and in opposition to their own class interest. Wherever privilege has taken the deepest root, there is where the workers are the worst off. White skin-privilege is the enemy of the working class and an attack on privilege is in the class interest of all workers.*

2) We support the right of self-determination for all nations oppressed by imperialism, including the right of these nations to secede, as well as full democratic rights for all oppressed national minorities.

*Led by the heroic Vietnamese people, oppressed nations throughout the Third World are rising up and waging struggles for national liberation, for the right to control their own countries and to break the hold of colonialism on the people. Here in the U.S., black people, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Native American Indians and other national minorities are leading the struggle for freedom and equality.*

3) We will attack male supremacy and all manifestations of male privilege.

*Our attack is centered upon all the institutions of this society which serve to super-exploit women, brutalize them, keep them as slaves in the household, and place men in a dominant position in this society. We are opposed to the sexual division of labor within the society and within RYM. The burden of this fight rests with men who must repudiate all benefits gained from oppressing women.*

4) We oppose the exploitation of working men and women by the imperialists.

*This country is run by a handful of millionaires who got rich by stealing the wealth which was produced from the sweat and blood of workers throughout the world. We in RYM support all just struggles of workers.*

5) We will expose and attack anti-communism wherever it appears.

*Anti-communism is the cover under which our government has invaded countries throughout the world. It is the excuse they used for kicking militants out of the unions. It is the apology for genocide against the people of color. It is the big lie put forth in our schools. RYM will not exclude anyone from our organization who believes in our principles of unity.*

6) This organization will practice democratic centralism.

*Members will be required to work for the programs and principles agreed on by the whole organization of RYM. Decisions will be made democratically and ideological struggle will be encouraged. There is room within RYM for many different views within the bounds of our statement of principles.*

7) We will oppose fascism and all fascist attacks on the people.

*Whenever oppressed people have fought for freedom, fascism has been used to smash their struggles and destroy their organizations. We are demanding that all political prisoners be freed and that fascist attacks on the black liberation struggle cease. We must attack fascism now and not wait until it has fully developed in this country.*

8) We oppose the oppression of youth.

*As a youth movement, we stand alongside young people throughout the world, for justice. In the U.S. young people are oppressed in the home, are denied the vote, are drafted and denied trials in the courts. Working youth, especially black and brown youth, are victims of unemployment, union seniority, and exclusion from many schools.*

9) We support the right of any oppressed or exploited people to arm themselves and defend their people against repression. We do not deny any form of struggle that the people find necessary to win their freedom.



10) In summary: RYM is an anti-imperialist youth movement, committed to the fight against exploitation and oppression throughout the world, as well as against all forms of chauvinism and oppression which split our movement and make us unable to ally with real friends to fight real enemies.

*We are out to serve the masses of oppressed people and struggle to make this society one that serves them instead of the present rulers of the world.*

Southern California RYM  
P.O. Box 26223  
Los Angeles, Calif. 90026

National Office  
Box 77012  
Station C  
Atlanta, Ga. 30309

## LITERATURE

AVAILABLE NOW FROM RYM!

WHITE BLINDSPOT by Noel Ignatin . . . . .20 cents  
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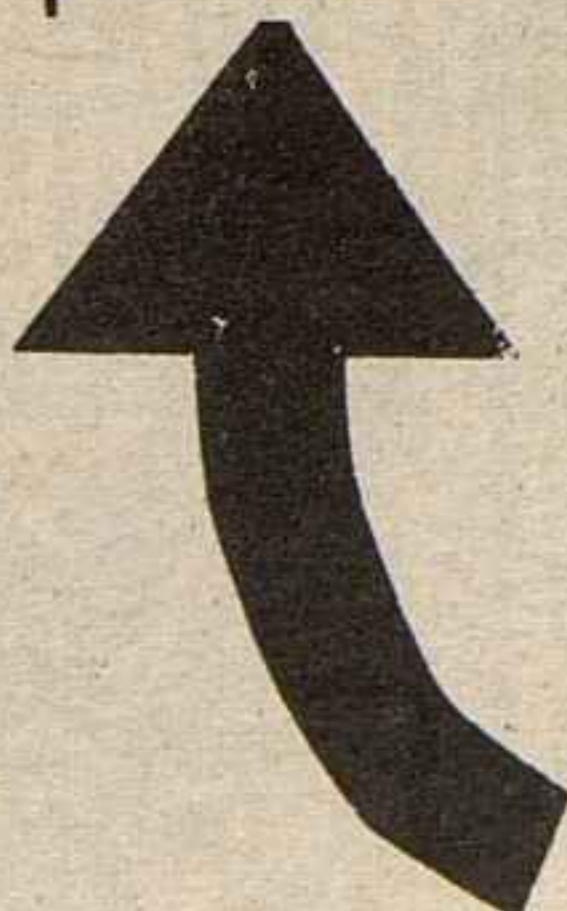
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