

# OSAWATOMIE

SUMMER 1975

NO. 2

WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION



OUR MOUNTAINS WILL ALWAYS BE,  
OUR RIVERS WILL ALWAYS BE,  
OUR PEOPLE WILL ALWAYS BE,

THE AMERICAN INVADERS  
DEFEATED, WE WILL REBUILD  
OUR LAND TEN TIMES MORE  
BEAUTIFUL.

--HO CHI MINH

IN THIS ISSUE:  
WOMEN WORKERS





# THIS ISSUE DEDICATED TO THE VICTORIOUS PEOPLES OF INDOCHINA.

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### OSAWATOMIE

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

## WHO WE ARE

The Weather Underground Organization (WUO) is a revolutionary organization of communist women and men. We grow from the civil rights, anti-war and youth movements of the 1960's, in particular Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the group which called the first national protest against the Vietnam War in 1965, and became the largest radical youth organization of our time. The name of the organization comes from a line in "Subterranean Homesick Blues", a popular song in the last decade: "You don't need a weath-erman to know which way the wind blows". In 1970 we made the decision to begin armed struggle and developed an underground organization. For five years the clandestine WUO has been hated and hunted by the imperialist state.

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

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

Osawatomie, the revolutionary voice of the WUO, is guided by a commitment to struggle, a determination to fight the enemy, the certainty that we will see revolution in our lifetime, and a spirit of love for the exploited people of the world. In order to build a successful struggle, the people need strong organization and a revolutionary party.

The program of the Weather Underground Organization is:

- US imperialism out of the Third World.
- Peace. Oppose imperialist war and US intervention.
- Fight racism. Build an anti-racist base within the working class.

Support self-determination for oppressed peoples.

--Struggle against sexism and for the freedom of women.

--Organize the working class. Fight for socialism. Power to the people.

In a single sentence, the program means this: Mobilize the exploited and oppressed people to wage the class struggle against US imperialism, the common enemy.



# WHERE WE STAND

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65749 3

## ROOT THE TREE OF REVOLUTION DEEP WITHIN THE PEOPLE

The world has entered a new era of historic importance: the era of the liberation of Vietnam. The Vietnamese people have thrown back the full force of aggressive US power and catapulted their country into a bright future. The timetable for world revolution has been moved irrevocably forward, and for this all the people of the world, notably the American people, owe the Vietnamese a great debt of gratitude. We live in a new and better world.

The Vietnamese won liberation because they were guided by a correct political line, had built an iron unity of the people willing to fight, to suffer hardships and make sacrifices, and had organized the world-wide support of peace and justice-loving people. This is a lesson from Vietnam, one of many that must be fought for and won against the lies and distortions of the US media re-writers of history.

The left must wage a successful war to explain the war; a campaign for reparations for Vietnam to heal the wounds of war is a good place to begin.

The Vietnamese revolutionary forces defined the changing strategic priorities in each successive period of liberation struggle. They also developed a class analysis which united real friends against the main enemy. From this they were able to develop strategy, tactics, program. This is what is meant by having a correct political line. This is not a formula nor a thing to be grasped in a moment and then applied mechanically through time, but is the hard work of making a concrete analysis of concrete conditions -- the living soul of Marxism. This has to be done again and again, throughout the whole process of revolution.

Our revolutionary forces need to define and name the period we are in. Prairie Fire is a beginning, defining this period as the time of imperialism on the decline. This is the stage of anti-imperialist struggle. This recognizes the particular stage of development of the capitalist system, the world-wide character of the struggle against US capital, the critical leading role of Third World movements both abroad and at home in attacking and weakening our common enemy, and the glaring fact that imperialism cannot meet the needs of the US people. Revolution is the only path of liberation for oppressed and exploited people; there is tremendous potential ready to be called into being to organize the working class to find common cause with the leading revolutionary energy. Naming this as the stage of anti-imperialist struggle puts first things first and makes sense out of the real world.

Our movement has accomplished a lot over the past year, bringing the case for Puerto Rican independence before the people, marching against racism in Boston, building many demonstrations and organizing projects and actions. But we find ourselves many steps behind where we need to be. Work cries out to be done.



In the first issue of OSAWATOMIE we argued that the left is not situated to fulfill its historic mission -- to focus and lead and make sense of mass discontent -- to carry the present situation to its furthest limits. We urged leftists to root themselves deeply in the people and to develop struggle and organization. Some comrades criticized us for this approach: they argued that we were ignoring the primary importance of developing cadre organization at this stage. We disagree.

Cadre organization, developed along Leninist lines of democratic-centralism and discipline is essential for continuity and effectiveness at every stage and ultimately for seizure of power by the working class. The Weather Underground Organization is a cadre organization and we support other cadre formations around correct politics and good work as a step toward developing a revolutionary communist party. But we are opposed to the mechanistic idea that developed cadre organizations are a necessary prerequisite to mass work.

Revolutionaries who are involved in organizing projects are not holding back the development of cadre forms; on the contrary, they are cadre worth noting. The purpose of cadre and cadre organization at each stage is to lead, to reach out and organize, to test ideas in practice and learn from the people. Unfortunately, too many revolutionaries who are involved primarily in building cadre organization tend to turn inward and hold back the development of mass work. They define cadre organization purely in terms of form, but the heart of cadre organization is a high level of political struggle, political unity in action and exemplary social practice. Beginning to develop cadre organization is a process which includes Marxist-Leninist study, criticism and self-criticism, and collective work. Some people oppose mass organizing to cadre work. This is ridiculous. It is the dialectical relationship of the organizer to the people which seeds revolution.

Cadre organization which fights for the ultimate goal of socialist revolution is necessary. Mass organizations which fight for limited goals, for immediate demands -- a place for people with the beginnings of consciousness to begin -- are also essential.

We see three urgent and immediate jobs for the revolutionary movement:

First, we must build a revolutionary anti-imperialist and antiracist base among the oppressed and exploited. We must join the struggles of the people, identify with their anger and suffering and develop the full potential of their fight against the state. This means building anti-imperialist consciousness among hundreds of thousands, millions of people and means organizing the people into all forms of struggle against the corporate bosses, the government and the military -- strikes, marches local and national, boycotts, sit-ins. We must spread a common understanding of the realistic possibility of revolution in our country, and in our lifetime, and of the socialist alternative to the way things are.

Second, we need unity among all the anti-imperialist forces. Without a broad alliance and coming together on a simple and revolutionary basis the anti-imperialist movement will be doomed to ineffectiveness, reduplication of effort, localism and isolation of each of the parts from the whole. Principled unity of revolutionary forces is past due. Fidel speaking in Chile in 1972 bemoaned the immaturity of the North American left which proliferated a hundred organizations where one or two or three would serve.



Third, we must struggle to build principled working relationships with Black and Third World people and organizations. White revolutionaries have largely cut themselves off from these relationships. Great opportunities exist at this time, waiting to be seized. But too often white revolutionaries shrink from these openings, sometimes using "support for self-determination" as an excuse. It is backward when white revolutionaries stand aloof from those Black-led events and activities which are open to them and need support, with the unconvincing excuse that they weren't asked. You can always ask if you're welcome. The negligible white turn-out at the recent African Liberation Day marches is one example.

The main obstacle to developing good working relationships and learning from Third World people in struggle is white racism. Overcoming racism and organizing against it is best done by having contact with, working and struggling with Third World people, in the many various forms that can take. Overcoming racism means dealing with Third World people with absolute equality and respect. We come to learn in practice that Third World people are our leaders in fighting racism, organizing the people into struggle and defining and militantly fighting the people's enemies. White organizers have a tremendous amount to learn. But that doesn't mean drawing back from political struggle with Third World people and organizations. This is patronizing. Political struggle is the only basis for truly principled relationships and is the backbone of revolutionary honesty. Finally, white revolutionaries must always recognize and eliminate racism in their practice, in all the many obvious and subtle forms it takes.

\*

In order to accomplish all these things, we need breakthroughs in developing class analysis, an analysis capable of uniting the many to defeat the few. This is more difficult than repeating general understandings or making vague assertions. This means defining with precision every class and every sector within every class, and how each sector lines up at each stage in the struggle against imperialism. It means being able finally to develop a program which can unite all revolutionary classes and win over or neutralize other classes in order to isolate and defeat the ruling class.

In order to develop this kind of class analysis revolutionaries must be willing to organize and investigate. People should study the class analysis of Puerto Rico done by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party as a model. Amilcar Cabral once worked as an agronomist in Guine-Bissau, walking every inch of his country taking the census as he developed a concrete class analysis of society. Besides organizing, revolutionaries should be talking to working people everywhere, checking out every picket line you pass, taking notes. This is not so complicated.

-- Central Committee

Weather Underground Organization





## A MIGHTY ARMY: An Investigation of Women Workers

"These so-called leaders and bosses are going to learn that when you've got a bunch of women together, they've got something on their hands!"

Black woman striker  
Oneita Knitting Mills  
So. Carolina, 1973

The voice of women workers is growing louder. Working women's liberation is a necessity. Millions of women work in the lowest paid jobs. Women work at the unorganized jobs (non-unionized). Whatever the job, women earn far less than men. In all of the most rapidly growing sectors of the working class, women are the vast majority of workers for monopoly capitalism at home.

A successful strategy for revolution and for the liberation of women will necessarily be deeply rooted in the needs and struggles of working class women -- the overwhelming majority of women who own nothing but their labor power which they must sell to survive.

The demands and needs of working class women are pushing forward the historic choice for the women's movement of building either an essentially bourgeois feminist movement or organizing a women's movement based in and led by the working class. The initiative and unity of Black and Third World women is leading this class stand of proletarian women, challenging the poison of racism, defining true class consciousness based on equality.

It will require a tremendous organizing campaign to organize women workers, since capitalism has such an enormous stake in maintaining the exploitation of working women. This struggle will liberate the great potential of women workers and thereby strengthen the struggle for the emancipation of the whole working class.

Working women -- in their day-to-day struggles for jobs, a living wage, health and safety conditions, daycare and paid maternity leave, opposition to racism and sexism -- are fighting to get organized. There is great power in an organized work force and women work in places which are strategically vital. Women workers present a potentially explosive threat to imperialism.



Beginning with the work of women slaves and indentured servants, the ruling class has sought ways to steal the fruits of women's labor without paying them. This continues in the "invisible" and lonely work of housekeeping and childraising, which is essential to the continuation of society. The capitalists get two workers for the price of one. Yet in addition, women serve as the largest reserve army of labor for monopoly capitalism at home -- forced into the official work force by economic necessity and the demand for labor, pushed out or held to the lowest paying jobs according to the needs of profit. Women are, along with Third World workers, last hired and first fired.

Ninety percent of the women in the US work outside the home sometime during their lives. Women account for 3/5 of the increase in the civilian labor force in the last decade. For over a hundred years, the percentage of women entering the work force has steadily increased.

Since the myths and prejudices are very powerful, but completely different from the realities of most women's lives, we will begin by asking some basic questions. Who are the women who work and where do they work? What are the conditions of their work, and why are they unorganized? How does monopoly capitalism use and profit from the labor of women? How are women workers resisting?



## 1. WHO ARE THE WOMEN WHO WORK FOR WAGES?

The bosses ride big fine horses,  
While we walk in the mud.  
Their banner is the dollar sign,  
While ours is striped with blood.

Aunt Molly Jackson  
midwife in Bell and Harlan Cos., Kentucky

### \*\*40% of the work force are women.

There are 35 million working women in the US.  
49% of all women 18-64 years old are in the work force now.

### \*\*Black and other Third World women are more likely to be in the work force, more likely to be working wives and mothers, and more likely to be in the low-wage occupations.

4.5 million Third World women are working, 13% of all women workers.\*  
The median wage of Third world women was 71% of the comparable median income of white women as of 1966.

### \*\*Married women work, women who head families work, and single women work.

The number of married women in the labor force increased by almost 12 million between 1940-1967, a rise of 279%.

39% of married women, with husbands present in the home, are in the labor force; 49.8% of Third World married women work.

64% of women who head families are in the labor force!

The number of women-headed families increased by one million in the last three years to 21.3 million families. The median income of these families is  $\frac{1}{2}$  the national median. Nearly 40% of these families are poor, even by government standards.

### \*\*38% of all mothers with children under 18 work, and these women constitute 38% of all working women.

### \*\*Almost half of women workers are 40 years or older, almost 2/5 are 45 or older.

This reflects an almost continuous rise in the median age of women workers throughout the century.

The average age of women workers is 40-41 years.

There is a recent rise of young adult women (25-34 years old) in the labor force -- from 35.9% in 1960 to 42.8% in 1968.

\*The US government statistics classify Spanish-speaking people (Puerto Rican, Chicano, Caribbean, and Latin American) as white. This hides the true picture of racism. Unless specifically stated, all the following figures for Third World workers do not include Spanish-speaking people.



WASHING DISHES... CLEVELAND, OHIO

DIGGING TURNIPS... FAYETTE COUNTY, TENN.

MAKING SHOES... NELSONVILLE, OHIO/LNS



## 2. WHERE DO WOMEN WORKERS WORK?

\*\*Half of all women workers are concentrated in 21 occupations which are the lowest paying in the US.

10 million women are CLERICAL workers.  
 5 million women are SERVICE workers.  
 5 million women are FACTORY workers (operatives).  
 4.5 million women are PROFESSIONAL and TECHNICAL workers  
 (2/5 of whom are teachers).  
 1 million women are DOMESTIC workers.

\*\*Over 1/3 (34.9%) of working women are CLERICAL workers, more than any other occupation, 36.7% of whom are white; 20.7% are Black; 30% are Spanish-speaking.

73% of clerical workers are women.  
 Clerical work is concentrated in areas of insurance, finance, real estate, and government.  
 Clerical workers include typists, stock clerks, receptionists, postal clerks, payroll and timekeeping clerks, office machine operators, telephone operators, file clerks, bank tellers, cashiers, stenographers, secretaries, and bookkeepers.  
 24.4% of Third World women workers are clerical workers.

\*\*The number of women SERVICE workers has more than tripled since 1940.

16.6% of women workers are service workers.  
 25.2% of Third World working women are service workers.  
 Service includes:  
 food (waitresses, cooks, kitchen and counter workers)  
 health (attendants, practical nurses)  
 laundry and drycleaning  
 beauty and hairdressing  
 housekeeping and cleaning (outside of domestic work)  
 stewardesses, etc.  
 63% of service workers are women.

\*\*Women who work in FACTORIES increased by 28% but declined relative to other categories.

13.9% of women workers work in industry.  
 16% of Black women workers and 23.7% of Spanish-speaking women workers work in factories.  
 Women factory workers are concentrated in areas of "women's work" such as garment and textiles, and food processing.  
 Women who entered heavy industry, such as auto and steel, since enforcement of anti-discrimination legislation of 1972, have suffered severe job losses during the current economic crisis.

\*\*There are over one million DOMESTIC workers in the US.

The median income for a private household worker who works 50-52 hours per week during 1969 was \$1,400.  
 97% of all household workers are women.  
 2/3 of domestic workers are Third World.  
 14% of these workers are over 65 years old.  
 Half of all domestic workers live and work in the Southeast.  
 These are workers who most often work for other women!

\*\*The overwhelming percentage of women work at non-unionized jobs.

Only one in eight women workers belong to a union.  
 Although women are entering the work force in increasing numbers, the percentage of organized women has dropped from 17% to 12% of the total number of women working, in the 15-year period 1958-1973.  
 Although 21% of all union members are women, only 4.7% of all union office-holders are women.  
 Almost no major union has a strategy to "organize the unorganized," and women and Third World people are the unorganized.



### 3. WHY DO WOMEN WORK?

#### "Bread and Roses"

As we come marching, marching,  
unnumbered women dead.  
Go crying through our singing  
their ancient cry for bread.  
Small art and love and beauty  
their drudging spirits knew.  
Yes, it is bread we fight for --  
but we fight for roses, too!

Without the labor of women, the capitalist system could not function. Capitalism depends on and thrives on the exploitation of women workers. Even Time magazine estimates that if women were paid wages equal to those of men, it would cost the employers \$109 million per year. Raised as "inferior" people in the schools and the society, most women are trained as reserve workers -- to work at depressed wages when more labor is needed, to be pushed out or down when jobs are scarce -- and always to be pitted against other workers. Such a reserve army of labor is essential to capitalism because of its continuing crises and cycles. Women work because the system needs women workers who get paid lower wages.

Women work at wages that average  $\frac{1}{2}$  those of men. The pay gap between women and men has WIDENED 6% in the years between 1955 and 1971. The median wage of women workers is 59% that of men.

For example, women with one to three years of college education make less than men with eight years of schooling. 45% of women workers earn less than \$5,000 per year (13% of men workers make as little).

Women work out of economic necessity. Women work in spite of the lack of day-care facilities, lack of maternity provisions, lack of health and retirement benefits, and lack of training. Women work despite the "double shift" of housework which remains at the end of the official working day. Women work even though their jobs are the lowest paying with the least security. Of course, women also work to escape the isolation of housework, to be productive, for independence and interest. But survival is the decisive reason why women work at such low paying, menial and repetitive jobs.

Even by official standards, 14.8 million females in the US are desperately poor -- 58% of the nation's poor. Five million of these females are in families headed by women. Another 3.6 million live alone or with non-relatives; 2.1 million of these poor women are 65 or older.

Half of all women workers are single, divorced, widowed, or their husbands earn less than \$3,000 per year!

Women have been, and are, a vital factor in the economic development of society. But their contribution has been erased from history and ridiculed by myths about womanhood, all of which serve the imperialists:

#### Myth #1. Women don't have to work. Women work for "pocket money."

Women make up 40% of the work force. 2/3 of all women workers are single, divorced, widowed, or their husbands make less than \$7,000 per year. Women are the sole breadwinners in 10% of all white families, and 35% of all Black families. 55% of all US families include working men and women, because increasingly the working class needs to have two or more family members working in order to get by.

#### Myth #2. Women are hard to organize. Women are a conservative force.

This is no different from the myth of the "happy" slave. What it boils down to is that women don't have the same needs, desires and aspirations as all human beings. From the beginning of the industrial revolution and the rebellions of slave women, women have militantly fought against exploitation. Yet, women workers are treated as children and required to act docile. The sexual demands of bosses or supervisors are frequently a condition for getting a job or keeping it. Daily sexual abuse is standard. Women have everything to gain from organizing to fight for their needs and everything to gain from revolution.

To say that women are a conservative force holding back class struggle is to stand things on their head. Class unity will only be built on the needs of all the oppressed. The conservative forces holding back class struggle are those who don't recognize the need to fight for working women.

#### Myth #3. Women belong in the home. There is a good division of labor.

Women belong in the home AND in the lowest paying jobs, according to capitalism. Capitalists have their workers fed, clothed, reproduced and raised free of charge. Then in wartime or in expansive times, whenever they need a reserve labor force, women are urged to contribute to the economy by joining the work force. Millions of women, particularly Black and Third World women, work all the time, producing and selling goods and services, harvesting and processing food, cleaning homes and offices -- at triply depressed wages.



## A Look at Two Areas of Women's Work

"If Farah wants slaves, he's going to have to look elsewhere. We've had it."

Chicana worker

### Textile and Garment

Some of the most recent and powerful struggles of women workers have been in the textile and garment industries -- the same areas which signalled the birth of capitalism and the entry of women into production 150 years ago. The resistance of women in Lowell, Dover, and Paterson for the right to unionize, for the eight hour day, and for safe working conditions are remarkably similar to struggles today. The garment industry is notorious for horrible working conditions and for enormous profits made at the expense of women. In 1911, 154 women died in a fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory in New York because the doors had been locked to "safeguard employers from the loss of goods." Two years earlier, 150 women had struck for a union. Arrests on their picket lines spread the news to other shirtwaist shops, and 30,000 unorganized workers joined the strike. This was described by an onlooker as "a mighty army, rising in the night and demanding to be heard."

This power is echoed today in the determined and united struggles spearheaded by the women at Farah, Levi-Strauss, Oneita, Jung Sai and others. The tenacity and courage of Third World women, with strong support from their communities, has overcome all the myths and the combined power of the employers and police intimidation.

A Puerto Rican woman, interviewed by Triple Jeopardy, described the garment industry in New York City in 1950, where she was forced to work for \$42 per week. "My job was to sew slips. I was required to make 60 dozen a day, which makes 720 slips a day. If you made less, the boss would yell at you, and if this continued, he would fire you." Triple Jeopardy points out what this level of exploitation means: "If the slips she made sold for as little as \$5 a dozen (a conservative estimate), this worker produced \$300 worth of goods each day. Yet, she was only paid \$8.40 per day. This means the boss made as much as \$290 on her labor EVERY SINGLE DAY!" Today, 25 years later, this woman takes home only \$63 per week.

In the South, there are 697,500 women, men, and children working in textile mills in small towns, and an additional 421,900 people work in the Southern garment industry. Mill workers are the lowest paid industrial workers in the South and in the nation.

Brown lung, similar to coal miners' black lung, is caused by unclean working conditions in cotton mills. As the cotton is carded, spun, and wound, a fine dust



LORINE MILLER ... FROM "HILTBILLY WOMEN"

and lint pollutes the lungs of mill workers. Humidity, heat and noise compound the situation. It is a disease of slow suffocation, causing bronchial congestion and the deaths of thousands of workers. Measures which could prevent brown lung have never been taken by textile corporations and there is no legislation to provide compensation to victims.

Levi-Strauss, the largest pantsmaker in the world, operates five plants in New Mexico, and one in Georgia where there was a 14 month strike of 500 Blue Ridge mountain women in 1966. There, the ILGWU, which advertises in Ms. magazine as the union that works for working women, stuck by their sweetheart contract with Levi and denounced the women's strike as "illegal." Levi-Strauss had failed to honor seniority rights and continued to speed-up production, forcing the workers to walk out against both company and union. For 14 months, the women strikers continued to picket, organized community support, and sought out new jobs to help support each other. The strike was defeated by Levi-Strauss.

Seven years later, 700 textile workers at the Oneita Mills in Andrews, South Carolina, led a successful six month strike for union recognition. Oneita, like the rest of the huge textile corporations (J.P. Stevens, Kimberly-Clark, Deering-Milliken), was a runaway shop from New York in the 50's, and determined to resist unions and reap enormous profits from cheap labor. Women made up 85% of the Oneita workforce, and 75% of the workers were Black. Their victory in July, 1973 was a triumph and a potent example of Black leadership and the defeat of racism. "It was necessary for the white and Black to stick together, but what really made the difference was the Black people were together and strong. They carried the strike."



Farah Mfg. Co. is the largest manufacturer of men and boys' pants in the US. The Gateway plant in El Paso employs 5,000 workers -- 85% women and 98% Chicana. In May, 1972, the average take-home pay was \$69 per week, no maternity leave, no seniority, constant speed-ups, no retirement plan, not one single Chicana supervisor. In the course of their successful struggle to unionize, seven workers were fired at a San Antonio Farah plant and the strike spread to El Paso and other Farah plants.

El Paso has 20,000 garment workers -- 90% unorganized -- the largest unorganized group of garment workers in the country. Chicano workers make 51% of the wages of Anglo workers in Texas. Farah, Levi-Strauss and other corporations have sought out the Mexican border area to manipulate and exploit unorganized labor on both sides. In this context, the Farah struggle represented a major challenge to the unrestrained power of these corporations.

The hard fought strike lasted for 22 months, drew on the support of the entire Chicano community, reached out to the women's movement and instituted a national boycott of Farah. Chicana women were at the heart of the successful Farah strike -- breaking with traditions which limited them, learning how to organize a union, and carrying the strike into a national boycott of Farah.

For Chinese women in San Francisco, the garment industry is the single largest source of employment, as it is for their Puerto Rican sisters in New York City. Manufacturing companies from down-

town contract out surplus orders, excess work, and pre-cut garments which are sewn together in Chinatown shops at lower rates. 44% of the garment workers in Chinatown earn less than \$2,900 per year. It is estimated that 70% of the Chinatown shops still pay below the minimum wage of \$1.65 per hour, mostly by paying piece-rate rather than by the hour.

An investigation in 1969 revealed that 71% of the women garment workers had husbands who were service workers or had retired -- that is, their income was essential to the families' survival. Jennie Lew, mother of six, began working in the garment factories about 20 years ago. For five years she worked at a factory making men's shirts, women's blouses, and overcoats. "...there were about 30 machines in the shop. It was noisy because there were so many people running motors, but the main thing is that it was messy: an old building, no one painted or dusted the walls...on Sunday he keeps the door locked because people are working in there."

The Great Chinese American Sewing Machine Company (Jung Sai) in San Francisco is a contract shop for Plain Jane, one of the largest garment manufacturers on the West Coast. Plain Jane has 55 contract shops in San Francisco, 20 in Chinatown. Last year, the longest strike in Chinese-American history was led by Chinese women workers, united with Filipina and Chicana workers, for union recognition and for a "guarantee of work" contract, both of which were won.



VICTORIOUS ONEITA STRIKERS

CREDIT: SCEF CALENDAR, 1974



## Clerical Work

"This job is no different from a factory job, except that I don't get paid as much."

--key punch operator



By 1890, the typewriter was accepted into the business world. By 1970, the census counted nearly 15 million clerical workers -- a category equal in size to factory work, though the median wage for full-time clerical work is lower than that in every type of so-called blue collar work.

Today, vast pools of office "girls" work crammed in rooms with poor ventilation and heat, horrible noise levels and fire hazards, suffering backaches and eye trouble, nervous tension, headaches and the humiliation of work under capitalism. In many offices there is evidence that the electronic machines let off dangerous ozone fumes and that air conditioning systems send particles of asbestos or fibrous glass into the air. Clerical workers resort to tranquilizers and aspirins. This is the nature of the working conditions considered "soft" and "white collar" in popular mythology. In truth, only farmworkers and domestic workers earn less than clerical workers. The nature of the work and the conditions for women office workers in floor after floor of the giant insurance companies, multinationals, and public employment are more like factory work than different.

Clerical work is the special product of the stage of monopoly capitalism. Huge enterprises, which carry on their work mainly through clerical labor, have developed. In addition, corporations which themselves produce goods or services have grown huge office sectors. In many industries, marketing and the accounting or transforming of value takes on proportions which rival the labor used in actually producing the underlying service or commodity.

All wealth is created by human labor. The value of a good is measured by the amount of human labor necessary to produce it. Workers produce much more wealth than the company pays for in wages. This surplus -- called surplus value -- is taken by the capitalist. Under monopoly capitalism, the "realization" of this surplus value (selling the goods produced -- turning the product into cash) has expanded into a vast labor process -- organized

similarly to the production of goods, and carried out by wage labor. For example, keeping track of the movement of value in the era of credit, checks, and accounts involves record-keeping, cashiers and collection, accounting and computers. This is the empire of paper, and its workers are clerical workers.

Office work has become manual labor -- highly mechanized, repetitive, and routine, with an increasingly menial division of labor which reduces more and more the functions of judgement or thought. Women workers are tied to business machines, working on a flow of paper. The drive for speed dominates. "If you just tap one of them on the shoulder when she's working, she'll fly thru the ceiling."

The notion that office work is a "middle class job" is a hangover from the days at the turn of the century when office work was more like a craft. And this idea is perpetuated as part of an attempt to sell workers a dream, by convincing clerical workers that they are in the same job category as engineers, managers, and professors, that they have escaped the punishing conditions of factory work, that they are "white collar" and therefore not part of the working class.

The labor market for clerical workers is increasingly the same as that for factory work, in terms of education, family background, etc. -- except for one significant distinction -- the division along the lines of sex. In 1971, factory work was composed of 9 million men and 4 million women, while office work was made up of 10.1 million women and 3.3 million men. Inferior wages for clerical workers are enforced and maintained by sexism.

Clerical jobs are the second largest occupations of Third World women. Often discrimination means that white women are placed in different job categories than Black and Third World women doing essentially similar work; job classifications are used to justify lower wages. White supervisors are hired over numbers of Black workers.

Fancy and inflated job titles, like "administrative assistant" and "word-processing" are lies that cover over the grim reality of dead-end, repetitive, highly exploited work. Many clerical workers have had years of college education or previous experience but could not find work in their field of training. Frequently they are fooled into believing promises of promotions and gradual increase of responsibility. As in nursing jobs, clerical workers are expected to be servants of men, soft-spoken lackeys, submissive and childlike.

In major cities around the country, there are beginning rumblings which point to a revolt among office workers and a determination to organize together to fight for their rights. The conditions of work themselves produce anger and frustration against the bosses, and the militancy and



consciousness of the women's movement has highlighted the blatant sexual discrimination and humiliation that keep women in the lowest paying, bottom jobs. There is a time bomb in the offices of monopoly capitalism.

My hips are a desk  
 From my ears hang  
 chains of paper clips.  
 Rubber bands form my hair  
 My breasts are wells of  
 mimeograph ink.  
 My feet bear casters.  
 Buzz. Click.  
 My head  
 is a badly organized file.  
 My head is a switchboard  
 where crossed lines crackle.  
 My head is a wastebasket  
 of worn ideas.  
 Press my fingers and in my eyes  
 appear credit and debit.  
 zing. Tinkle.  
 My navel is a reject button.  
 From my mouth issue  
 cancelled reams.  
 Swollen, heavy, rectangular  
 I am about to be delivered  
 of a baby  
 xerox machine.  
 File me under W  
 because I wonce  
 was  
 a woman.

Marge Piercy

\*\*\*

#### Women -- Organize!

"No matter what your fight,  
 Don't be ladylike."

Mother Jones

For those dedicated to the complete liberation of women, for serious revolutionaries, labor is a necessary arena of struggle. The enthusiasm and power of an organized and aroused working class movement is a major weapon of the people. The major trade unions have proven their indifference to the needs of women workers. For 40 years, with the rare exception of organizers like Dolores Huerta of the United Farm Workers, women have been ignored by organized labor. In practice, their policy is to keep their hand in organizing drives of any interest and to do as little as possible. The radical consciousness and fighting spirit of unorganized women and Third World people threatens their very partnership with imperialism.

Women must organize women workers. The lessons and experience of the civil rights and anti-war and women's movements bring important breadth and consciousness

to the struggles of working women. Organizing women workers will, of course, mean organizing men too, for even in areas where women make up 60 to 98% of the workforce, men are also highly exploited. But women must organize in ways which encourage the shattering of traditional roles and build unity and confidence among working women. Working class women can and must fight for equal rights and fight for their needs. Women must raise the consciousness of all working class struggles through their demands which challenge the particular oppression of working class and poor women.

The struggle will take many forms: perhaps including working women's leagues, caucuses, movements, and independent trade unions. It must include building unity and firmly repudiating racism. Three important principles guided the radical labor struggles to build the industrial unions: (1) organize the unorganized; (2) fight discrimination; and (3) fight for rank-and-file democracy.

There are many groups joining the struggles of women workers and beginning to develop serious programs. Struggles which fight for women's immediate needs and grievances include: jobs, equal pay, an end to sexual discrimination in promotions and training, no racist discrimination, maternity medical coverage and job security, community controlled and free day care, health programs and safe conditions, the right to unionize. Only a bitter struggle will wrest any meaningful concessions from the ruling class; the final liberation of working women and an end to their exploitation can come only with the complete overthrow of the system of imperialism...



"LITTLE STEEL" STRIKE... WOMEN STAND UP.

CREDIT: "WHAT HAVE WOMEN DONE?"



## THE POLITICS OF DAYCARE

To judge a society, look at how it cares for its children. Our children are the future -- they embody the hopes and dreams of a people.

There is currently a severe crisis in the US daycare system, one which mirrors the larger economic crisis. Only 600,000 of the 6 million preschool children whose mothers work receive any form of group care. Most working mothers have to provide their own daycare thru babysitters, relatives or friends. With 40% of all woman-headed urban families living in poverty, childcare is a matter of survival, not a question of convenience. Yet daycare funds are among the first to go as state and federal budgets get cut.

Historically, daycare has existed more to service the changing needs of the capitalist class than those of mothers and children. When women were needed in the defense plants during World War II, thousands of government-sponsored daycare centers were set up. During the economic recession which followed the war, women were among the first fired, and nearly all the daycare centers were phased out. The 60s brought another war-boom economy and more women entered the workforce. Militant welfare mothers and working women demanded more daycare programs. Project Head Start, begun in 1967, was one government response. Head Start programs, which are now being drastically cut, have always been a bittersweet promise to the children they serve, since most of the children still end up tracked into the worst schools and dead-end jobs.

Two other kinds of daycare are available: the private profit-making centers run by big corporations, including the franchise centers (nicknamed "Kentucky Fried Children" by activists in the daycare movement) and the private, non-profit centers, like the parent-run cooperatives. These centers often rely on welfare payments for individual children, and are the most endangered by current welfare cutbacks.

### The Daycare Movement

Daycare should be a right, not a function of capitalist need; a social responsibility, not an individual one; available for all poor and working people, not just for the few wealthy parents who can afford it. A growing daycare movement of parents, children, community people and daycare workers has raised demands for change throughout the country.

\*\*\*STOP THE CUTBACKS

\*\*\*More daycare centers; more and better facilities

\*\*\*Parent-worker-community control of the centers

\*\*\*Decent wages, adequate staffing, policy-making powers for daycare workers

\*\*\*Humane daycare that fosters collectivity rather than individualism, respect for Black and Third World people instead of racist attitudes, dignity for women instead of sexism.

### Daycare Under Socialism

Look at socialist Cuba or China, where daycare is provided at no cost so that every mother can work who is able to. Daycare centers in both countries are places where children are loved, cared for, and respected. Children learn from the earliest years to have respect for each other, for human life, for productive work. In Cuba, children plant their own gardens, tend them and watch them grow. In China, the children work in their daycare centers for a half hour a day doing socially productive chores like packing pencils or folding boxes. The pencils are used in nearby factories, and the children feel the dignity which comes with making a contribution to their commune. These children are the new women and men of whom Che spoke, and they remind us of what is possible when power is in the hands of the people. Por los niños.



## VICTORY IN VIETNAM

"In the face of such a cruel and crafty enemy as the US imperialist aggressors, what should we Vietnamese people do? We must struggle in all forms -- political, military and diplomatic -- to drive the aggressors out of our country."

The liberation of Saigon seemed unbelievably dramatic and swift after the long years of war. The success of the final Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) offensive -- called the Ho Chi Minh campaign -- was based on step-by-step advances since the signing of the Paris Peace Agreement, not simply on the final massing of superior military might as US propaganda implied. The victory was the culmination of a multi-levelled strategy which produced the collapse of the Thieu regime. Militarily -- the Saigon army, demoralized and without support among the people, was reduced to increasingly isolated outposts by PRG victories. Politically -- a mass movement mobilized hundreds of thousands of people in the neo-colonial strongholds of the cities, shattering the last political base of the Thieu regime. Diplomatically -- the PRG gained worldwide recognition as the sole authentic representative of the people of South Vietnam and exposed conditions of life under the US/Thieu regime, especially the refusal to release hundreds of thousands of political prisoners.

Despite the signing of the Peace Agreement in January 1973, the US remained determined to maintain a strong puppet administration in Saigon and to wipe out the PRG zone. Even before the Agreement was signed, a tremendous quantity of war material was rushed to Thieu, in addition to the 130 fully-equipped military bases left behind. Later, Washington sent still more advanced equipment, such as the F-5E fighter-bombers. Saigon used this material to launch thousands of landgrabbing operations, artillery shellings and aerial bombardments against areas deep in liberated territory.

At the same time, US civilian and military

Truong Chinh, December 17, 1971

personnel were sent to Saigon to take charge of a broadly extended pacification program. Any villages in Saigon zones considered of questionable loyalty to Thieu were invaded and the villagers forced into concentration camps, or massacred when they resisted.

Faced with Thieu's refusal to implement the Agreement, the PRG was forced to fight in order to achieve recognition of a basic provision of the Agreement, the existence of two zones (Saigon and PRG). Having been patiently scrupulous in its adherence to the Paris Agreement for eight months, on October 15, 1973, the PRG once more called on the Saigon administration to observe the ceasefire, while for the first time formally asserting its right to retaliate. In a campaign to regain their land, the PRG inflicted serious losses on the Thieu forces in the next period. They put tens of thousands of Saigon troops out of action, and reclaimed territory which was theirs when the Agreement was signed. In August, 1974, after the Saigon administration once more attacked Loc Ninh, site of the PRG administrative headquarters,

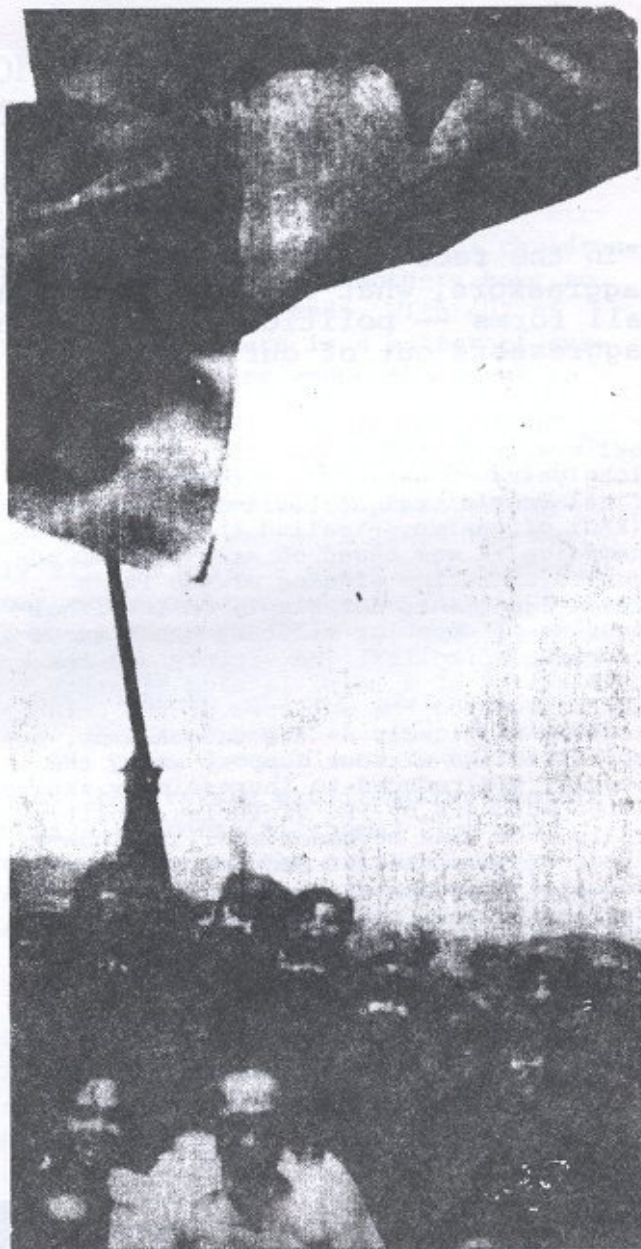




the PRG retaliated by attacking and immobilizing Bien Hoa airbase for three weeks. During that time PRG tanks and troops came within 15 miles of Saigon.

Simultaneously, a major political movement was developing in the cities in opposition to Thieu. The cities were the fortresses of neocolonialism, the centers of the Saigon-controlled bureaucracy, the repressive police and military power, and US presence -- in the form of 25,000 advisors and the imposition of a decadent, inhuman, imperialist culture. The urban movement attacked Thieu and the US in their last enclave. The Thieu administration had driven hundreds of thousands of people into the cities in an attempt to dry up the rural support for the PRG. As a result, the cities had swelled beyond their capacity, creating shanty towns, slums with no water or electricity, unemployment, shortages of food resulting in starvation, and massive prostitution. Official corruption was the norm. All of this existed amidst an obscene presence of US consumer goods aimed at creating an "American way of life." On top of these oppressive living conditions, the cities were the focus of the most visible curtailment of democratic rights -- rights guaranteed by the Peace Agreement -- freedom of speech, of the press, and of movement from one area to another, especially back to the villages.

But as the Vietnamese say, "when the water of a river is too strongly contained it will break the dikes." On September 7, 1974, the urban movement escalated dramatically when 5,000 people from all walks of life marched in Hue to protest the corruption of the Thieu regime. 2,000 police charged the demonstrators. One week later, again in Hue, 30,000 people took to the streets to protest Thieu's repression and violence and to demand that he answer the charges of corruption brought against him. On October 12, 200 members of Parliament, newspaper owners, writers, Catholic priests and Buddhist monks met to challenge Thieu's repressive press laws.



CREDIT: VIETNAM NEWS AGENCY

DIPLOMATIC STRUGGLE: FIDEL CASTRO, FIRST HEAD OF STATE TO VISIT LIBERATED ZONE, FALL '73

What began in Hue spread rapidly to other cities. Not since 1971, when people protested Thieu's one-man election, had anything like it occurred. Buddhists, Catholics, journalists, intellectuals and workers joined to demand the resignation of Thieu, and his replacement by an administration interested in peace and national reconciliation democratic rights for the people, a society free from corruption and famine. The Thieu regime's response of escalated repression caused more suffering, but the people fought back still harder; scenes of Buddhist nuns fighting the police with sticks characterized the people's courage and determination. CIA infiltration and intervention -- attempts to confuse the people by putting forward some long-time allies of the US as "leaders" of the movement -- did not work. The tide of



CREDIT: PHAM KIET/LNS

BUDDHIST NUNS WITH STICKS BATTLE SAIGON POLICE, OCT. '74



resistance could not be turned back. On October 8, 1974, the PRG announced that in support of the people's struggles, it would no longer negotiate with Thieu, and urged that he be overthrown and replaced with an administration genuinely interested in implementing the Peace Agreement. This was a major turning point in the recent history of Vietnam, the first time since the Paris Agreement that the PRG had demanded Thieu's ouster, setting the stage for his complete defeat and the ultimate liberation of Saigon.

The rising resistance of the people undermined the morale of the Saigon army. The troops had already been demoralized by the promise of peace which had not come, and by the inadequate pay they received. Desertions reached 24,000 per month. It

was not from lack of arms that the Saigon army would not fight, but from internal dissolution. Once the PRG won the confrontation at Ban Me Thuot on March 12, the battle was basically decided -- for this signalled the beginning of the victorious offensive.

On April 30 Saigon, at long last, was liberated. There was, of course, no sign of a "bloodbath," but instead people poured into the streets waving flags of liberation. Prostitution disappeared overnight and "acting like an American" was outlawed. There was a great victory parade attended by Madame Nguyen Thi Binh and Le Duc Tho. The heroes and heroines from the prisons of Con Son Island finally came home to Ho Chi Minh City.



CREDIT: SPIRIT OF THE LAND

Estos no son huerfanos  
They are the flowers of Vietnam  
These are not orphans  
Streaming life deep steadfast souls  
Living through assaults  
Lost in stiff guilty arms  
The signs tell "Don't Kiss These Babies"  
"Wash Hands Before and After Touching"  
Than Thi Binh gets a new name  
Yet her name is Vietnam, these are not orphans  
Her return is prepared.

Pale awed faces lean over her  
Unable to contain  
Her heart beating soft, steady, on  
she endures, her name stolen  
Her body sold at the Presidio  
a priest seals the transaction  
signs her, numbers her, alive on arrival  
"saved from communism"  
some dying in cargo planes  
almost all now sick with diarrhea  
respiratory infections, pneumonia  
These are not orphans.  
Her infant body rests deeply  
light feet uncurled open she floats  
on what raft is provided her journey,  
Her eyes that when open stream light  
now rest, and her body, now worn after spasms  
of diarrhea is limp in such sleep now  
deep in sleep as if in her mother's bed  
Instead of bare white mattress  
In a row on a floor of a gymnasium in america  
where the air is voices calling numbers  
soft crying running through.

In new plastic clothes, brash  
colors, these are not orphans  
holding slabs of white wonderbread  
watching for a sign they understand  
holding on to one another  
eating their rice to the last grain  
these are not orphans holding white  
dolls awaiting a voice they remember  
these are not orphans. Enduring, transplanted  
Find them where they go, give secret honor  
Tell them it is victory that tears open  
their lives and will heal this huge  
Homelessness, these are not orphans  
these are the children of earth of  
Vietnam's shining stolen new life  
This soil must only guard them awhile  
Till the wheel turns.

VERA MARE



## THE TRAIL: STORIES FROM

## I

Tra, Dinh and Nouhak came in thru the squeaking screen door. It was a hot and sultry day. My three friends were all wearing the same kind of light green, sleeveless undershirts that i was, wet with sweat under their arms and down their backs.

Many of the women and men who stopped in here were young, in their teens and early 20s. But these three were older. Nguyen Van Tra was in his late forties. He had been in the liberation forces for more than 20 years. He had been a leader in the Viet Minh, with responsibility for organizing the shipments of supplies from the base areas to the front lines. He was a veteran of Dien Bien Phu, where he had worked with Meo tribespeople who lived in the hills around the valley. Their participation had been crucial in bringing the supplies to the fighters who had kept up the assault on the French garrison until its defeat and final surrender.

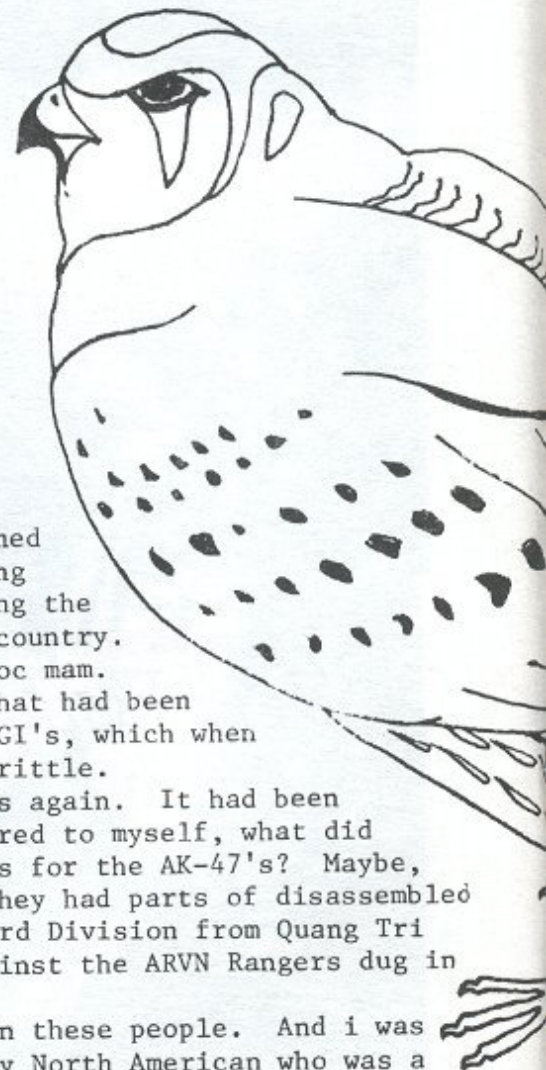
Phan Van Dinh was 31, almost 17 years younger than Tra. Though they had not met before the war, they both came from the same coastal village in the southern Vietnamese province of Binh Dinh. Out here in the rugged mountains they often talked of the day when they would climb down from the cabs of their Russian-built trucks for the last time. They joked about returning to their village where they would buy a boat together and become fishermen. Now the closest thing to the sea they had was the nuoc mam, the fish sauce served with rice, that it was my pleasure and responsibility to prepare.

Nouhak Phoumsavang was a Laotian. He was a big man, maybe 6'2" or 6'3". He had seen the economy of his village destroyed by the agents from the French secret service who had talked several local families into producing opium for the dens of Saigon and Bangkok. It was thru the profits from the opium trade that the French financed much of their war against the Vietnamese liberation movement. When he was only 17, Nouhak had joined the Lao Patriotic Front (the Pathet Lao). Now he was doing liaison work with the Vietnamese, helping to organize among the Laotian villages that could be found in this part of the country.

The menu today was the usual -- tea with rice and nuoc mam. I had also managed to acquire several pounds of peanuts that had been left behind at a highlands outpost by some retreating US GI's, which when cooked with melted sugar made a tasty version of peanut brittle.

I could not contain my joy at seeing my three friends again. It had been almost six months since they had last come thru. I wondered to myself, what did they have in their trucks: rice, medical supplies, bullets for the AK-47's? Maybe, i thought as i poured the nuoc mam sauce over the rice, they had parts of disassembled 130mm guns that were even now driving the Saigon Army's 3rd Division from Quang Tri City. I hoped it was another tank that would be used against the ARVN Rangers dug in along Highway 13 and at An Loc and Loc Ninh.

As i brought them their tea i was proud to have known these people. And i was grateful that i had had the opportunity to become the only North American who was a short-order cook at a truckstop on the Ho Chi Minh Trail.





# A TRUCK STOP by Sparrow Hawk

## II

My kitchen served as a gathering place during late evenings. Often when we knew no trucks were moving that night and when the next group pushing bicycles wasn't due in until just before sunrise, we would sit around the counter drinking tea, eating little cakes and telling stories. There was always the danger of getting bombed, so right outside the side door we had dug a trench about four feet deep leading to the underground bunker network. And we were bombed occasionally; but this night there was a fog protecting us and we were feeling pretty good.

I was sitting with my friends Phuong Dan and Nguyen Thi Tuyet, who was a nurse from the camp hospital. Dan had just returned from the First Congress of the Elite Combatants of the Communications and Transport Service of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. He was one of 1,850 truck drivers elected to the Congress for having covered 30,000 kilometres in war time without any serious breakdowns. He was proud of his achievement, but for him the high point of the Congress had been meeting the five comrades who had set the record of more than 120,000 kilometres (75,000 miles).

Many people think driving a truck on the Trail means that you climb aboard, close your eyes, grit your teeth and go. Not so. US pilots have a hard time hitting moving targets. They fly along, let go of a load of bombs, and occasionally one hits. It's really more like an art to drive the Trail. For one thing there are few gas stations or mechanics. All drivers must know how to disassemble and reassemble the entire engine before they earn the right to drive south of the Mu Gia pass.

On this particular night, after hearing the story of the Congress, we turned on our short wave radio to see what news we could pick up from around the world. It was not uncommon to get the BBC, Radio Havana (rebroadcast from Hanoi) or the Voice of America. Sometimes we would tune in and listen to the chatter of any pilots who might be flying in our area. But this night was special for me because as we were spinning the dials my ears caught a familiar sound. It was Dave Dudley singing

"Six Days on the Road." I couldn't believe it, but we were picking up WWVA, the country music station from Wheeling, West Virginia. My friends were open-minded about my choice in music but couldn't believe it when I sat up the whole night glued to the radio until it finally fussed out about an hour before sunrise.

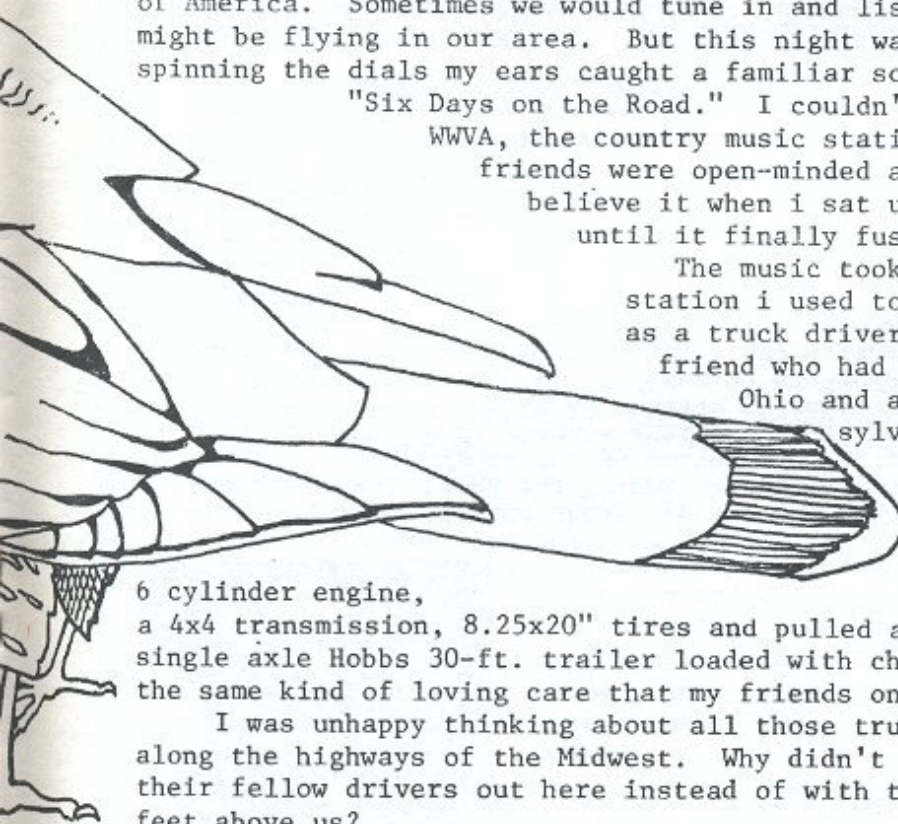
The music took me back in time because WWVA was the station I used to listen to during my own brief career as a truck driver. For a time I had driven a rig for a friend who had two chicken farms, one in Springfield, Ohio and another just outside Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. I used to drive an old 1956 International between the two farms.

It was a good truck. It had a 225 cubic inch,

6 cylinder engine, a 4x4 transmission, 8.25x20" tires and pulled a single axle Hobbs 30-ft. trailer loaded with chickens. It had received the same kind of loving care that my friends on the Trail gave to their trucks.

I was unhappy thinking about all those truck drivers sitting in truck stops all along the highways of the Midwest. Why didn't they identify their interests with their fellow drivers out here instead of with the death-dealing hotdogs flying 5000 feet above us?

As it grew light I put on my apron and headed back into the kitchen. It was the start of another long day and I knew there would be many hungry people stopping in.





## VICTORY TO THE PONCE CEMENT STRIKE

On June 16, the Weather Underground Organization bombed the Banco de Ponce in New York City, a bank controlled by the multimillion dollar Ferré Enterprises of Puerto Rico. We acted in solidarity with the 500 striking cement workers and their families at the Ferré-owned Puerto Rican Cement in Ponce, who have withstood all forms of company and police terror in the course of their courageous five-month strike. The strike has become a rallying point for the militant independent trade union movement in Puerto Rico - a movement which the US, the Puerto Rican colonial government, the big corporations and the top leadership of the AFL-CIO are trying to crush. We say to the cement workers of Ponce: we are with you, *compañeros y compañeras*.

The cement strike is a direct challenge to Luis A. Ferré President of Ferré Enterprises, who is a former colonial governor of Puerto Rico, a close friend of Nixon and Rockefeller and the head of the right-wing pro-statehood New Progressive Party. The Operators and Cement Workers Union went on strike after Ferré tried to cut pension payments and wipe out a medical plan from the workers' contract. The Union demands a restoration of the cuts, higher wages, an end to forced overtime, a cost-of-living clause and better working conditions.

The strike has received the full backing of the United Workers Movement (MOU), a federation of 40 progressive unions in Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) has launched a major drive for funds and strike support. Acts of sabotage have also taken place on the Island against operations of Puerto Rican Cement and other Ferré-owned companies.

Ferré has hired professional strikebreakers and thugs from a US firm (Security Associates). Puerto Rico's secret police (the C.I.C.) have arrested and tortured union members. The FBI has openly intervened in a Puerto Rico strike for the first time, harrassing striking workers and threatening their families. Strike leader Efraín Fernández was arrested on a phony charge, later dropped, of violating the Federal Explosives Act. The Seafarers International Union -- an AFL-CIO international -- has started signing up the strikebreakers into a scab union. The company has waged an unsuccessful campaign to red bait the union leaders and divide the workers from their supporters in the pro-independence movement.

The recent wave of strikes by telephone workers, water-works employees and the cement workers is shaking the very foundations of US colonialism in Puerto Rico -- a system built on the superexploitation of the Puerto Rican workers, who work long hours under dangerous conditions and receive 1/3 the wages of US workers at comparable jobs.

A fighting workers movement in Puerto Rico terrifies the US rulers not only because of its impact on Puerto Rico but also because of its effect here. With two million Puerto Ricans now living in the US and a broad movement of solidarity with the Puerto Rican struggle emerging, the lessons of the cement strike can be brought home to further challenge the imperialists' rule in the US. Solidarity with the cement workers is part of the class struggle here. With the US testing out its anti-worker, strikebreaking tactics on our Puerto Rican brothers and sisters, this is the time to show militant support for the Ponce strike.

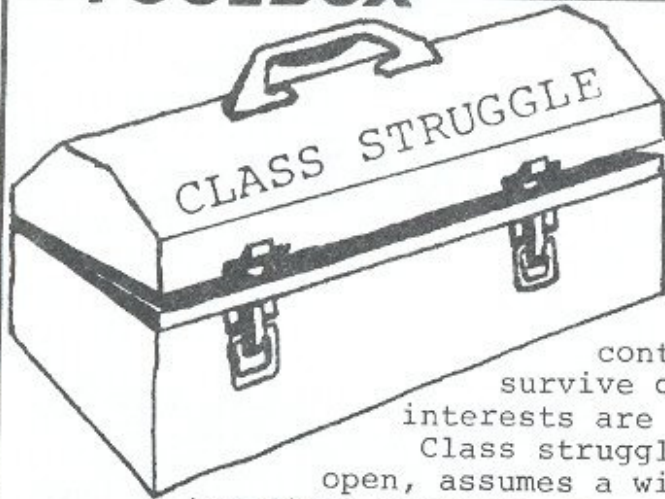


JOHN NOLAN

## VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE



# TOOLBOX



The revolutionary struggle of the working class will transform our society -- destroy this outmoded and cruel capitalism and build the socialist society that can provide for human need and progress. Under capitalism, the rulers own the wealth and

control production, the proletarians survive only by selling their labor. Their interests are fundamentally irreconcilable.

Class struggle, at times hidden and then more open, assumes a wide variety of forms. There is an immediate response to conditions of oppression: a gut hatred of "the rich" or a worker's refusal to be pushed into a blistering work pace. On a more organized level classes contend over the share and use of social wealth: workers strike for better wages, working class women demonstrate for child-care. As the struggle develops, bourgeois social power is challenged: workers occupy factories, a movement grows against the war in Vietnam.

The bourgeois class for its part does everything in its power to disguise, mute, hold back and crush the development of class struggle. It cultivates and enforces false consciousness and division within the working class. It develops and uses white racism. Revolutionary leadership is needed to forge full class consciousness, organization and unity of purpose in the working class as a whole. Then class struggle becomes political struggle, ultimately the struggle for the ownership of the means of production and power over the direction of the whole society.

In the era of imperialism, class struggle takes on a world-wide character. National liberation of Third World people weakens US power and creates conditions for increased working-class struggle on the homefront.

Today, imperialism is in crisis and the class struggle is intensifying. We can see this as 60,000 workers march on Washington for jobs and disrupt the bourgeois politicians who claim to lead them, as welfare mothers and unemployed workers demonstrate for adequate food, as masses of people turn against involvement in another imperialist war. The working class is in a position to see its interest in social ownership of production, in cooperation. The conditions are developing that can, with conscious political leadership, lead to a new and revolutionary level of class struggle in this country.



Let the ruling classes tremble at communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have the world to win.

--The Communist Manifesto

Marx in 1848



Engels in 1845



# IMPERIALISM = HUNGER

The world today is in the grip of a major food crisis. Half of all human beings suffer from hunger or malnutrition. In 1973, 500 people died from malnutrition every 30 minutes. Ten million people are expected to die of starvation in 1975, and 500 million more hover on the brink of famine. In the US between 30 and 50 million people are malnourished. Since 1970, food prices have jumped 56% in the US.

These facts are admitted by everybody. But US business and government officials blame bad weather, drought, the "population explosion" or the "backwardness" of Third World people. These are all lies which disguise the real enemy: US imperialism and a system of food production based solely on profit.

US corporations now have a virtual monopoly on food exporting and control a vast sector of the world's food-producing land. With this monopoly they have enforced high prices and reaped tremendous profits. This rise in food prices has devastated many Third World countries and sent the cost of living skyrocketing in the US. 19.7 million people in the US now depend on food stamps -- an increase of 28% in the last year.

The food crisis exposes the irrationality and cruelty of imperialism. Human and technical resources exist to easily meet all the world's food needs; only a backward, archaic system based on greed and the search for profits is responsible for starvation.

## THE ENEMY: AGRIBUSINESS

In the last 15 years, the food industry has been taken over by giant US monopolies -- agribusiness -- who control every stage of the food process from manufacturing farm machinery, fertilizer and seed to cultivation and processing, storing, retailing and export. Technological developments made possible greater industrialization of food production -- and monopoly capital rushed in. Since this recent concentration has taken place at an unprecedented pace, myths persist that the "farmers" who are making huge profits off people's suffering are the small family farmers. This couldn't be further from the truth.

Today, 7.5% of US farms control 50% of all sales. 1% of the farms produce 25%

of the nation's food. From 1940-1970, the number of farmers decreased from six million to three million. In the Midwest, six grain companies buy up 98% of the entire wheat harvest and two US companies -- Cargill and Continental Grain -- do 50% of the world's grain shipments. 7% of the cattle ranchers own 80% of all US cattle; 1% of the processing feedlots handle 80% of US cattle -- no more "Home on the Range." Giant food processing businesses, like Del Monte and Libby, grow or contract 80% of all vegetables produced.

It's the giant industrial corporations who control the production of food. Sixteen of the twenty most profitable corporations on Forbes Magazine's 1973 list are involved in some basic component of food production. Greyhound Corporation raises turkey and beef; ITT bought out Wonder Bread and Hostess Cupcakes shortly after it helped overthrow the Chilean government; Dow Chemical produces lettuce to go along with its napalm; Boeing Aircraft raises potatoes; Tenneco Corporation owns 1.5 million acres of land, chemical plants that make fertilizers, gas and oil to run the farm machinery they also manufacture, and food processing, packaging and distribution plants. Tenneco is able to reap profits at every step to the tune of \$207 million in 1972. The chairman of Tenneco gets paid \$248,000 per year. Safeway Corporation is not only the second largest supermarket chain but also owns dairy farms, poultry farms and transportation operations.

The Bank of America typifies the new agribusiness giants. The largest private bank in the world, it got its start by foreclosure on land during the Depression and seizing Japanese-owned land during World War II. The Bank of America makes \$1 billion per year in loans to agribusiness, owns huge quantities of Safeway and Tenneco stock and has actively fought the United Farm Workers' organizing drives.

Oil has become a basic raw material



for agricultural production, used in fertilizers, seeders, tractors, pesticides, controlled irrigation and fast-drying processes. Widespread use of petrochemical fertilizers and pesticides increased output and also heightened food industry dependence on oil. US agricultural production today floats on a sea of oil, and US agribusiness has close connections with the powerful oil industry.

As productivity increased, the typical horrendous capitalist problem developed: how to sell all this food at greater profits? One solution has been to increase the domestic market for food thru the creation of more and more "brand names" and the proliferation of junk foods. This has resulted in a steady lowering of the quality of the American diet. Milk drinking went down 20% between 1959 and 1970 while soft drink consumption rose 79%. Strained baby foods, urged on concerned mothers by the food conglomerates, contain a host of unnecessary ingredients such as sugar and starch, salts, spices and sodium nitrate -- which is suspected of being a cause of cancer.

Agribusiness has elevated meat-eating to a symbol of health, wealth and security. The US annually feeds its livestock as much grain as all the people of India and China eat in a year. This waste is made even worse by the fact that approximately 10-20 lbs. of feed protein, when fed to cattle, will convert to only one pound of humanly-usable protein, while protein-deficiency is a fact of life for millions in the US.

Agribusiness has also moved to control and manipulate food production. For years the US government has supported agribusiness, thru paying large growers money NOT to produce food, keeping supply low, prices high. With taxpayer money, more was paid to farmers not to grow food in 1970 than was paid out in all federal, state and local welfare combined. This is welfare to the corporate rich. John Wayne received \$218,000 in land subsidies in 1970; J.G. Boswell, one of the largest farmers in the US, controls 110,000 acres of land in California. Over a period of five years, he was paid \$21 million by the USDA for not farming parts of his land. Sixty million acres were withheld from food production in 1972, despite rising grain prices.



FOOD STAMP LINE IN NASHVILLE, TENN.

## IMPERIALISM = HUNGER

"Food growing is the first thing you do when you come down out of the trees. The question is, how come the United States can grow food and you can't."

Daniel Moynihan, US Ambassador to the UN, speaking to Third World countries.

The primary US government/agribusiness strategy has been to gain control over the world food crop, develop their international market and make most of the world dependent on US food and technology.

Imperialism has turned much of the Third World into a modern-day plantation-style economy, forced to produce cash crops like tobacco, rubber, coffee and cotton for export while being forced into dependence on US food imports. This policy has been enforced thru the systematic and wholesale destruction of Third World agricultural production. Two-thirds of all arable land in Latin America is now planted with non-nutritious cash crops whose production is largely controlled by huge US firms. A potentially rich agricultural country like Brazil -- roughly the size of the US with less than half the population and more arable land than all of Europe -- grows coffee for export while 40 million of its people face starvation. If the land now used for non-nutritious cash crops were converted to the production of food, the world's food output would increase by 10-15%.

Even when countries grow nutritious food, US domination often prevents them from feeding their own people. US companies own the fishmeal industries of Chile and Peru (including the high-protein anchovy crop) and sell almost its entire output to the US, Western Europe and Japan. The two most protein-needy continents, South America and Africa, are exporters of the largest quantity of animal feed in the world.

The so-called "Green Revolution" is another trickbag. It was developed by research commissioned by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1943 and promised increased food production thru the development of hybrid grain seeds. It is based on massive use of petrochemical fertilizers, intensive irrigation and large landholdings, and requires an enormous amount of capital. The Green Revolution puts forth a technical solution to the food crisis, ignoring social factors like the cash crop system or neocolonial domination of a country's resources. It further increases a country's dependence on US machinery, fertilizer and technology. While food production and yields increased somewhat in the mid-60's, the Green Revolution also created an elite of large landholders who produce for profit. Peasants were driven from the land and forced into cities in the search for jobs and food. Technology in the hands of the imperialists has proved no solution to the problem of hunger.





CREDIT: LNS

YOUNG CANE CUTTER... DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

## FOOD AS A WEAPON

"I have heard that people may become dependent on us for food. To me that was good news, because before people can do anything they have got to eat. And if you are looking for a way to get people to lean on you and to be dependent on you, it seems to me that food dependence would be terrific."

Hubert Humphrey - 1956

"Food is a weapon. It is now one of the principal weapons in our negotiating kit."

Earl Butz

The severe weakening of US economic and political power in recent years is threatening continued US domination of resources and raw materials. US policy has increasingly turned to agribusiness to help bail it out of the crisis.

Nixon's policies were designed to raise the price of food and make it a major export, to help offset the balance of payments deficit and rescue the shaky US dollar. Agricultural exports averaged \$5.9 billion per year in the 60's. By 1973, US agricultural exports had jumped to over \$11 billion and by 1974 to \$20 billion. US food exports, despite the government's "humanitarian" mouthings, serve the needs of imperialist profitmaking. Between July and November of

last year, 50% of agricultural exports went to the developed capitalist countries who could pay for them; another 15% went to oil-producing countries; and only 9% went to the neediest countries of South Asia, non-oil producing Africa and Latin America.

Even the small percentage of exports to hungry Third World nations have been used to disrupt and weaken the Third World. At the World Food Conference in Rome last November, the Chinese delegate accused the US of "dumping large quantities of food (its surplus) into the developing countries. This has seriously damaged the food production and exports of Asian, African, and Latin American countries, turning some traditional food exporting countries into food importing ones and forcing more and more countries to live on food imports."

Ford, Kissinger, and Butz are now openly using the threat of famine to retain US control over raw materials and Third World economies. On October 8th, in a speech directed at the oil-producing nations, Ford implied that the US would retaliate against any increase in the price of raw materials by withholding food. Two months later at the World Food Conference, the US was repeatedly attacked as the major cause of the growing world food crisis by a majority of the 120 nations present.

US control of fertilizer production is another weapon. US corporations now produce over 1/2 the non-socialist world's chemical fertilizer. In 1973, the US withheld one million tons of fertilizer from India causing a seven million ton shortfall in India's spring wheat harvest in 1974 and immediate mass starvation. India's per capita grain production has now fallen below 1960-1961 levels.

Food as a weapon means feeding politically reliable allies: wheat credits for fascist Chile, but no food or aid for the Popular Unity government of Chile; food to Lon Nol's puppet government, but none to the new people's government in Cambodia; only token aid to sub-Saharan Africa while famine is killing millions of people. The US is now twisting the knife in further by getting rid of its food reserves in order to increase food exports and quick profits. Government storage of grain has been slashed, leaving less than a month's grain reserves in US warehouses, heightening the desperation of countries dependent on US food who now have no buffer against famine.

The use of food blackmail is directed at the people of the US as well. The consequences of these new imperial strategies include astronomical price rises at home. In 1973, Nixon specifically exempted agricultural and dairy products from the price controls of 1971-1973. Prices immediately jumped by 20%. Butz blames the housewife and the Fords give out recipes for casseroles. But the enemy for Americans is the same enemy the hungry people of the world are pointing to.



EARL BUTZ:  
"Living in the Lap of Luxury"

"The reality is that living is better now for more people than it ever has been. We're living in the lap of luxury such as the world has never seen."

Earl Butz, Aug. 1974

"The doomsayers say we are already in trouble. I say this is false, that most of the world's people eat better than any other time in history. We are not in a food crisis in this country or in the world."

Oct. 1974



As Secretary of Agriculture, Earl Butz has promoted policies to raise the price of food stamps, cut free school lunch programs, and drastically reduce grain reserves available for emergency aid.

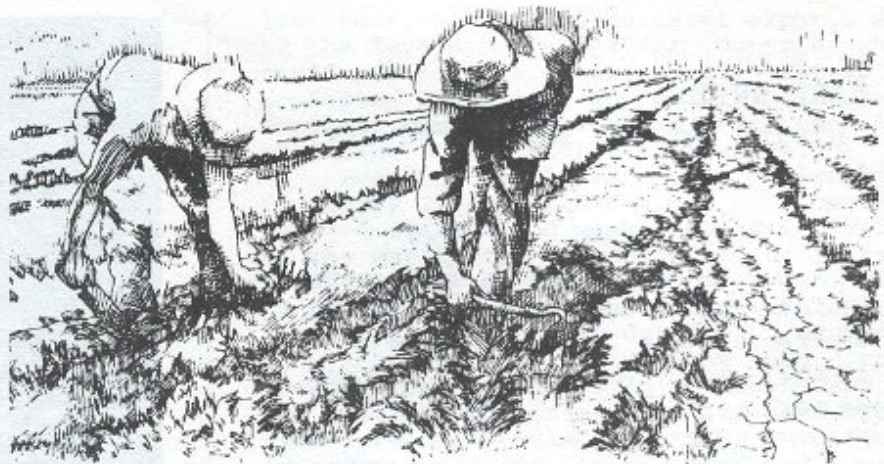
Earl Butz makes \$62,000 a year and does his shopping at Larimer's, an exclusive market in Washington, D.C., where the beef is cut to order. He is promoting a new \$150,000 dining and conference room for himself and his top aides.

Earl Butz is living proof of the sweetheart marriage between the US government and agribusiness. From 1954-1957 he was Assistant Secretary of Agriculture in the Eisenhower administration. Then he became Dean of Purdue Agriculture School, a post he held for ten years. While Dean, he joined the boards of directors of Ralston Purina, International Mineral and Chemical Corporation (the largest domestic producer of MSG and the fifth largest producer of fertilizer), J.I. Case Corporation (an implement manufacturer and subsidiary of Tenneco), and Stokeley-Van Camp (a major food processor and grower). Butz became Nixon's Secretary of Agriculture in 1972 and resigned all four directorates, but kept his stock "in trust."



Is this the best way we can grow  
our big orchards?  
Is this the best way we can grow  
our good fruit?  
To fall like dry leaves to rot  
on my topsoil  
and be called by no name except  
deportees.

"Song of Farmworkers"  
Woody Guthrie



CREDIT: LNS

#### SWEATSHOPS IN THE SUN

The enormous profits of agribusiness are based on the sweat, blood and labor stolen from agricultural workers around the world. From the Philippines to Hawaii to the South Texas melon fields to Honduran banana plantations to the sugar cane fields of Louisiana to orchards and fields of the Central Valley in California, workers who labor in the fields and pick the fruits and vegetables live in poverty and struggle against hunger.

Life expectancy of migrant farm workers in the US is 49 years. The childhood mortality rate is 125% higher than the national average, and child labor is the norm in the sweatshops in the sun. While the chairman of Safeway earns \$184,000 a year, the average wage of a farmworker is \$2,400. Agricultural work is one of the most dangerous occupations in the country; accidents are high and disabling conditions are commonplace. Crippling back problems are the result of years of stoop labor using tools like "el cortito," the short-handled hoe just banned in California as the result of a successful struggle led by the UFW. Between 1950-1961, 3000

farmworkers were poisoned by pesticides in California fields. 22 workers and 63 children died from poisoning. Workers are forced to live in unsanitary, impoverished camps provided by the growers. Even when workers do not live on the growers' land, they are often faced with the archaic labor contractor system, where workers are sold to growers in job lots.

The border between California and Mexico is like a faucet which the big growers of California turn off and turn on according to their needs. It is turned off in times of depression, and racist terror is brought down against Chicanos and Mexicans to drive them out; it is turned on in times of labor struggle to cut the heart out of workers' gains and reassert complete grower power. In the use of the border, as in the use of tax laws, land development plans, and water projects, the growers' willing partners are the government and the police.

The United Farm Workers, led by Cesar Chavez, are today's inheritors of a century of farmworkers' struggles. Based in the Central Valley of California, they have organized in the fields in the face of the combined assault of the big growers, the government, Nixon and the Mafia, and the Teamsters Union.

At the height of the grape boycott in 1969, the Department of Defense bought up surplus grapes and sent eight times as many to Vietnam as they had ever used before. Despite this, the grape boycott was successful and a number of growers were forced to sign with the UFW. In 1973, the Teamsters moved in and signed sweetheart contracts which lowered wages and eliminated fair practices and benefits won by the UFW. When Gallo, the world's largest and most profitable winery, signed a sweetheart contract with the Teamsters, the majority of Gallo workers walked out on strike. Gallo fired all strikers. Still, the UFW has held on and built an important trade union and a vital social movement committed to organizing every unorganized agricultural worker across the country.

**VIVA LA  
HUELGA**





## FOOD FOR PEOPLE, NOT FOR PROFIT

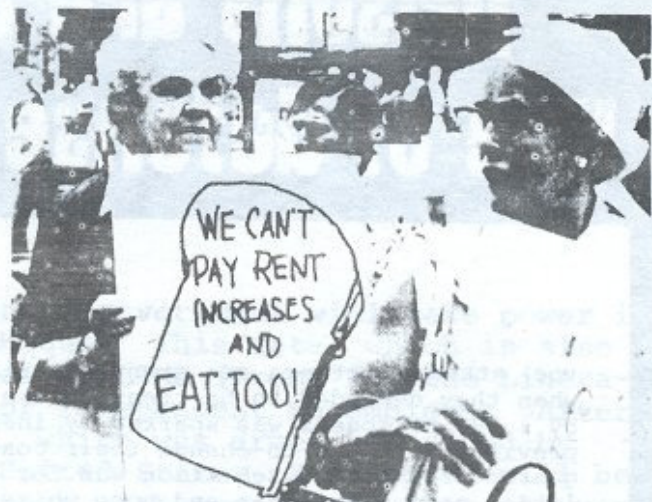
"If someone would send me a postcard and tell me what to do about the problem of food, I'd do it. I'd go to a demonstration if that would help. And I wouldn't be demonstrating for myself. I'm too old. I'd be demonstrating for all the future mothers and children of the world."

-- 65 year old grandmother of 22 waiting at a welfare office

Many examples exist of struggle against the food monopolies: the United Farm Workers' strikes and boycotts, demonstrations for adequate welfare and more food stamps, bombings by the Chicano Liberation Front of Safeway, Del Monte, and the Bank of America, the ever-expanding food co-operative movement, the SLA kidnapping winning millions of dollars in free food for the poor. Working on many fronts, uniting diverse actions, a program can be built to confront US agribusiness with the demand "Food for People, Not for Profit."

Attack and expose the USDA. The USDA is the executive committee of US agribusiness. Attack Earl Butz. Oppose USDA export subsidy system, its agribusiness connections, its ineffective food inspection, its anti-food production worker and anti-consumer practices.

Fight food stamp and welfare cutbacks by every means necessary. Oppose any food tax; it is a tax on the poor. Feed the people, not the Pentagon.



CREDIT: INS

Support food workers' struggles. Eight to ten million workers work in food production at low wages. They work long hours in dangerous conditions. This is most true of farm laborers. Build support for these workers' struggles. Boycott Coors beer. Boycott Gallo wine.

Build and join food co-ops; eat healthy food; shorten your supply lines. Food co-ops save on fresh produce, which has the biggest markup in supermarkets. Use food co-ops as a base for agitation; reach out and respond to the needs of poor and working people.

Organize teach-ins, study groups, Food Days. Destroy the myths of "benevolent" US food aid. Teach the truth about the food crisis.

Support Third World liberation, the right of Third World countries to reclaim their natural resources and build self-reliant economies. Demand an end to the blockade of socialist Cuba.



#### Free Rice Given To Thousands Of Saigon's Hungry

Free rice has been given out to nearly a quarter of a million of Saigon's 3.5 million inhabitants in the first stage of a new anti-hunger campaign, the official Saigon newspaper Gai Phong (Liberation) reported.

So far 241,988 Saigoneses have received a free ration of 11 pounds of rice for ten days as part of the "campaign against the hunger brought on by the Americans and their puppets," the newspaper reported.

CREDIT: MARC RIBOUD



# prisons are the state's first line of defense in the class war

attica

the attica brothers are standing trial now for the rebellion of september 1971 when they demanded to be treated like human beings. the liberation of the yard by 1,280 prisoners was sparked by inedible food, 25¢-a-day wages, the failure of previous attempts to change their condition and abuse and brutality by all-white guards. the attica rebellion was for all the 1,300,000 people (90% of them black, latin, native american and poor white) who suffer and struggle in us prisons. the rebellion was bloodily crushed, at nelson rockefeller's orders, by a police assault that left 43 dead. two native american men, dacajeweah (splitting the sky) and charley joe pernasilice, have already been convicted of murder and attempted assault and the trial of shango bahati kakawana is going on now. others will follow. the prosecution, lavishly financed by new york state, has covered up police crimes, corrupt deals and fbi informants' infiltration of the brothers' legal defense. the attica brothers demand total unconditional amnesty for all indicted as a result of the rebellion. they call on us all, in dacajeweah's words, to "bring people to their feet to the need to come together under one mind, one heart and most of all one spirit, to stop the atrocities of the state of new york."

## prisoners are our fighters

melvin kearney

on may 25 melvin kearney, member of the black liberation army, was killed in a courageous attempt to escape from the feared brooklyn house of detention when the rope he was climbing on broke. he was twenty-two years old, and had been on trial for attempted murder of police in 1973, in an action claimed by the bla in retaliation for the police murder of two bla members. melvin kearney had attempted to escape several times before, facing overpowering prison security, repeated intimidations and brutality toward revolutionary fighters by police and guards. we mourn his death and carry his spirit.

ethel and julius rosenberg

twenty-two years ago this month the rosenbergs were framed and executed for being "atom spies" in spite of international protest. only now documents are coming to light proving a conspiracy among high government and law enforcement officials to manipulate testimony against the rosenbergs, "to break this man" and "convict his wife too" in order "to make him disgorge information on other individuals." ethel wrote to their two sons, "i am sealed in the gray walls of this prison as if in a tomb." history is absolving the rosenbergs and damning their executioners.

# organize our communities to free all political prisoners



## June 25th: MOZAMBIQUE INDEPENDENCE DAY

On June 25, 1975 a new revolutionary government will take power in the former Portuguese colony of Mozambique. This date, which is also the 13th anniversary of the founding of FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique), marks the birth of independent Mozambique. After a prolonged struggle against Portugal, which was armed and aided by South Africa, Western Europe and the United States, Mozambique will be a nation free from colonialism. Together with people all over the world we celebrate this great triumph.

Under Portuguese rule, life in Mozambique was organized solely to provide revenues for Portugal and her imperial allies. One hundred thousand Mozambicans each year were separated from their families and sent to work in South African gold mines. Half their wages were paid in gold directly to Lisbon. Thousands more were forced to leave their villages and work building roads or growing cash crops such as cotton and cashew nuts on Portuguese-owned plantations. While Portugal spread the myth of its "non-racist" rule in Africa, only a tiny minority in any of her three African colonies were ever "assimilated" into Portuguese society. Most Africans lived in poverty and received no health care or education.

In 1956, Portuguese troops in Mozambique killed 49 striking dockworkers and in June, 1960 over 500 Mozambicans were killed during a peaceful demonstration in Mueda. Two years later, on June 25, 1962, FRELIMO was formed under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane from the merger of three nationalist groups. Preparations and training for armed struggle began immediately. The first military actions against the Portuguese took place on September 25, 1964.

Portugal, itself a backward and economically dependent nation, was incapable of controlling its African colonies thru neocolonialism. It had to rely on direct military and political rule. Faced with a long and difficult fight, FRELIMO had to struggle against those within its own ranks who argued a purely military strategy, as well as those who saw the struggle only as kicking out the Portuguese and not as totally reordering Mozambican society. It was necessary to develop an ideology and program which would fully involve the masses of people in the revolution. Tribalism and regionalism, historic sources of division and hostility among the people and within the nationalist movement, had to be overcome. As the struggle against the Portuguese developed, FRELIMO built it-

self thru intense political struggle from a loose coalition of nationalist groups into a highly united revolutionary organization.

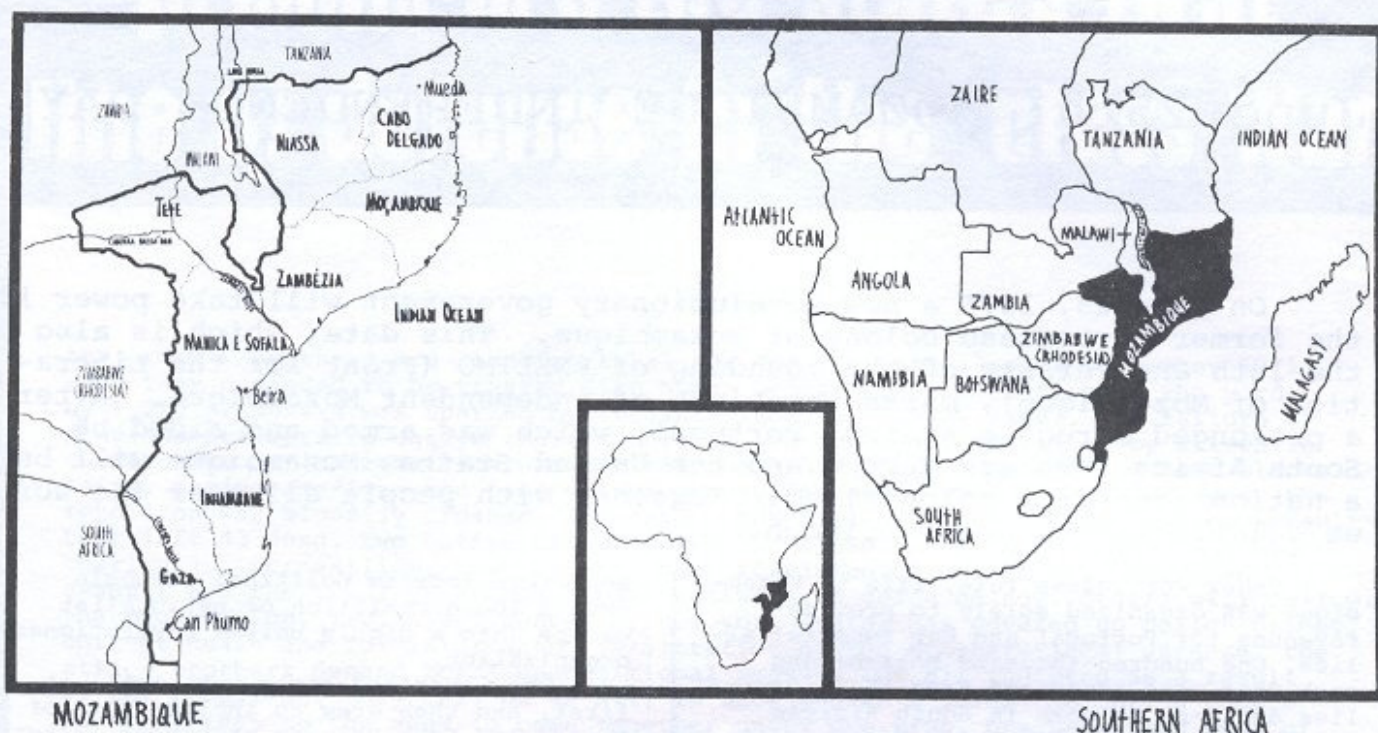
The liberated areas were small at first, and then grew to include most of Niassa and Cabo Delgado provinces. After 1971, parts of Tete and Manica e Sofala provinces were also liberated. FRELIMO organized an economy in the liberated zone based on cooperative agricultural production and handicrafts. The people's army was responsible for growing its food as well as fighting. Scientific agricultural techniques were introduced and the regions became self-sufficient in food production. A small import-export trade was organized with Tanzania, a nation which provided important support and solidarity.

Extensive medical and educational programs were developed in the liberated territories. By 1970 over 150 primary schools were in operation, teaching 20,000 children. In Cabo Delgado province alone there was one Central Hospital, 11 district hospitals and 56 first aid centers. These educational and health facilities, short of equipment and personnel, often simple camouflaged huts which could be easily disassembled and moved, were the first these regions had ever seen.

Within the liberated region women fought to play a full role in the struggle. In 1967 FRELIMO established a Women's Detachment. Women received political and military training and began to participate in the armed struggle, both in offensive action and in the defense of the liberated territories. Portuguese colonialism split up families thru forced labor, and encouraged prostitution by denying women the means to support themselves and their families. The Women's Detachment fought colonialism and struggled against reactionary traditions in Mozambican culture that held women back.

Portugal's attempts to hold back the tide of revolution were brutal. Early in the war Africans were rounded up into





MOZAMBIQUE

SOUTHERN AFRICA

"alimentos," like the "strategic hamlets" of Vietnam. Portuguese troops (and later their Rhodesian and South African "advisers") regularly raided the liberated regions, bombing or napalming before landing paratroopers. Portugal obtained the most modern weapons and planes thru NATO. In February, 1969, Portuguese agents hoping to promote division within FRELIMO assassinated President Mondlane -- an action which foreshadowed the January, 1972 assassination of Guine-Bissau's great leader, Amilcar Cabral. Later in the war, as the Portuguese situation became more desperate, they resorted to massacres of entire villages. In December, 1972, over 400 people were killed in the small African village of Wiriyamu in Tete province.

The decisive military campaign opened in 1971 when FRELIMO began fighting in northern Tete province, directly threatening the construction of the Caborra Bassa dam, a multimillion dollar hydroelectric project on the Zambezi River. Portugal hoped that this huge dam, financed by South African, Western European and US capital, would ensure perpetual white rule in Southern Africa by providing the necessary power for industrialization and new white settlement in the area. But by 1973, FRELIMO forces had attacked the construction site several times and there were no secure roads in or out of Caborra Bassa.

Throughout the 60's and early 70's, a movement grew in Portugal against fascism and the colonial wars. This movement included anti-war demonstrations and strikes, the flight from Portugal of thousands of young people who refused to serve in the Portuguese Army, and many significant armed actions against Portuguese and

NATO military installations. FRELIMO and liberation fighters in Guine-Bissau and Angola called this movement the "fourth front" in their struggle.

Finally in April, 1974, 50 years of fascism ended in Portugal when the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement seized power in Lisbon. The Armed Forces Movement developed as a direct result of the Portuguese military defeats in Africa. As negotiations began between FRELIMO and the new Portuguese government, FRELIMO opened a new military campaign in Zambezi Province. In September, 1974 Portugal agreed to the complete independence of Mozambique. The agreement established a transitional government, including six ministers from FRELIMO and three from the new Lisbon government, to administer the colony until June 25th.

Since September, FRELIMO and the transitional government have faced many problems. In late September and October there were riots in the capital, Can Phumo, caused by rightwing Portuguese (the "Dragons of Death"). 87 people died in the fighting. There was also serious flooding on the Limpopo River in March of this year, leaving 80,000 people homeless. Most of the crops in Gaza province were ruined, and the government had to ask for emergency aid. But FRELIMO has continued the task of transforming Mozambique from a colony to a free nation. Educational and health facilities have been expanded, prostitution has been outlawed and programs begun for reeducating and training women who were prostitutes under the Portuguese regime. And the government has begun to rebuild the economy from one based largely on tourism and the export of labor into a socialist economy based on self-sufficiency



in food production, beginning industrialization and the development of Mozambique's mineral wealth.

The victory in Mozambique is a blow to racist and colonial rule in Africa and is an inspiration to revolutionaries in Africa, Portugal and around the world. Samora Machel, the President of FRELIMO, expressed the spirit of the Mozambican revolution when he spoke on September 20th, the day the transitional government took power:

For ten years we fought without any concern of an individual financial nature, involved only in devoting all our energy to serving the people. This is the characteristic of FRELIMO's militants, cadres and leaders.

As we have always done and in accordance with our means, we try to ensure that each militant who carries out a task has the minimum material conditions required for his work, his sustenance and that of his family. But we must also not forget that we have often fought and won with bare feet, dressed in rags and hungry.

It must also be stressed that just as we fought a war without a timetable, without vacations, without days of rest we must engage in the battle for national reconstruction in the same spirit.

The watchword is work and self-sacrifice.

\* \* \*

## This Is The Time...

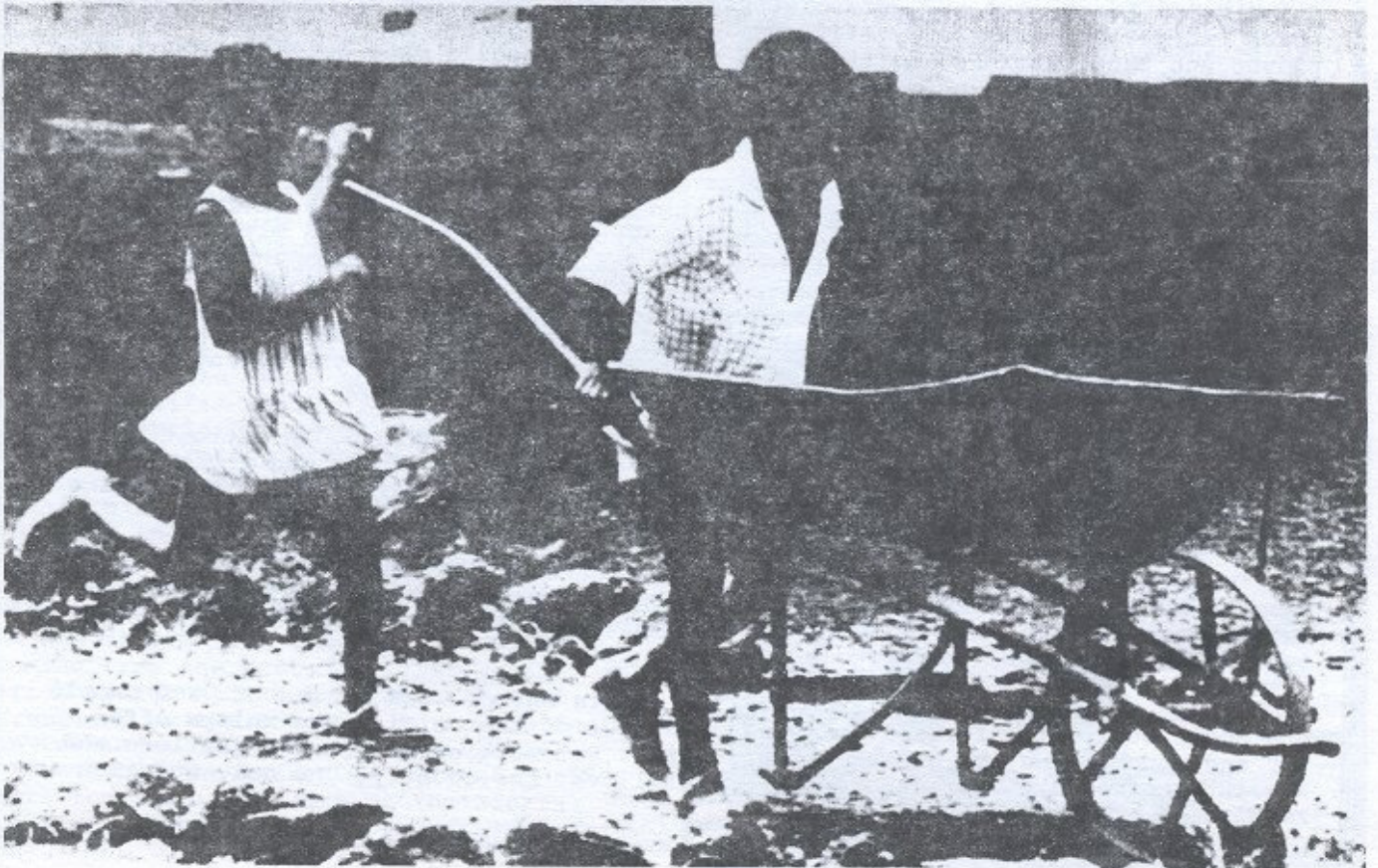
This is the time  
we were all waiting for.  
Our guns are light in our hands  
the reasons and aims  
of the struggle  
clear in our minds.

The blood shed by our heroes  
makes us sad but resolute.  
It is the price of our freedom.  
We keep them close in our hearts  
from their example new generations  
-- revolutionary generations --  
are already being born.

Ahead of us we see bitter hardships.  
But we see also  
our children running free  
our country plundered no more.

This is the time to be ready  
and firm.  
The time to give ourselves  
to the Revolution.

Josina Machel

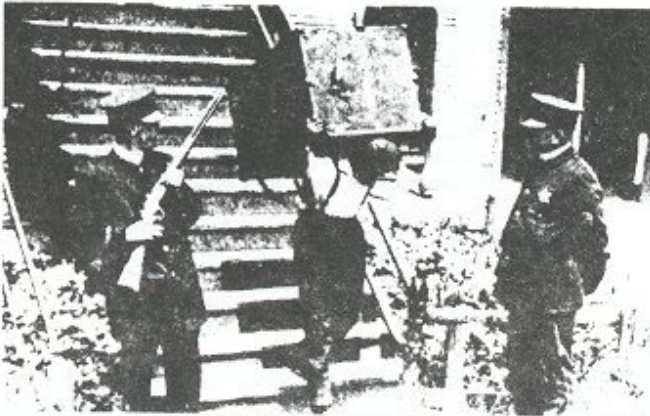




## The Unemployed Get Organized

The US Bicentennial is proclaimed as a packaged cultural snack brought to you by the Ford Administration. But people everywhere are seizing this occasion to uncover the true history of this land. In Concord, thousands of protestors shouted down Ford's war threats at the opening of the Bicentennial. The rulers have set the time for the party. Let us bring the Fireworks.

\* \* \*



AN EVICTION IN THE 30's

LNS

In the Great Depression of the 1930's, millions of people were thrown out of work throughout the capitalist world. On March 6, 1930, four months after the stock market "crash", the unemployed held huge demonstrations all over the world, with a million people participating in the US. In New York, William Z. Foster, the leader of the Communist Party, addressed the rally: "Mayor Whalen and the city officials have handed Broadway and other streets over to every monarchist and militarist exploiter of Europe and Asia to parade on, but now when the workers and unemployed workers of New York demand the use of these streets, Whalen's answer is that they can't have them. Will you take that for an

answer?" "No!" shouted the demonstrators, and headed for City Hall. The police on horseback and on foot attacked the march, and the marchers fought back. Thus began the militant unemployed struggles of the 1930's.

By 1933, there were 12 to 17 million people in the US out of work. The Trade Union Unity League and the Communist Party led the formation of unemployed councils which had 800,000 members by 1938. The councils worked for unity between the unemployed and those workers who still had jobs. The councils made demands around both survival needs and around other broad issues basic to the reordering of society: "Down with Imperialist Wars," "Free the Scottsboro Boys," "Recognize the Soviet Union."

Unemployed councils demanded relief and unemployment insurance at full pay, public works, and socially useful labor instead of degrading slave labor. The councils led hunger marches, took over soup kitchens and struggled with the patronizing private charities for popular control and dignity. They demanded the transformation of the huge wheat and cotton stocks held for the rich by the Farm Board into bread and clothing for free distribution to the unemployed. Unemployed councils were on the scene when a landlord tried to evict people unable to pay the rent -- it was a common sight in poor neighborhoods to see a crowd moving furniture back into an apartment and blocking the police from interfering.

Unemployed councils often worked with radical trade unions. In Detroit thousands of unemployed hunger marchers from the Auto Workers' Union and the unemployed council stormed the Dearborn Ford plant demanding work in March, 1932. The police opened fire, killing four marchers.

Unemployed Black workers were active in the councils. In Harlem the council fought against police brutality and the murder of Black people, against incredible unemployment levels (80% of Harlem was unemployed), for more relief, better housing and health services.

Today there are officially 8 million people out of work in the US, and people are again struggling for survival and a way out of the crisis. The rulers offer war and conquest as the answer to depression. But working class organizations and revolutionaries are starting to organize all over the country. The only solution is revolution.



## REVIEW: LONGTIME CALIFORN'

### LONGTIME CALIFORN':

A Documentary Study of an American Chinatown  
Victor G. and Brett deBary Nee. Houghton Mifflin Co.

Longtime Californ' is an oral history -- containing dozens of interviews with Chinese people in California -- and its power is in its popular perspective, the quality and dignity of the people telling their own story as they know it.

Tom Yuen describes his arrival in San Francisco in 1915:

Immigration laws were strict for Chinese then. No laborers allowed. You had to prove you were the son of a merchant or a man who was a citizen here before you could get in. We'd come off the steamer with a father or an uncle who had already been working here for a long time. "Me longtime Californ'," the oldtimers would say to the immigration officials. Then you had to prove, see, that you were really this man's son. Otherwise if you were just a Chinese workman, you weren't allowed in.

The story of the Chinese in America begins with Western imperial penetration of China, which was consolidated in 1840-1842 by the British victory in the Opium War. The war resulted in the First Unequal Treaties that imposed Western commercial exploitation on China. Peasant rebellions against landlords and the ruling dynasty, clan feuds, the attacks of roving bandits, and periodic floods, famines and droughts all further ruptured the fabric of Chinese society. Unable to sustain a living at home, many pioneers came in search of work and wealth in California.

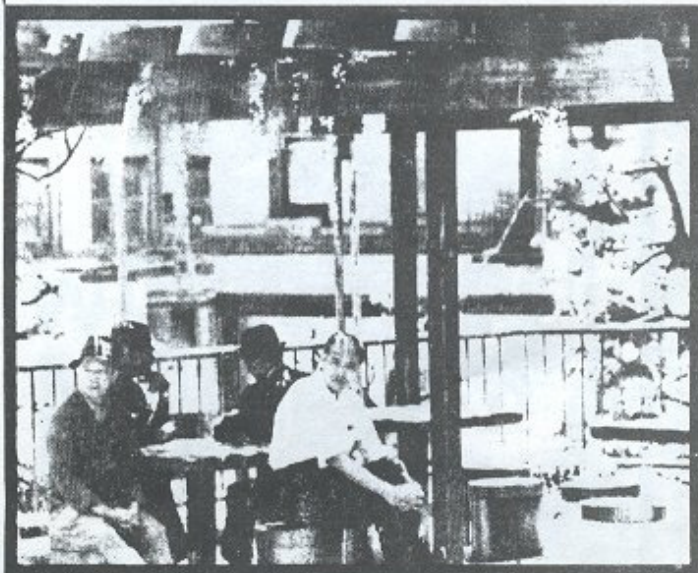
In the following 20 to 30 years Chinese labor carried the weight of several colossal and harrowing tasks that were fundamental to the creation of capitalism in the American West: the building of the Central Pacific Railway, the reclamation of the swamplands around the Sacramento River for farming, pioneer farm labor, cheap (highly exploited) labor enabling California to establish its manufacturing industry in spite of competition from more developed Eastern industry.

The accomplishments and oppression of the Chinese is exemplified in the building of the railroads. The Central Pacific, coming from the West, at first relied on Irish immigrant labor arriving in San Francisco by the shipload to escape famine in Ireland. In 1865 the construction crews faced the murderous work of cutting thru the granite ridges of the Sierra Nevadas. Central Pacific advertised for 5000 more workers but failed to rally even

a thousand. Chinese labor was recruited and later imported. At the height of the construction nine out of ten workers were Chinese.

The Chinese worked in deep snow, on sheer cliffs, and carried out the crude rock blasting. The loss of life was staggering. Chinese people worked from sunrise to sunset, several hours longer and at lower pay than white workers. In June 1867 2000 Chinese workers in the High Sierra went on strike demanding a reduction of the work day and a raise in pay. "Eight hours a day good for white men, all the same good for Chinamen", a spokesman said. The strike was beaten because it lacked support from other workers, although alarmed railroad bosses did wire East for Black people as replacements. The completion of the railroads created the conditions for the systematic genocide against Native Americans.

In 1870 the Chinese made up 14% of the California labor force as many of the young manufacturing industries began employing Chinese workers at from 1/2 to 1/5 the wage rate of white workers. At times the capitalists would use Chinese workers to break





strikes by white workers. When unemployment grew in the early 1870's, many unemployed whites joined street hoodlums in their attacks on Chinese people. Anti-Chinese agitation was widespread throughout the state and became a cornerstone of Democratic Party politics in California. On July 24, 1877, hundreds of white men rioted in San Francisco, attacking any Chinese in sight, burning and looting. Soon after, the Workingmen's Party was organized under the leadership of Dennis Kearny. The Workingmen's Party was both anti-monopolist and anti-Chinese -- demonstrators would march from Nob Hill where rocks were hurled at the rich down to Chinatown where buildings were burned -- but the focus gradually shifted to the weaker of the two opponents. "Down with the bloated monopolists" gave way to a new rallying cry: "The Chinese must go."

The Chinese immigration was the first large-scale migration of a free non-white people to North America. The "driving out" campaign provided the terror force that created the first Western ghetto, Chinatown in San Francisco, as well as a structure of jobs and livelihoods (relation to production) determined to a great degree by skin color and national origin.

Johnny Ginn remembers his father telling of the driving out:

And when the railroad was done, there was this chasing of Chinese. Chasing from one end of Utah to the other, all over Utah state. The Chinese were stranded out there, he said, didn't know where to go. And the ones that got beaten and the ones that got killed have never been stated, to this day, I don't think the United States government has ever made reparations to our people for the ones that lost their lives because of brutality...my father remembered a lot of men committing suicide then. Ran out and threw themselves into the bay.

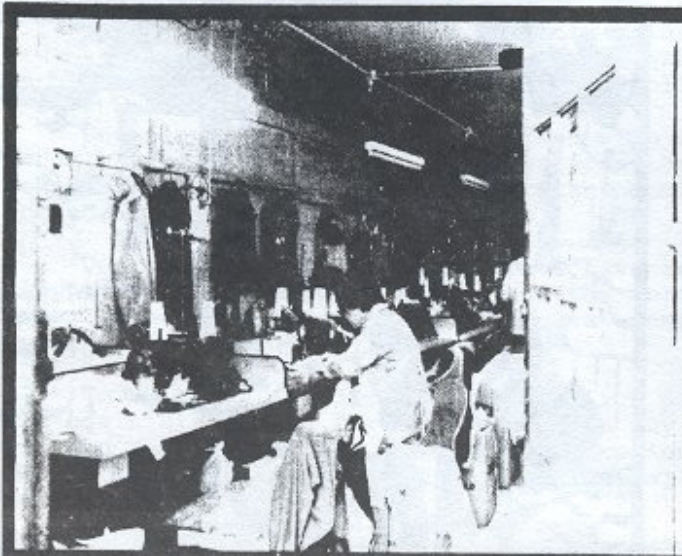
The attacks on the Chinese must be seen in the context of the conquest of all

of North America as a secure preserve of Europeans. The California Constitution granted suffrage only to white male citizens. "The struggle... unleashed on members of the Chinese race the same fury and violence with which large regions of the continent had already been won from the American Indians."

The oppression of the Chinese included strict restrictions on the immigration of Chinese women. Cheap labor was wanted, but not families and future generations. Successive immigration laws made it increasingly difficult for women to enter, until 1924 when all entry of women was outlawed, cutting off the small trickle of "merchant's wives". Anti-miscegenation laws were in effect until 1948, making it illegal for Chinese men to marry white women. These inhumane conditions have their living legacy in the bachelor societies of today's Chinatown and the ongoing struggles for decent housing and health care for the old men. Kam Wai talks of life for the bachelor worker:

Saturday nights the only night you go out and do anything, if you do anything at all. Course, if you're married, it's a different thing altogether. Saturday night you might go to a show or something like that. But for the single man like myself, you can do only two things. I could spend my time in a gambling joint, that's one thing. Or I could go around to the prostitution towns, making all the rounds. So, as I say, at that time, life didn't mean too much to us.

Longtime Californ' explodes the stereotype of the prosperous and docile Chinese and Chinatown as a quaint tourist mecca. In the real Chinatown of San Francisco, 40,000 people live in a 27 block area -- the second highest density (next to Harlem) in the nation. This means many families crowded into one and two room apartments, with 77% of the housing substandard by city codes. The unemployment rate is about double that of the US as a whole, and 40% of





Chinatown's families live below the poverty level. The Chinese in America are primarily working people, the family society of small shop owners fading into history along with the bachelor society. Tuberculosis is widespread. The suicide rate is the highest in the nation. While tourists look in the shops, many women bend over sewing machines in basements and down alleys, earning only \$1.00 or \$1.50 an hour. For many families both parents must work long hours at low pay.

The garment industry employs more people than any other industry in Chinatown, and Chinatown produces half of San Francisco's apparel. An estimated 70% of the shops pay below the minimum wage. The workforce is made up of women, mainly mothers, who seek jobs in Chinatown both because of language barriers and to be in a position to look after their families. Jennie Lew's life is typical:

She'd get up at seven and make breakfast for her husband and the kids. She'd walk the older ones to school, go to the factory at nine, and work for two hours until eleven. At eleven, she'd pick the kids up from school, make lunch for them, walk them back to school, and be back at work at one. At five she would take another hour off to cook supper for everybody. At six or six-thirty she'd go back to work again, sew until ten, then come home to bed. She was paid by the piece rate, not by the hour...her wages were often lower than one dollar an hour.

The main exploiters are the large manufacturers that contract out to the small Chinese shops. The small shops bid competitively and remain at the mercy of the big manufacturers. The Chinatown shops get \$6 million a year for making clothes that the manufacturers sell for \$18 million. These same clothes sell for about \$36 million in the department stores.

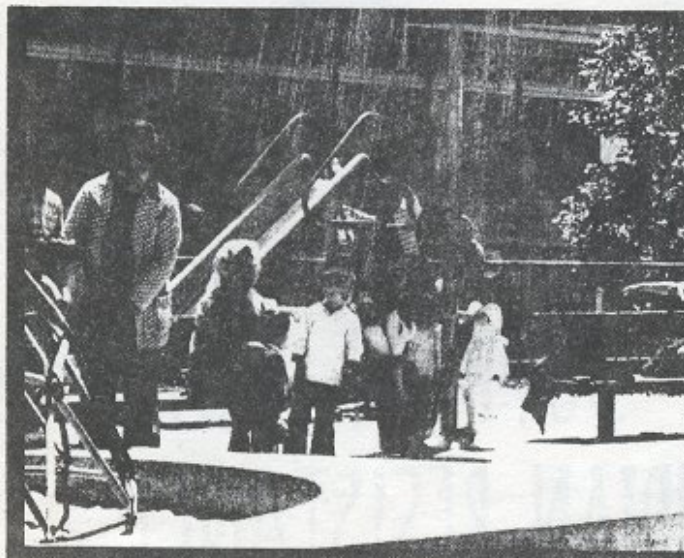
Important changes have come to Chinatown as a result of the Black civil rights movement and the opening of US relations with China. The example of the civil rights

movement encouraged a new sense of militancy and justice. Renewed relations with China stirred deep feelings of national identity and pride. Lew Wah Get, 84, tells us:

With Mao Tse-tung China is different. He works for the whole people...I'm Chinese and this makes me feel proud. The white man can't look down on us any more. You know, when I first came over here...we were stoned when we got off the ships...people shouted, "Chink! Chink! Chink!" I had no money to go to school. No wonder I can't speak English! But as a Chinese, I know what China was like before and now. Before, we used to lower our eyes before the white man. Now we can look straight at them without being afraid.

Chinatown is also changing with the return of the new radicals from college. Inspired by the accomplishments of People's China, and schooled in the anti-war and Third World student movements, these students come home with a Marxist worldview. The first issue that brought broad participation of the students in the community was the fight to save the International Hotel in 1969. The hotel has provided low-income housing for old Chinese and Filipino men for decades, but now developers want to tear it down to build a profitable parking structure for the financial district. The International Hotel has become a center for radical community activity, and the struggle to save the hotel is still going on today.

In their introduction to *Longtime Californ'*, the Nees explain that Chinatown is "not a microcosm of Chinese society on American soil, but a unique American community with a history and language, and institutions of its own, the reality of which reflects life in the growing inner-city ghettos of large American cities." *Longtime Californ'* gives us a look at the experience of this community, one group of Asians in America: their incalculable contribution to producing the wealth of this country, their victories and losses, their strong revolutionary energy which is our future.





# STOP THE TERROR AT PINE RIDGE

TWO YEARS AFTER THE WOUNDED KNEE OCCUPATION, A BRUTAL CAMPAIGN OF TERROR HAS BEEN UNLEASHED AGAINST MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT AND THEIR SUPPORTERS ON THE PINE RIDGE RESERVATION IN SOUTH DAKOTA.

THE CORRUPT PINE RIDGE TRIBAL GOVERNMENT OF DICK WILSON, OPERATING WITH FBI AND BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS APPROVAL, HAS CREATED A POLICE STATE ON THE RESERVATION. SINCE MARCH 1, SEVEN AIM MEMBERS AND SYMPATHIZERS, INCLUDING TWO WOMEN AND ONE CHILD, HAVE BEEN MURDERED AT PINE RIDGE. MEANWHILE, THE FBI HAS MOVED ON A NATIONAL LEVEL TO CRUSH AIM, USING MURDEROUS TACTICS SIMILAR TO THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY IN 1968-70. ON MARCH 1, THE FBI ARRESTED 17 AIM MEMBERS IN A THREE-STATE SWEEP, CHARGING THEM WITH CRIMES RANGING FROM MURDER TO "CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM", A CHARGE LAST USED AGAINST EUGENE V. DEBS IN 1918. AFTER AN OUTRAGED GROUP OF OGLALA SIOUX WOMEN SAT-IN AT THE FBI'S RAPID CITY OFFICE, THE FBI DECIDED TO "INVESTIGATE" THE SERIES OF MURDERS AT PINE RIDGE. A GRAND JURY MET AND RECENTLY RETURNED FELONY INDICTMENTS ONLY AGAINST AIM PEOPLE--THE VICTIMS OF THE TERROR. IN THE LATEST GOVERNMENT ATTACK, AIM LEADER RUSSELL MEANS WAS SHOT IN THE BACK BY BIA POLICE ON JUNE 7 AT STANDING ROCK RESERVATION IN NORTH DAKOTA.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT HAS ISSUED AN URGENT APPEAL FOR SOLIDARITY IN THIS CRUCIAL TIME. DEMONSTRATIONS AND PROTESTS WILL TAKE PLACE THROUGHOUT THE US THIS SUMMER, AND A NATIONWIDE BOYCOTT OF SOUTH DAKOTA--"SEE SOUTH DAKOTA LAST"-- IS BEING ORGANIZED.



## SUPPORT THE INDIAN RESISTANCE

