

MOVEMENT

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FREE LOS SIETE!

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LETTERS...

OLEO STRUT IS RECRUITING

The Oleo Strut is looking for new staff members. The Strut is a GI coffeehouse located in Killeen, Texas near Fort Hood. As well as the regular activities of a GI coffee house, we hope to have a radical bookstore, combination military law and radical books library in the near future.

Killeen is a small town with a population of 35,000 people totally dependant on the Army for its income. Fort Hood itself is a 39,000 man Armored Post staffed largely by Viet Nam returnees. There is no basic training, and almost everyone is just waiting to get out. Because Fort Hood is a riot control center and discipline is threatened by Nam vets, the propaganda and coercion are heavy. A lot of guys seek escape in dope. In fact, a whole cult has been developed around it.

For two reasons we have a firm understanding that no one on the staff will use drugs in Killeen. The first and most obvious is that it is a bust - an easy one and one that will close the Strut forever. The second is equally important and is the reason that we talk against drugs to the guys who come to the Strut.

Use of drugs in the Army is as destructive as ghetto use of drugs. Guys are trying to escape the fact that they are in the Army and spend all their time getting high instead of organizing. And of course the Army would rather court-martial a guy for dope than politics.

In an attempt to break down the barriers between the GIs and the civilians, we have learned that short hair and a "straight appearance" have increased the ability of the GIs to talk and relate to us on an equal basis. Our insistence on combatting the drug culture here does not mean that we feel that people in the cities should have reached the same conclusions. Rather, we are looking for people willing to change the surface of their life style to fit a small town and the

oppressive nature of the Army.

The Oleo Strut staff is a collective. We live in one house and all work every day at the Strut. We have been working as a collective for 4 months and have been varyingly successful. Within the collective is a women's caucus. We discuss all problems and political questions that arise. We discipline ourselves individually and from the collective we discipline ourselves as a group and criticize each other for mistakes we make as staff members.

We feel that our most important work is developing GI organizers who are laying the groundwork for a mass movement in the Army. One of the best organizing tools that has been established at Fort Hood is the Fatigue Press which is put out by the GIs.

In conclusion then, we are looking for people (men, women, or couples) who are willing to:

1) make a commitment of at least six months, hopefully starting in October or November, or as soon as possible.

2) do shit work in the coffeehouse.

3) learn about military law and counsel on court-martials and CO applications.

4) learn and make changes according to the demands made by the working situation in Killeen and the Army.

5) view their work as long-range, and not look for regular victories. This is organizing, not activism and takes patience.

6) talk politics with guys in the Army and keep studying and learning new ways to build a movement.

If you feel that this is the kind of work you want to do, please write us immediately, so that we can begin discussions about joining the staff. Tell us about yourself and what you have been doing, and we will describe in greater detail the work that goes on in the Strut. Write to: OLEO STRUT, 101 Avenue D Killeen, Texas 76541

TORTURE IN BRAZIL

EDITORS NOTE: The following document was smuggled out of Brazil. The brother who sent it to us requested that we do "everything within our power to translate it and seek to have it published broadly". Since he gave no address or suggestions on how we might help, we assume that we can best show our solidarity with our brothers and sisters struggling against imperialism in Latin America by building a front against imperialism inside the monster.

DOCUMENT NO. 1

On (date, late 1969), two sisters ("A" and "B" both respected educators) were arrested by the SS agents of the Brazilian "X" Army at (hour), and required to give the whereabouts of their brother ("C", a student leader). It is clear that they knew nothing, for they had not seen their brother in more than twelve months. They were then taken to the headquarters of the "X" Army, in (address); upon entering a large room, they saw some 40 men torturing 5 or 6 people. Fifteen or twenty of them (of the torturers - 5 to 8 for each prisoner) were visibly under the influence of alcohol - a Dantian scene very similar to the GESTAPO. The two were mistreated, kicked and slapped. They were threatened with having their clothing removed (one man, the most inebriated, called insistently for the "strip-tease" to begin - indicating the frequency of this sort of treatment).

On the morning of the same day, "D" died when blown to bits by a bomb which he had been carrying. His roommate "E" ... was taken to the same torture site; they wanted to know where his friend had held his meetings. He was nude and was placed in "pau-de-arara" (tied hands and feet, arms around his knees in a sitting position, and then hung from the ceiling by a pole passed under the knees - in this case he apparently was mishandled in a sitting position on the floor); in this position, they forced his chest so far back that it lacerated - the boy cried and screamed. After having been made to watch this scene, "A" and "B" were again questioned about the whereabouts of "C". They did not know.

Then they were shown the canvas sack which contained the pieces of "D". One of the soldiers doing the beating jumped on top of the sack saying, "He doesn't deserve respect, communists ought to be treated like this. He opened the sack, and seeing that "A" was the most impressionable, he left the boy's remains at her feet and threatened to cook a piece of his body and force her to eat it if she did not talk.

Seeing that with physical and psychological torture they were not getting any information, they tried something else, they tortured one sister in front of the other. They put "B" in an electric chair, placed her little fingers in electric sockets and began to give her shocks. "B" intuited that "A" was going to cry and began to take the shocks passively. Fortunately for them, the case of "E" was more serious, and it was decided to free them and to send for "E's" girlfriend to be tortured in his presence. Thus, without having their presence, their declarations or protests registered, they left, their treatment having been interrupted.

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THIS ISSUE IS DEDICATED TO THE SISTERS AND BROTHERS WHO STRUGGLED IN CHICAGO TO BRING THE WAR HOME

JOHN SINCLAIR WRITES FROM PRISON

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

My transfer to Marquette has been postponed at least a few weeks, but they are determined to send me there as soon as they can. A pig from the Corrections Dept. in Lansing came here to talk to me last Friday and told me how much I would like it up there and that they couldn't possible send me into the general prison population in Jackson because I would surely organize the prisoners to revolt against the prison authorities, and they couldn't take a chance on that. So I'll be shipped up to Marquette Prison in the Upper Peninsula sometime next month. Then I'll be able to have my typewriter and get some work done.

It's really important now that the people out there start organizing to defend themselves against the approaching police state and to warn the broad masses of the people about the fascist terror that is upon us. People are going to have to start educating themselves and their brothers and sisters so we won't be unprepared when the shit comes down.

Chairman Mao's "Red Book" is the best study guide, as Mao has proved that the people's liberation can be won

through proper methods of thinking and methods of work. As Che Guevara said, "In Revolution one wins or dies" - Mao won! So did Fidel. As we know, Fidel started with 83 men, lost all but 12, and took those 12 men into the mountains to get it together. 5 years later the People's Liberation Army marched triumphantly in Havana and set up the People's Revolutionary Government, proving that it can be done.

Here in Amerika the conditions are different but the need is the same - to establish a people's party and a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. A lot of us have felt that we can just "drop out" from the pig's society and "do our thing" within the decadent corpse of Amerika, but let me testify that it don't work. You can't "do your thing" in jail, and it's impossible to be "free" when the pig is beating and carrying away you brothers and sisters.

And "LOVE/PEACE" by itself, either as a slogan or a lifestyle, won't do it either because as Eldridge Cleaver put it, you can be sitting up there tripping and the pig will come up and beat your head in and carry you off to prison, where

you don't do anyone any good except the State.

The time for shucking and jiving is over. Those people who care about their brothers and sisters in their hip communities are going to have to start organizing and spreading the word of ARMED LOVE. Meaning, I love you all, but if you try to force me to live under your fascist state I will blow your head off.

And the people who aren't ready for this might as well get ready for the concentration camps, because I'll see you there. The police are not playing -- they are moving to seize control of the cities (check out Wayne County Roman Gribbs running for Mayor of Detroit and Washtenau County Sheriff Doug Harvey's total disregard for the legal government of Ann Arbor), and the unholy alliance of J. Edgar Hoover, Nixon, Atty. General John N. Mitchell, and new Supreme Court Judges, plus the CIA, is serious about getting rid of long-haired dope-smoking revolutionary youth.

And they don't care if you are "political" or not -- they know our way of life is a definite threat to their control just

because we don't accept their authority. I never used to be "political" either, but the pigs still attacked, beat, arrested and jailed me because I like to get high, go to dances, fuck and have a good time. I was in the House of Correction in 1966 for smoking dope before I ever heard of Mao Tse-tung, but I didn't know why the pigs hated me so. Now I know that all of us had better find out.

The White Panther Party will hold a mass meeting for all interested young people in the near future -- I urge everyone out there to attend this meeting and listen to what my brothers have to say. There should be a chapter in every school and town in Amerika; as Mao says, "It is up to us to educate the people".

I'll see you all soon. All Power to the People!

STP (Serve the People)
John Sinclair (Political Prisoner)

(Two weeks after this letter was written, John Sinclair was moved to Marquette Maximum Security Prison. His appeal to be let out on bail was denied by the Michigan Supreme Court.



Photo by SF Newsreel

THE RULING CLASS STILL HAS ITS ASS

A thousand people are gathered in Washington Square in San Francisco. Forty to fifty SF tac squad members stand across the street in full riot gear. More mounted tac squad are poorly hidden on side streets. The demonstrators began moving up Columbus Street to march on the Fairmont Hotel—meeting place for the International Ruling Class—but we kept to the sidewalk, chanting and passing out leaflets to the curious bystanders.

The motive force behind our organizing was that the International Ruling Class had no right to meet here or anywhere else. We did massive education around who these imperialists are and what oppression they're responsible for, both at home and abroad. We pushed for people to join us to "kick the ass of the ruling class" and stop their "festival of thieves".

After five weeks of organizing for the International Industrial Conference, only 600 of the expected 3000 or 4000 showed up. One local underground paper called it a "farce staged by brontosaurus". On the basis of the turnout and the impotence people felt in the face of the pigs on the first day of the week's actions, many people wrote the whole thing off as a flop. This was wrong. The IIC actions accomplished several positive things and also forced us to analyze our mistakes in a way that should be useful in the future.

JAPAN WEEK

The IIC was officially scheduled as part of a two-week trade and culture fair known as Japan Week. Behind a facade of friendship, the Japanese culture was used as a rip-off to sell products and cover up the real economic motives behind the festive occasion. The trade fair was planned and pulled off by American businessmen with participation of a few big Japanese businessmen with American investments. Japanese-Americans were excluded from the planning committees and played no part in the Trade week.

While \$1.4 million dollars was being spent on this trade and tourist promotion, Japanese and Chinese Americans worked in the sweatshops of Chinatown for less than a dollar an hour. Nothing was ever said about the detention of Japanese during World War II nor about the recent destruction of Japanese homes and businesses to build the new Japanese Trade and Cultural Center in San Francisco.

But why all the fuss over Japan? The Japanese and US economies are interlocked to the extent that one cannot make advances without the other. Japan is the second largest market after Canada for US goods, the largest US market for agricultural goods and an important target for US investments. This doesn't include the essential indirect US trade of imports of raw materials to Japan from Asia and Latin American companies owned by the US. Likewise, the US is the largest importer of Japanese goods accounting for 30% of Japanese exports.

But even immediately more important than expanding trade with Japan and the development of San Francisco as the "Wall Street of the West"

is the renewal of the Japanese-US security Treaty which comes up for ratification in 1970. The treaty is central to continued US domination (economic, military, and political) in Asia. Through the treaty, Japan grants the US "the use by its land, air, and naval forces of facilities in Japan". If the treaty is renewed it will insure the US continued maintenance of its 100 military facilities in Japan, its command headquarters, transport depot for troops, storage of weapons (including CBW and nuclear), supply depots for Viet Nam and bases for its twice daily B-52 bombing missions to Vietnam flown from Okinawa. With its massive military presence, the Japanese economy is virtually dependent on the US military spending as a key factor in the economy.

The Asian-American Political Alliance, the Red Guard of Chinatown, and SDS staged a demonstration at the docking of the destroyer "Amatsukaza" on September 5. The action was a good build-up for the IIC the following week and focused attention on the American-Japanese Security pact. Some Japanese tycoons on their way to the IIC were on board the ship. They were met by 75 people and the SF Mime Troupe all with flags, picket signs, and the Japanese National Anthem.

The international impact of this demonstration was important. Japanese students and workers are planning to shut their country down to prevent the ratification of the security pact. Ours was greeted as the first action taken by the movement in the US in direct solidarity with the movement in Japan. The demonstration was carried in the media throughout Japan and the Zengukaren looks forward to co-ordinated actions and alliance-in-struggle against the ratification of the 1970 security pact.

I.I.C.

The IIC was scheduled during the latter half of the Trade Fair to enable Japanese businessmen to attend both. Seven hundred top level business leaders from over 60 countries gathered at the fourth quadrannual meeting. The meeting was co-sponsored by the Stanford Research Institute, a major government contractor specializing in military and counter-insurgency research, and the National Industrial Conference Board, a private organization dedicated to the glorification of "private enterprise".

The policy board included 28 of the heaviest ruling class businessmen representing such corporations as Chase Manhattan Bank, Royal Dutch Shell, US Steel, AT&T, Standard Oil, Bank of California, Union Carbide, IBM and Safeway Stores. 2/3 of those attending were from other capitalist countries or from neo-colonies. David Rockefeller, Rodger Blough, Ernest Arbuckle and Edgar Kaiser et al. met to discuss problems and techniques of expanding the multi-national corporate control over the resources, markets and peoples of both the Third World and the industrialized countries.

Although the conference's theme was "Closing the World's Income Gap", the businessmen jabbered in the jargon of "cost structures, profit centers, and management of change". All of the world's problems were seen as technical rather than political. Topics of discussion sent out to participants before the conference included such gems as "removing impediments to private foreign investment", "modern day capitalism's role in the developing

nations", "influence of anti-trust legislation on international trade and investments", and "developing feasible alternatives to free collective bargaining and strikes". Their discussions indicated that the only way to close the worlds "income gap" was through private enterprise - private profit.

They were most interested in creating a managerial class, the problems of economic nationalism, the disaffection of the young and the propagation of the socially-conscious rhetoric of neo-imperialism. Holland's Dick Stikker, Secretary-General of NATO from 1961 to 1964, urged against the "pessimistic fear of revolution - the fear I am so sure that each of us in this hall experiences every day when he opens his newspaper and reads about...open resistance to every form of establishment."

BROWN WALKOUT

Months ago, Latinos got together in Denver and planned a high school walk-out for Sept. 16th to be coordinated throughout the Southwest around the demands of bi-lingual education and self-determination for brown people. SDS worked with Los Siete de La Raza urging white students to join in solidarity with and support of Latino demands. Safeway was a focus after students left school because they are still selling grapes and because of the heavy use of DDT and other pesticides on produce which is menacing the lives and health of farm workers and consumers.

The IIC and Latino walkout had originally been planned separately but when it was discovered that the times planned for the actions were the same and that Ernest Arbuckle, president of the board of Safeway Stores, Inc., was on the policy board of the IIC, plans were coordinated. Actions led by brown people with white participation went on throughout the region. Richmond had a successful walkout (see article in this issue) The majority of the Third World students walked out of Mission High in S.F. to picket 4 Safeways in the Mission district. San Leandro-Hayward saw over 1000 students walk out in support of the demands. Threatened by a walkout the San Jose city council planned a 5 hour rally in the city stadium marking the Mexican Independence day. Eight to ten thousand students attended the rally. As there was not originally a lot of impetus for a walkout, the power structure unwittingly aided in the spreading of Brown consciousness. The actions were successful and laid the foundation for co-ordination and support of Los Siete de la Raza.

ORGANIZING FOCUS

We directed the main thrust of our organizing efforts towards recruiting working class people, especially youth, to participate in the IIC demonstrations. SDS worked with the newly formed high school Students Union for both the IIC and the Latino walkout. The opening of school was only a few days before the IIC, so student organizing was limited. High schools and junior colleges were the targets of intensive leafletting at registration and the beginning of classes. We worked with youth on the streets, on local "strips" as well as the more well-known areas of Haight Street and Telegraph Ave.

CONTINUED ON P. 18

UNION OF REVOLUTIONARY WOMEN

by Mary Lou Greenberg

"The thesis must clearly point out that real freedom for women is possible only through communism. The inseparable connection between the social and human position of the woman, and private property in the means of production, must be strongly brought out. That will draw a clear and ineradicable line of distinction between our policy and feminism. And it will also supply the basis for regarding the woman question as a part of the social question, of the workers' problem, and so bind it firmly to the proletarian class struggle and the revolution."

—Lenin, in a conversation with Clara Zetkin, 1920.

"Women have been put down long enough. We're tired of getting the lowest wages and the crummiest work; of being used as strike-breakers, as a cheap supply of labor, and as unpaid servants in the home. We're tired of working for other people who just get richer while we get poorer. We want a society where workers work for themselves, not bosses; where women and men, black, brown, yellow, and red, are treated equally on the job, in the community, in the home, and in the schools; where jobs are available for all and each person is guaranteed food, clothing, shelter, health care, child care, and a good standard of living. We believe that only when workers instead of bigshot bosses run society and the government will women as well as men be free. We know that women cannot be fully free until ALL working people are free, but we must unite now and begin to fight for our freedom."

—Opening statement of the Liberation Women's Union Program.

The statement above represents the initial attempt of a group of Bay Area women to make the connections that Lenin saw necessary, between the exploitation and oppression of women and the exploitation and oppression of all working people.

This connection has, of course, been made before: by some women's liberation groups who use it to show why organizing women around the issues of women's liberation is inherently "revolutionary", and by radical and left groups which are now tacking on "women's issues" to their platforms, but basically forgetting about them after that.

The Liberation Women's Union is attempting to do something which neither of these approaches has so far done. That is, to organize women on the basis of their real needs as women and, through a working class-oriented program and series of demands, to relate each issue and specific struggle to the overall class struggle.

Lenin recognized the need for "appropriate bodies" to carry on work among women, "special methods of agitation and forms of organization". "That is not feminism, that is practical, revolutionary expediency.. That is why it is right for us to put forward demands favorable to women..practical conclusions which we have drawn from the burning needs, the shameful humiliation of women in bourgeois society, defenseless and without rights."

TEN DEMANDS

Briefly, the demands of the LWU are:

- 1) EQUAL WORK AT EQUAL PAY, including no racial or sexual discrimination in hiring, promotion, or pay scales.
- 2) FREE, 24-HOUR, CHILD CARE CENTERS FOR ALL CHILDREN.
- 3) SHARING HOUSEHOLD WORK. "Household work is not just "women's work". It should be shared by all family members."
- 4) FREE, EQUAL AND REAL EDUCATION, including no more "tracking" by sex, race or economic class. "We demand that schools teach about the role women have played in history; we demand that they tell about the struggles of American working people and about the struggles of poor and oppressed people everywhere."
- 5) FREE, COMPLETE HEALTH CARE, including free birth control information to all who wish it; safe free abortions to women who want them; no forced sterilization of anyone.
- 6) CONTROL OVER PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS, including equal rights for all women and men, married or unmarried, and for all children born in or out of marriage.
- 7) AN END TO BRAINWASHING. "We demand an end to the degrading image of women on TV, in the movies, in books and in advertising. We will not be brainwashed any longer into buying things that just make big businessmen richer."
- 8) SELF-DETERMINATION FOR NATIONAL MINORITY AND THIRD WORLD PEOPLES.
- 9) AN END TO U.S. IMPERIALIST WARS OF AGGRESSION.
- 10) CONTROL OVER SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, including "We demand that the courts, police and other social institutions such as national, state, and local government stop oppressing the people. The present inadequate and degrading system of welfare must be

replaced by a program which guarantees an adequate income for everyone...We must stop the taxing of poor and working women and men and make the big corporations pay instead.

PERSONAL TO POLITICAL

The first thing we did upon coming together this summer was work out this program and demands. Some of us had participated in and were still involved with small groups in the existing women's liberation movement. We had gained an understanding of the social--rather than individual--causes of female oppression and exploitation through participating in one or another of the small women's groups, the most common organizational form of the WL movement so far.

We recognized that some middle-class women may indeed be made aware of the inherently exploitative and oppressive nature of U.S. monopoly capitalism through first becoming aware of and understanding their own person oppression as women. We had also seen that this was not inevitable. Those middle-class women who DID make the connection, whose consciousness supposedly had been raised from an individual to a social level of understanding, were by and large unable to fight their oppression except on a purely personal level--i.e., moving into a commune, divorcing their husbands, taking off their bras, uncurling their hair, etc.

In fact when some of these women began to seek ways of acting outside the small group-- for instance protesting job discrimination, or participating in an anti-war protest--they were sometimes discouraged and warned against being co-opted by the male left. In some parts of the WL movement, those who suggested such action were suspected of being agents for male-dominated groups.

In addition, we were quite aware that any movement which purports to seek liberation for a considerable segment of society, in this case half the population, must address itself to the needs of the poorest sectors of that group if it is to succeed in its intent. Radical historian William L. O'Neill had pointed out, in an article in Dissent entitled, "Feminism as a Radical Ideology," that the early feminists "invariably refused to admit that differences in station among women were of any importance...Equal rights for women did not mean the same thing to a factory girl that it meant to a college graduate".

Despite the fact that this article was widely circulated in at least several small WL groups and that many women realized that our experiences with and understanding of the needs of working and lower class women were, at best, limited, there was little, if any, attempt made to find out what we did not know and to make the WL movement serve all women instead of just a privileged few. (The several forces and splits within the general WL movement are well defined in the McAfee-Wood article, "Bread and Roses", in the June 1969 LEVIATHAN).

AN APPROPRIATE BODY

It was therefore clear that within the existing diffuse WL movement an alternative was needed for middle-class women who wanted to actively fight for women's liberation as a part of the overall revolutionary movement, as well to make the ideas of women's liberation work in the interests of working

and poor women.

At the same time this summer, women whose participation in the small WL groups had been limited or non-existent, but who were deeply concerned with the position of women as part of their commitment to building a revolutionary movement among the workers and youth in this country, were beginning to feel the need, in Lenin's words, for an "appropriate body" to concentrate on the conditions and needs of women.

Through a common need to create such an organization which would concentrate on organizing non-professional working women, wives of working men, and women on welfare, we began meeting together. Unlike some groups which initially form around a general idea and then after a period of time evolve a programmatic approach to organizing, we felt the necessity to begin work immediately on a program and demands around which we could unite women and from which an organization might grow.

Most of us already were members of specific organizations and/or collectives, for instance the Bay Area Revolutionary Union; SDS; a collective in Hayward doing working class organizing; women's liberation groups which had begun to seriously talk about organizing working women; San Francisco Newsreel, etc.

We all had at least an elementary understanding of Marxism, and were united on the necessity of socialist revolution led by the working class. In a series of meetings we worked out an initial program and series of demands which were discussed by the whole group, re-drafted, and discussed again. Attendance kept increasing, and at each meeting new women came. At this point no publicity has been given to the group except through word of mouth. It was obvious, though, that a number of women were moving in the same direction and felt a need to share experiences and work together in a disciplined, directed way around women's issues.

COLLECTIVES OF WOMEN

After the first version of the program had been finalized (on the basis of our experience with it, it may go through several more versions), we began discussing organizational questions. There are seven basic geographical areas around the Bay represented. Between 50 and 75 women attended at least one of the program-discussing meetings, and all geographical areas have been represented at all meetings. The group is predominantly white, although a Chicano woman active in the brown movement has participated from the beginning, and an early meeting was held with two Black Panther women. Most of us in LWU come from middle class and student backgrounds; most are now working in non-professional type jobs - in factories, clerical work, communications, etc. - or will be working in the near future; others are doing work in their communities or on state college or junior college campus.

The organizational structure is complicated: in a couple of these areas there are several separate but close-working groups participating, plus several "independent" women. A steering committee has been set up, composed of representatives from each geographical area, which will assist communications between groups, schedule plenary meeting, and discuss in detail the proposed structure, aims and activities of the LWU.



PHOTO/BARBARA ROTHKRUG

At this early stage, the organization exists primarily to exchange information between groups and individuals already engaged in organizing women. Our eventual goal is to assist in creating a revolutionary mass organization of women with a working class perspective which will at the appropriate time join with similar organizations to forge a revolutionary party in this country.

To move toward this goal, we must form collectives of women, organized around a revolutionary program and series of demands. At the present time, separate LWU collectives are not meeting in all areas due to different existing situations and needs. For instance, in one area there are several working class community groups and organizations already existing. Women from these groups are represented on the LWU steering committee, participate in general LWU actions, and may use the program in their organizing work, but at this time do not plan to form a separate LWU collective or chapter. In other areas, separate LWU collectives are already forming.

ACTION-STUDY

Whatever organizational form finally evolves, the success or failure of the LWU will depend on whether or not it is able to organize actions around the demands and truly serve the people--in this case, working and poor women.

In addition to exchanging information, the LWU will focus on two areas: study and action. The steering committee has prepared a reading list and several study plans for use as each area needs. Many of the women are already involved in study groups which focus on the works of Marx, Lenin and Mao; for those who are not and for new members of the organization, special study groups will be set up. Along with basic revolutionary literature, we will study the history of women's and labor movements in this country and current WL publications and literature.

In the area of action, we will conduct propaganda addressed to women on women's issues and on anti-imperialist issues in general (for instance, the fall anti-Vietnam War moratoriums and mobilizations); and plan actions around particular issues in each area and the LWU demands.

Our experiences with organizing around a program

and specific demands is extremely limited at present. Our work so far has shown that it is a very useful tool for making contacts with other women who are already organized and who are likewise looking for women with whom to unite. We are currently experimenting with ways of utilizing the program and our efforts will vary from area to area at present. A condensed form of the program, similar to the one included earlier in the article with a list of contact phone numbers, will be printed on the backs of leaflets issued for specific actions of general propaganda purposes. For instance, the LWU will participate as a group in the Nov. 15 Get-Out-of-Vietnam march in San Francisco and will distribute a LWU leaflet along the way. For the future, we are anticipating simultaneous organizing around one key demand in each geographical area.

In addition to general organizing, we will participate as individuals or as a group in specific actions to support the struggles of other women--on picket lines, in Welfare hearings, in demonstrations for support of political prisoners, etc. LWU women have walked the picket line with strikers and their wives in the current Pittsburg-Des Moines Steel strike in San Jose and will support the strikers and their wives in whatever way we can--from providing babysitters to participating in demonstrations at the plant. We plan to be able to mobilize large numbers of women on short notice for supportive demonstrations or other action wherever and whenever such support is needed in the Bay Area. We also hope it will be possible to form alliances with Black Panther and Chicano women for mutual support.

CONSCIOUSNESS & KARATE

Two other areas are also important in the development of a strong, revolutionary women's movement: each LWU member is expected to learn some form of self-defense (we are in the process of locating karate instructors); and each woman who is serious about building such a movement must take the ideas of women's liberation seriously in her own personal life. The LWU hopes to be a disciplined organization in expecting members to participate in study and self-defense classes and be responsible to the organization for carrying out decisions made by the

entire body. In addition, we expect members to combat male supremacy and male chauvinism in all aspects of personal behavior and political work. For instance, we must not hesitate to assume positions of leadership or voice our opinions in any other, mixed (male and female) collectives and organizations we are in. We must be on our guard against consciously or unconsciously responding in bourgeois, "feminine" ways to male actions or statements. We must combat the ideas of male chauvinism in ourselves as well as in males, and we must dress and act in ways that do not further our sexual objectification. We must actively raise the oppression and exploitation of women as it relates to capitalist exploitation and oppression of all people, and we must never separate the fight for women's liberation from the fight for the liberation of all people.

CRACKING THE FOUNDATION

We have found already that the question of women's liberation can be one of the most difficult to raise in general political work. We have also found that once raised, it leads to increased political consciousness of both men and women. The idea that wives have a right to attend their husband's union meetings, for instance, increases the political awareness of the women and makes them feel that they are a part of workers' struggles, too. It also helps expand the concept of "worker", and puts union struggles into a broader social context.

In the process of tearing down--or at least cracking--the institutions of male supremacy (for instance, all-male unions with their attendant ideas that union meetings are for men only; that women shouldn't be on the picket line; that women aren't "workers"; that unionization isn't necessary for women), the foundations for male chauvinism will also crumble. When men see that women can be helpful on a picket line, they will begin to change their ideas of women as meek, docile, and servile creatures. Once released from the ideas of male chauvinism and the practices of male supremacy, men and women can unite to fight the common enemy.

The Liberation Women's Union is actively seeking the participation of, or alliances with, other women who basically agree with our approach and program. We will also unite with other women on areas we can agree on, and we welcome comments and criticisms. For more information on the LWU and a complete copy of the program and demands, write Mary Lou Greenberg, c/o The Movement.

JULY 23rd DEFENSE

The July 23rd Defense Committee is desperately in need of funds. We organized to assist in the legal defense of the five Black people who were indicted in the Glenville Shoot-out in 1968, when three policemen and one civilian were killed.

The first person to be tried was Ahmed (Fred Evans) who was convicted and sentenced to die in the electric chair. Unfortunately, the Defense Committee did not get into full swing until the time of Ahmed's conviction.

Ahmed was defended by court-appointed attorneys Stanley Tolliver and Charles Fleming. Although the court normally pays about \$3,500 to EACH attorney for a case such as this, these lawyers received that amount altogether. Mr. Tolliver's share was immediately seized for income taxes. Mr. Fleming is facing possible charges because the Committee sent him \$200 after he had applied for his state fee.

Ahmed's case is being appealed. We urgently need money to be able to pay for this legal service.

Non-Du (Lathan Donald) is presently on trial. He, too, has court-appointed attorneys. These lawyers have been hostile to the Committee and went so far as ask the judge to make us leave the courtroom. It is obvious that the Committee is extremely limited in the kind of defense for Non-Du due to the hostility and lack of cooperation from his attorneys.

The most obvious fact is that the JULY 23rd DEFENSE COMMITTEE NEEDS MONEY TO PAY COMPETANT AND COOPERATIVE LAWYERS.

The third defendant, Alfred Thomas, has been committed to Lima State Hospital for the Criminally Insane. The Committee does not have the money to provide competent and cooperative psychiatric help for him, that is, if he really needs it.

Two more young men are awaiting trial. It is not uncommon for Blacks and poor people to be left in jail and forgotten. Although the Committee has not been able to provide private legal counsel so far, the Committee has been and continues to be most diligent in bringing public attention to the case of the Glenville Five.

WHAT WE HAVE DONE

1) We challenged the Seminar on Violence in America at Case-Western Reserve University to take a position on Ahmed's case. Our actions caused quite a stir on the campus.

2) We held People's Court so that the people could hear for themselves the facts of a drunken police orgy in Glenville on July 23, 1968, when people were shot, property stolen, and women molested by the Cleveland police.

3) As a result of the testimony heard at People's Court from eye witnesses, we tried to petition County Prosecutor John T. Corrigan. He refused to see us and instead issued an injunction to keep us out of the county courthouse. When we appeared, unaware of the injunction, we were attacked by the police, beaten, sprayed with gas, and thrown into jail.

Twenty-six members of the July 23rd Defense Committee and supporters were tried and convicted for contempt of court and given stiffer sentences and fines than is usually handed down (cruel and unusual punishment). Our total bond is \$40,000 and our sentences ranged from ten days to one year in prison!

4) We appealed to Third World nations at the United Nations. We were successful in having the family of Mr. Akili Danielli, Ambassador from the Republic of Tanzania to the United Nations, come to Cleveland and visit with us and celebrate the first anniversary of the Glenville Shoot-out.

Other Third World nations have agreed to visit and identify with us.

5) Mr. James Forman, author of the Black Manifesto, came to Cleveland as guest of the July 23rd Defense Committee. He spoke at the First Baptist Church in Shaker Heights. He read the Manifesto to hundreds of people at Sunday services and called for support of the July 23rd Defense Committee and the Glenville Five.

6) We are an active part of Operation Black Unity. We have people on the picket lines in front of McDonald's hamburger restaurants every day.

THE JULY 23rd DEFENSE COMMITTEE IS ON THE CASE. THE JULY 23rd DEFENSE COMMITTEE DESERVES YOUR FINANCIAL SUPPORT.

Please send contributions to July 23rd Defense Committee, P.O. Box 2404, East Cleveland, Ohio 44112

Wilbur Grattan, National Chairman, Mae Mallory, Assistant Chairman

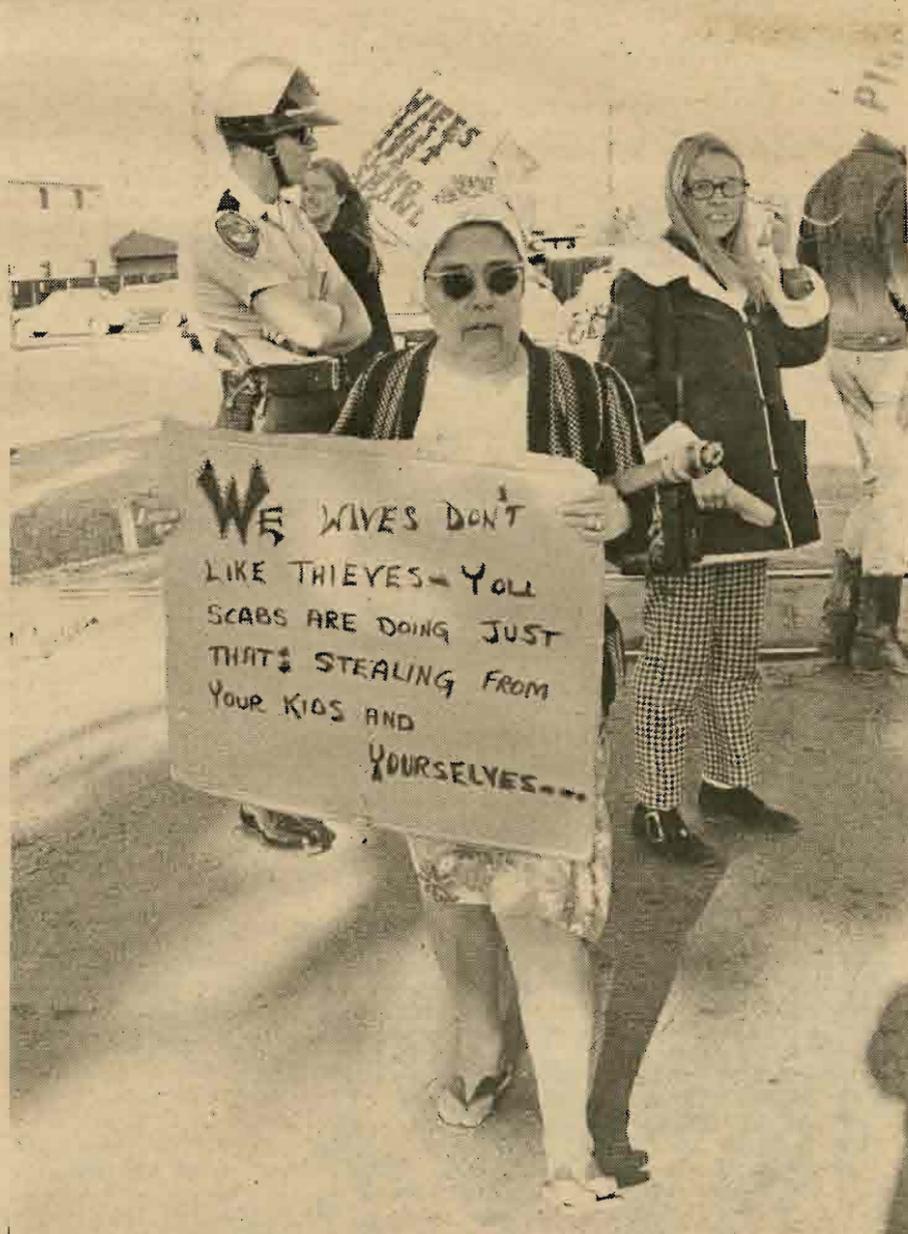


Photo by SF Newsreel

muni black caucus right on time

The Black Caucus has organized bus drivers of the San Francisco Municipal Railway (MUNI). The Caucus was formed about six months ago when a strike situation made many workers dig the misleading role played by the union leadership. This is an interview with Wilbert Powe and Jose Wilson of the Central Committee of the Muni Black Caucus and with Ducho, the advisor to the Muni Black Caucus.

MOVEMENT: Why are you involved in organizing transport workers? Do you see the transportation industry as strategic?

JOSE: We didn't pick the transportation industry to organize. As workers in the transportation industry, we decided to organize where we were. There's only one difference between a worker in a General Motors plant and one in transport, the type of work they do. We're all workers. We aren't concerned about this being a strategic stronghold, as far as shutting the city down. We were concerned about the fact that, as workers, we saw that we were being exploited and we wanted to put an end to this exploitation.

MOVEMENT: What's the work like, what are the people like, what kinds of things do you have to take account of in your organizing strategy?

WILBERT: Up until last year, the turnover of people leaving the job on the Muni railway was well over 50 percent. This is because of the way Muni is run, and because the union does not meet the needs and desires of the workers there. We just got some new buses here in San Francisco. A few. They say it's because the public didn't vote to get new busses. They turned it down twice. We understand why people would vote against any goddamn thing that Muni wanted because of the way that Muni is run. We're working with schedules that are outdated, with equipment that's obsolete. People don't get the service that they should. So naturally when a proposition comes up on the ballot that Muni should get new busses, people just turn their back on it.

Muni Railway is dictatorial, not only to the workers, but to the people of San Francisco. We have to deal with the membership of our local, 250A, and we have to, as revolutionaries, fight on all fronts, to meet the needs of the public. The riding public sees the driver as another part of the bus, not as another working person. Also, the bus drivers are politically immature, they have nothing to tell the people about what the drivers are doing because the union isn't working in their interests or the interests of the people.

MOVEMENT: Muni's a non-profit corporation?

JOSE: Supposedly. Run by the city. The citizens of San Francisco pay for the Muni Railway, so anytime anything comes up about the Muni, it is important to the people. But it hasn't met the needs of the people.

WILBERT: As far as the Muni Railway being profit or non-profit, if they're working with the city, the goddamned city is profitable, the government is a profitable organization. Non-profit ain't nothin' but a myth. We know where Muni gets its orders from, the city has been brought to a point by pig Alioto where fascism is rampant.

We have to work with bus drivers who are making 4 dollars and 15 cents an hour. Some of them think, we're getting more money. In fact they get less. Think about the surtax that's been extended since the Nixon administration has been in power. As workers get pay increases, they have more taxes to pay.

CLASS STRUGGLE

MOVEMENT: Is there a problem with the workers making \$4.15 an hour raising the level of consciousness and struggle? Some people would say they're too hooked into the system to become revolutionary?

WILBERT: We relate to class struggle, and whether a proletarian is making \$4.15 an hour or \$2.00 an hour,

he's still basically in the same shape. Perhaps you can accumulate more material goods than another member of the working class, but we say fuck that, you're still being exploited, still being placed in expendable categories, like being sent to Vietnam, so we relate to the class struggle.

We understand that there's a particular problem when talking to people who are making \$4.00 an hour, different than when talking to people who aren't making anything. When you're talking to a brother on the street who don't have a job, then he's gonna tell you what he know, what he's doing, where he's been, how he came to be where he is. The things that he'll tell you will point right back at the system.

It gets more difficult when you deal with people who have a high school diploma and even two or three years of college, who have been pre-programmed into an acceptance of the American way of life. We have to deal with people according to their background and where they come from...learn whether they come from a petty bourgeois background or whether they've always been the brothers on the block. To begin with, when we talk to people individually, then we have to learn how they relate to the black liberation struggle, and how they relate to whether or not there should be changes at Muni. But without being mechanical, we have to relate to them in accordance to their class background and class consciousness.

MOVEMENT: How did the Black Caucus develop?

JOSE: The black caucus was fomed by black bus-drivers who were fed up with the way the union wasn't representing them. A strike was called for the purpose of the 1800 platform employees going out in support of some benefits for 150 miscellaneous employees who are also in the union. That was about six months ago.

SOLIDARITY VS. RACISM

DUCHO: When we started there was a lack of interest on some workers' part as to what we were doing and quite a lot of confusion among older workers who were upset that a caucus was being formed on Municipal Railway property. They couldn't see the significance of a caucus when they felt that the union was working in the best interest of all the workers. This confusion came particularly from some older black workers who had struggled in the union for a long time in an effort to gain some leadership positions in the union. There's a black local union President now. He campaigned on the popularity of the black power movement, and was elected by the majority of black workers on the property, there being about 60 to 65 percent black busdrivers.

This president is an opportunist, and he has not performed adequately for the president of a union of such size. But when the black caucus started, there was a feeling that we were racists, that we were trying to form a new union, that we were trying to disrupt and divide the union, which is not so at all. So we had to educate the other workers as to the purpose and function of the caucus, and why there was a need for one.

WILBERT: There was opposition to the name Black Caucus. We ran a leaflet on that, how we understand that in a racist system people are easily racist oriented and about how if they judged our practice they'd find that racism wasn't a factor in the black caucus. There is no antagonistic racism between black and white drivers. But the leadership that came in under the legend of black power in 1967 perpetuated the same program as the white leadership. That's why the union leadership attacks us.

JOSE: Not long after we started we worked on a case where a cable car driver was forced to come back to work with his foot wrapped up, using a cane. We took the case to his union representative and pushed it. We also wrote it up. He was a white worker. We needed something like that to break down the thought of racism, because of the name of the organization.

WILBERT: The Central Committee of the Black Caucus is black. Understand something: the caucus was formed by black bus drivers but its on the same lines as any revolutionary organization that wants solidarity. The Central Committee is black, but anybody can join. We have white members.

DUCHO: We came into being when the union was trying to put forth a strike position for the total membership involving these 150 miscellaneous employees. There's a dual nature to the question of the miscellaneous employees. They're in the union partly for their own advantage on the one hand, and on the other keeping them in the union increases membership and gives the local leadership some prestige. The miscellaneous employees are supervisory personnel. A lot of the grievances between management and platform employees stem from these supervisory personnel, such as inspectors and dispatchers. Now how in the hell can the union operate in the best interest of both the platform employees and the miscellaneous employees. It's a divided house. The supervisory personnel really could care less, because they have management to defend them and don't need the union for that. We say the union is using these miscellaneous employees, while inadequately representing the platform employees. We've raised this with the union, asked them to take it to the International Convention. The local

leadership refused to accept it, so the problem still exists and hasn't been dealt with.

UNION ISSUES

MOVEMENT: What other issues have you raised since the time?

DUCHO: There's the question of by-laws. The local leadership has quoted them in and out of context on every issue that came up. Members of the black caucus went to the union office, and requested our copies of the by-laws, which is the right of every union member. The president was out of town, so we talked with the Secretary Treasurer. He said we couldn't have a copy because they were all out, and some more were at the printers. On further questioning he didn't know the name of the printer, when the by-laws had been sent. He said only the President had this information. We knew the Secretary Treasurer, who signs all the vouchers, all the papers would have this information, so we knew he was lying. We put out a flyer to this effect telling what had happened. And found out no one had ever had any by-laws.

They came up with a copy of some old proposed by-laws, but they'd never been approved by either the International or the membership like they're supposed to be. Nothing had been done.

Because of the questions that we raised, and the questions raised by many drivers, the union was forced into coming up with by-laws. And before they could do this, at a union meeting the acting President had to state clearly that there were no by-laws. At the next union meeting, a month later, by-laws suddenly appeared. They came out of the sky. They had never been before the membership for approval. The situation was clear, and so this was one area where we raised the awareness of our fellow union members, where they



began to ask the questions, and began to learn that there are certain things that they are entitled to, and things that the union leadership is doing in their name that are lies.

WILBERT: We also worked on the rules that apply to probationary employees. They're rigid. For example, if you're sick and you're a probationary employee you can only be off 14 days. More than that and you're terminated. Nobody can determine when their body's going to heal. Some members of Local 250A were dismissed for this and the Black Caucus took the case, went all the way to the Civil Service Commission, and got the jobs back.

RAISING CONSCIOUSNESS

MOVEMENT: You've also started a newspaper?

DUCHO: Right. A lot of the information we have gathered we were unable to disseminate at the union hall because of rules that the leadership brought up to limit us in the amount of time we can speak. We had to put out a newspaper. We put it out with information coming from the workers, from other drivers, questions that they ask, questions they're not getting any answers to, situations that exist in various divisions of the Muni. Also things that go down at the union meeting, because some drivers work nights and are unable to attend, and they have no other way of knowing what's going on in the union. The leadership doesn't even put out a paper. The last issue we put out was the fourth, and before that we put out some fliers.

MOVEMENT: What's the response to the paper been?

DUCHO: Very favorable from the workers. We're putting out information they have sought, and there was no source before. We're now better able to see what the workers want, because when they read the paper they have comments, questions, criticism. We can then know how to improve, we can learn about specific incidents, check them out, and report on them to the drivers. Because of the paper, more drivers are beginning to understand the purpose and needs of the caucus. We've also had two rallies for the purpose of informing the drivers why there's a black caucus.

MOVEMENT: In specific union work, how do you relate grievances about unsafe busses, or privileges for miscellaneous employees, to the black liberation struggle?



JOSE: Before the drivers can relate to black liberation, being workers and being programmed to take the money they make and go out and buy the commodities other workers produce, we have to show them that the conditions under which they work are exploitative conditions.

When we've raised the awareness of exploitation, we can also extend that to show where the community unrest comes from. It comes from the system. The union leadership of all international unions works hand in hand with the bosses. And the bosses, in turn, control the government. We have to show them that the union is not working in their interests because the past history of the union shows they have not lived up to the constitutions and promises they laid down for rank and file workers. We have to show how the leadership of the unions has never had the interests of the workers in mind, and have always related to the workers as expendable when it comes to the bosses, because they were getting theirs off the top.

WILBERT: We have to get people to relate to change, and for us, change means revolution. It's the same process of education that goes down on the job as goes down in the community. When people understand what they are being subjected to in their own communities, then surely they'll understand what they're being subjected to on the job. As revolutionaries it is our duty to raise these questions. It's the same struggle going on at Muni as in the community. The people in the society who have money are the same people who become International presidents, and the people in the community who have inadequate living conditions are the people who become platform employees. We want to raise the level of awareness on the job so that drivers can go into the community and deal with it.

MOVEMENT: What's your organization strategy? Do you want to take over the leadership of the local, or agitate, or what?

WILBERT: No, we're not agitators, we're revolutionaries. We relate to raising the political consciousness of the workers there, mainly at first in terms of conditions on the job. Why don't you have all new busses, instead of a few? Why are we still using schedules that are ten years old when we know that in the past ten years this city has changed tremendously as far as transportation goes. We have to understand first that we have to have a strong base locally, to move from. When we raise the level of consciousness of the membership to the point where they can put forth a strong local leadership, then whatever comes down from the International, that local leadership will be able to combat.

BLACK CAUCUS PROGRAM

MOVEMENT: The Black Caucus has a 7 point program. What is it?

WILBERT: The first point is that the Black Caucus will attack all forms of discrimination and racism among workers. Immediately upon any of this shit being perpetrated by the International, the local leadership, or the boss, we'll be there to fight it and explain how racism goes against the interests of the workers.

The second point is that the Black Caucus is against the individual acceptance of special privileges and favoritism. We understand how Toms and lackeys are developed, by getting special privileges. By getting jobs that have less work to them. And people get these positions because of their loyalty to the policies of the union leadership. With the union leadership working only for its own and the bosses advantage, they need some workers within the workers to perpetuate their position. We have workers in Local 250A who are Toms and lackeys. When the black caucus runs down a progressive line or expose something, these workers run some madness to confuse the membership. And they get paid for this. We're against special privileges. Period.

JOSE: To add to that, The special privileges don't come down so much from the union leadership, but from the bosses. The bosses set up these so-called special duty jobs. Its a special privilege to be in the dispatchers office, you do less work and make the same money as platform employees. These jobs are given to people who adhere to policies set down by the management and these policies are endorsed by the union by the mere fact that the union does not attack this practice. We say: if there's an opening for a dispatcher then there should be examinations given for dispatcher. We say open up the ranks. Not using a position to play on favoritism and cause dissension among the workers. The bosses play that game: divide and conquer.

WILBERT: The third point of the program is the Black Caucus will actively support all unions working in the best interest of the workers. We don't support a union that turns its back on its membership, just because the membership is politically ignorant. If the leadership of a union sees the membership is ignorant politically, and it is educating the membership, and struggling together with it, we support it.

MOVEMENT: Have you supported any unions in this area?

JOSE: Not any specific union. There have been workers from many local unions that we have stood in solidarity with.

The fourth point of the program is that the Caucus will support or select members seeking political office in the union after we've run a background survey of his history, union activities, sincerity, then we will

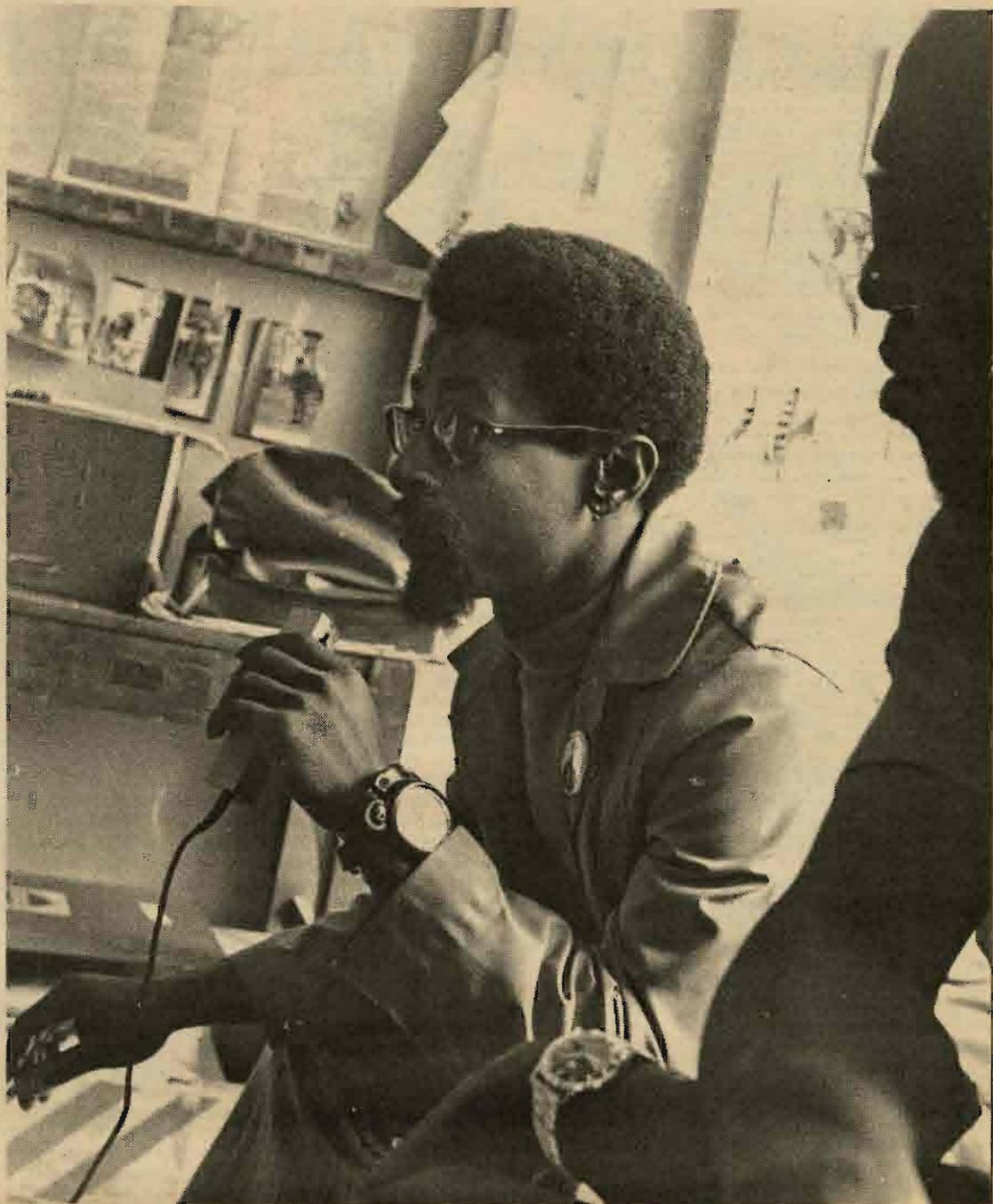


Photo by Ducho

JOSE and WILBERT (l. to r.)

support him if he will work in the interest of the workers.

MOVEMENT: Does the Caucus itself run candidates?

WILBERT: Should members and central committee people run for office? Members ask us why we haven't, when we've raised so many questions about how fucked up things are. We say that our main purpose is to raise the consciousness of the workers, and then they'll vote for men among themselves who are not opportunists, and who understand the necessity for strong unions. If the membership wanted us to represent them, and a particular situation arose where we felt this would serve their needs then we would. The whole union leadership is up for election in May and this is what the caucus is about right now, raising the political consciousness of the members so that when people come campaigning for different positions, they will be able to judge whether they'll serve them or not.

JOSE: One way we can do that is specify exactly what our black president now is doing that's not in the workers' interests. That way they'll understand clearly that when he says, "I'm doing this for you", he's not.

DUCHO: The fifth point of the program is that we reject all rumors or hearsay that are not given the official word of the Caucus. We had to make this point because of all the rumors being spread about us and what we stood for among the drivers. That's another reason why we came out with the paper.

JOSE: The sixth point is that the caucus does not recognize the union as being above constructive criticism. Criticism is to be administered in an educational manner, not to destroy, but to build and strengthen. Through criticism we expose the union leadership and educate.

The seventh point is that it is not the intention of the Black Caucus to disrupt the workings of the grievance procedures, which this union with honor has achieved in the past. Every grievance that comes forth from the membership to the extent that the union has dealt with it and the members were satisfied, we say right on to that. The objective of the Black Caucus is to unite the workers for the purpose of bringing about positive and concrete changes in the laws, rules conditions, and thier application. When laws, rules and policies do not serve the workers, we attack them.

MOVEMENT: Are there black caucuses in other transport unions? What about link ups with other black caucuses?

WILBERT: Right now we have a working coalition with the Black Panther Caucus of the U.A.W. in Fremont.

California. Other than that we have no bonafide coalitions at this time. We are working with people in several different locals, and we are constantly making contact with people who are having problems within their local unions and are trying to come up with strategy and tactics to handle the problems.

In New York City there's a revolutionary element in the Transit workers union who are trying to start an independant union because of the shit that's coming down between the TWU and the Transit Authority. We keep in touch with them, although at this time we don't intend to split the union out here or start an independent union...but, we're revolutionaries and we'll do what's necessary.

PANTHER TIES

MOVEMENT: What's the relationship to the Black Panther Party?

WILBERT: Imyself am a member of the Black Panther Party, and these other brothers here on the Central Committee are very dedicated brothers and practice the Party ideology, the ten point platform and program of the Party. That's what our relationship is with the Party, we feel we are one, and if that shakes anybody, well right on. Our objective is to show people by practice what our politics are, and they are the politics of the rank and file exercising their right to change the system, the politics of revolution in this country, and the politics of oppressed people all over the world gaining liberation from this imperialist pig that we here in Babylon are strategically close to.

MOVEMENT: What kind of repression has the caucus faced?

WILBERT: We started in March. In April they started their repression. George Brady, then the chairman of the caucus, was terminated, under the wrong rule. They tried to get rid of him on the grounds he had been absent more times than he was allowed in six months. We picked this shit up, took it up to the Civil Service Commission, and showed he was terminated for his political beliefs. They had to give his job back. At union meetings they tried to shut us up, and refused to recognize us on the floor.

JOSE: One time Lennard Airriess, the International Representative, called up the police and told them there were two Black Panthers in the office, when

CONTINUED ON P. 19

YOUNG LORDS MOVE IN NEW YORK

EDITOR'S NOTE: The Young Lords Organization is spreading. It was first established in Chicago (see May, June and July 1969 issues of the MOVEMENT). Now the YLO is building in New York City, where over a million Puerto Ricans live.

The following is an interview with Yoruba, Minister of Information from New York. Parts of the interview were originally in LNS; other parts are special to the MOVEMENT'

MOVEMENT: What is the history of the Lords in New York?

YORUBA: We've been working underground in New York since January and we surfaced around July. The first issue we picked on was garbage in the streets. Since it was the most visible, it was the easiest to organize around. What we did was take the garbage and throw up barricades in the street using the garbage, which served a dual purpose: one, it effectively symbolized that the Barrio is a colony, and we were able to barricade off parts of the colony. And the second thing was the whole garbage issue, dirty streets, and it breeds rats. It picked up very little attention the first couple of weeks, but then it kept on just snowballing. We would have fifteen Lords in the beginning doing it and about three hundred street people coming in, and it blows the pigs' minds. If you're good you can do your thing and then melt into the community. That's what we've been able to do, and they can't tell Puerto Ricans apart, it's fantastic.

Right after the garbage thing, we moved into welfare. We were working with the mothers on that, and we had people on the Lower East Side working on that, at P.S. 15. We had an action of the people, then we blocked the Triboro Bridge complex on 125th St., and then what we did was fantastic. We took the people from East Harlem and marched up 125th St. into Harlem. You see, for a long time the man runs his divide and conquer game in the colony by telling one person you're Puerto Rican and telling someone else you're black, and therefore you two are different. Well, that's jive, because everybody's on welfare and everybody's poor, and everybody should be fighting on the same side of the revolution. So we took them up 125th St. which was a symbolic thing, and for the first time a lot of those mothers saw an organized group of blacks, and we brought them to the reclamation site and we stayed there for a while and we came back when the pigs started busting heads cause we scared shit out of them. We had cut across their precinct lines by going up 125th St.

And the people saw where the jive was at, because one of the things we've been

hitting on is the poverty pimps in the community. See, if we take the position that the Barrio and the ghetto is a colony, then these anti-poverty agencies and poverty pimps are outposts, like Fort Savage or Fort Courage in the West when the Indians were trying to take care of some business; they're the man's eyes and ears in the colony. When we brought the march uptown, these jive pigs cut out. They said this is an East Harlem demonstration, but that's jive, it was a welfare demonstration. So the people saw where that was at. And it's hard for the poverty pimps to show their faces in the community now. What they're trying to do now is buy us out, we've gotten strange offers from people who want to pick up our rent, and Lindsay's aides coming around wanting to set up interviews with Lindsay and the Young Lords. Lindsay was supposed to make three appearances in East Harlem because this is an election year, but the work has gotten out to him that East Harlem is kind of hot. So he hasn't shown up.

We've also been working at Metropolitan Hospital organizing the workers and the community people around the issue of the lay advisory board that the city was trying to push on our people for the hospital. After the school thing last year, people are pretty hip to what a lay advisory board is: a bunch of jive middle class people sitting on the board giving recommendations to somebody who may or may not take them. What we're trying to institute is a community-staff governing board. Last Wednesday, we had a meeting with the East Harlem Health Council and we presented a ten point program that they passed. So what we've got to do now is beat the administration at organizing the people. Since they're in the hospital what they've been doing is blocking Lords from going into the Hospital, and the second thing is

saying things like that Lords burn down schools, and the Lords are a gang. The hospital thing is coming along pretty well.

HOSPITAL CONTROL

(Ten Point Health Program of the Young Lords Organization)

- 1) We want total self-determination of all health services in East Harlem (El Barrio) through an incorporated Community-Staff Governing Board for Metropolitan Hospital. (Staff is anyone and everyone working at Metropolitan).
- 2) We want immediate replacement of all Lindsay administrators by community and staff appointed people whose practice has demonstrated their commitment to serve our poor community.
- 3) We demand immediate end to construction of the new emergency room until the Metropolitan Hospital Community-Staff Governing Board inspects and approves them or authorizes new plans.
- 4) We want employment for our people. All jobs filled in El Barrio must be filled by residents first, using on-the-job training and other educational opportunities as bases for service and promotion.
- 5) We want free publicly supported health care for treatment and prevention. WE WANT AN END TO ALL FEES.
- 6) We want total decentralization--block health officers responsible to the community-staff board should be instituted.
- 7) We want "door-to-door" preventive health services emphasizing environment and sanitation control, nutrition, drug addiction, maternal and child care and senior citizen's services.
- 8) We want education programs for all the people to expose health problems--sanitation, rats, poor housing, malnutrition, police brutality, pollution, and other forms of oppression.
- 9) We want total control by the Metropolitan hospital community-staff governing board of the budget allocations, medical policy along the above points, hiring, firing, and salaries of employ-

ees, construction and health code enforcement.

10) Any community, union, or workers organization must support all the points of this program and work and fight for that or be shown as what they are--enemies of the poor people of East Harlem.

The other thing is schools, we've been doing a lot of college and high school organizing. The high schools have been going pretty well, what we've been trying to push is a Third World Students Party. The big organizing problems have been the technical schools, the vocational schools. They keep the students isolated so they don't even know what's happening outside the school. They live in the community and that's where we can get to them, but a vocational school is a penitentiary worse than other schools. The object of the school is to make you obsolete before you get out, so they train you for a job, by the time you get out it's mechanized. It kills off our people, and that's the kind of institution that keeps the ghetto a ghetto. One of the things we're pushing is how the government, the pigs, keep the ghetto a ghetto.

FILMS TO POLITICS

MOVEMENT: What kind of day to day work is going on in the community?

YORUBA: We've been instituting a community political education (P.E.) class. We show Newsreel films that range from "Off the Pig" to films on Venezuela. We take the people through changes, blow their minds, show them people laughing in Cuba, show them Bobby Seale saying he's not a racist and then we run a P.E. class right on that. And they're coming off pretty good. We're trying to offset the image that the pigs have given us. The pigs work in collusion, and the game they're trying to play for the march in Chicago is saying that the Lords are a gang. They think they can run the same game here so they're trying to say that the Lords are a gang. But gangs haven't been around New York for almost fifteen years. The people are hip to the fact that we feed kids in the morning, we have a free breakfast program, and they think, well if they're a gang why do they feed kids?

We had three Breakfast for School Children programs going on in New York. One is being run jointly with the Panthers at 116th Street in El Barrio (Spanish Harlem), and another we run jointly along with street people on the Lower East Side. We had a third, but we were thrown out 'cause the director of the place on 110th Street said we walked in in the mornings with shotguns.

MOVEMENT: What sort of work do you do in your P.E. classes?

YORUBA: What we try to do is take stuff like Marx and Lenin and try to translate it into street language. So maybe they can't catch what Marx is saying, but when one of us runs it down to them, they can dig on dialectical materialism. That will work for a sixty year old mother of the kids in liberation school.

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BASTA YA!



EDITOR'S NOTE: Six of Los Siete, the seven Latin brothers accused of murdering a pig, have been in jail for the last five months. Their trial will begin in less than a month. As they await trial, their sisters and brothers on the outside have been organizing the Bay Area Brown community to defend the seven and themselves. Los Siete organization provides the Mission District of San Francisco with a breakfast program, free medical and legal aid, political education, and a newspaper (for details see MOVEMENT, Aug. 1969).

After some hassle with the pigs, we were able to interview the brothers in jail. We rapped for several hours with Nelson Rodriguez, Mario Martinez, Tony (Rudolfo) Martinez, Jose Rios, Bebe (Danilo) Melendez and Pinky (Gary) Lescallet. The seventh accused brother, Gio Lopez, is in parts unknown. **FREE LOS SIETE!**

MOVEMENT: Would you rap a little about what you were into before the bust?

JOSE: I was in high school and trying to get out of school. I was intending to go to the College of San Mateo (CSM) when the new semester started. I was really looking forward to attending college and staying in college - trying to talk to the people while in school, rather than just being out in the streets. Because I could see for myself that there was a lot of people who were sort of like giving up. I was sort of like giving up myself. But Mario and Nelson were talking to me. I heard that they had a good program up at CSM.

I was going to Balboa High School before I got busted. You know, the education in high school is not so good. The classes I was taking weren't interesting, so I wanted to give it up. Once I heard about the Program at CSM, I decided to stay in high school and try to get along till I could go to CSM.

HISTORY OF HARASSMENT

But most of the time I stayed in the Mission District. The brothers there have to constantly deal with the pig harassment. You know, the pigs just park in front of you and take out their shotguns and they make a big thing about going to arrest someone. All the people see what's going on.

I remember a couple of nights before everything came down. There was some pig walking by this friend of ours - someone in the group called out "pig" - so the pig turned around and started chasing us. They caught this friend of mine and they started beating him and beating him - blood was coming out of his head. The only reason why they started clubbing him was cause someone said "pigs". But they didn't really know who it was,

they just wanted to get anybody. Just to get in their licks.

NELSON: Another time the pigs shot someone in the Mission just for yelling "pig". Before we got popped, the harassment of brown people was really heavy. The pigs had declared war against the brothers down in the Mission District. About a month before the bust, an article came out in the newspaper about how the merchants were being terrorized by the brothers down in the Mission. Well, nothing like that ever happened. The proof is that this woman who owns a store down at 20th and Mission, the name is "Anne and Daughters", well she came with one of her daughters and apologized to us, because she knew it was all lies. After that, the pigs were going by in unmarked cars and taking pictures of the brothers standing outside, so that they could show them to the other shifts that come on to harass the people that they seen on the streets. As far as I know, none of the merchants in the Mission never gave any work to any of us, including any of the brothers on the block. And as far as I know, nobody ever terrorized anybody. I guess they just wanted to clean up the streets of so-called bums, who are really our oppressed brothers.

TONY: None of the brothers I knew had a good steady job. I've been down there ever since I came to the United States about 8 years ago, and I don't know of anybody having jobs for more than a month. I don't think there's more than two or three brothers who have jobs working for the merchants in the Mission. So they had no right to harass them and call them terrorists, cause there weren't any acts of terrorism. Maybe there were a few crimes, but that always happens.

SAN MATEO STRUGGLE

MOVEMENT: What were the rest of you into before the bust?

MARIO: Before this thing happened I was attending the College of San Mateo. We got involved in this program that was teaching us what the system had been hiding from us. We started learning the truth about the system, and about our people. We started learning about our identity.

Before, in high school, they taught us a whole bunch of lies - that's the reason why a lot of us didn't make it through high school. Only one of us ever graduated from high school. There were many reasons. The teachers weren't right. We didn't know that till we went to CSM and could compare the classes taught by them and the classes taught by our people. That makes a real big difference, cause in one class you hear about "this great people" and in another class you find out about how "this great people" is a big lie.

MOVEMENT: Could you explain more about the Program at San Mateo?

MARIO: The program started out with black people.

They started recruiting in the high schools and in the streets. They started recruiting the brothers. You could get financial aid for going to this program and good classes. You didn't need a high school diploma - you just go up there and get tutored.

MOVEMENT: Was it at that time that you had an organization called COBRA?

MARIO: Yes, it's still there. Before it used to be the Brown Heritage Club. Then we had this strike because the administration at CSM wasn't meeting our demands. A lot of students had to drop out because the administration wasn't giving the bread for the program. They were also trying to pick our counselors. We wanted our own. That's when we changed the name of the organization to the COBRAS. (It stands for Confederation of Brown Race for Action) My brother, Tony, was the chairman of it.

MOVEMENT: Tony, you want to talk some more about COBRA?

TONY: COBRA came about because the struggle was getting pretty heavy over the Program. Students were dropping out. The administration wasn't taking care of the needs of the students. They were continually taking out counselors and trying to infiltrate the program by putting in people who worked for the administration. So when the strike started everybody came into a common front. We had the strike and due to the strike we got new counselors and a new ethnic studies department. (for a story on the San Mateo strike, see Movement, Feb. 1969)

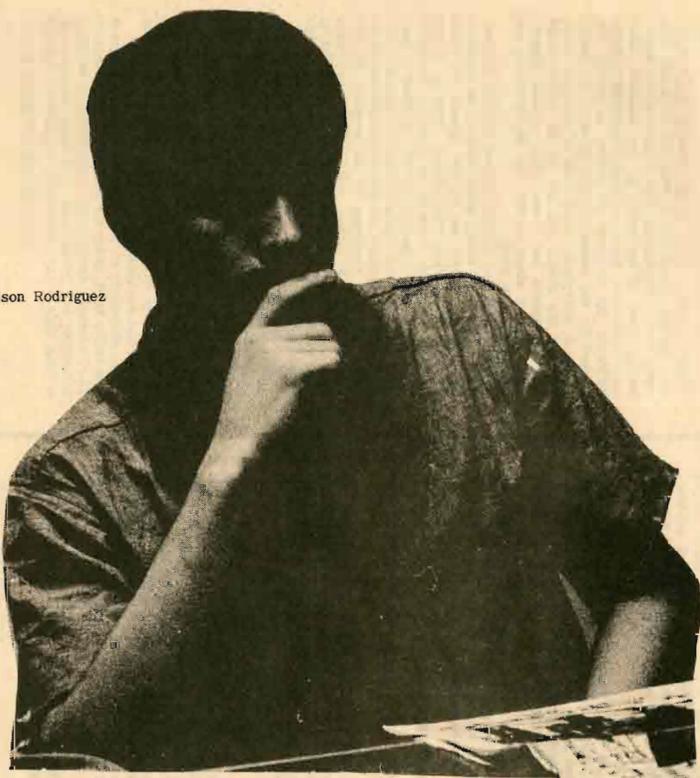
After the strike, COBRA started building its ideology towards recruiting more people to be students. So actually, before we all got busted, we were involved in a heavy recruitment program to get brothers from the block to be students. We talked to all the brothers we grew up with and tried to make them see how many lies had been put to them and that they needed education so they could understand the whole political spectrum of the country. We recruited a lot of people and COBRA grew a lot. Now the organization is doing a lot in our defense. They're doing a lot to get people involved in political activities.

They see that for all these years our people have been denied many things. None of our people have really got educated. You look up statistics and they will tell you that Brown people in this state and in this nation are the ones that are at the bottom of the scale. Black people have risen up a little, but only because of their political struggle. So once our people become politically aware, they can begin to struggle and do something about the things that are going on.

The philosophy of the College Readiness Program was really built, under the leadership of Bob Hoover. The philosophy spoke to self-determination which is something our people lack. It's been forgotten for a long time - not necessarily forgotten - but it's

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Nelson Rodriguez



JOSE: Yes, on the water. But also on the block. They have put up a sign on our block, "restricted block", cause they don't want nobody to talk to us. We still have some communication.

TONY: There are five cells on our block and we occupy three of them. Not too much contact with other blocks. But everybody digs on us, you know, so they come around and we talk. We have alot of contact with the trustees and we talk to them and word gets around.

LOS SIETE AS EXAMPLE

MOVEMENT: Why do you think you were framed?

MARIO: We used to be around the Mission all the time, talking to the brothers, trying to recruit them to get an education. So we were pretty well-known. So the pigs were out to bust us, for anything they could get us on.

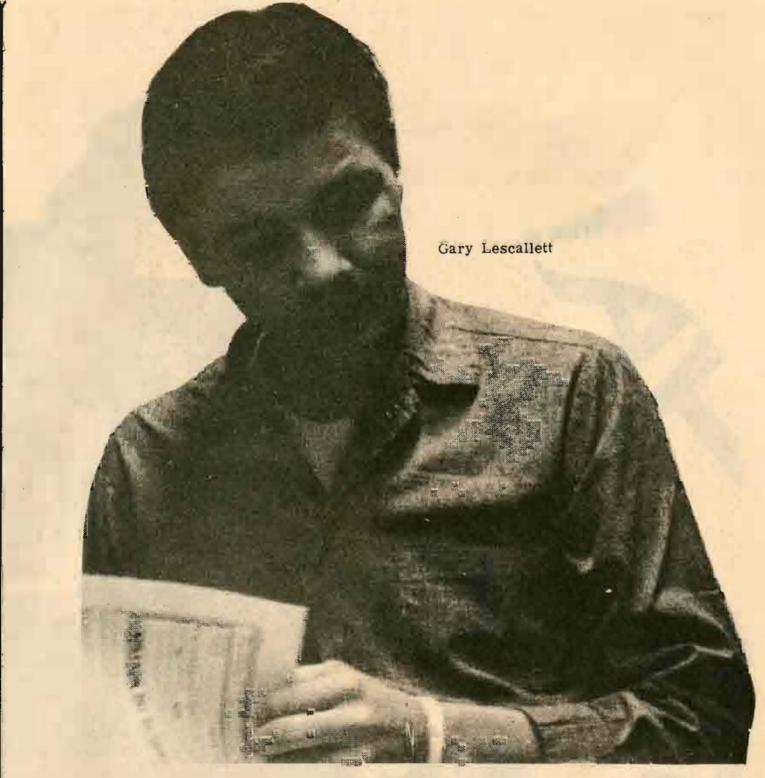
TONY: This whole thing, the way it came down, the way they publicized it, they made killers out of us. But actually, this is not the way it is. But then we have to understand that the Man is gonna cover up for everybody for their people anyway. So they think they're making an example of us, but at the same time, all they're really doing is just uniting more people. This has been a uniting point for alot of people, by seeing how we're being treated and everything else, they realize that it can happen to anybody - it can happen to their kids around the corner.

MARIO: The Los Siete is getting the people aware of all these things. When the thing first came down, the pigs moved into the community. Every house was searched, kicking doors in, you know. They're trying to make an example of us to show what they can do to people who do stand up and try to do something for themselves. They do this so people won't stand up against them - but our people see all these things. Los Siete has programs to make our people aware of all these things.

MOVEMENT: Where do you see all the programs of Los Siete going?

NELSON: They wanted to keep me off the streets. When we got busted May 6, they had a warrant for me - it came off the wall somewhere. It said that I threw a rock at some pig during the SF State strike. They didn't even know my name. I was supposed to have thrown a rock at one of the Tactical Squad members. The pig who actually was supposed to be hit by the rock, never signed a complaint. He was one of those undercover pigs that was out there.

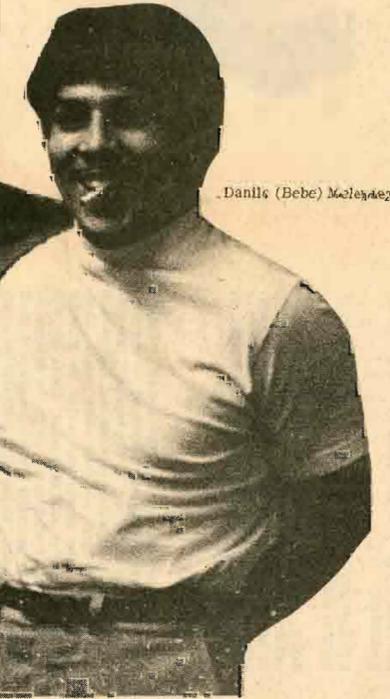
I was the only one who was questioned down at Santa Cruz (the town where the pigs actually arrested the six). They said, "We know you weren't there (at the scene of the killing), but why don't you give us a little information? You were wanted anyway for SF State". I says, "Why?" And he says "Well, you threw a rock at one of the officers". Well, I didn't know about that. When I came up here they served me with a warrant and I never knew anything about it. When I went for the arraignment, one of the pigs says I was supposed to have thrown the rock and knocked down one of the tactical squad members. You know how big those motherfuckers are. The guy says the rock was about the size



Gary Lescallet

Balboa High School, and just recently there, they've been having all these hassles between brown people and black people. This is just one of the problems we have to get rid of in the struggle. They make us fight among ourselves - this keeps us from seeing the real enemy. We go to the schools and they don't teach us anything. We go to the streets to fight among ourselves, instead of really trying to change the schools, so they can really work for all of us. Maybe Jose can tell you more about Balboa.

JOSE: When I was at Balboa, there used to be a fight just about every day. There are just about half black and half white students there. Not that many brown. Most of the time, they use the divide and conquer trick because they want the brown people to come to the white side. But when the fight begins, it's always in a foolish way. Like a white student will sell some pills to a black student and a fight will start over that because once you drop a couple of reeds you start getting they.



Danilo (Bebé) Melendez

press our people and exploit our people all over the world. They kept us ignorant for so long. Education is one of the first things we have to start working for. Once our people start seeing all these things, they'll realize what has to be done.

CREATE MANY VIETNAMS

MOVEMENT: What do you think about the War in Vietnam and how it relates to brown people?

NELSON: I think alot of people are being used over there to make some people rich. A lot of these brothers, people of the block, that are being drafted into the Army, don't know the Man's divide and conquer game of making us fight each other for stereotyped reasons. I feel like Brother Che Guevara said, there must be a lot of Vietnams created, so the people who are oppressed will start waking up to what they're really financing. A lot of genocide. A lot of people being ripped off because someone wants to get their pockets fatter. That includes black and brown and white because there are alot of people fighting the oppressor's war and they think they're fighting for a righteous cause.

MOVEMENT: By the way, do you know about the Venceremos Brigades? 600 black, brown and white people are going to Cuba to help in the big sugar harvest. Los Siete will be sending down some people.

NELSON: Yeah, that's great. Castro wants to get ten thousand tons?

MOVEMENT: Ten million.

NELSON: Hope he gets 50 million, 50 thousand million!

TONY: I want to say something more about the war. They know our people in the ghettos are just to be killed. They come back here, after their term is through over there, and they don't find no jobs, no education, nothing. So I feel our people shouldn't even fight in that war. They're fighting people they don't know, they're killing people they don't know and they're not getting anything from it. There's just mass genocide and when they come back, all the doors are closed to them. So that's one of the main things we're trying to move on, to make them realize that maybe they should just get ready to fight here instead of over there. It makes no sense to go over there and die for nothing. At least if you fight and die here, you know who you're fighting, because the enemy is here, not there.

NELSON: That's what I meant when I said a lot of Vietnams should be created. People should get on the right side.

TONY: The movement of La Raza is moving in a broader sense now. We started with the grape boycott - it was something that united the people. Seeing the suffering of all the workers in the fields. When the grape boycott came about it was good, because it made alot of people realize that what can happen to one section of our people can happen to another. We're not alone, just because we're here in the city and they're in the fields. We still have to work together. It's happening to our people.

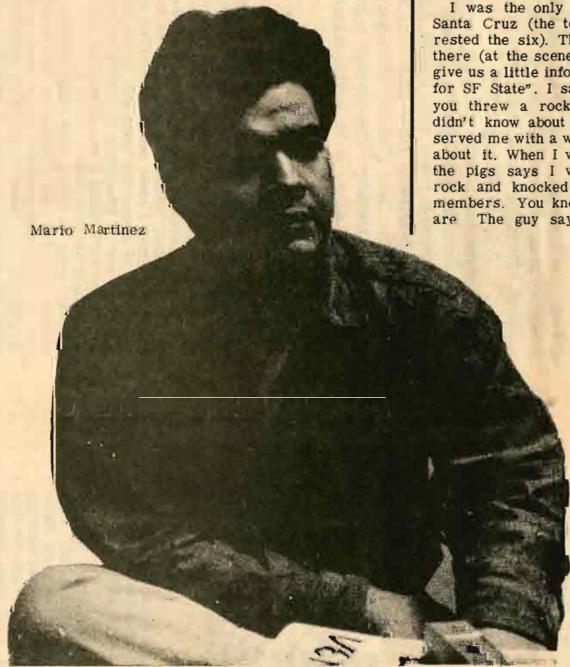
Then things picked up in the movement and Los Siete came up and this has been another uniting point for our people. We will see that eventually they'll have to change their policies towards us or we'll just have to fight. We have to be realistic. It doesn't make sense for our people to just be in the ghettos all the time, throwing their lives away. They're not being represented by nobody!

You see the government the way it is - we have no kind of representation whatsoever. Nobody represents us. You can't say we're a minority because there are plenty of people in the United States who are brown and even if we are in the minority, they always have to be represented. We haven't been represented at all. So, eventually, when we talk about the educational process, what we mean is that in all this time, the struggle is going on, we're educating the people to see that the Man is either going to have to change his tactics towards us one way or the other - they're either gonna have to be willing to let our representatives represent the people or they'll just have to engage in the battle. Like I said, it doesn't make much sense to go over to Vietnam and have nothing, we might as well die over here.

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have planted it. So he told me to shut up. So I kept on a little bit, then I shut it up.

Now Brother Pinky, he was pretty hot because the pigs had just come in our room and they threw his letters all over the floor, --everything all over the floor. There was no cause for that. You know, if you're gonna search a man, just search him, but put the things back in their proper place. So Brother



Mario Martinez

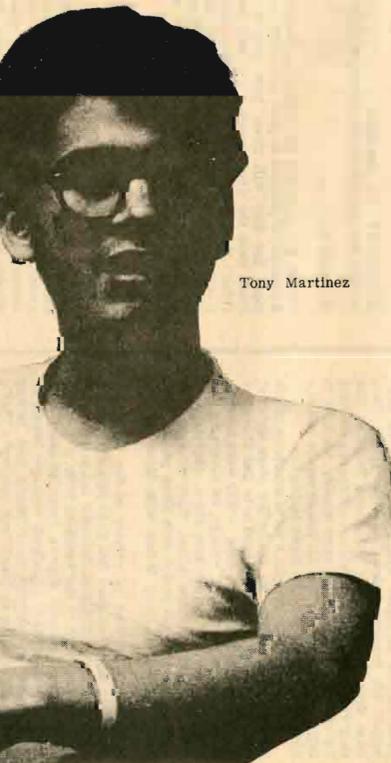
Pinky said, "Look man, if you're gonna search me, at least you could have the courtesy to put things back in their proper order". So the pigs tell him to shut up. The pig puts his hand on the oppressor stick and says "you gonna shut up", and Brother Pinky - he comes from a long line of "ain't taking nothing", you know. So Pinky told him, "You gotta shut me up!" So they got scared and he went and got three other pigs that all looked like giant polar bears, and Pinky went to the hole.

MOVEMENT: Have you been allowed to stay together?

BEBE: We're all in the same block, two of us in each cell. The cells are bugged.

MOVEMENT: Have you had any contact with the other people here?

As far as the movement goes, and all the things people do for us is good, cause it opens people's eyes to what's really happening. They do bother us a little here, but you know.



Tony Martinez

of a golf ball. He says, we didn't know his name until Brodnick got killed. That's pretty funny, because if they wanted me that bad, they should of investigated very heavy on me. Like I wasn't hiding, I was always on the street. They could have picked me up anytime, but I guess if I beat this rap, they're gonna try to get me for the other.

THE CASE IS BUILDING

MOVEMENT: Would you talk more specifically about how the case has built the movement and how the level of struggle is being raised?

NELSON: We think it has gotten alot of our people together, seeing the injustices of the establishment towards third world people.

TONY: But we can do more on the streets than we can in here. We don't especially like being martyrs, even though our case has put a lot of people together. But once we get out, I guess we'll do more. Maybe we won't have as much publicity as now, but we'll be on our jobs. Not only that, but for a long time in our community people have been harassed and busted. There's a gap within our people, you know, that the man creates. Most of the brothers have no jobs, they don't go to school. So that creates big gaps between the older people and the younger people in our community. So that anytime anybody gets busted or harassed, the older members of the community, look down as if it were the brothers' fault. They're just "bums" you know. So this creates the problem where the young people are really separated from the older members of the community. What the Man hasn't realized is that our case has brought a lot of people together. He has made the community see, by force, that anything can happen. Anyone can get picked up at any time and then they can get framed.

MARIO: We're getting rid of that so-called generation gap - it's just another trick they're trying to run on us. There's a strong bond in our families. The only gap is the gap the system tries to make.

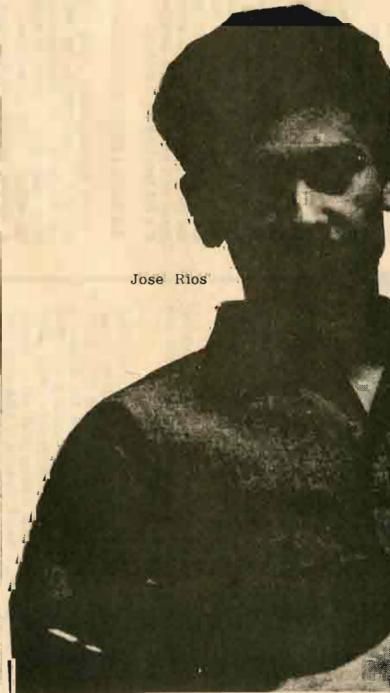
PROBLEMS

MOVEMENT: Well, what are some of the specific problems of the struggle, you'd like to deal with?

TONY: Well, we've been fighting for so long between black and brown people. Like the system used the trick of divide and conquer. Like Jose comes from

Just two people fighting in that school and you have the whole school fighting, and maybe it's only because one student got a little sign and the other one bugged him.

MARIO: In here we talk alot about the things that have to be done for our people. Like education is one of the most important things we talked about, because it's thru education that they op-



Jose Rios

just been that our people have been brainwashed for so long that they just forgot how to act. We were training people to go back into the community and help our people. We take the Program into the community and talk to the brothers and the sisters in the community and try to recruit them - so they can see that it's necessary to be educated. We try many methods - we try to get them interested in whichever way we can, because it's hard for people to realize that they can just go to school without any problem.

NELSON: I was going to San Mateo College, but during the strike, I dropped out, and started going down to SF State during their strike. After that, I decided to go down to the Mission and see if I could recruit the brothers to go to college. Try to get them to go to the GOP program. But the funds were being cut off and it was a hassle to get the brothers into school.

BEBE: I've been harassed by the pigs quite alot. It wasn't til 1967, when I was doing a little bit of time for the California Youth Authority that I realized that all these Latin brothers and black brothers up there - that the system just throws a racket on them and says that you did this and you gotta serve so much time, even if you're innocent. They judge you mostly by your background. When I got out in '68 - I wanted to be a youth counselor, you know. So I got involved with the Mission Rebels and I was helping people go back to high school and so forth. Like I wasn't doing nothing, it was the same thing - the system always tells you, you know, you can't make it thru school. You're a Latin, you know, you gotta drop out, that's the only way you can make it.

So I met Brother Roberto Vargas from Horizontos Unlimited. I rapped to him one day and he was telling me "why don't I go to college". Like alot of brothers, I told him that I couldn't make it there. He told me that it wouldn't hurt trying. Then I met this sister from New York named Sonia Sanchez. She was teaching school for the Rebels. I was in her class, she was a Panther and she was telling me, how the system dominates all the brothers. Not paying attention to her, really hurt me, cause I was like many other brothers - brainwashed, you know - I didn't rightfully realize. That ain't the way to get it. The greener you are, the more accepted. I come to realize that in order for you to get someplace, you must help others, you must give a little.

Then I met brother Gb Lopez. And he was telling me about USM. I dug what he was telling me. So, I was gonna go, but Los Siete came.

PINKY(GARY): When I first got involved in this, Tony told me about San Mateo. So I went, but they were having a strike so I couldn't get in. So I came back to the city late one night and the pigs stopped me. And they told me I committed an armed robbery. So I went to jail with them and they started giving me a five to life. And they said to cop. So I copped to 160 days. At this time people were coming out to me in jail and telling me about this Program at San Mateo. When I got out, I went to Tony's house to tell him I wanted to get into the Program. I had my application all filled and I was going out to school every day listening to tapes. I started to understand what was really happening - like Bebe said, I believed, the greener you was, the better you was.

As far as the movement goes, and all the things people do for us is good, cause it opens people's eyes to what's really happening. They do bother us a little here, but you know.

SOLITARY

MOVEMENT: Gary, weren't you just in solitary?

GARY: Yeah.

BEBE: Can I explain that? We were on restriction the pigs came and they didn't do us nothing - just to get the court tank. So we went to the court tank. Then they were harassing us down, like send brother Pinky, we didn't have nothing in our cell. When we came back, the pigs had planted a couple of shirts and something, you know. I really got down on it, I didn't dig it, you know. I told him, "Look man, I didn't have shit in my room", and he's telling me "Well, we found it under your bed." I said, "One of us is lying and I know I'm not." "One of you must



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MARIO: Our people need education. We're in the Mission and hear things like people wanting to join the Green Berets - There are many examples of this ignorance in the streets - You see all these guys turning to drugs. They don't see that that is no help and only oppresses us more.

MOVEMENT: Most of you come from Central America. How do you relate the oppression and struggle of the people there to here?

BEBE: The Yanqui imperialist runs everything down there. Like I went back to there in '63. They got the American Fruit Company down there. The people and country don't have the chance to produce their own crops so they could profit off of it. They got all these Rockefellers and all these other people down there, just making profit off the people and land that isn't theirs. Up here, it's the same way. They make money off of us. They tell us they'll give us \$1.35 to work at this damn Neighborhood Youth Corps. They tell you to dig a ditch and that ditch might become a reservoir some day and all you got paid for it was \$1.35. Our people has more knowledge than that. They tell us "that's all you're good for" - we need more lawyers, we need more professors and teachers and so forth. The system up here just don't let the brown people have a chance. The grape boycott and Los Siete de la Raza has awakened a lot of people up - we tell them - "You're better than the Man tells you". You can do something - something for your people.

BLACK AND BROWN UNITY

MOVEMENT: How is the coalition between Los Siete and the Panthers going?

TONY: The struggle is a class struggle of oppressed people. Black people and brown people are both oppressed - maybe not in the same ways, but the system uses the same tactics. The young people have finally, little by little, overcome the man's divide and conquer game.

We have learned a lot from the black people. We have learned from the many tactics they have used in the struggle. The Black Panthers have helped the movement for Los Siete a lot. They have done this, because they have realized that they're not the only ones who are oppressed, because we are oppressed in the same manner. We have to build an ideology so that all people can be united - not just brown people, but black people too.

We have had to overcome a lot of problems within brown people before we got to the stage we're at now. Before the movement used to be just Chicano - so-called Mexican Americans - they were leaving a lot of brown people out. Finally, we overcame that when the "brown" term came about, everybody of brown descent became united. Then the next step was to move to get united with black people. Now we're united on many fronts with black people.

NELSON: That kind of relates to the Salvador-Honduras war. You know that in El Salvador there's a monopoly of 14 families. Salvador is a pretty small country and most of the peasants have to migrate to Honduras because there's twice as much land and the people like to get ahead. Well, the Honduran government stereotypes their people into telling them "they've come to invade our country". That's their old divide and conquer game again. Just like here. The people over there are still fighting each other. There's a lot of illiteracy and what always comes out on top is the oppressor brainwashing the people into fighting each other. Just like black and brown are still fighting in some places, like Balboa. But there will always be Zapatas and Villas as examples.

MOVEMENT: Have you learned much from the struggle of black brothers?

MARIO: The black people have been oppressed the most in this system. Black people have been in this system more time than we have. From them we have learned a lot of things. For instance, we have learned that the Man could not teach the black people. Once black people started teaching their own people, they really started getting someplace. So that should tell us, that when we start teaching our

own people the many problems and solutions to the problems, we will get someplace.

TONY: Like in the strike in San Mateo. It was started by black and brown students. We made the administration change a little.

Another thing we have learned from black people is the tactics of pressure. The Man is not gonna give nothing that he don't want to give, because this society works for a so-called majority - now this majority is well-off, but we are not well-off, so therefore we have to make it work for us. Black people have shown us that the only way society is gonna give way is by putting pressure on them. So this is what we try to do - it happened in San Mateo, and they gave way, because we put pressure on them. The administration would never have moved unless our people forced them to move. We had to put the pressure on them. So we have learned that we have to teach our people that we really have to take matters into our own hands. The facilities to take care of our people are going to have to be built by us. They can never be built by the Man because the Man is gonna run them their way, a way to oppress us.

Any program that is financed by the government is gonna give their ideology - it's not gonna really take care of the people. In the communities right now, we have a lot of programs, a lot of clinics and stuff. If you go to the programs they have, like the programs Alioto is talking about where he gives a chance to young people to work in his administration, those programs are financed by the federal government - so the ideology of those programs is their ideology. It doesn't relate to our needs. It's a program where you go and maybe you get 60 bucks a week and then you go home and half the time you don't have to work. That kind of program will never get our people anywhere, because it's not teaching them nothing.

RAISING LEVEL OF STRUGGLE

Many brown people, young people, have seen that this is a violent society. The only way you gonna get the things is with violence. Maybe a lot of people don't like this, I doubt if anybody really wants to be violent - but nevertheless, we see it. This is a violent society, so therefore we have to act in violent ways. Whether an armed struggle has to be done, I guess we'll have to get prepared for that. If we don't have to engage in armed struggle, well we'll be prepared for that too. We're gonna make sure our people are in schools, so that if we don't have to engage in armed struggle, we can be sure we'll be represented by professionals, by people who know the needs and come from the people with those needs and will be able to take care of them.

MOVEMENT: How does that process go in deciding whether or not armed struggle is necessary? How are the issues raised?

TONY: One of the biggest issues raised is by the police. In our communities, just like in the black communities, the pigs who patrol our communities, don't come from our communities. He comes into our community, harasses people, does violent things to the people and is never seen by the people. So slowly, we have realized that there is a need for community control of the police department. Now we feel that the policemen who patrol the community should live in the community, because then they can see the needs of our people and can move towards solving those needs.

MOVEMENT: Do you think it's really possible to petition and get community control of pigs?

NELSON: Not really.

TONY: It's good for the people to engage in those activities of petition to gain community control of pigs. But they will never give way to this. We could have the whole brown community petition and I don't think they would allow it. It's good because it will show the people that the police department won't do it that way - they want to build their system their way. The petitions will show that the community will have to find other means to get real community control.

MOVEMENT: What are some other ways you are raising the consciousness of the people?

MARIO: We have to teach the people that we just can't turn our backs on our people and go into the system, and just go along with their materialist values, a home and a car. Through teaching our people, we can get these professionals, these doctors that are needed for our community - lawyers that are needed. We have to fight on every front - whether it be petition, whether it be armed struggle - whatever way. We have to try every method, no matter how insignificant they may seem, we have to try everything. We need political education because people just want to make it for themselves and families and then they forget about the rest of the brothers and sisters. But if we teach the right ideology, then all this manpower won't go to waste.. we won't need to go to the clinic, because our people will be working for us.

TONY: We have to try all these methods. Our people are just thrown into jail - their due process is denied to them. Most of the time brown people go into courts and they don't know what it is all about. They don't know what is going on. They get sentenced to terms that are incredible and they're tried not by their peers, but by their white rulers. So we do

have to raise all these questions. How we do it, has gotta be decided by the people. So if we do the petitions and they're denied, maybe we'll have to look for other solutions. Maybe we're gonna have to create a community force to be in charge of watching the police so that they don't make no cruel acts against the people. Maybe we will have to have a lot of demonstrations.

MOVEMENT: Is there a problem with "brown capitalism"?

TONY: I read in the paper the other day how they have a program that is financed through the EOC where they're trying to build brown capitalism in the brown communities. But, it goes back to the same thing. Black capitalism is gonna work for a certain fraction of the black people, like right now there's a black bourgeoisie - but those people don't care about the rest of their people. We see this program of brown capitalism as another tactic of dividing and conquering the people. Because they gonna give money to certain people - the people they feel can make it - the people who they feel are good and those people are just gonna get the money for themselves.

MOVEMENT: How do you relate to the problem of cultural nationalism?

TONY: We see the cultural problem of black people and brown people to be different because the culture of brown people is nationalistic from the beginning, because our families are real close - so that we have always kept our culture within our communities. So that hasn't been too much of a problem.

BROWN UNITY

The only problem we encountered was that of unity, the whole masses uniting to confront the problem. Now that we've got our people together, the vanguard of our people has realized that ties have to be made with black and even white people. White people are also oppressed, maybe in different ways, but they're still oppressed. There are a lot of white people working for us in the defense. So we do see the necessity and we encourage it. Most of the young people on the block think that the enemy is the regular white guy on the block too. They try to blame their oppression on him. So we try to make them see that he's not the enemy. We think we're really getting someplace by educating them through different methods to see who their enemy really is.

MARIO: We still have some of that problem, though. Just like the problem of the US organization and the Black Panthers. The Panthers don't think that the thing will come down so that black people fight every whitey they see.. shoot em all down. They see that the black people alone can't get no place in this country. They have to unite - they have to create unity with all the oppressed masses, because of the situation where the capitalist people are oppressing all the lower classes.

The problem we have had, the brown people, is that most of the foreigners - those from Central and South America - think about nationalism. Everybody is nationalist and they go back to their country. Before we used to think as El Salvadorians. I'm from El Salvador and "that's what's happening, that's all there is to it". We were taught by this system that black people were inferior to us/ yellow people a little above that. None of us can ever be as good as white. We've encountered all these problems.

One problem especially is with the Chicano Movement, which is just strictly from Mexico. With Chicanos, you know, if you're white, sometimes you can't talk to them guys. All they see is people from Mexico and nobody else. This is bad because they are alienating themselves. That's where this term "brown people" came about where you can unite all the people of brown color, that includes the people of Hawaii, Samoa, the Islands.

We see too that it can't just be brown people - it has to be all the oppressed classes - whether they be white or whatever color they be.

KNOW YOUR ENEMY

MOVEMENT: We've talked a lot about education, but haven't talked about your own education since you've been in jail. Have you learned much here?

BEBE: Well, you know the library here only has rinky-dink rejects from the library. They don't really have too many books that you could righteously absorb knowledge out of. As far as learning, we generally discuss things about our people. Brother Tony here usually tells us about class struggle and how the movement for La Raza was going when he was out at CSM. But as far as literature goes, you can read Jane Eyre up to here.

TONY: We can get some knowledge from the books here. What mainly we've been trying to do is read between the lines by looking at the opinions of all these people. By comparing their opinions with our opinions, we see the difference and we see the many problems created by those opinions. Plus we discuss and talk a lot between ourselves about the movement, about our people's struggle.

Right now we're waiting for an order the Court is supposed to give us so we can get the books. They already have it set up with the College so they can send us some books. Hopefully we can get our books, so we can continue with our

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young lords

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We've been doing P.E. since January, since the Lords first came off. You just walk into a crowd and start rapping. Sometimes people will come over to you and say why are you wearing a beret or why are you wearing a button that says "Tengo Puerto Rico en mi Corazon", why do you say you have Puerto Rico in your heart. We just pick up from there.

MOVEMENT: When you first started talking about this garbage issue, it reminded me of a discussion that was going on in the Movement a few years ago around the ERAP community organizing projects. They had the idea that you could move from the garbage cans to socialism, but ended up being hung up on garbage cans. How do the Lords see an issue like garbage collection strategically, in terms of raising the level of struggle?

YORUBA: I never heard of ERAP before. But what we saw in the Young Lords was that yeah, garbage collection is a reform issue. Right now, Pretty Pig Lindsay has used our garbage thing as a campaign issue. The trick is to use a reform issue for revolutionary purposes. So we used Chairman Cha Cha's line about observation and participation, and involved the people in struggle - dumpin' THE garbage in the streets, while we laid down a rap as to WHY we were doing this. It worked, and we were able to leave the garbage and move on to other things.

MOVEMENT: How did the Lords build off the garbage action?

YORUBA: When we first started with the garbage, we had a hard core of people who had been together in different forms since January. Some were college, but most were off the blocks. At that time we met on roofs, parks, apartments - anywhere. Whenever we took to the streets, we were able to see who could function and who couldn't. That was practice. From that practice, and because a few of us had been in the struggle before, we laid out a basic theory, and dug how they related to that. Combining theory with practice, we were able to eliminate the duds.

Then, after getting the word out to the people 'bout the Young Lords, we were able to set up an office. From there, we moved on to other programs.

MOVEMENT: What kind of trouble have the police been giving you?

PEOPLE'S PATROL

YORUBA: We were expecting a raid on the office last week, so what we've been doing is getting out to the people. The people in the Barrio are just up, really up in arms about this whole thing. Saturday night (Sept. 20), a friend who we called Loco, was murdered by another brother. He was trying to stop a fight so the guy decided to cut him up. He was stabbed four times, and the pigs came, and they let him bleed in the street. He died in the back of the pig car, they didn't get the ambulance or anything. And seven detectives came down drunk to check it out and instead of investigating, they were trying to write a ticket out for a brother who had only one headlight on his car. So what happened was, what we've been trying to push out for a long time is a people's patrol, an underground movement of the people on the block in the Latin community, similar to the way Panthers started out in Oakland. We came up against a lot of cynicism about the whole thing, patrolling the streets against the pigs is a completely foreign idea in New York. But we sold it. And with what happened over the weekend, we've been able to organize cadre easily. Now we've got about five tight blocks, and there's about two hundred people that will be moving next week some time on these patrols. They're a total underground movement. We relate it to an iceberg, most of the iceberg is underwater but part of it is above water, that would be like the Young Lords office and the people that you see in berets and shit like that.

EVERYONE IN THE BARRIO

What's good about it is that we're not getting other Lords, but we got people right off the block, these are working men, they got families to support, women, housewives, they're in their forties, and

they're in this thing, and they're cool. They're not calling themselves Young Lords, but they're Lords. So like we have a good estimation that in another month and a half we'll be able to say that everyone in the Barrio is a Young Lord. It's picking up. I just got a call today from a guy out in Queens that there's a group of Puerto Ricans out there that want to start a branch. And the same thing's happening in the South Bronx and the Lower East Side and Brooklyn. People in New Jersey and Connecticut are also coming into the thing.

The pigs work two ways around that bust thing. The first thing they tried to do was they dealt repression on the people. We have had several actions in the street, mini-riots, mini-rebellions and the pigs didn't touch the Lords hardly, but the people were the ones who were getting busted and getting their asses kicked. So what we did, for the first cat that was busted in our action, we mobilized about a thousand people from the community, marched up to the pig pen and we demanded that he be set free, and he was. The pigs were scared shit. Then they knew that this was a different kind of a power they had to deal with, this wasn't a jive little organization that wears jackets running around like a gang. So what they're trying to do now since they realize that we can stand up and say Off the Pig and we got the little kids in the street saying Off the Pig, what they're trying to do now, is they're trying to off us. We got the word out to the community and they're defending us. When we walk down the street at night we're able to walk into an apartment, knock on the door and say in Spanish, excuse me, I'm a Young Lord, I'm being followed. The people get hip to that and they let us in, or they let us in bars and let us out the back way. This is what we've been doing. It sounds romantic or adventurous, but it's true.

MOVEMENT: What is the relation between the Young Lords and other Puerto Rican groups in NYC?

YORUBA: Most of the other Puerto Rican, or Latin groups, because we are a Latin vanguard, that exist in New York are poverty pimps, the anti-poverty bloodsuckers that came up like pimples after all the rebellions. We relate to MPI (Movement Pro Independence), and not those mothers, 'cause they got to be offed. Lindsay gave 'em orders to buy us off, but we threw 'em out. The type of Latin organizations we relate to mostly are the Social Clubs on the street, or youth clubs, or welfare mothers - grassroots people.

MOVEMENT: In New York City the main industry is the garment industry and most of the workers there are Black and Puerto Rican. Have the Lords made any moves towards organization in the sweatshops?

YORUBA: Nothing definite yet - that's a motherfucker of a job. But some of us have people that work in the garment center, and we've been getting good feedback from cats that work there who've been digging on us in the street. Eventually, we'll have to.

MOVEMENT: Let me switch the topic. Whatever oppression Puerto Rican men suffer, Puerto Rican women suffer two times over. Have the Young Lords in New York begun to deal with women's oppression?

YORUBA: Young Lords all over been trying to deal with it. Dig, I'm not tryin' to excuse the brothers, but it's been hard for cats to deal with the fact that we ain't in this for the money, much less tellin' him that there's more to a woman than a piece of pussy. Dig, Latin women have to deal with this macho syndrome. She's been trained since birth to wait on her man. In New York though, we found a very down street sister - and literally that means FIND - who didn't know shit from Marx, but knew she wanted to struggle. She was liberated every which way, she IS liberated, always been known on the block for being free. She ate the cats up whenever they came out with any shit, you know?

But then she became a Rally Lord, 'cause she couldn't be full time. That's been our problem - keeping the sisters. Because of their peculiar oppression, they can't work full time. And if we get to the mothers, their husbands kick our ass. So we've been accused of male chauvinism. We're not. Cats that have it are dealin' with it, and cats who have eliminated most of it get on the other brothers. Lately, we've been attracting some heavy sisters. That's also because sisters tend to lay in the cut and dig if you're for real, rather than a guy



photo by Shuster/INS

who'll say, Yeah, man, I'm with you. That's why sisters are so beautiful - once you've got a sister, you've got a Lord for life.

MOVEMENT: What is the international position of the Young Lords?

YORUBA: The Young Lords Organization is a revolutionary vanguard, and as such we believe that the whole world must be freed. We are one with the liberation struggle in Puerto Rico; we are one with the cane-cutters in Cuba; we are one with the revolutionary movements in Vietnam, South Africa, the moon if necessary.

BIRTH OF A NATION

MOVEMENT: How do the Lords feel about relating to middle-class whites?

YORUBA: Young Lords as an organization believes that coalitions and working alliances are necessary among all groups that are dedicated to fighting the man and getting rid of this mother-fucker in a revolutionary manner along sound Marxist-Leninist principles, because we can't do it alone. Young Lords can't do it alone, Young Patriots can't do it alone, SDS can't do it alone. We've got to hang together and we've got to resolve our contradictions in the struggle, because revolutionary marriage will only occur in revolutionary struggle. Remember the flick "Birth of a Nation"? We're going through that now, the birth of a nation, the birth of a world because I take an inter-nationalist view of the struggle. (I'm really turned on by the concept of an American Revolution II, and I don't see that as just being a Patriot's thing, I think the Patriots are there as a catalyst to turn on the rest of the mother country. Last year, the nation was being formed in the mother country, its birth pangs were starting in the mother country at the Chicago Democratic Convention. Whites were getting their asses kicked, and they were feeling it the way Blacks and Puerto Ricans have felt it every day. I cried when I saw that shit on TV, and I had a lot of good friends up there who got their asses whipped. What makes me sadder is that some groups can still talk about marching down the street to end the war in Vietnam, when they can see where things are at.

THE HOPE OF THE WORLD

In a way, Weatherman (a tendency within SDS) is trying to combat that when they talk about white militancy, and trying to up the white militancy. I think they're going at it ass backwards, but I dig the direction they're coming out of. Middle class whites have all kinds of disadvantages not only relating to people in the colony but relating to white working class. I've found that it's easier for an Italian who's working in the factory who'll making sixty bucks a week to relate to me than it is for him to relate to someone in SDS, who has all the best intentions in the world. It's almost like some kind of a patronizing attitude, and this year '69-'70 I think is going to be a crucial year for the mother country and for the movement in it, because what I see happening with RYM II and Weatherman they're trying to make some kind of a turn back to their own working class. They've been working for a long time in the colony and talking about Free Huey and Free the New York 21, but now it's time to talk about freeing the cat who's working in the factory. They're making

an effort, and that's good, they still got a long fucking way to go. RYM II comes out of a bag a lot of the time like they're a reaction to Weatherman, and Weatherman comes out of a bag where they have to be more militant than militant. There's no need for that. The working class people don't have to be told about militancy because they live with it, and they are potentially the most militant force in this country. The white working class people working in unity with the working class of the colony are the hope for the world, and that's where it's really at.

MOVEMENT: What kind of things could you see white radicals doing?

INTERNATIONALISM

YORUBA: They're going to have to start going into working class communities, and I know some people who are doing this so that's why I say there is hope, taking a job as a worker, taking up residence in the community and not coming out with politics, not hitting someone on the head with politics, just getting so that you can make friends with a person, start rapping, have a beer, go out with him, go bowling, whatever they do. Do whatever the people do, I think this is the way they trained the Viet Minh. When Ho Chi Minh was training the cadre, he said go out to the tribal people, go out to the people in the rice paddies, and if they file their teeth down to the gums, you file your teeth down to the gums. You cannot talk about the working class unless you become part of their struggle. Huey says we are camels to be ridden upon by the people, but they've got to stop mouthing it and start doing it, they have got to start living in working class conditions and not living so much off the movement. The movement has a way of insulating you from a lot that's going down.

For a long time SDS, which is the symbolic organization, has come across as a campus-based organization. It's time to get back to the working class and relating more to the street people.

IN CHICAGO

MOVEMENT: Recently the YLO participated in the demonstrations in Chicago. What happened?

YORUBA: Well, I have to exclude the Weathermen, 'cause we weren't involved in their thing. But the Young Lords, Panthers and RYM II were supporting each other. Thursday we were at the Federal Court Building and hospital demonstrations. Friday we leafleted on the Albizu Campos March Saturday. Campos was a Puerto Rican independence leader, and a hero of our people. We tied that in with the assassination of Wilfredo Perez, a member of the Latin Kings Organization, which stopped gang-banging and became political once they saw the Lords taking care of business.

The March Saturday was great. We had close to 1500 people, old, young, RYM II, LORDS, gangs - everybody. It was the first time Chicago witnessed a mass march for Campos, and the first time anyone ever marched on Division Street, where the Puerto Ricans are at. Then the rally at Humboldt Park topped things off beautifully. The pigs were scared shitless at seeing so many spics, niggers, longhairs, PEOPLE, in one place, loving each other, revolutionary love, dig, and being one. It blew the fascists' minds, what little they have to blow, and gave us all one big high.



LENIN on

EDITOR'S NOTE: Debate over adventurism has been raging in the movement, mostly in connection with discussions of the National SDS Actions in Chicago. We think that this piece by Lenin sheds some fresh light on the subject. (By the way, when Lenin uses the term "Guerrilla Warfare" he is referring to what we call "heavy street fighting," he is not talking about guerrilla warfare as defined by Mao, Ho, Giap and Che.)

As we go to press, people are just returning from Chicago and have not had time to carefully analyze and evaluate the actions. Since the bourgeois and movement press is full of accounts of what happened, we have decided to wait until we can publish a useful and honest analytic story of that struggle.

The question of guerrilla action is one that greatly interests our Party and the mass of the workers. We have dealt with this question in passing several times, and now we propose to give the more complete statement of our views we have promised.

I

Let us begin from the beginning. What are the fundamental demands which every Marxist should make of an examination of the question of forms of struggle? In the first place, Marxism differs from all primitive forms of socialism by not binding the movement to any one particular form of struggle. It recognises the most varied forms of struggle; and it does not "concoct" them, but only generalises, organises, gives conscious expression to those forms of struggle of the revolutionary classes which arise of themselves in the course of the movement. Absolutely hostile to all abstract formulas and to all doctrinaire recipes, Marxism demands an attentive attitude to the *mass* struggle in progress, which, as the movement develops, as the class-consciousness of the masses grows, as economic and political crises become acute, continually gives rise to new and more varied methods of defence and attack. Marxism, therefore, positively does not reject any form of struggle. Under no circumstances does Marxism confine itself to the forms of struggle possible and in existence at the given moment only, recognising as it does that new forms of struggle, unknown to the participants of the given period, *inevitably* arise as the given social situation changes. In this respect Marxism *learns*, if we may so express it, from mass practice, and makes no claim whatever to *teach* the masses forms of struggle invented by "systematisers" in the seclusion of their studies. We know—said Kautsky, for instance, when examining the forms of social revolution—that the coming crisis will introduce new forms of struggle that we are now unable to foresee.

In the second place, Marxism demands an absolutely *historical* examination of the question of the forms of struggle. To treat this question apart from the concrete historical situation betrays a failure to understand the rudiments of dialectical materialism. At different stages of economic evolution, depending on differences in political, national, cultural, living and other conditions, different forms of struggle come to the fore and become the principal forms of struggle; and in connection with this, the secondary, auxiliary forms of struggle undergo change in their turn. To attempt to answer yes or no to the question whether any particular means of struggle should be used, without making a detailed examination of the concrete situation of the given movement at the given stage of its development, means completely to abandon the Marxist position.

These are the two principal theoretical propositions by which we must be guided. The history of Marxism in Western Europe provides an infinite number of examples corroborating what has been said. European Social-Democracy at the present time regards parliamentarism and the trade union movement as the principal forms of struggle; it recognised insurrection in the past, and is quite prepared to recognise it, should conditions change, in the future—despite the opinion of bourgeois liberals like the Russian Cadets and the *Bezzaglavtsi*.¹⁰ Social-Democracy in the seventies rejected the general strike as a social panacea, as a means of overthrowing the bourgeoisie at one stroke by non-political means—but Social-Democracy fully recognises the mass political strike (especially after the experience of Russia in 1905) as *one* of the methods of struggle essential under *certain* conditions. Social-Democracy recognised street barricade fighting in the forties, rejected it for definite reasons at the end of the nineteenth century, and expressed complete readiness to revise the latter view and to admit the expediency of barricade fighting after the experience of Moscow, which, in the words of K. Kautsky, initiated new tactics of barricade fighting.

II

Having established the general Marxist propositions, let us turn to the Russian revolution. Let us recall the historical development of the forms of struggle it produced. First there were the economic strikes of workers (1896-1900), then the political demonstrations of workers and students (1901-02), peasant revolts (1902), the beginning of mass political strikes variously combined with demonstrations (Rostov 1902, the strikes in the summer of 1903, January 9, 1905), the all-Russian political strike accompanied by local cases of barricade fighting (October 1905), mass barricade fighting and armed uprising (1905, December), the peaceful parliamentary struggle (April-June 1906), partial military revolts (June 1905-July 1906) and partial peasant revolts (autumn 1905-autumn 1906).

Such is the state of affairs in the autumn of 1906 as concerns forms of struggle in general. The "retaliatory" form of struggle adopted by the autocracy is the Black-Hundred pogrom, from Kishinev in the spring of 1903 to Sedlets in the autumn of 1906. All through this period the organisation of Black-Hundred pogroms and the beating up of Jews, students, revolutionaries and class-conscious workers continued to progress and perfect itself, combining the violence of Black-Hundred troops with the violence of hired ruffians, going as far as the use of artillery in villages and towns and merging with punitive expeditions, punitive trains and so forth.

Such is the principal background of the picture. Against this background there stands out—unquestionably as something partial, secondary and auxiliary—the phenomenon to the study and assessment of which the present article is devoted. What is this phenomenon? What are its forms? What are its causes? When did it arise and how far has it spread? What is its significance in the general course of the revolution? What is its relation to the struggle of the working class organised and led by Social-Democracy? Such are the questions which we must now proceed to examine after having sketched the general background of the picture.

The phenomenon in which we are interested is the *armed* struggle. It is conducted by individuals and by small groups. Some belong to revolutionary organisations, while others (the *majority* in certain parts of Russia) do not belong to any revolutionary organisation. Armed struggle pursues two *different* aims, which must be *strictly* distinguished: in the first place, this struggle aims at assassinating individuals, chiefs and subordinates in the army and police; in the second place, it aims at the confiscation of monetary funds both from the government and from private persons. The confiscated funds go partly into the treasury of the Party, partly for the special purpose of arming and preparing for an uprising, and partly for the maintenance of persons engaged in the struggle we are describing. The big expropriations (such as the Caucasian, involving over 200,000 rubles, and the Moscow, involving 875,000 rubles) went in fact first and foremost to revolutionary parties—small expropriations go mostly, and sometimes entirely, to the maintenance of the "expropriators". This form of struggle undoubtedly became widely developed and extensive only in 1906, i.e., after the December uprising. The intensification of the political crisis to the point of an armed struggle and, in particular, the intensification of poverty, hunger and unemployment in town and country, was one of the important causes of the struggle we are describing. This form of struggle was adopted as the preferable and even *exclusive* form of social struggle by the vagabond elements of the population, the lumpen proletariat and anarchist groups. Declaration of martial law, mobilisation of fresh troops, Black-Hundred pogroms (Sedlets), and military courts must be regarded as the "retaliatory" form of struggle adopted by the autocracy.

III

The usual appraisal of the struggle we are describing is that it is anarchism, Blanquism, the old terrorism, the acts of individuals isolated from the masses, which demoralise the workers, repel wide strata of the population, disorganise the movement and injure the revolution. Examples in support of this appraisal can easily be found in the events reported every day in the newspapers.

But are such examples convincing? In order to test this, let us take a locality where the form of struggle we are examining is *most* developed—the Lettish Territory. This is the way *Novoye Vremya* (in its issues of September 9 and 12) complains of the activities of the Lettish Social-Democrats. The Lettish Social-Democratic Labour Party (a section of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party) regularly issues its paper in 30,000 copies. The announcement columns publish lists of spies whom it is the duty of every decent person to exterminate. People who assist the police are proclaimed "enemies of the revolution", liable to execution and, moreover, to confiscation of property. The public

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is instructed to give money to the Social-Democratic Party only against signed and stamped receipt. In the Party's latest report, showing a total income of 48,000 rubles for the year, there figures a sum of 5,600 rubles contributed by the Libau branch for arms which was obtained by expropriation. Naturally, *Novoye Vremya* rages and fumes against this "revolutionary law", against this "terror government".

Nobody will be so bold as to call these activities of the Lettish Social-Democrats anarchism, Blanquism or terrorism. But why? Because here we have a *clear* connection between the new form of struggle and the uprising which broke out in December and which is again brewing. This connection is not so perceptible in the case of Russia as a whole, but it exists. The fact that "guerrilla" warfare became widespread precisely after December, and its connection with the accentuation not only of the economic crisis but also of the political crisis is beyond dispute. The old Russian terrorism was an affair of the intellectual conspirator; today as a general rule guerrilla warfare is waged by the worker combatant, or simply by the unemployed worker. Blanquism and anarchism easily occur to the minds of people who have a weakness for stereotype; but under the circumstances of an uprising, which are so apparent in the Lettish Territory, the inappropriateness of such trite labels is only too obvious.

The example of the Letts clearly demonstrates how incorrect, unscientific and unhistorical is the practice so very common among us of analysing guerrilla warfare without reference to the circumstances of an uprising. These circumstances must be borne in mind, we must reflect on the peculiar features of an intermediate period between big acts of insurrection, we must realise what forms of struggle inevitably arise under such circumstances, and not try to shirk the issue by a collection of words learned by rote, such as are used equally by the Cadets and the *Novoye Vremya*-ites: anarchism, robbery, hooliganism!

It is said that guerrilla acts disorganise our work. Let us apply this argument to the situation that has existed since December 1905, to the period of Black-Hundred pogroms and martial law. What disorganises the movement more in such a period: the absence of resistance or organised guerrilla warfare? Compare the centre of Russia with her western borders, with Poland and the Lettish Territory. It is unquestionable that guerrilla warfare is far more widespread and far more developed in the western border regions. And it is equally unquestionable that the revolutionary movement in general, and the Social-Democratic movement in particular, are *more disorganised* in central Russia than in the western border regions. Of course, it would not enter our heads to conclude from this that the Polish and Lettish Social-Democratic movements are less disorganised *thanks* to guerrilla warfare. No. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that guerrilla warfare is not to blame for the state of disorganisation of the Social-Democratic working-class movement in Russia in 1906.

Allusion is often made in this respect to the peculiarities of national conditions. But this allusion very clearly betrays the weakness of the current argument. If it is a matter of national conditions then it is not a matter of anarchism, Blanquism or terrorism—sins that are common to Russia as a whole and even to the Russians especially—but of something else. Analyse this something else *concretely*, gentlemen! You will then find that national oppression or antagonism explain nothing, because they have always existed in the western border regions, whereas guerrilla warfare has been engendered only by the present historical period. There are many places where there is national oppression and antagonism, but no guerrilla struggle, which sometimes develops where there is no national oppression whatever. A concrete analysis of the question will show that it is not a matter of national oppression, but of conditions of insurrection. Guerrilla warfare is an inevitable form of struggle at a time when the mass movement has actually reached the point of an uprising and when fairly large intervals occur between the "big engagements" in the civil war.

It is not guerrilla actions which disorganise the movement, but the weakness of a party which is incapable of taking such actions *under its control*. That is why the anathemas which we Russians usually hurl against guerrilla actions go hand in hand with secret, casual, unorganised guerrilla actions which really do disorganise the Party. Being incapable of understanding what historical conditions give rise to this struggle, we are incapable of neutralising its deleterious aspects. Yet the struggle is going on. It is engendered by powerful economic and political causes. It is not in our power to eliminate these causes or to eliminate this struggle. Our complaints against guerrilla warfare are complaints against our Party weakness in the matter of an uprising.

What we have said about disorganisation also applies to demoralisation. It is not guerrilla warfare which demoralises, but *unorganised*, irregular, non-party guerrilla acts. We shall not rid ourselves one least bit of this *most unquestionable* demoralisation by condemning and cursing guerrilla

actions, for condemnation and curses are absolutely incapable of putting a stop to a phenomenon which has been engendered by profound economic and political causes. It may be objected that if we are incapable of putting a stop to an abnormal and demoralising phenomenon, this is no reason why the *Party* should adopt abnormal and demoralising methods of struggle. But such an objection would be a purely bourgeois-liberal and not a Marxist objection, because a Marxist cannot regard civil war, or guerrilla warfare, which is one of its forms, as abnormal and demoralising *in general*. A Marxist bases himself on the class struggle, and not social peace. In certain periods of acute economic and political crises the class struggle ripens into a direct civil war, i. e., into an armed struggle between two sections of the people. In such periods a Marxist is *obliged* to take the stand of civil war. Any moral condemnation of civil war would be absolutely impermissible from the standpoint of Marxism.

In a period of civil war the ideal party of the proletariat is a *fighting party*. This is absolutely incontrovertible. We are quite prepared to grant that it is possible to argue and prove the *inexpediency* from the standpoint of civil war of particular forms of civil war at any particular moment. We fully admit criticism of diverse forms of civil war from the standpoint of *military expediency* and absolutely agree that in *this* question it is the Social-Democratic practical workers in each particular locality who must have the final say. But we absolutely demand in the name of the principles of Marxism that an analysis of the conditions of civil war should not be evaded by hackneyed and stereotyped talk about anarchism, Blanquism and terrorism, and that senseless methods of guerrilla activity adopted by some organisation or other of the Polish Socialist Party at some moment or other should not be used as a bogey when discussing the question of the participation of the Social-Democratic Party as such in guerrilla warfare in general.

The argument that guerrilla warfare disorganises the movement must be regarded critically. *Every* new form of struggle, accompanied as it is by new dangers and new sacrifices, inevitably "disorganises" organisations which are unprepared for this new form of struggle. Our old propagandist circles were disorganised by recourse to methods of agitation. Our committees were subsequently disorganised by recourse to demonstrations. Every military action in any war to a certain extent disorganises the ranks of the fighters. But this does not mean that one must not fight. It means that one must *learn* to fight. That is all.

When I see Social-Democrats proudly and smugly declaring "we are not anarchists, thieves, robbers, we are superior to all this, we reject guerrilla warfare",—I ask myself: Do these people realise what they are saying? Armed clashes and conflicts between the Black-Hundred government and the population are taking place all over the country. This is an absolutely inevitable phenomenon at the present stage of development of the revolution. The population is spontaneously and in an unorganised way—and for that very reason often in unfortunate and *undesirable* forms—reacting to this phenomenon also by armed conflicts and attacks. I can understand us refraining from Party leadership of *this* spontaneous struggle in a particular place or at a particular time because of the weakness and unpreparedness of our organisation. I realise that this question must be settled by the local practical workers, and that the remoulding of weak and unprepared organisations is no easy matter. But when I see a Social-Democratic theoretician or publicist not displaying regret over this unpreparedness, but rather a proud smugness and a self-exalted tendency to repeat phrases learned by rote in early youth about anarchism, Blanquism and terrorism, I am hurt by this degradation of the most revolutionary doctrine in the world.

It is said that guerrilla warfare brings the class-conscious proletarians into close association with degraded, drunken riff-raff. That is true. But it only means that the party of the proletariat can never regard guerrilla warfare as the only, or even as the chief, method of struggle; it means that this method must be subordinated to other methods, that it must be commensurate with the chief methods of warfare, and must be ennobled by the enlightening and organising influence of socialism. And without this *latter* condition, *all*, positively all, methods of struggle in bourgeois society bring the proletariat into close association with the various non-proletarian strata above and below it and, if left to the spontaneous course of events, become frayed, corrupted and prostituted. Strikes, if left to the spontaneous course of events, become corrupted into "alliances"—agreements between the workers and the masters *against* the consumers. Parliament becomes corrupted into a brothel, where a gang of bourgeois politicians barter wholesale and retail "national freedom", "liberalism", "democracy", republicanism, anti-

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VICTORY OR DEATH, MAJOR INTI

by Karen Wald

"Guerrilla warfare in Bolivia is not dead; it has just begun."

—Inti Paredo, Special Message to Tricontinental following Che's death.

"The lackeys of Uncle Sam must not be given time to gloat over their triumphs. The homage due our dead comrades must be paid in the form of a new imperialist defeat, of many actions throughout our America: the America of the guerrilla struggles."

—Antonio Paredo, on the death of his brother.

In the early morning hours of Sept. 9, 13 vehicles carrying a total of 60 assorted police and army agents surrounded a small house on Santa Cruz street in La Paz where Guido "Inti" Paredo, chief of the ELN (Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional, or National Liberation Army) of Bolivia and one of the few remaining survivors of Che's guerrilla band, was asleep.

Later that morning the government forces sprang their attack, and after a furious forty-minute gun battle Inti lay dead.

Bernardo Martinez, who rented the apartment where Inti was staying, was wounded and in jail. A number of soldiers were wounded.

The ruling Bolivian regime announced it was taking extreme measures of security (read: new acts of repression) throughout the country.

The regime's official version is that Inti's gun (an M-1 rifle according to one report; a Browning pistol according to another) jammed, and that he threw a grenade which rebounded off a wall of the room in which he was found, killing him.

The next morning his brother Antonio, from his exile in Santiago, Chile, told a Prensa Latina reporter: "The Bolivian government, as if shamed by its murders, always says that revolutionaries perish by self-immolation. I think that the news of the death of my brother Inti is true, but that he fell fighting, and was not the victim of (his own) grenade."

Inti's death, Antonio asserted, "will not mean the end of armed struggle in Bolivia. The leadership of the struggle fell into Inti's hands by a quirk of fate, but there are and there will be many leaders ready to struggle ceaselessly and to liberate their country."

"If Che's death did not mean (as many thought) the final blow to the liberation struggle, much less will this happen with the death of my brother."

Antonio wasn't putting his brother down with this statement, but rather following Inti's own words, reflecting his brother's sense of humility, common to most of the revolutionaries.

In Inti's message to the Tricontinental following Che's death, in which he took up the task of defending the fallen leader's concepts of guerrilla struggle as "the most effective and surest method of seizing power," the new ELN chief spoke of his new role:

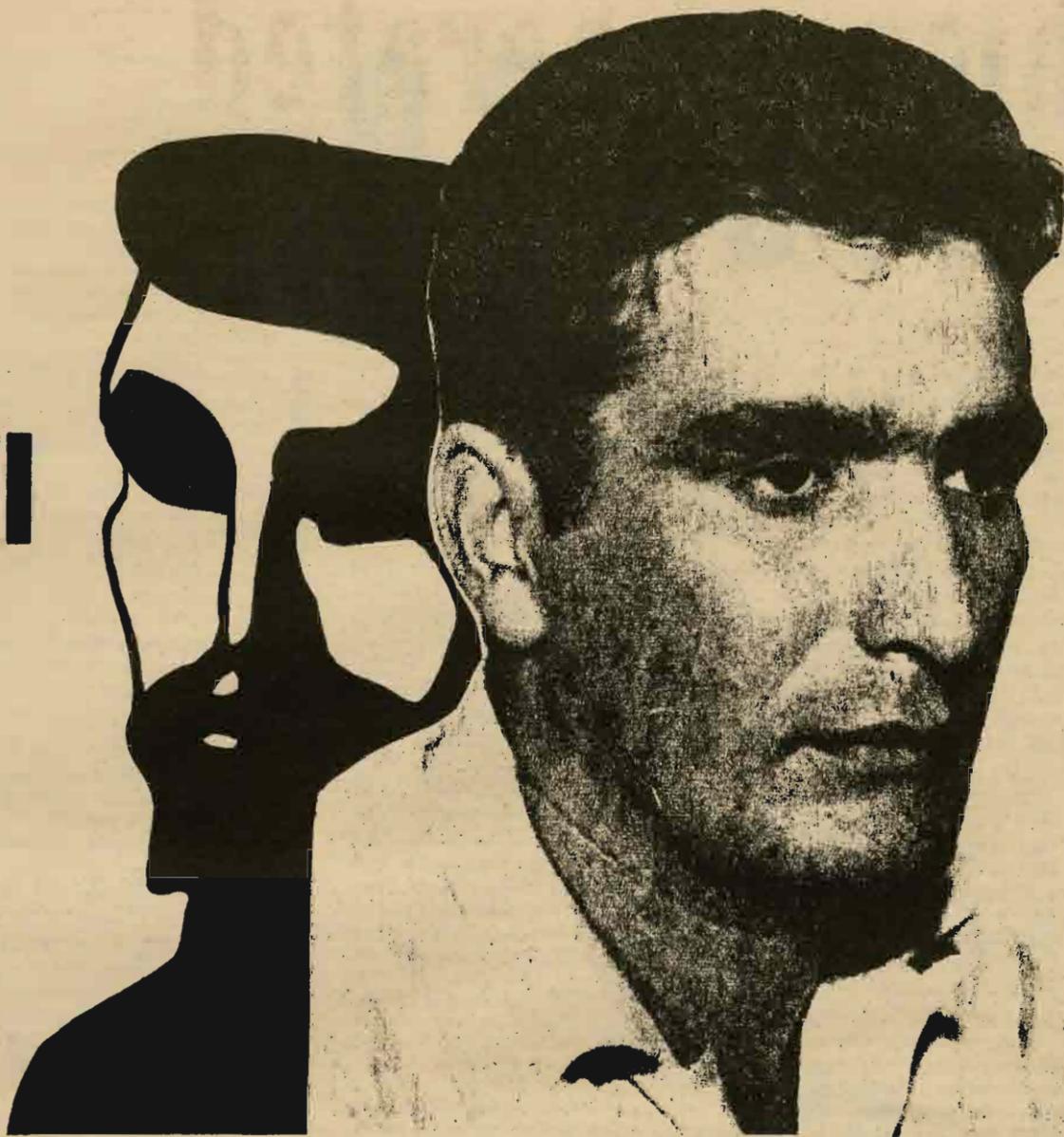
"I do this without in the least considering myself the immediate successor of Che Guevara. Being Che's successor would be an undeservedly high honor for me. I am rather acting in my capacity as an accidental heir to the last and most valuable teachings of the greatest revolutionary genius of Latin America."

GUERRILLA WARFARE WILL NOT DIE

But the fact remains that Inti was generally acknowledged as the new leader of the revolutionary struggle in Bolivia, and just as they did when Che died, many will jump to say that Inti's death marks the end of guerrilla war in Latin America. They will claim further that this new death is evidence that guerrilla warfare is the wrong tactic for Latin America. But Inti refuted this himself in his message to the Tricontinental; referring to the setbacks, the many deaths, especially that of Che, he noted:

"But these painful events, far from frightening us, strengthen our revolutionary awareness, increase our determination to fight for a just cause; make it stancher; and forge...new fighters and leaders, who will honor and pay homage to those who have already fallen.

"Our single and final goal is the liberation of Latin America... We are convinced that the dream of Bolivian and Che... will be attained through armed struggle.



gle...Guerrilla warfare is the most effective and correct method of armed struggle.

"For this reason, as long as there is a single honest man in Latin America, guerrilla warfare will not die."

As if to echo his words, fighting broke out in the streets of La Paz and Sucre, Bolivia, as students demonstrated in honor of Inti, proclaiming the ELN still lives. In the capital during the night of September 10 young members of the University of San Andres Law School marched through the streets, shouting "Glory to Inti Paredo," "Long Live the ELN," "Death to the Murderous Army", and similar slogans.

After a large rally in which a number of people spoke in honor of the fallen ELN chief, the youths occupied the streets and blockaded traffic on the main avenue.

Students from the teachers' college also demonstrated, blocking an avenue in the Miraflores section. Before they left they scrawled various messages of support for the guerrillas and homage to Inti Paredo.

In Sucre a number of students and four cops were wounded when the pigs intervened to repress a similar demonstration by the students of that city. The outbreaks of violence in the streets continued.

The Bolivian government, perhaps fearing the strong sympathies that the people have for Inti and the guerrillas, has been trying to dilute its bloody role with the milk of human kindness now that Inti has been successfully disposed of. Minister of the Interior Eufonio Padillaque, when he announced Inti's death, said he did so "with pain". The Bolivian regime has offered to let Antonio go to La Paz to reclaim his brother's body. He has turned down the offer, saying, "I won't go because my return would allow the Bolivian government to assume a 'humanitarian' guise."

The following day (Sept. 11) when news of Inti's death was final, Antonio again spoke to the revolutionary press:

"The ELN, founded by Comandante Ernesto Che Guevara, has suffered the harshest reverses in the revolutionary history of our time, in the death of its most courageous leaders.

"This is not by chance, for it shows that the men who lead our movement have always been in the front line of fire and, on the other hand, that yankee imperialism is putting all its resources into play in Bolivia, since they know it is the very point where the greater part of the future of Latin America will be decided.

"In its short life the ELN has accumulated great experience, paid for very dearly... But it will finally lead to the victory of the Bolivian people and, with their victory, to that of the peoples of our suffering continent.

"Inti became for some a watchword, for others a legend, and for imperialists a nightmare. This was so because his words and his actions were a challenge to the stupid assertions that the death of Che signified the defeat of the guerrilla struggle in Latin America.

"Inti's death will make imperialism -- aided by its puppets in Latin America and, curiously, by the revisionists -- again repeat this same phrase. But the

people have another slogan: VICTORY OR DEATH. But no death can mean that the people will abandon their struggle.

"My brothers died in the prime of their youth: Coco, before he had reached 29, Inti, a little over 31. The revolution had matured them to the point of converting them into Latin American leaders.

"Inti's death does no more than exact the promise of revolutionary struggle on this continent.

"The efforts of our Brazilian and Uruguayan, Venezuelan and Colombian comrades, of all our brothers of the Latin American struggle, must be redoubled in this moment to speed up the downfall of imperialism."

After Che's death, Inti wrote:

"Let the imperialists and their lackeys withhold their songs of victory, because the war has not ended, it has just begun.

"We will return to the mountains!

"Bolivia will again respond to our cry of VICTORY OR DEATH!"

VENCEREMOS

BRIGADE

The Venceremos Brigade has been reorganized. Before the plan was for 300 people to cut cane in Cuba. Now the plan is for 600 to go. The people going will be working with the Centennial Youth Column—50,000 young Cuban volunteers. Those people who join the Brigade will be able to concretely show their solidarity with the Cuban people and the fact that not all Americans aim to destroy the Cuban revolution.

The deadline for applications has been extended to October 28, 1969. The application itself has been simplified. Write immediately to: Brigade, PO Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York 10025.

ethiopia liberated



Many people have heard of Ethiopia, but few know that there is a large, well developed, and successful national liberation movement fighting there. When the press talks of Ethiopia, they talk mostly about the Emperor, Haile Selassie, and see him as a great peace-maker, and one of the world's great statesmen. In fact he has been making war on the people of Ethiopia for years, in fact he is one of the world's great butchers.

The war in Ethiopia has gone almost completely unreported, yet the few reports written recently describe the situation as a fundamentally revolutionary situation, that involves an unresponsive oppressive ruling regime propped by foreign support, against a popular guerrilla movement.

ERITREA

The guerrilla movement is based in Eritrea, which is the Northeastern portion of what is called Ethiopia, and includes all of the coastal area on the Red Sea. Eritrea was an Italian colony during the 19th and 20th centuries, up to World War II. The inland section, which was formerly known as Abyssinia, had been an Italian colony for only five years when the war ended. The Emperors of inland Ethiopia always coveted Eritrea's seaports at Massawa and Assab, as well as the milk and oil which several cities produce. But the Emperors historically were never able to totally conquer Eritrea.

After World War II and the defeat of the Italians, the big powers who won, and the U.N., gave to Ethiopia what she had never been able to win by force: Eritrea. The United Nations formal arrangement was that Eritrea would have federal status, that is independent, but within a national federation with the inland regions. In 1962 Ethiopia cancelled the federal status, and declared Eritrea an Imperial Colony. Since 1962 the Eritrean National Liberation Front has waged a protracted guerrilla struggle against Haile Selassie's regime in Addis Ababa. In 1962 the Emperor decreed that Eritrea would lose its flag, its parliament, and every other semblance or symbol of independence.

All shops on Eritrea are required to display the Emperor's portrait. Green sweaters are forbidden because green is the national color of Eritrea. Eritrea's native languages, among them Tigre and Tigrinja, are prohibited, and Amharic, which is the language of the Emperor's tribe, is the only official language. In 1962 the Eritrean civil service was virtually liquidated. The Ethiopian military and secret service have replaced the Eritrean police, and mass arrests and tight surveillance have led to the establishment of detention camps throughout the countryside, which are known euphemistically as "fortified hamlets".

LIBERATION FRONT

A few of the reports on the Eritrean Liberation Front say that it is Muslim led. Religious tensions are one aspect of Eritrea (40% Christian, 40% Muslim, 20% animist) but the struggle for national liberation has succeeded in uniting many of different religions, while religious fears and prejudices have faded. By the time that Eritrea was declared a colony in 1962, the former governor of Eritrea, who is a Christian, had gone underground and today he is the Vice President of the Eritrean Liberation Front.



The regular forces of the Front range from between 10,000 and 30,000 men and the Front now controls the countryside of Eritrea. The Front has succeeded in defeating or isolating the major part of the Ethiopian Army. An entire infantry division of 8000 men, trained by the United States has been mobilized, and two squadrons of American warplanes have been trying unsuccessfully to defeat the guerrillas.

The United States gives the imperial regime in Addis Ababa, renowned for its decadence and obscene extravagance, more economic aid than it gives to any other African country. So called U.S. advisors are involved in the fighting, and the United States has admitted that as early as 1965 a U.S. helicopter, manned by U.S. pilots, was shot down while flying a reconnaissance mission against the guerrillas. Yet the people in Eritrea look to the Front as their government, and the guerrillas move through a countryside which once was known for barbaric and fierce tribesman and warriors who were hostile to outsiders, but which now welcomes, feeds, and entertains the guerrillas. The fierceness remains, but many of the warrior tribesmen, known as Shiftas, join the Liberation Front, and are transformed into disciplined guerrilla soldiers.

The front has set up five revolutionary districts in which its own cadre serve the needs and help solve the civil disputes of the people. In the Western and central regions of Eritrea, the government is visible: courts, town meeting, and mutual aid societies go about their work convened under trees. Even the sheiks around the city of

Assab, far to the South on the Red Sea, recently refused to pay taxes to the Addis Ababa collectors and said that their tax money had gone to the new government.

In the cities, the people lead a dual life. On the surface there is a feigned adoration for the Emperor, but underneath there is loyalty to the Front.

Recently, there have been a series of destructive explosions and some hijackings of Ethiopian Airlines Boeing 707's. A plane was destroyed while on the ground at an airport in Frankfurt, Germany, and at Karachi airport, it happened again. These acts are an effort of the Eritrean Liberation Front to demonstrate their strength, to bring the world's attention to their struggle, and to hurt the profit and prestige of the Addis Ababa regime.

PEOPLE'S WAR

All of Ethiopia is poor and hungry aside from the ruling military clique. Only one person in 20 can read and write, per capita income is extremely low. Medical care is for the most part non-existent, and food is scarce. Eritrea's 1.6 million people suffer most of all, and recently natural disaster has contributed to their misery. In the cities of Eritrea, children of the poor run through the streets trying to sell the

chewing gum they have managed to rip off from the post exchange at Kagnev - the post exchange at Kagnev Station, which is a large American military "communications" base near the city of Asmara.

In the rest of Ethiopia there is also resistance. The emperor's army has been forced to shoot and kill large crowds of students and to maintain a reign of terror across the countryside. Thousands of student rebels have been jailed, many schools have been closed, and more demonstrations are expected in the coming months.

Haile Selassie recently visited the United States, and was greeted with all the bullshit that the President, whoever he may be, reserves for dictators. More U.S. aid, perhaps larger numbers of U.S. troops will no doubt be forthcoming, as the United States frantically seeks to bolster its decaying world system of oppression. But meanwhile the Eritrean Liberation Front is waging people's war with such wide popular support that it appears likely, especially if their struggle is supported around the world, that their resistance will be victorious.

Organizing from Bed

Editors Note: The struggle never stops. Here's what a brother organized while in the hospital with hepatitis.

HEPITITIS SIX ON STRIKE HEPITITIS SIX ON STRIKE HEPITITIS SIX ON STRIKE

TO: Mafioso Alioto and his running dog lackies of San Francisco - imperialist center of the West...

Whereas the inmates of the hep ward of Laguna Honda hospital have been consistently denied proper medical care and attention as listed below - we declare a general strike until such conditions are rectified.

We demand food of quality and quantity fit for the consumption of human beings --we get three lousy cold meals supplemented by peanut butter, jelly and stale bread--this they call their high protein diet for hep patients. The same lousy shit that all patients are forced to eat.

We demand proper sanitation and health supplies. Our bedding is changed only once a week (one patient was forced to sleep on blood-soaked sheets until his changing day came up). There are never clean towels, pajama tops, ice water, nor health supplies. General cleanliness suffers because of the overload work conditions forced on the employees.

We demand proper medical aid and attention. Patients are denied medicines when they need them and forced to spend hours suffering until the "scheduled" times. Some supplies cannot be obtained at all.

Visiting hours are limited from 2-4 pm - thus denying the vast majority of our friends and relatives, all working people, the right to visit us.

Our reasons for being here are to obtain proper medical and health attention so we can return to our jobs and help provide for our families - yet our basic right to proper medical aid is being denied, denied because we come from poor and working class families and must rely on state medical services and welfare, which is inadequate for human survival. If we were rich capitalists or their well-paid lackies we could afford to buy proper medical aid - just like the rich can afford to buy anything they want in this society - but we're poor and working class, and as such are doomed to fight in their imperialist wars and pay their taxes...BASTA YA...

Mafioso Alioto oinked by Friday on a state hospital inspection tour and after sticking his snout in the door, he oinked "OK, passit." We the inmates say NO -

ON STRIKE, SHUT IT DOWN. We unite with all poor and working people of the world in our common struggle against US Imperialism and its avaricious businessmen, its demagogic politicians, and its fascist pig cops.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

FREE HUEY P. NEWTON
FREE BOBBY SEALE
FREE LOS SIETE
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

FREE THE HEPITITIS SIX

Send high-protein food, bedding, contributions and good vibes to Ward M-6 Laguna Honda Hospital, 731-9993

GI's Switch & Fight

San Francisco (LNS) - American GI's are joining the military forces of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. (PRG) Recent figures quoted in the San Francisco Chronicle show desertions in the field are running at the rate of ten a day.

Those deserters who would rather switch AND fight join up with the PRG, bringing with them detailed knowledge of how to work American equipment and how American units operate. There have been reports of misdirected artillery and helicopter fire in the Mekong Delta because deserters used stolen radios to cut in on Army frequencies.

The PRG derives the greatest benefit from the intelligence reports these GIs receive, according to SOLIDARITY, a San Francisco newsletter run by ex-GIs. As long as two years ago the US-Saigon command was astounded that the National Liberation Front would know of B-52 strikes more than 24 hours in advance. It confused them because strike times were never divulged to the Saigon troops. The NLF also found out about attacks flown from Okinawa, Thailand and Guam.

The majority of the deserters choose to stay in the rear areas so that they will not have to fight their countrymen. But

two ex-Marine NLF advisors were killed last April in a patrol skirmish near Phu Bai. Located north-east of Khe Sanh, Phu Bai is the largest US Marine base near the DMZ: it is an extremely important communications base. The Marine Corps was able to identify the two "traitors" but would not release their names.

Some GIs who desert in the field do not want to join the liberation forces, and merely roam the countryside trying not to get caught. The PRG often helps such persons find housing and food, expecting nothing in return.

According to a June report in the Okinawa Morning Star Journal, there are at least 3,000 AWOL GI's hiding out in Saigon alone. Many recently returned Vietnamese veterans have reported a higher estimate to SOLIDARITY editor Fred Chard...they figure 5,000 to be a more realistic number.

For deserters wishing to leave Vietnam, the PRG offers assistance in reaching countries which do not recognize the tradition of US service deserters, including Sweden, Japan, Cambodia and Thailand. An estimated 300-500 deserters have received such assistance from the PRG to date.

We did mass work through leafletting, talking to people and participating in struggles. Outreach and community work centered around city needs and the PG&E rate increase hearings. SDS worked with the Research Organizing Committee in S.F. to raise the issue of the attempt to turn S.F. into the "Wall Street of the West" by increasing taxes, forced evictions and moving people out of the city to make room for big office buildings and apartments for these working in them. Industry is being moved to the suburbs and the Third World communities are being pressed out of the city.

Pacific Gas and Electric was holding rate increase hearings at the same time. People were turned on to SDS, when they found us relating directly to their needs. The political focus for this work was the racism of PG&E, the exclusion of non-whites from recent training classes, the corporate control of PG&E, its profiting off the Vietnamese war and the IIC. The response was encouraging for further projects of this kind around taxes and community needs.

The IIC served as a political focus and follow up on the factory organizing that had been going on during the summer. SDS had taken an active role in strikes against the J.I. Case Farm Machinery Company, Dow Chemical in Pittsburgh (California) and Fritzi's (a garment factory that controls sweatshops in San Francisco). We also did educational work at canneries and plants in San Jose, Kaiser Hospitals, Longshore, etc.

The last SDS Regional Office and organization fell apart two years ago due to lack of interest and participation. Since that time only local chapters and ad hoc organizations have pulled together to pull off actions like Stop the Draft Week and the April 3rd Movement in Stanford against the SRI. SDS, in fact, has never been the initiator or leader of any major action on the Bay Area.

A regional conference in Richmond at the beginning of August brought together 500 people including several working class collectives, the MOVEMENT, Newsreel, LEVIATHAN, and local chapters to form a Northern California Region of SDS. From the inception the perspective was to use the IIC to co-ordinate existing chapters, make new contacts through mass work, help weaker chapters expand and build a strong region which could move in a smooth and functional way.

The building of a regional network and organization was one of the most positive aspects of organizing for the IIC. The IIC served as a concrete organizing project which raised the level of understanding of the ruling class and its policies and brought new people into SDS who wanted to do something to change this system. Contacts were made with junior colleges and high schools where the movement has been small or non-existent. Demonstrations do not make an offensive by themselves but by tying the IIC to on-going work the region began to take shape and expand.

Chapters which are traditionally inactive or functioning on a low level during the summer were activated. They got out to rap to new people about the movement, pass out leaflets and build contacts with other organizations with politics which focused on the ruling class and its policies of racism and imperialism. Schools were not in session, so a lot of work was done around factories and in the community. The chapters activated over the summer will serve as strong groups for co-ordinated offensives during the coming school year.

THIRD WORLD GROUPS

A coalition of white radical and Third World organizations worked on the actions, around the Lationo Walkout and the IIC. SDS worked closely with Los Siete de la Raza, the Asian-American Political Alliance, the Chinatown-based Red Guard, the Haight Commune, Women's Liberation groups and the newly formed High School Student Union. The organizations involved actively participated in a steering committee which co-ordinated the activities of all the groups involved. It set up a legal defense network and medical aid groups. The coalition worked smoothly and had almost complete agreement around political strategy and issues for the actions.

The differences arose over tactics when SDS was criticized as adventurist to want to march to the Fairmont when fewer than expected people showed up for the rally in Washington Square.

HARD LESSONS

After the letdown Monday when only about 1/3 to 1/4 of the projected people showed up, a lot of weaknesses were revealed. Both politically and tactically, there was a smorgasbord mentality: "here are our demands and a list of actions: take your pick". Political demands were raised to include occupation forces out of Vietnam, and the ghetto, support for the NLF and PRG, liberation for Black and Third World Peoples in the US, free all political prisoners, end the war-tax, tax the corporations, stop the oppression and exploitation of women and end the raping of the land for profit. To go with this set of political demands was five days chucked full of demonstrations. Criticism of this political and tactical approach was summed up in biting satire by one of the local underground presses with a cartoon calling for the protesting of "absolutely everything" at "absolutely everytime".

This political and tactical confusion was most evident in our attempts to organize youth. Working class organizing was less confused because most of the local collectives relating to the working class put out their own literature relating the IIC actions to concrete struggles in the plants. If educational material directed toward youth had had a basis in concrete struggles or had fit into a longer range strategy, the confusion and diffuseness might have been overcome.

For example, in Berkeley, we could have related the IIC to the People's Park issue (still very much alive). One of the reasons we failed to tie the IIC demonstrations into a long range program or strategy was because we had no strategy. The region had formed specifically around the IIC plans, so tactics for the IIC became elevated to strategy. In the frenzy of demonstration mobilization, we had no time to seriously discuss long range perspectives.

The 400,000 or so posters and literature reflected the lack of political and tactical focus. They were full of demands and a constantly changing schedule of actions for the week. Rather than simple attractive material like Panther posters with a slogan and a call, posters and literature for the IIC were cluttered and confusing. This confusion was reflected by SDS people who didn't know the week before which actions were priorities and when and where all of the actions were coming off.

KICK THE ASS OF THE RULING CLASS

Many of the people who showed up Monday were from Berkeley and San Francisco. They were battle tested and had long experience fighting pigs; they had all faced the tac squad several times. Few felt like coming out to be surrounded by pigs, cameras and guns, and tearing ass right under the Man's highly mobilized forces. A mass line calling for storming the Fairmont when everyone knew it couldn't happen with such small forces would be suicidal. So we made a collective decision at the Park not to parade in the streets or attack the pigs.

But Thursday night taught a lesson on confrontation. After we called for stopping the conference on Monday, the pigs mobilized and had the area completely surrounded. After 3 days of peaceful action, the pigs expected nothing and were completely ill-prepared for people running through the streets Thursday night breaking windows and chanting. There were about 30 busts but peoples' spirits were lifted with some action against the pigs. They were thrown completely off guard and didn't catch up to the crowd until we had made it about 6 or 7 blocks. The element of surprise, although the action was spontaneous and unprepared, turned the tactics back to the war of the flea; to hitting in the weakest spot at the right time.

In the Bay Area, demonstrations have tended to focus on individuals like Nixon, Johnson, or Dean Risk. This was the first time we made an attempt to directly identify the enemy as the imperialist ruling class. The IIC provided a strategy which raised the issue of the ruling class beyond day to day struggles and moved people to think in terms of a common fight against a common oppressor.

The IIC was used to begin to build an understanding of imperialism as a unified system of oppression and exploitation both at home and abroad. We stressed that the success of our struggle is tied to that of the struggles of the Third World, within and without the US.

WORKING CLASS OUTREACH

The organizing done among the working class was perhaps the most positive aspect of the IIC. We used the IIC to follow up labor contacts made in past strikes at Standard Oil in Richmond, the candy workers strike in Oakland, Bell Telephone workers in S.F., the Dow strike in Pittsburg (California), and the J.I. Case Farm Machinery Co. in San Leandro (in this strike leaflets were passed out to all the plants in the whole city industrial park - this was repeated for the IIC). In addition we picked out several large plants in specific areas in the Bay Area for leafletting. We paid special attention to plants where there were already contacts or SDS people working or where strikes were coming up in the next 6 to 9 months. We leafletted theaters where "progressive" movies were playing. We leafletted with fake money with a big picture of a pig in the middle and information about the IIC on the back. In several places we got union support, and they drew up and distributed their own leaflets.

We learned essentially two things from factory leafletting. First, factories were not leafletted indiscriminately. Several of the largest companies participating in the IIC were singled out where SDS people were working or where there was advance work done, mainly strike support. Every attempt was made to bring workers to regional labor committee meetings and to involve them in the fall actions.

Second, a single leaflet for mass distribution is seriously inadequate. A series of leaflets are needed beginning with a concrete analysis of corporate structure of the place being leafletted (profits, subsidiaries, foreign holdings and working conditions) raising the anti-imperialist, anti-racist demands of the IIC and finally a leaflet motivating and showing the importance of coming to the demonstration to protest the company's policies and ruling class oppression.

We got the best response to our leaflets and raps about IIC from white hip workers and from Black and Brown workers. The only apathy or rejection came from women and older workers. In some places there was a lot of enthusiasm but the workers wound up not coming to the demon-

education. That's not to say that we have stopped, because there are a few books here we can get that are pretty good that relate to us, that can broaden our ideology.

MARIO: It's not just a matter of books. There's a lot we can learn from the people here - the other prisoners and the guards themselves.

We've been studying the oppressor and their tools, you know, the guards. From the time we came here, they were offering us the gas every time they passed us, but now they sometimes talk to us. We kind of rap to them - I have with some of them - and you see more how this system has brainwashed their ways. Some of our leaders say you must not fraternize with the enemy, but you have to learn about the enemy. You have to know where he stands. You have to know him to know where his weak points are to attack him.

We have also learned from the inmates here. We talk to the white inmates, we talk to the black inmates, to everybody. We have a lot in common - we're all locked up.

You have these so-called jailhouse lawyers. There's one right next door to us and this man has a lot of knowledge - he's been to Cuba. We learn a lot from him. He's white, but we have all these things in common. Like, I don't see no colors no more, I see and feel oppression, but I can't see the colors. Before I did. Before I was from El Salvador and everything else was different. But after you're here a while, this color thing fades away.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

TONY: Many of us have learned about political prisoners. The other day I was reading that the SF State College cases were coming up to court. Judge Kennedy said that these are not political cases, because they were being tried not for their way of thinking but for their actions.

But after talking to all the inmates, you begin to realize that the term "political prisoner" is a very broad term that includes a lot of people. There are people here who are branded as criminals because they have robbed something, but when you realize they have robbed to survive and then later on are just made statistics by the system - you realize they, in a sense, are political prisoners too. They're tried because of those actions and if those actions have anything to do with the power structure, then they're political prisoners too. The whole jail, we're all political prisoners, one way or another. They all have gone against the power structure, in one way or another. And when you're dealing with the power structure, you're dealing with the political system. I see this - they have put us behind bars, because of this so-called crime. But they haven't realized that they're teaching us a lot in here. We've seen how all those pigs react to us. We hear all those remarks and by their remarks, we see their mentality. The Man has no kind of mentality whatsoever.

MARIO: The system is the cause of the crime rate. We've learned from Cuba and China how their revolution has solved so many problems - through teaching the people. There's hardly any illiteracy. There's no illiteracy in Cuba. Like in here, a lot of these people see all these things and are ready to do something about it. But we're at an early stage in this country. We have to make a lot more people see.

We look at this country like an octopus. It's here that the struggle has to be carried on the most. In countries like Vietnam and Bolivia, they're striking at one arm - but here is where the head of all the oppression is. Once we cut the head off, the arms won't be doing any harm.

MOVEMENT: Is there anything else you want to say?

NELSON: We want to thank the people for giving us their support and helping in our liberation.
POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

BEBE: We used to be on A5 and there was this pig who just got back from Vietnam. One day he just walked by and told me, "what is your people gonna do when you get gassed?" Well, you know, it kind of shocked me, so I told him, "Well, you know, the same thing you'll be doing when your house is burning." POWER TO THE PEOPLE

stration. With a lot of work there was little actual worker participation (the whole strike committee from one strike showed up on Thursday night). There seems to be a contradiction here but it is not as great as it may appear. Mobilization of workers was planned for Thursday and no work was done to mobilize for Monday. The level of discontent and strikes and SDS work is just beginning - the IIC was a beginning and there was no discouragement. The fact that any working class people showed up Thursday night was a positive sign. This does not mean that the student work will take second place or be abandoned. But it does mean that the response was enthusiastic and shows a positive direction for more work in this area.

By Don Monkerud
Northern Calif. SDS, Regional Staff

latinos walkout

Richmond California. The home of Standard Oil. Black, brown, and working whites. A racist school board, and no money for the schools.

September 16th was the date set for a nationwide walkout of chicano youth at The National Chicano Youth Conference held in Denver last March. That date, in the Bay Area, coincided with a wide series of demonstrations at the International Industrialists Conference in San Francisco. The target of the Richmond demonstrations was Safeway stores, which was prominently represented at the Conference, which continues to sell California grapes and has been hit by many boycotts, and rips off everyone.

In Richmond, several hundred high school, junior high, and elementary school students walked out. At one junior high the administration tried to keep students in by locking all the gates. By that time, large numbers of students were already in the streets, and when they got to that junior high, students from inside would run out, and climb over the fence to join the ones outside. Jailbreak.

At one school, one girl had gotten left behind and didn't know how to catch up, so she called her mother, who came and picked her up to drive her to the demonstration. There were many Chicanos among the marchers, but also many black and white allies. They marched, with raised fists down to a local Safeway. Seeing few policemen on the streets they rushed into the Safeway, threw all the grapes on the floor and stomped all over them. The action went off smoothly and the march continued.

The march passed another high school, gaining strength, and then headed for another Safeway. When the march was a few blocks away from the store, pigs moved in and started busting Chicano students. Many students were busted on so-called truancy raps. Others managed to get away, and made it to the Safeway, where they found that the manager had locked the store. For a time pigs continued cruising, busting any brown youth they could, including one Chicano who was riding in a car with a city official observing the arrests.

Later, at the police station the pigs

hassled Chicano parents who came to get their children. That only made the parents more angry. The parents organized and succeeded in having all the charges dropped, and in getting all students who suspended from school back in.

In organizing the action in Richmond, reliance was placed on the masses of students. Students, not non-students, wrote the leaflets, determined the nature of the demonstration. Being familiar with other students and the schools, they had to take the leading role. Not all aspects of the demonstration were perfect, but there would have been no action except for the leading role of many students.

And the leading role played by women. Brown women, at several key points in the demonstration pushed ahead and acted as the vanguard. At one school, several hundred students were milling around in the schoolyard undecided about whether to walk out a gate flanked by deans and teachers taking names. It was the women who broke the indecision, who walked defiantly through, and the rest soon followed. When there was a brief argument and tussle at the door of the Safeway that was entered, it was the women who knocked the manager aside and led the rest of the students to the grapes.

The idea that this was part of a planned nationwide action helped bring the reality of a brown liberation movement home to many students. By tying in Safeway, the boycott, and the meeting of the imperialists, the enemy was well defined. By making Safeway, as a local arm of imperialism, the target, there was support from large numbers of black and white kids. This unity was a big step in schools that last spring were the scene of heavy racial fighting.

Students grasped the situation, and began learning how to move in a disciplined way against the enemy. And they're on the move.

by Doug Monica

MUNI

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We had gone down to check on the eligibility list for the International convention. He failed to say we were dues paying members of the local. The pigs came and heard our side of the story and they had to leave. Airriess hasn't attended a union meeting since then.

DUCHO: One month at the union meeting we took a camera and a tape recorder. At the next meeting rules were announced for the first time banning tape recorders and cameras. And there were other similar rules designed at the last minute and forced down the throats of the membership, including a rule that says no literature or materials can be disseminated at the union hall. We see this directed at the caucus, and indicating its effectiveness, trying to hinder the education we've been carrying out. But we don't find it as being adequate to stop us from what we have to do. Whether or not they say we can bring literature or camera is one thing. Whether we'll stop doing it is another.

JOSE: Our personal experiences with workers are a continuous, day to day thing. And we are engaged in struggle with brothers who have adjacent ideas with the Black caucus, and we sometimes have contradictions on the methods with which to deal with problems.

DUCHO: There's been quite a bit of work done and we have made some progress, but we still have a long way to go. Power to the People.

NEW BULLETIN

What are the alternatives to the growing ideological fragmentation in the New Left? Can the white working class be mobilized to fight for working class interests? Are increasing black demands at the root of black-white worker alienation? Do all white workers enjoy the "white privilege"? Is all Nationalism reactionary?

The Ad Hoc Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party, USA, explores these and other questions in the current issue of *Ad Hoc Bulletin (Marxist-Leninist)*.

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lenin

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clericalism, socialism and all other wares in demand. A newspaper becomes corrupted into a public pimp, into a means of corrupting the masses, of pandering to the low instincts of the mob, and so on and so forth. Social-Democracy knows of no universal methods of struggle, such as would shut off the proletariat by a Chinese wall from the strata standing slightly above or slightly below it. At different periods Social-Democracy applies different methods, always qualifying the choice of them by strictly defined ideological and organisational conditions.*

IV

The forms of struggle in the Russian revolution are distinguished by their colossal variety compared with the bourgeois revolutions in Europe. Kautsky partly foretold this in 1902 when he said that the future revolution (with the exception perhaps of Russia, he added) might be not so much a struggle of the people against the government as a struggle between two sections of the people. In Russia we undoubtedly see a wider development of this latter struggle than in the bourgeois revolutions in the West. The enemies of our revolution among the people are few in number, but as the struggle grows more acute they become more and more organised and receive the support of the reactionary strata of the bourgeoisie. It is therefore absolutely natural and inevitable that in such a period, a period of nation-wide political strikes, an uprising cannot assume the old form of individu-

* The Bolshevik Social-Democrats are often accused of a frivolous passion for guerrilla actions. It would therefore not be amiss to recall that in the draft resolution on guerrilla actions (*Partiinnye Izvestia*, No. 2, and Lenin's report on the Congress), the section of the Bolsheviks who defend guerrilla actions suggested the following conditions for their recognition: "expropriations" of private property were not to be permitted under any circumstances; "expropriations" of government property were not to be recommended but only allowed, provided that they were controlled by the Party and their proceeds used for the needs of an uprising. Guerrilla acts in the form of terrorism were to be recommended against brutal government officials and active members of the Black Hundreds, but on condition that 1) the sentiments of the masses be taken into account; 2) the conditions of the working-class movement in the given locality be reckoned with, and 3) care be taken that the forces of the proletariat should not be frittered away. The practical difference between this draft and the resolution which was adopted at the Unity Congress lies exclusively in the fact that "expropriations" of government property are not allowed.

al acts restricted to a very short time and to a very small area. It is absolutely natural and inevitable that the uprising should assume the higher and more complex form of a prolonged civil war embracing the whole country, i.e., an armed struggle between two sections of the people. Such a war cannot be conceived otherwise than as a series of a few big engagements at comparatively long intervals and a large number of small encounters during these intervals. That being so—and it is undoubtedly so—the Social-Democrats must absolutely make it their duty to create organisations best adapted to lead the masses in these big engagements and, as far as possible, in these small encounters as well. In a period when the class struggle has become accentuated to the point of civil war, Social-Democrats must make it their duty not only to participate but also to play the leading role in this civil war. The Social-Democrats must train and prepare their organisations to be really able to act as a belligerent side which does not miss a single opportunity of inflicting damage on the enemy's forces.

This is a difficult task, there is no denying. It cannot be accomplished at once. Just as the whole people are being retrained and are learning to fight in the course of the civil war, so our organisations must be trained, must be reconstructed in conformity with the lessons of experience to be equal to this task.

We have not the slightest intention of foisting on practical workers any artificial form of struggle, or even of deciding from our armchair what part any particular form of guerrilla warfare should play in the general course of the civil war in Russia. We are far from the thought of regarding a concrete assessment of particular guerrilla actions as indicative of a trend in Social-Democracy. But we do regard it as our duty to help as far as possible to arrive at a correct theoretical assessment of the new forms of struggle engendered by practical life. We do regard it as our duty relentlessly to combat stereotypes and prejudices which hamper the class-conscious workers in correctly presenting a new and difficult problem and in correctly approaching its solution.

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