What follows below may be used as a practical, do-it-yourself manual.

It is an outgrowth of the chemical warfare urged by police against students and other Berkeley citizens this May. If you want a guide to first aid in case you are gassed or maced, clip it out. Paste it in your medicine cabinet, or carry a copy with you.

The article is reprinted from the May 25, 1969, Instant News Service, a bulletin issued each day during the Berkeley People's Park crisis. It is based on an interview with Chuck McAllister, coordinator of the medical first aid group and member of the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

There are four kinds of chemical riot control agents used in Berkeley in recent months, as can best be determined by persons treating the injured: 1) CS tear gas, 2) CN tear gas, 3) mace, 4) blister gas.

Tell the police when you find some of these. ... Do not rub any of the gases. ... Surgical protection is advised to stay off the streets since the pigs could conceivably pick you up for sporting blisters.

SYMPOMATIC GAS

Dispensing. As far as known, CN is packaged in the same as CS. Properties. The mildest form of tear gas used, CN smells like apple blossoms and is water soluble. Symptoms. Some are CN minus the stinging - all symptoms are milder. You can be exposed to CN for a longer period than CS without serious side effects except in the case of a heavy concentration dose which can be lethal.

Treatment. Same as CS except for getting the gas off your skin. With CN, immersion of affected areas even with plain water is sufficient - you don't need mineral oil or alcohol.

Protection. Same as CS.

NAUSEA GAS

Dispensing. As far as known, this gas has been dispersed locally only in canisters. When it lands, the canister lets off a small puff of smoke and then nothing. It looks like a dud but it isn't. Properties. Clear, colorless, odorless. It does not affect the tear ducts and is, therefore, not a tear gas.

Symptoms. Projectile vomiting, in which the contents of the stomach are forcefully ejected several feet. ( Projectile vomiting could make a person fear his stomach or esophagus lining). Instant diarrhea (within 2.3 minutes) with severe stomach cramps. (Severe diarrhea could cause rectal hemorrhaging). Upset mind balance - you have difficulty functioning which in battle is a bum trip. ( whatever it is that makes it not to get up). Properties. Blistering - in constant or within 6 hours - similar to second degree burns. Generally does not affect tear ducts or nose membranes.

Treatment. Pat exposed area with sterile gauze saturated in mineral oil (or, if not available, salad oil) and treat as second degree burns (wrapping in sterile gauze, padding, keeping away from air), See a doctor.

Protection. Rubber gas mask is the only protection against any gas except in the case below. Wet paper towels can be used for brushing more easily with any of these gases. Eye masks, which are good protection against the tear gas, are not available for the mace or谈到 gas and are not known.

CS TEAR GAS

Dispensing. The gas comes in various kinds of canisters, in plastic grenades, in pepper fog machines; it is also sprayed from helicopters.

Properties. CS is a very heavy, potent tear gas which contains burning and nausea agents. CS, along with blister gas, is a fat soluble gas with a peppery smell.

Symptoms. Harassing sting, nausea, reddened exposed area, burning feeling, tears, runny nose, lightness, coughing, and in some cases sneezing.

Treatment. 1. Irrigate eyes preferably with a diluted solution of boric acid (3 parts water to 1 part boric acid) or - if not available - with tap water. 2. Clean eyes with standard, over-the-counter eye drops (such as Muro 100), putting in the drops from the inside (i.e., the nose side) toward the outside. 3. Get the gas off your skin. Use the same to apply mineral oil (with a sterile gauze pad or sterile cotton ball) to the face and other affected areas. Mineral oil breaks down the gas. If your eyes have mineral oil and can't find a medic with any, immerse all exposed areas in water and some of the entire area except the eyes with isopropyl or rubbing alcohol. Alcohol sets up an evaporation process, cooling the stinging and soothing the pain.

If you don't follow the immersion in water with alcohol, the stinging will last 30 min. to 2 hours (depending on amount of exposure), but if you use it the stinging will subside in 5-15 minutes.

Protection. Rubber tear gas mask is the best way is to apply mine."
by Fred Gardner
LIBERATION News Service

SAN FRANCISCO (LNS)--Two key participants in the Presidio "mutiny," Walter Pawlowski and Keith Mather, are alive and well in the North Country Fair.

Sixth Army law officers considered them leaders of the October 14th sit-down—a logical conclusion, since it was Pawlowski who stood up to read the group's grievances and Mather who demanded civilian counsel for everyone.

The two of them—Pawlowski, a tall, articulate New Yorker, Mather, a powerfully built Californian—escaped December 24th, several weeks after the trials began. In their absence the prosecution has tried to identify other leaders (for special punishment) by such subtle criteria as who changed the song from "We Shall Overcome" to "This Land Is Your Land."

Lindy Blake, a third prisoner who escaped, reached the North Country in March. "All those guys who are hurting for money...decided to sell their stories to the straight press until they could break it through LNS and other radical mags. This reporter has been in touch with them over several months."

The last time we talked we were joined by Frederick Kight, the prisoner who broke under Richard Bunch and retrieved his anthem, Kight, who told us he was closest to the door, said, "How you men to stop this right now?" Barrington, who was closest to the door, said, "How come you killed Bunch?" Woodring stood by the door and yelled, "I want you men to clean up all the men involved in this outburst. They had already been court-martialed and fined a dollar for the.(___)

"It's a free country and you're fighting to keep it free—what a matter don't you believe in freedom?"
In August, 1966, the Levi Strauss Blue Ridge plant in Georgia was struck for higher wages and better working conditions. 56 weeks later that strike was finally broken. Rather than giving up the struggle the workers formed a co-op corporation called Appalachian Enterprises. In May, 1968, the MOVEMENT carried an interview with three of the former Levi workers about their plans. The following is the story of their efforts since that time, to make the co-op work. It is reprinted from WILDCAT, a new newspaper dedicated to workers' struggles.

In the former Levi workers about their plans. The women formed a co-op corporation called Appalachian Enterprises.

"Appalachian Enterprises," the young blonde woman who was snapping the thread and extra material off the finished dresses stopped work for a minute to answer some questions. "What is your biggest problem now, at Appalachian Enterprises?"

"Well, we've been having quite a bit of trouble with the Labor Board. We work overtime most days, we come back after supper lots of times. They've really gotten us on about working overtime without pay. We told them that was the only way we could stay open. Then they decided that we had to pay our manager and supervisor more than the rest of us get. We don't do that, we all get the same pay."

The biggest problem with a factory like Appalachian Enterprises or any other small factory is that no matter how hard people work it's impossible to compete with the large corporations that control the economy of this country. The solution to this is not only workers controlling their factory, but workers controlling society.

Reprinted from WILDCAT
In the past 30 years industry has created many new hazards, but none as grim as the mounting death rate from lung diseases. Everyone warns us about cigarette smoking, but on-the-job causes of death have been hushed-up.

Because of this total disregard for lives, hundreds of thousands of workers are being quietly crippled or killed. The two main diseases caused by these on-the-job conditions are Sili­cosis and Emphysema. Sili­cosis is the destruction of lung tissue caused when dust particles (like metal or rock) are constantly inhaled. Over time they literally slice the walls of the lungs to pieces. People with this disease can easily catch TB, and many have died of the combination of both.

Emphysema is the eating away of the lining of the lungs, leaving scar tissues which gradually throttle off the supply of oxygen. Starting with feeling "short of breath", Emphysema slowly progresses until the patient is an invalid, fighting for just enough oxygen to stay alive. Unless caught early, this disease is incurable.

Although smoking is a big factor, medical science has proven that the rate of Emphysema is much higher in industrial cities, and higher still in workers in certain plants.

The death rate for these two diseases has grown faster than any other cause of death, increasing more than four times over since 1952. In 1962 the Social Security Administration discovered that these two industrial diseases accounted for the overwhelming majority of people on Disability Allowances. Another study that year found 37,000 men discharged from V.A. hospitals with these conditions.

Lung cancer is another "extra" that the companies hand out free of charge. Since 1954 it has been the leading cause of cancer among men, and has increased 15 times in the last 35 years. Again, while the role of cigarettes is drummed into us over and over, there is complete silence when it comes to lung cancer from work conditions.

Doctors have known for years that men exposed to asbestos, chrome and nickel processing, and uranium mining have developed lung cancer at an abnormally high rate. Asbestos, for example, is so dangerous that when improperly installed in homes it threatens the health of those living there. These and other industrial materials are proven cancer-producing agents.

Years ago a study was made of lung cancer among chromate workers. Information was gathered from life insurance records, and compared to the records of similar workers in the same cities but in different industries. While cancer was the cause of death in 1.4% of the other workers, among chromate workers the cancer rate was no less than 21%.

As long as they can keep it quiet, the corporations won't have to pay any damages to employees whose lives they've destroyed. They also won't have to pay for the ventilation systems, protective clothing and respirators, rotating work assignments and speedup restrictions that health rules would require. If they can save a few bucks, why should they worry if it kills us?

And the companies have gotten a lot of help in this dirty conspiracy. The Government and the unions have been glad to keep their mouths shut. After all, none of them have to run any risks. And you know how much help the company doctors are.

The only publicity of this has gotten has been in the coal mines, where West Virginia miners took things into their own hands and shut down the industry for three weeks. They formed their own organization, fought off the coal companies and the United Mine Workers union, and won at least some protective legislation.

Even though over 8,000 miners die and 80,000 miners are disabled every year through this deadly "black lung" disease, the Union had the nerve to call the striking miners "finks". That's a real lesson. It's our lives and our family's welfare that's at stake. And our lives are a damn sight more important than the somebody's bank account.

Reprinted from WILDCAT
At the end of March, a Chicano Youth Liberation Conference was held in Denver. It was held at the headquarters of the Crusade for Justice, a Denver Chicano organization headed by Corky Gonzales. It was an important conference, despite recent rumors that part of the expenses were indirectly paid by the C.I.A. The results of many new leaders meeting each other for the first time, and discussing what they have in common, may in time outweigh whatever eavesdropping and disrupting the C.I.A. agents managed to do.

The Chicano Youth Liberation Conference was the first nationwide conference of Chicano militants and organizers ever held. (The word “Chicano,” by the way, is from Pachuco slang. It is a shortening of “Mexicano,” or “Mexican.”) It was a reflection of the tremendous surge forward in the Chicano and Latino movement in the U.S. in the past year. Many local organizations have arisen all over the country. There is now a Chicano Press Association, consisting of fourteen papers which exchange articles and information. This surge forward is mostly due to the worsening conditions of Chicanos as a superexploited part of the working class (average income below that of Negroes), but partly due to the gains they see being made by the militant black movement.

Many of the young militants are newly-emerged grass-roots organizers, many had never been out of their own areas to meet with other organizers. Though no split split between groups or individuals developed, many local militants were exposed for the first time to the Chicano movement as a whole, brought face-to-face with many of the trends in it. As they talked with their counterparts from all over the country, several trends emerged. One that is now important is a tendency toward what might almost be called cultural nationalism, exemplified by the host Crusade for Justice. Here is the first Point from a Program that they put out for the conference:

"Nationalism" Nationalism as the key to organization transcends all religious, political, class, and economic factions and boundaries. Nationalism is the common denominator that all members of La Raza can agree upon.

At this point in the Chicano movement, however, reactionary nationalism has not yet clearly emerged. Many who might be considered nationalists are sincere in wanting to develop their own movement before rushing into what they consider to be premature alliances with non-Chicano groups. The rest of the points in the Crusade for Justice Program, for instance, deal quite concretely with armed self-defense and other realities. Therefore a call for a return to "Chicano culture" is in itself not reactionary, but simply a way of trying to draw back those who are losing their identity as Chicanos.

The other important trend is that of young revolutionaries. They see the futility of relying solely on cultural nationalism, as most of them have been actively working organizing poor people and know that the basis of their problems is economic and not cultural.

Developments in the Chicano movement are moving with lightning speed, as they are in the movement in general all over the country. At this point, there is no national grouping of Chicanos, and no revolutionary organization for Chicanos. But there is a blinding rush toward this national unity, and there is a radical left quickly emerging in the process.

Where do these grass-roots organizers come from? How do they develop and come forth? One center of the Chicano movement has been New Mexico. While the movement is becoming unified, there is still to some extent a separate rural movement of small farmers-peasants in this area. What is the present state of that movement? Many people know of it only through Reies Tijerina. Actually, the movement has now broadened beyond its initial land-grant beginnings.

RURAL MOVEMENT

Through a century of oppression the rural, Spanish-speaking people have managed to tenaciously hold on to some of their land and way of life. The last vestiges of the bartering, communal economy (primitive communism) are still there. Each summer and fall, farmers sell chili, apples, corn and other produce from door to door from the backs of ancient, weathered pickup trucks. In their lifetimes, many of them have seen the change from self-sufficiency to degradation. Their continual way of life has been wiped out by the encroachment of capitalism into their isolated mountains. The people who live there never chose to accept the American way of life. As with the Indians, it was shoved down
their throats. Until 20 years ago, it was the assumption of the rural people that they could make a living off theirs. The people who are left are consciously clinging to doctor for 90 miles was drafted and sent to. Vietnam! Essentially, the rural people of northern New Mexico job in the city.

Other counties in southern Colorado have no doctor at los Pueblos Libres (Federal Alliance of Free City- 

This is one of the areas recently nationally public- 

The ones who are left live by bare subsistence far back and others work hard and support themselves. The sincere old-age groups who want to work the land must eventually unite from the Alianza. Tijerina's popularity seems to the Panthers on the West Coast. (though not recently).

One small settlement had its entire populace rounded up during the Courthouse Raid. The seminar had decided to attempt a citizens' arrest this summer, is one result of this organizing. The Alianza Federal d.e. of the first crystallization of anti-government feeling in New Mexico in many years, and initially it set a general co-ops of this type would be a boon to the movement. and (to a certain extent) ARMED local movement had guns and have always known how to use them. These are country people who have always Mainly, they are disruptive; drawing militant groups to the countryside, that "Reds" were arming the People. These are people who know how to fight and are not afraid to. And these people are becoming politically conscious in the same way that our students are. Even though in an industrial country like the U.S. most of the population and power lies in the cities, it is because the countryside is the most weak link of the powers-that-be. URBAN/RURAL BRIDGE

In August of 1968, a newspaper was started in Santa Fe: EL GRITO DEL NORTE (The Cry of the North). Beverly Axelrod and Elizabeth Martinez were its founders. The object of the paper was to serve the community and to get local poor people involved in as much as possible in writing stories and criticizing the paper. At first, EL GRITO was centrist, but later it became more militant and critical of Tijerina himself and considered him an opportunist.

In this area, in which the individual farmer is too small to compete with the large corporate farmers, there is a strong resistance. Texas money is buying up much land in the area, destroying the local tradition of small farmers, and (to a certain extent) ARMED local movement. The seminar was located near the San Francisco Front. The seminar was set up by the U.S. Forestry Service.

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People know what's going on in their town, but may not know what's going on in the next town or in Santa Fe. The paper bridges the gap between rural and urban movements. The founder of the Brown Berets in Santa Fe, energetically distributes EL GRITO, as well as other publications. My job was to make EL GRITO a community newspaper, not just a "movement" newspaper. Many small grocers, barber shops, cleaners, and other small businesses carry the paper and sell 50-500 copies a week. The paper has been an instrument growing and drawing together the movement in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado.

SANTA Fe

Santa Fe combines typical elements of town and countryside. It has about 40,000 people, and is in the state capital. It is 66 miles from a large town—Albuquerque—and is fairly isolated in some respects. It has a "small town" feeling. Everybody knows everybody and what he's doing. In some ways, it also has the feeling of a "metropolis." It is seventeenth in the nation in per capita income, because of the large number of millionaires living there. Many of these are liberal coloros who dabble in the arts. New Mexico has long been a refuge for oddball artists and retired "radicals" of one kind or another. It's also a haven for nationalist socialists, in the league with Spartacists, Arizonas and Aspens. Colorado. All this results in a fairly great number of people in print, corporate liberals and other liberals. They exert some influence in certain areas of city and state politics. For instance, their influence is felt whenever industries try to move into northern New Mexico, where local "conservation" moves to block them, so that their "air" won't get polluted. They also control and run Santa Fe's unusually large number of local bars and restaurants. As a result, it is not a haven for the arts.

Santa Fe also shares many features with towns of its size all over the southwest: a large, permanent Indian population, almost complete lack of industry, low salaries, almost no union representation. All in all, it is two towns: one of the rich and of industry, low salaries, almost no union representation. The other is the town seemed as it had for a hundred years: the"big city." Their life was very hard to come by there. My job was to make EL GRITO a community newspaper, not just a "movement" newspaper. Many small grocers, barber shops, cleaners, and other small businesses carry the paper and sell 50-500 copies a week. The paper has been an instrument growing and drawing together the movement in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado.

CONTRADICTIONS RIPENING

When I came to Santa Fe in 1966, there was no movement of any kind there, except for a very mild "Fight for Peace" once a week. The Alliance was busy, but its impact was not directly felt in Santa Fe. It was still narrowly limited to the land grant issue. People were talking about it, but it was not a movement. My feeling was that the Alliance did not represent them: the Chicano people. The culture of the pueblo was as it was for a hundred years: the"big city." Their life was very hard to come by there. My job was to make EL GRITO a community newspaper, not just a "movement" newspaper. Many small grocers, barber shops, cleaners, and other small businesses carry the paper and sell 50-500 copies a week. The paper has been an instrument growing and drawing together the movement in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado.

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these vendidos or petty-bourgeoisie in every town and community in northern New Mexico. In some areas, they have severely retarded the growth of the movement—especially in the rural areas.

Many of the smaller local businessmen, however, are caught in the squeeze between the local big boys and the national companies. They are being driven out of business. They work long hard hours and often make no more than an ordinary working person does. In our skits, we attacked the local power structure—especially the vendidos—and tried to bring out the nature of the local class structure, which uses brown people to oppress their own kind. We attacked the national ruling class mostly through their pompous officials. But we did not want to try to win them over to our side. Many of them had donated materials and money to the movement—especially in the rural areas. They knew almost nothing of the nationwide program, we put out a couple of leaflets. The first raid was coming up. A statewide unity meeting was held, in Tierra Amarilla. We decided to have a series of statewide demonstrations in support of chicano anti-colonialism, and for the leaders of La Fiera. Even though many at the meeting did not support Tajerina or the Alabisa, they felt that demonstrations were necessary to keep him and the others from being railroaded. (Tajerina evidently did not feel this way himself, although he was acquitted.) For most of his trial, he acted as his own defense. He got off on the grounds that he had tried to stop the use of guns and violence.)

This demonstration in Santa Fe, led by my friend and other Brown Berets, was the first demonstration there in years, it was a great success. As Chairmaina Maci says, "It is in fact if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves." Now pigs and narcs followed us everywhere, harassed our neighbors, employers, landlords, friends, and families. We received indirect death threats. We were followed down lonely country roads.

This was the start. Since then, Santa Fe has gotten used to demonstrations; which have grown in militancy and attendance. Local issues have come to the forefront, such as bilingual education and the welfare system. Medicaid was suddenly cut off by the state legislature, leaving many poor people with no means of paying their medical bills. Santa Fe, as state capital, must bear the brunt of demonstrations.

"The purpose of these demonstrations was to make clear the identification of the enemy," said my friend, who helped organize them. The Brown Berets have gotten a Catholic priest to donate a church building for a bilingual day care center, to be run in exchange for rent, repairs will be done on it. Copas are now commonly called "el perro." "The dog" in Spanish. This change has come about in the past few weeks.

BROWN BERETS

We decided that it was time to completely sever our relations with the programs, and come out with a leaflet attacking the programs, exposing them, and urging people to go to the City Council meetings and demand to know where all the money that was supposed to go to them was going. There was several packed City Council meetings, during which the Mayor showed people that "redress of grievances" was futile; he relegated their questions to the end of the agenda, so that they wouldn't come up until 6 o'clock at night, or later. At the same time, my friend and a couple of his buddies were starting a group of Brown Berets. They knew almost nothing of the nationwide program, or the activities of other Beret groups, except the one in Albuquerque, they liked the military look of the uniforms and the militant image.

The trial of Tajerina for his part in the courthouse raid was coming up. A statewide unity meeting was held, in Tierra Amarilla. We decided to have a series of statewide demonstrations in support of chicano anti-colonialism, and for the leaders of La Fiera. Even though many at the meeting did not support Tajerina or the Alabisa, they felt that demonstrations were necessary to keep him and the others from being railroaded. (Tajerina evidently did not feel this way himself, although he was acquitted.) For most of his trial, he acted as his own defense. He got off on the grounds that he had tried to stop the use of guns and violence.)

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"The purpose of these demonstrations was to make clear the identification of the enemy," said my friend, who helped organize them. The Brown Berets have gotten a Catholic priest to donate a church building for a bilingual day care center, to be run in exchange for rent, repairs will be done on it. Copas are now commonly called "el perro." "The dog" in Spanish. This change has come about in the past few weeks. There are only a few members in the Brown Berets, but each member is very active. They already have a great deal of solid community support. They are well-known in their towns, and people respect them; they come from the barrio. They appear to be on the verge of building a solid community organization on the basis of their present program—day care centers, bilingual education, welfare centers. They are in the process of expanding their program and including demands of the people's demands in it: community control of schools, etc. And they are becoming aware of the fact that some of the other Brown Beret groups across the country: lack of organization, lack of ideology, personal in-fighting. They want to overcome this among themselves.

NATIONAL POTENTIAL

This is the medium in which Chicano leaders are emerging from the towns and from the countryside. They are emerging from the rising struggles of their people, they are the products of a people's movement. For the most part, they are not intellectuals. They are truck drivers, farmers, ex-gang leaders, housewives.

As local struggles grow, there is a movement for national unity of Chicanos. The young revolutionaries are looking to the example of the Black Panthers, and see the need to develop ideology, strategy and tactics—the lack of which has impoverished local movements considerably in some areas. Many Chicanos will be attending the Panthers' Revolutionary Conference for a United Front Against Fascism in July.

Government plans for crushing the movement in New Mexico are in the making. Latin-American trained CIA agents are routinely used along with FBI agents to keep track of people and activities. In rural communities and in towns like Santa Fe, everyone is involved, everyone knows what's going on with everyone else. There's no place to hide. The actions of the pigs are educating the people. Northern New Mexico is becoming tense. Even if a wave of repression succeeds in temporarily eliminating leaders, it can never succeed in wiping out the people's drive for control of their own destinies. Power to the people!

"Everything's secretory is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor, if a mouse, where the brown does not reach, the dust will not wash of itself"—Man Tsee-Tung.

Contributions of money and goods are needed—

the Tierra Amarilla Coop. Things needed are: large pressure cooker for canning; a Jaeger cannon; a canner for cans and cans to go with it; welding equipment; cutting torch; shoe sewing machines; heavy duty sewing machine for work clothes; saw mill equipment; a plow; grill for bran for the feedlot; and bedding—sheets, cots, mattresses. If you can send money or know where any of the above things might be obtained, write to:

COOPERATIVE AGRICOLA
C/o Cruz Aguilar
General Delivery
Pikeview, New Mexico

PAGE 9
Create two, three, many Vietnams" --- Che

"We will destroy US imperialism from the outside, they will destroy it from the inside." --- Cuban poster

"Camaguey - the Moncada for Today's Youth." --- Cuban poster

Internationalism: the movement inside the U.S. and revolution-the Venceremos Brigade is one way to tie these three things together.

Che's call to create many Vietnams was a call for people's war around the world to defeat U.S. imperialism. Vietnam proved that a determined, well-organized people can weaken, and in the long run, defeat U.S. imperialism. With the United States on the defensive in Vietnam, to create more Vietnams would overwhelm the forces of imperialism that those forces would eventually be defeated decisively.

We must support revolution in the Americas. The Cuban people must continue to defend themselves against the imperialist economic blockade and threats of invasion. They must continue underdevelopment at the same time they are building a communist consciousness and the new socialist man. (For details of these processes see the MOVEMENT Nov.1968 and Jan.1969). This is why they say that Camaguey is the Moncada of today's youth.

Camaguey is a frontier province of Cuba where sugar production is critical to conquering underdevelopment. So that while the generation that attacked the Moncada barracks in 1953 initiated one stage of the revolutionary struggle, those who attack the swamps of Camaguey today are initiating an equally important stage in the struggle to make the revolution successful. The Cubans are now making the decisive effort to overcome underdevelopment. Everything hinges on the 1970 sugar harvest. (They have promised to produce 10 million tons of sugar—twice the harvest of 1969— and much more sugar than circulates in a year on the "free world market.

The 10 million tons is of decisive importance because will that sugar Cuba will be able to liquidate her foreign debts. From then on the fruits of everything she produces can be returned to the Cuban people. This will greatly strengthen the revolution.

In addition to liquidating the foreign debt, sugar will also provide the much-needed funds to feed the cattle and chicken—two important burgeoning industries in Cuba. Then, with the debt gone, Cuba can spend her foreign exchange on advancing her own technology. Fidel estimates that with advance-technology 70% of the people who now work in the sugar industry could be freed for other productive activities. The Cuban people will have to make a heroic effort to harvest 10 million tons. The Vietnamese can fight against the Americans 24 hours a day and, at the same time, maintain their economy. The Cuban people can work the fields for 24 hours a day, if necessary.

VENCEREMOS BRIGADE

A group of Americans have decided to initiate a project which will enable movement people here to give more than lip service to international solidarity. The Venceremos Brigade will be a group of nearly 600 Americans who spend 3 months in Cuba helping with the 1970 sugar harvest. This trip to Cuba will not be like the usual trips dedicated to radical tourism. People will be going to Cuba to work—to work hard. Members of the Brigade will be expressing their solidarity with the Cuban people in a political sense, but their work will also materially support the Cuban people.

Representatives of a wide spectrum of movement organizations are participating in the project: the Black Panthers, La Raza, SDS, National Organizing Committee, Harvard University Conference, High School Student Union, Committees of Returned Volunteers and several others. They have formed an Executive Committee responsible for publicity about the purposes of the Brigade, recruitment and selection of brigade members and arrangements for the trip.

The Venceremos Brigade will begin its work in late November, 1969. One group will leave then, another in January. The Brigade will include an equal number of black, white and brown movement people and working class youth. They will live in temporary camps in the fields. In addition to the support they give to the Cuban revolution, they will also learn about the realities of revolution first hand from their daily experiences.

Those who are thinking about applying for the Brigade should brush up on their Spanish and write to the following address for more information and applications: The Brigade, PO Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York 10016. Applications are due September 20.
When armed blacks marched out of Cornell's Willard Straight Hall even their strongest supporters were uneasy. Until then it had been easy for white radicals on this idyllic Ivy League campus to talk about student struggle and revolution. But now the thousand whites who stood outside the Straight with fists raised in solidarity with the blacks were no longer faced with theoretical problems. The attempts of the movement, both successful and not, should be instructive for the entire movement which will face similar problems in the coming years.

To understand what happened at Cornell this spring we must trace the growth, development and interrelationship of the student organizations and political movements at the school over the past several years. The Afro-American Society (now known as the Black Liberation Front) became vitally active about a year-and-a-half ago. Its development was speeded by a growing number of ghetto youth who entered under the university's disadvantaged programs.

These students tended to be more politically conscious than the older members of AAS whom they began to replace in the leadership of the organization. The changing composition of the AAS led to a number of programs centering on the black community itself. The AAS was active in organizing high school students and working closely with adult black groups in trying to secure housing for the community. On the campus the AAS strategy was not one of "making the university better" but of "serving the black community." However, at about this time the issue of South Africa surfaced again and served to bring the two groups closer together. The occasion was a university-sponsored symposium on South Africa. The symposium was set up after the South African campaign of the previous spring as an "appropriate means of educational and political action." But the symposium did little to calm the movement on the campus. First, it was hopelessly stacked. The keynote address was given by a South African who supported apartheid. The revolutionaries were relegated to a marginal panel, and all the speakers were more concerned about understanding "this delicate problem" than about attacking the university's ties with racism and imperialism. The symposium was continually disrupted by AAS and SDS people who demanded that the university deal with the reality of racism rather than continue to pretend that it was an abstract subject with which it had no connection.

TOGETHER AGAINST CHASE

The week reached a stormy climax when Perkins was pulled from the microphone by an AAS member when he refused to speak to the issues directly. Throughout the symposium week the two groups were in frequent contact and some trust began to develop again. This continued with the announcement that Chase Manhattan Bank was going to recruit on campus. AAS and SDS decided to stop the recruiting. In a unique move for Cornell, the two groups cooperated in the demonstration with SDS marathons from each group leading, when the march reached the building where the recruiter was the doors were locked. The AAS members held back. They were already on the line for SDS demonstrations and they were dubious about SDS willingness to risk anything. If a move was made SDS was going to have the last word first. It did. The doors and the cops gave way and the SDS members were able to meet the recruiter.

Although suspicions were still harbored by both groups, the Chase fight brought them together in struggle for the first time and at last a working relationship was developed. The AAS announced its support for the SDS housing program and SDS in turn denounced the judicial proceedings against the blacks as a fraud. The stage was set for the confrontation. The day after repudiation of the housing program was announced SDS members were able to meet the blacks they moved on the student union.

ARMED TAKEOVER

The takeover was brilliant tactically. It was Panglossian and in the eyes of SDS was to be the center of activity, so that the administration not only had to deal with the blacks but hundreds of hungry and bored parents who had nothing better to do.

ASHES OR BLAZE

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22
"WE'RE FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM TOGETHER... THERE IS NO OTHER WAY."

Cha Cha Jimenez is the chairman of the Young Lords Organization. In the second year of the MOVEment, we carried on the history of the Young Lords, which began as a street gang in the Puerto Rican community of Chicago and developed into a revolutionary organization that has initiated many struggles in support of the needs of people in the community, and an article on the repression that has come down against the movement, including the murder of Manuel Ramos by an off-duty Chicago cop. Recently we talked with Cha Cha. He told us about the history of the organization and the murder of Manuel Ramos.

MONEY: What do you think when people say things like "Puerto Rican Power to the People!"

CHA CHA: The confusion about the movement has to do with the fact that we are working to make changes in society. We are fighting against the exploitation of the Puerto Rican people, not just against the police or the government. We are fighting for social justice, not just against the police or the government. We are fighting for the right to determine our own destiny, not just against the police or the government. We are fighting for the right to determine our own destiny. The key issue is the right to determine our own destiny.

MONEY: How do you see the Young Lords relate to the struggle of the Puerto Rican people?

CHA CHA: The Young Lords are part of a larger movement for Puerto Rican liberation. They are fighting for the right to determine our own destiny. The key issue is the right to determine our own destiny.

MONEY: What do you think is the most important thing that the Young Lords are fighting for?

CHA CHA: The Young Lords are fighting for the right to determine our own destiny. The key issue is the right to determine our own destiny.

MONEY: What do you think is the most important thing that the Young Lords are fighting for?

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Editors' Note: John Watson, editor of the Wayne State University Student Body, has been involved in Detroit revolutionary politics for a number of years. Former editor of the black community newspaper, The Inner City Voice, Watson was one of the original founders of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. He is currently serving as a member of the Central Committee of the League.

Fifth Estate: What is the history of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers? Why was it formed?

John Watson: The League of Revolutionary Black Workers is a federation of several revolutionary union movements that exist in Detroit. It was originally formed to provide a broader base for the organization of black workers into revolutionary organizations than was previously provided for when we were organizing on a plant to plant basis.

The beginning of the League goes back to the beginning of DRUM which was its first organization. The Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement was formed at the Hamtramck Assembly Plant of the Chrysler Corporation in the fall of 1967. It developed out of the caucuses of black workers which had formed in the automobile plants to fight increases in productivity and racism in the plant.

All the caucuses which had developed previously to DRUM had been co-opted, either by the company or by the union. In other words the company had either fired the leadership of these caucuses or bought them off by giving them jobs as foremen or supervisors, or the union had managed to buy off the leadership one way or another.

The organization of DRUM was in direct response to numerous attempts by black workers over the last several years in the Hamtramck Assembly Plant to organize a movement which could resist racism and oppression both on the part of the union and the company. We wanted to be a revolutionary organization which would not be co-opted by the moneymakers.

Briefly, the history of DRUM began with a series of wild-cat strikes which we held around the issues of productivity, production standards and overt racism. The first strike was held when Chrysler Corporation speeded up the production line six cars an hour, during the UAW Convention last May.

After this strike in which both black and white workers participated, the company imposed disciplinary action on those who they considered to be leaders of the strike action. This disciplinary action was taken primarily upon black workers. A number of black workers were fired, and quite a few received suspensions from anywhere from three to thirty days. In response to the racist attack which the company laid upon black workers after the first strike, DRUM organized a number of other strikes at that particular plant.

With the development of DRUM and the successes which we had in terms of organizing and mobilizing the workers at the Hamtramck Assembly Plant, many other black workers throughout the city began to come to us and ask for aid in organizing some sort of group in their plants. As a result shortly after the formation of DRUM, the Eldon Axle Revolutionary Movement (ELRUM) was born at Eldon Gear and Axle Plant of the Chrysler Corporation. Also, the Ford Revolutionary Union Movement (FRUM) was formed at the Ford Rouge Complex, and we now have two plants organized within that complex.

Since that time the organizational activities have been expanding. We've moved into hospital industries with the HOWRUM, NEWRUM for the newspapers in Detroit, an UPRUM which stands for United Parcel Revolutionary Union Movement for black Teamsters who work at United Parcel. There's a JARUM which is Jefferson Assembly Revolutionary Union Movement and there's the development of a CRUM, which is Chevrolet Revolutionary Union Movement. Other automobile plants and other industries are in the process of being organized now.

THE MOVEMENT

FE: What types of conditions exist in the plants that are being organized by the League?

JW: Working conditions are deplorable. What's been happening over the last fifteen or twenty years in the automotive industry is the increase in productivity. A lot of people describe the increase in productivity as meaning that there's automation or something like this going on. But in most of the automobile plants, what's been going on is "nigger-mation."

"Nigger-mation" is simply when you hire one black man to do the job which is previously done by two or three or four white men. There's a constant struggle which is going on inside the automobile plants in which the foreman and the general foreman and the supervisor are constantly attempting to work the men harder. They are constantly attempting to speed up the production line. They are constantly attempting to cut down the number of people who work on the line.

In their insatiable drive to make greater profits for the company, they have negated all considerations of the welfare and safety of the workers in the plant, especially the black workers. As a result, in the foundries for instance almost 95% of the workers in those plants have some sort of industrial illness, usually silicosis or some sort of other lung disease. In the stamping plants all kinds of guys are walking around with two or three fingers missing from one of their hands because of the unsafe machinery.

People are regularly killed in the automobile plants in a wide variety of different kinds of industrial accidents which take place there. The air is foul, it's hot, the noise level is extremely high, the environment is almost intolerable and it gets worse every day because of the constantly increasing production standards of the company.

Besides the problems that black workers have with productivity and safety standards, they have the added problem of overt racism, which exists under these monopoly capitalist corporations. In the first place most of the supervisory personnel, white-collar personnel, skilled trades are all white. It's almost impossible for the average brother who gets a job in an automobile factory to be able to move into one of these positions.

Besides that those white foremen generally have very degrading attitudes towards black people. Every day there are instances in which there are clashes between black workers and white foremen because of racist remarks or racist actions on the part of company representatives.

The racism of the company presents itself not only in the form of verbal abuse and in the form of various kinds of disciplinary action which are laid on the heads of black workers, but also in the very basic level of the allocation of jobs. In almost all plants you find the black workers on the hardest jobs in which you have the heaviest work and in which you find yourself working the fastest and in which the conditions are most unsafe, whereas you find white people with less seniority are generally employed at lighter jobs which don't have the same sort of safety hazards which the black workers must face. Moreover, white workers are not subjected to the kind of racist insults and harassment that black workers constantly find themselves subjected to.

FE: How do you organize the plants you are working in? What kinds of things do you find necessary for organizing a plant?

JW: Black revolutionaries in Detroit have a Marxist-Leninist position and have recognized the necessity of organizing in the working class for a number of years now. We had made attempts a number of times to begin to move in the direction of mobilizing the black working class, but up until that point those
OUTSIDE SUPPORT

One of the things that we find is that it is abso-
lutely essential that the workers have some sort of
support from outside of the factory. When we
carry out strikes, workers are attacked at their
home, they are attacked at the community. A lot of
people don't understand that we have a large
number of people come down from the com-

munity to man the picket lines. They often bring
banners and other tools which help to raise the
morale of the workers in those actions.

Anyone who works in a plant who participates in a
strike, in one way or another, can begin to avoid
the problem of having large numbers of members
losing their jobs and livelihoods.

We find that the basic things that are necessary in
terms of organizing a plant are, first of all, a clear
understanding of the needs of the workers and the
types of problems which they are facing in the plant;
second, an ability to articulately those needs and to set
forth demands which can begin to solve those prob-
lems and third, the establishing of a mechanism, an
organizational structure which can effectively mo-
bilize the workers to resist the pressures of the
company and the union. This organizational mecha-
nism generally requires that we produce a publication
for the plant.

This publication is an organizing tool in and of itself
that workers themselves begin to write for the
publication and distribute it in the plant. Through
recruiting reporters and through distribution of the
publication, we develop a network of communication
throughout the plant, throughout the department.

The production of the publication is fundamentally
different from producing a single leaflet which you
pass out once or twice at a factory. It takes eight, ten,
or twelve weeks, for instance of consistently produc-
ing a newsletter and having it passed out within the
factory before the workers can really understand that
the people who are behind this organization are dead
serious about it. The workers have had a lot of
experience with people who come into a plant for
one-shot deals, people who come in and run down
a whole lot of radical business. But they are really
clearly coming to see that people who are going to be consistent and who are going to be persistent, who they can
depend on. When they see that the DRUM publica-
tion is at the center of organized activity, they are
much more likely to begin to recognize
that this is a very serious organization which they're
dealing with.

The production of the publications, the publica-
tion of the various documents which are needed, for
instance, the constitution for the group, demand
organizational skills which don't exist among the
workers. A wide variety of tasks which have to be
done are generally done by people who are outside
the factory.

It is also essential to understand that the cats
working in any particular plant are also a group of
people who have different landlords, they are
exploited by a different company and so forth. Therefore, it is necessary to have some
organization of supporters outside of the factory who can carry on as a sort of transport.

FACTORY ORIENTED ORGANIZING

FE: What are the differences between a community-
oriented and a factory-oriented type of organizing?

JW: We have a certain program, a certain under
standing of the dynamics of American capitalist
society and we're acting on the results of our analysis,
which tells us that the basic power of black people
has been and are now an essential element in the American
capitalist system. It is necessary for black workers to be
organized as a group so that they can begin to resist the pressures of the
company and the union in regards to their own interests, and to support the
development of organizations like the League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

We have found that among older white radicals and older union activists, even though we're carrying out private struggles, these people tend to be opposed to us because of purely expedient arguments. They get all kinds of theoretical ideas about how we're splitting up the working class between black and white, when actually they know damn well that the working class has been split be-
tween black and white a hell of a long time because of conditions which I alluded to before. They have been doing very little to eliminate any of these conditions. Part of the problem is that white radicals tend to think that they have the sole solution to the problems involving all humanity. As a result of this, they become the protagonists and incapable of working out any kind of alliance or coalition with other organizations.

In recent history, however, there have been positive developments along the lines of the League being able to move into coalitions with groups of white workers. For instance, at the Detroit News there has been the development of an organization known as the News Revolutionary Union Movement (NEWSUM) among white workers. The organizing that NEWSUM has attempted has attempted to in some way to encourage the development of militant revolutionary organizations of the white workers in the plant.

Unfortunately, we ran into some problems there in that we found that although a number of the white guys who were down there had risen above the levels of racism and were willing to support the objectives of the company and the exploitative nature of the system, they had very little experience in organizing to the point where they were willing to put up with the cost of having all of our members lose their jobs.

It seems to us that the needs of the black workers to begin to organize to some sort of theoretical or practical guidance to those white workers who are attempting to move in that direction.

In other plants such as the Sterling Plant, for the first time militant white workers have called for support for a militant union: 'We put the point this is that we of,
The National Organizing Committee (NOC) has begun attempting to dominate one another; we're attempting to begin to coordinate our activity for a more solid attack.

I think the black people who are involved in the organization of the black working class should recognize that the theoretical concept of black people being the vanguard of revolutionary struggle is not just a conception which is meant to be laid in the clouds somewhere above everyone's head. It can be applied in a very practical and programmatic fashion. What it simply means is that as political beings we have to understand that the development of the white movement has been retarded, that it has not developed as rapidly as the black movement has had to develop, that it doesn't have the kind of experience of struggle that we have had.

Therefore, even though many of these white radical organizations have resources in terms of money and manpower which far exceed ours, because of their lack of experience most of them are unable to put these resources to work in a positive fashion at this particular time.

I think the Populist Movement is one of the clearest examples of this where you had millions of black and white farmers united in a movement against the money-changers and trusts which were oppressing them in this country. In the 1880's and 90's and the early 1900's all the segregation codes were passed, the mass media in this country invested most of the money and TV, and NBC, and the mass media goes onto a racist harangue, then it is still going to be necessary for us to fight for our freedom. If we are involved in an organization which is composed of a majority of white people, a majority of whom are white racists, it will just be a simple vote for the white racists in the movement to say, we no longer need to struggle for black liberation. We're going to do it against crime in the streets or something like this. We will not allow ourselves to be put in a position where our future depends upon the good faith of the white community.

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers which hasn't organized a worker, has no right at all to attack the League of Revolutionary Black Workers or DRUM or any other component part of the League. They are another one of these little groups which have a conception of themselves, a very egotistical and ethnocentric conception of themselves, as the vanguard party.

If you're the vanguard party, it means that if anybody else is moving in a revolutionary direction and mobilizing masses of people into revolutionary organizations, there must be something wrong with the program they're following because the only correct program is the program of that particular party. As a result of this particular kind of outlook they find it necessary to attack anybody who is trying to do anything for whatever dogmatic reasons they can find. Either you're a nationalist which is counter-revolutionary or you're backwards or you're just developing or something else.

From their point of view, you reach the pinnacle of revolutionary development when you decide to become a member of Progressive Labor. We're not members of the Progressive Labor Party and we're not about to become members of the Progressive Labor Party or my other existing white organization. As a result of this particular kind of outlook they find it necessary to attack anybody who is trying to do anything for whatever dogmatic reasons they can find. Either you're a nationalist which is counter-revolutionary or you're backwards or you're just developing or something else.

If we are involved organizationally with white people who are susceptible to racist overtures from the ruling class, we can get messed with. What this lesson tells us is that we have to have independent organizations which can act on the behalf of black people and in the interests of black people regardless of the kinds of positions which white organizations or white people are going to take.

If white people decide they are going to take a counter-revolutionary position because of the Detroit News and the Detroit Free Press and TV-2 and WWJ and NBC and the mass media goes onto a racist
eliminated within that community.

ROLE OF WHITE RADICALS

FE: How do you feel that white radicals should relate to revolutionary black union movements and also how do you feel they should relate to white workers?

JW: As far as relating to our movement there are a number of things which are needed to continue to carry out a program of organizing the entire black working class. There are all sorts inputs into the movement, of course, but basically primary one is money. We are constantly in need of funds to fight the legal struggles which we have, to put out the publications, to hire organizers, to run our offices, etc. Second, there are a number of specific types of projects which white radicals can work on so far most of them have been quite hesitant to do. There is a great deal for an expansion of—and this is just one particular project—printing facilities within the black community.

We’ve heard that over 50 SDS kids will be coming to Detroit this summer, a number which we want to be more involved in the organization and the development of a revolutionary union movement. It seems to me that these students could put their time to better use by attempting to set up print shops which had mimeograph machines, letterpress presses and other types of equipment throughout the city, than if all of them simply went into the automobile factories and worked next to the workers for a few months. There are other kinds of inputs which the movement needs. For instance, we need some permanent fund-raising apparatuses around here. Some of the more progressive white radicals in the city have already moved in this direction of setting up legal self-defense, which provides a regular fund for people who are in need of legal assistance and bail money. There are also a number of things which are needed in the black vanguard of the revolutionary movement.

There are far most of them have been quite hesitant to do. We misconstrued the political sophistication of our movement, in terms of us having a clear understanding of racism, monopoly capitalism and imperialism. We also have an undemocratic tendency of thinking in terms of how the workers are going to mobilize themselves to go for a concerted attack. It is extremely important that they push that position when they begin to organize white workers.

I think that once these kinds of conceptions are understood that we’ll begin to make a great program both in the further organization of black workers and stimulating the organization of white workers.

UAW RESPONSE

FE: How have the UAW and other unions generally reacted to the formation of black revolutionary union movements in places under their jurisdiction?

JW: They have reacted with total hostility, and vicious attacks upon our movement. The UAW, for instance, is going around selling an awful lot of worthless tickets about what they are going to do to black militants within a plant. For instance, there has been a lot of talk within circles of the UAW that they are going to form goon squads which are going to physically expel us from the various automobile plants. Emile Mazzey, the Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW called us a greater threat to unionism than the Communists were in the 30s and 40s. I guess this means that he wants all the right-wing liberals in the UAW to mobilize themselves to go for a concerted attack against us, perhaps even on a physical level.

The UAW sent out 350,000 letters to their membership in that region calling for the black workers to go against the segregated list people who are trying to divide the working class and are working against the interests of workers as a whole. They have also publicly stated that they will refuse to support any black workers who are fired when we are carrying out DRUM activities, which is, of course, a violation of their own constitution. They have a responsibility to their membership, to anybody who is fired or disciplined by the company, but they have stated publicly that they won’t do this any longer.

On a local level within the unions there are a lot of contradictions between the kinds of positions union leadership takes toward us because of the fact that we have such a mass base of support in the plants which we have organized. Most of the union leaders find it impossible to openly oppose us because their membership would come out against them. Most of these union leaders are not existing by a thin thread anyway since they don’t represent the interests of the workers, but generally they represent the interests of the company. They are very afraid of further development of a revolutionary organization among black workers.

The thing that I think it can be reasonably assumed that there will be a great struggle over the next six months to a year between the League of Revolutionary Black Workers and the union bureaucracy that exists within the UAW, the AFL-CIO, and the Teamsters, especially the UAW and the AFL-CIO. Exactly how these struggles will come out is difficult to say right now since in a legalistic sense the UAW always has the upper hand.

You’ll notice that even though the overwhelming majority of the rank and file at the Sterling Plant went on strike against the conditions that existed out there, the UAW was able to meet this particular rebellion by simply placing the union under trusteeship and sending down an administrator from the Solidarity House to run the union. Therefore, even if you take over the union on the local level, the International has such power according to the ruling class’s law that they can move to administratively stop the workers from exerting their own power.

But the thing that we have which the UAW doesn’t have is the support of the workers on the primary level, that is, the support of the workers at the point of production. The most important power, that you have is the power to be able to close down the plant. The union can run down all the rules and regulations and laws, articles in the constitution and contracts that it wants to. But if you can pull a large

CONTINUED ON PAGE 23
THE AMERICAN WAY OF JUSTICE???

A day hasn't passed in the last few months without a pig attack on the Black Panther Party. The Party is continually in a struggle for survival since its earliest days, had to defend itself, but the last few months have seen a shift in an all out and many-fronTed attack by the U.S. government and its various agencies to totally destroy the Black Panther Party. An attack to kill and imprison leaders, the raiding of offices across the country on any pretext and usually without any excuse at all. Possible Smith Act prosecutions, Grand Jury investigations. Congressional "Investigations". "Trumped up" sedition charges involving murder, kidnapping, sabotage, robbery. Pig infiltration. One can engage in academic debates about what registrants or is not, about resistance to repression...but people better realize that absolute and fascist methods are being used in an attempt to eliminate one of the most effective voices, teachers, and doers that has ever developed in the entrails of the monster. Better realize it, and currently conspiring and attempting to annihilate the Black Panther Party throughout the United States.

Fred Hampton, Deputy Chairman of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, sentenced to from two to five years for the alleged robbery of Good Humor ice cream. Two years ago some brothers on the block were out buying Stickleman (not of course ice cream, but didn't have the bread. They ripped off some ice cream and beat up the vendor. Fred Hampton arrived on the scene about the same time as the pigs. Fred was charged with robbery...and was tried and convicted...by the same judge that let off a Mafia member for murdering fifteen year old. Fred Hampton was one of the most important leaders of the Panthers in Illinois. Bobby Rush, Deputy Minister of Defense of the Chicago chapter said, about Fred, "he's a very articulate spokesman and he can move people just by capturing to them." The pigs have refused to release Fred on bail pending an appeal and have secretly moved him to a new jail to make it harder for his lawyer to see him.

After jailing Fred Hampton the pigs moved to destroy the Chicago Panther office and leadership. They surrounded the office...armed with machine guns...and called for everyone inside to come out. The mad media played in under the pretext that they were looking for George Jackson's former women and children in the area. Three of the pigs were wounded in a struggle with authorities. The pigsBruceBaker, a Free World member of the United States, and two others were wounded in the struggle with the pigs. The pigsBruce Baker and another have gotten away with effectively removing the party's files.

People's trial at the Village Hall, May 24 and 25. The Saturday and Sunday sessions were complete on May 25. The sessions that lasted about 2 hours each. The first person called by the prosecution was Charles Duffy, playing the part of Deputy Chairman of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, sentenced to from two to five years for the alleged robbery of Good Humor ice cream.
OFFICIAL REGISTRATION FORM

REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM IN AMERICA

OAKLAND, CALIF. JULY 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st
FRI. SAT. SUN. MON.

+ DONATION REGISTRATION FEES TO ATTEND CONFERENCE

- ADVANCE
  REGISTRATION POSTMARK MIDNIGHT SAT. JULY 12th, ............. $4.00
  REGISTRATION FEE AFTER 12 A.M., SAT., JULY 12th, ............. $6.00

+ UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTIFIED OF CHANGE

- CHECK IN CENTER IS THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
  3106 SHATTUCK AVENUE, BERKELEY, CALIF., 94705
  PH. (415) 845 0103, 845 0104

- CHECK IN TIME STARTS JULY 17th, THURSDAY, 9:00 A.M., THROUGH FRIDAY, 5:00 P.M., CONFERENCE STARTS FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 18th, AT 7:00 P.M., SHARP.

- WE SUGGEST TO ALL PEOPLE, REPRESENTATIVES AND PARTIES OF ORGANIZATIONS TO TRY AND ARRIVE EARLY AS POSSIBLE, STARTING THURSDAY MORNING JULY 17th, 9:00 A.M., SO ALL PEOPLE CAN BE PROPERLY ASSISTED IN GETTING HOUSING, AND OTHER NECESSARY INFORMATION THAT MANY THOUSANDS WILL NEED TO KNOW FOR THE DURATION OF THE CONFERENCE.

RETAIN THIS SECTION

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PLEASE SEND REGISTRATION BLANKS, FOR OTHER PEOPLE IN MY ORGANIZATION, SEND PUBLICITY MATERIALS ETC, SO THAT I MAY AID THE CONFERENCE BY Duplicating and distributing leaflets, posters, bumper stickers etc.

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MAIL THIS REG. FORM WITH REG. DONATION FEE OF $4.00 (PLEASE SEND MONEY ORDER) TO B.P.P. U.F.A.F. CONFERENCE HEDQS. 3106 SHATTUCK AVE. BERKELEY, CALIF. 94705.
Interview with Artur Vilanculus of FRELIMO—May, 1969

Mr. Vilanculus is a spokesman for the Mozambiquan Liberation Front in North America. He was formerly the head of the Front’s radio communication for the education of the Mozambiquan people, and is now petitioning for FRELIMO at the United Nations. The interview was with Jim Savage.

JIM SAVAGE: I understand the Portuguese control Mozambique and other parts of Southern Africa politically. Are they also the primary economic power in the area?

ARTHUR VILANCULUS: Portugal controls the richest countries of Africa, Mozambique and Angola, so one expects that Portugal will be rich. But Portugal is the poorest country of Europe and is the most underdeveloped with 40% illiteracy. Then where are all the resources taken from Mozambique going to? Portugal controls Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau politically, but economically I have doubt that they benefit from it, and if there are Portuguese who benefit economically it is not a big number. There are very few indeed who benefit from the resources of our country.

JIM: The great oil deposits in Mozambique, who are these controlled by?

ARTHUR VILANCULUS: Why is Portugal so poor when she controls the richest countries of Africa for more than 400 years? Because lots of companies belong to foreigners. Because the Portuguese government, an underdeveloped nation to foreigners. Because the Portuguese government, an underdeveloped nation to foreigners.

JIM: So the Americans are profiting from the resources of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea. Do they also give aid to the Portuguese in opposition to the struggle of the African people?

ARTHUR VILANCULUS: Yes, no doubt about it, otherwise how can Portugal still be the only country that has colonies in Africa? The British, French, German, Spanish and Belgian colonial empires have all been defeated by the African nationalists. In the Portuguese colonies there has really been a revolution. As of 1965, Portugal has been waging war on Angola and Guinea-Bissau, and since 1944, when the Mozambique Liberation Front declared war, Portugal has been fighting three wars, and they are really wars, though they are very little publicized in the U.S. Who provides the help to Portugal? It is the Americans who have their own interests within the colonies who give loans so Portugal including military help. And they have to realize that Portugal is a member of NATO. They are helping Portugal mostly because of economic interests within our country.

We have a whole complex of oil companies in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea. They are all American companies. You know they give the name Mozambiquan but they are all American.

JIM: They know that Portugal is a fascist government and they have access to what is happening in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea.

END EXPLOITATION

JIM: So they fear that if the African liberation struggle goes on, their financial and economic interests would be lost?

ARTHUR VILANCULUS: Yes, because if you look at the history of Africa coming out of the imperialist powers that they would still be able to exploit as they did before, but that exploitation must end. That is why the colonials want to maintain that part of southern Africa because it is one of the richest areas of the continent. They know we will get independence they will lose those interests.

We in Mozambique have put it very clearly, just as did our neighboring African states such as Tanzania, in which when independence came they made it clear that the money and resources must not get out but must help to develop the country. Because the business people who take from those countries and ignore the development of those areas.

We don’t want to make the same mistake that was made in Latin America, which some countries have been more fortunate. Latin America today is still poor people and they can’t develop themselves because of the continuation of exploitation.

We in FRELIMO are making it clear that independence means development and we must develop our country because capitalism means exploitation and we must develop our country economically, educationally and in other ways.

JIM: Isn’t that a contradiction? If capitalism itself signifies exploitation how can they continue in Africa without exploiting the peoples of Africa?

ARTHUR VILANCULUS: We have to realize that lots of the businessmen make a lot of money here in some areas it does not mean they can stay in there for good, as it has proven they were not there for good in some independent states, such as Tanzania, where the government controlled the main industries and the main resources of income within the country.

But we must be very careful not to do that so fast that we can do harm to ourselves. We feel this is a stage trying to organize ourselves when we get independence. We don’t want to get rid of the businessesmen but they know we will not let them stay and this is why they want to maintain the Portuguese colonies. They know that real independence means that they may stay for a few months or years but they won’t always stay. They have to get out because we won’t continue capitalism in our country because capitalism means exploitation of our people.

FRELIMO

JIM: How will FRELIMO come into being?

ARTHUR VILANCULUS: FRELIMO was formed in 1963 out of three major political parties of Mozambique. These political parties were formed by Mozambiquans who were working in Tanzania, in Malawi, in Zambia and Zimbabwe.Between Tanzania got independence in 1963, we started to form one political party and because of that we had our first conference in June, 1963 to form the front, the Mozambique Liberation Front.

This front was formed in Tanzania, in Dar- Es-Salaam, The reason why we had to have FRELIMO was because of Mozambique is because the Portuguese don’t allow political activity. Amongst the exploits of politics in Mozambique as well as in Portugal itself.

JIM: What are the objectives of the party?

ARTHUR VILANCULUS: First of all, the idea of the party is to try and organize ourselves militarily as well as politically. To fight the system of colonial power in Portugal.

JIM: The armed struggle began in Mozambique in September, 1964. How was this struggle prepared for? And in what way is the United Front organized?

ARTHUR VILANCULUS: First of all we had to mobilize the masses of Mozambique and thereby we organized the Front. And then we, our nationalists to go inside Mozambique to explain to the people about the party and its goal. This can be ready by the time we start to fight for independence. We told the people what we were trying to do, to fight for independence to mobilize the people like the U.N., and that we have Africans in favor of our independence. But more important, and this depends on the masses, they had to be ready for struggle on their own account. If the U.N. does not mean that we will get our independence that way. The masses had to be ready to help, they had to prepare and produce more food so that when the time comes when we take guns and fight there is enough food to feed the nationalists who will be living the revolution.

The revolution is against the oppression this is the goal of our party and therefore they must prepare themselves in the struggle and to form the military organization. To fight where the enemy is and try to hold as much as they can take of the rest of the nationalists.

We have to explain to the people what is the goal of independence. For the party the goal is of course to throw off the colonial and imperialism. This is a primary goal, as we started the revolution, to free those colonial oppression.

JIM: What form is armed struggle taking in Mozambique?

ARTHUR VILANCULUS: We use the guerrilla system because this is the best way for people like us, because we have to fight against the mostly heavy colonists who have mostly infatuated doors, and guerrilla is the best way to this. We started our war in 1964 with only 25 well equipped nationalist, but because of the helping hand in some areas we were able to succeed, because the masses were prepared. They knew the date in which we were going to strike in which area, and because of that we were able to succeed.

Today we control one fifth of the country very well because it is not only the guerrilla’s, the masses have realized that the war is for all of us Mozambiquans who have fighting together. And because everyone is willing to have guns and fight and this includes women. The women in Mozambique are very tough and they do a very good job. Once, in 1967, the women detachment killed twenty-five Portuguese in one spot with no losses themselves. So the form of struggle in the revolution is a guerrilla system because otherwise you can’t do it.

This is true. This is true. The people have realized and known this despite the Portuguese propaganda on the mass media that the people who were fighting when the war began were not really Mozambique, but people who have come to invade Mozambique. We were not much more people. That was my job on the radio to go into the country and to come from home. And everyone was ready to fight the war. Because of them we have been very successful. And because of our success the Portuguese have asked for help to the United States in December, 1968. To fight in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea.

LIBERATE THE SOUTH

JIM: The struggle has been progressing in all three countries very well?

‘ILANCULUS: Yes, in Guinea-
Which shares a border with Tanzania from the northern part of Mozambique and the Portuguese can't control one fifth of the country. The Portuguese are asking direct help from the U.S., and we are marching ahead—the Portuguese each time go back, toward the semi-liberated areas which we control.

JIM: Do you think that part of the reason why the counter-revolutionary forces in Africa, because if the Portuguese colonists were independent, they fear that other areas of Southern Africa will come under the control of Africans?

MR. VILANCULUS: Yes, in Zimbabwe where the Smiths are in control and South Africa and of course the Portuguese—these people are a common enemy for the independence of Africa.

In 1963 the government of Ian Smith and his men in Mozambique and South Africa sent troops into Mozambique, but as of now the people of Zimbabwe are fighting against Ian Smith, and because of that all troops which were in Mozambique, Rhodesia have to go back and fight within their own country.

South Africa has sent troops in Rhodesia and Mozambique because the independence of Mozambique and Zimbabwe is key to the independence of South Africa. So they have to try to hold on to their own imperialists in controlling that area because then they know when you open one area that's the end of them.

JIM: What are the major difficulties you are facing now in the front itself?

MR. VILANCULUS: In the guerrilla fighting a major difficulty is the means of transport, because it is very dangerous to use cars, but they are so needed in the semi-liberated areas which we control because they can facilitate our national fighters to go from one place to another.

There are difficulties in communication: radios, walkie-talkies are needed. And we have to provide clothing and we are still fighting so how can we provide this to the areas we control, but we need more clothing to prepare our people for education and we need financial help to provide more what we call bush schools—I mean to have books, pencils, ink, chalk. We have to have clothes and medicines because we have our own clinics. These difficulties that confront us in the front lines as well as in the semi-liberated areas of our country.

JIM: In the semi-liberated areas what kind of changes have there been in the last few years?

MR. VILANCULUS: Under the colonial power there was persecution of the people and the people were not given the rights for any kind of political expression and also in the areas controlled by the Portuguese there are no facilities for education, there are no facilities for clinics, or for a fight against disease.

In the areas we control we are producing food and there has been a big change to allow the people to make their own decisions and to select their own leaders within their region. To do this by themselves; to run this by themselves without having somebody to tell them what to do.

JIM: Are there any traditions which impede or set back the revolutionary struggle? If there are, what happens to them?

MR. VILANCULUS: One of the traditions which has been very difficult in Africa which we have to overcome I think is that traditionally we are more humanitarian and this is a bad realization to some extent when you go into a revolution. Although it's also good. It is rather difficult to convince somebody to take a gun and kill somebody.

But it was necessary to change the people and with our contemporary experience where many young Africans have been killed by the Portuguese, innocent as they were, the African people had to realize that there was nothing to do but to take guns and fight. But even though they do it against their own wishes they have to do it to protect and liberate themselves.

JIM: What are the long-range goals of FRELIMO?

MR. VILANCULUS: FRELIMO must fight against ignorance as we are doing now and have many schools which will only benefit the European and Asian children, but also the Africans children, and we have to keep the idea of political freedom within the people to express their own opinions. And letting our people realize that our system will be a socialist system, which is, by the way, a traditional African way.

A socialist system within our country in which we can develop our people and the people have freedom of expression and do things which can benefit themselves. And to be part of the world revolution, this is one of our goals.

This will be one of the goals of our country. And we have made it clear that our government, when we get independence, must be a revolutionary government. It must open its hands to assist any people who are trying to free themselves from any kind of oppression. This course includes South Africa where we will have to help the African nationalists.

To help people wherever they are being exploited. We will speak in favor of them and if they ask us to shed our blood we will do that and of course sacrifice our life because having boundaries with South Africa they will try to bomb us. But from our own experience Tanzania was bombed by Portugal and Tanzania told them: if they do it again that means Tanzania will declare war and therefore they didn't do it again. We have to be efficient ourselves. Independence of Mozambique means the beginning of a struggle in which we help other people.

And in your own country?

MR. VILANCULUS: Of course you have to raise the standard of living. And of course education. We started the Mozambican institute in 1963 and today we have over 200 university graduates who came from this school. Portugal, in almost 500 years did not produce even one Mozambican university graduate.

And this leadership, within our party today—any student who finishes undergraduate studies goes back to work with the Mozambican people, among the people. And can only continue their studies after they have been with the people and helped the people and seen what the problems are that are going on. So that these educated ones must not be exploiters of the people but must live with the people and help them as much as they can.

WHAT WE CAN DO

JIM: We in the American movement want to support your movement in any way we can and would like to know how we can support your struggle.

MR. VILANCULUS: I think the U.S. owes us so much because of their aid to the Portuguese government and because of what American friends and sympathizers with our struggle for independence in Mozambique, in Angola and in Guinea-Bissau can do in many ways.

Beat all of you can contact your own congressmen. I know this sounds funny but it is very important because the congressmen must know what's going on and so the State Department will know that you people know what is going on, because the Portuguese government in cooperation with your government is trying to hide what is going on within the Portuguese colonies, so that your people won't do anything.

Another thing which you can do to help the Mozambican people. We need more food, we need more clothing. No, the clothing that you people throw out, don't throw it out because we have many thousands of refugees and people in semi-liberated areas. Also we need transistor radios, medicines, financial help for education.

And most important is to educate the American people to what is taking place. I hope you can do that.
were incensed that the parents had to
throughout the occupation, reaching
the place down." As could be expected,
the whole thing except threaten to
harass a couple of the SDS kids.
and-file there was a lot of talk about
fire. These threats seemed more
tended to be liberal and wanted to cool
days before the takeover.
in unarmed and early in the morning
it all, the blacks decided to bring
JIlade it clear from the start that the
generals and the blacks marched out of the
march to a faculty meeting drew a
professor with a history of sympathy
for the left, announced that the fac­
mands. The situation was chaotic. Most
she was at a loss as to how they
withdraw into semi-isolation. Leaders
power than attacking racism the BLF
she was in a tough position, but
they weren't alone.
pointed out that the phrase "black"
different interests not only of revolutionary students but of all working people;
white as well as black. After all, she
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enough number of workers out of the plant, that plant isn’t going to run until we decide that we’re going to run it again.

In the long range perspective, as we have experience with League organizing, we have been able to show that by going beyond the local struggles in a small area of the world, we can suppress any kind of struggle on the basis of the local struggles in a small area of the world.

In the long run, because of the contradictions in capital and labor, any of those kinds of really significant reforms with American industry or within the society at large, the process of increasing productivity, it isn’t just a simple accident. It has to do with the necessity of the expansion of capitalism in an attempt to continuously increase productivity and little capital investment. This simply goes to show that the context of any kind of struggle on that level, the ruling class will be forced into a position of suppressing or attempting to suppress that type of activity.

Our response to such a repression on a local level will obviously have to be to escalate our attack on the national level. I think that we have to think in terms of a national strike movement that will probably be at a national level, the Organization that we lay on it, it would probably try to escalate the struggle on the national level.

FE: In this context of long-range perspective where the League is going in the short-run? Is it going to be confined to a local level or an anti-war plan now being made for national expansion?

In the long run, because of the contradictions in capital and labor, any of those kinds of really significant reforms with American industry or within the society at large, the process of increasing productivity, it isn’t just a simple accident. It has to do with the necessity of the expansion of capitalism in an attempt to continuously increase productivity and little capital investment. This simply goes to show that the context of any kind of struggle on that level, the ruling class will be forced into a position of suppressing or attempting to suppress that type of activity.

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A WAY OF SPEAKING...

Speak secretly,
Because the wells have ears.
Secretly, as in love
And revolution.

Actions test of truth
And bravery in act
Not in reckless words
Shouted on tapped telephones.

A revolutionary takes chances
When chances must be taken
A chance at any other time
Is perhaps to waste a life,

Perhaps many lives,
And a revolutionary
Treasures life so much
He, or she, is willing to give it.

Does it aid your ego
To boast of plans already made
Or give away a confidence
Or speak of who you saw with who?

Remember,
As you speak
That you may be endangering
The one you tell.

"There will be
No more pain
If you tell us
The names."

Always speak
What is necessary for success.
Too much, too often, too soon
Guarantees failure.

These are the times
When the list of fascists closes
But we also have our fists
And the work hardened muscle of history.

The peoples of the earth
Are with us
So our cautions
Do not come from fear.

In spite of all our mistakes,
Divisions and despair
We have not acquiesced
We have begun to learn resistance.

Do not be afraid to act.
Act with the energy of an occupied nation.
The energy of knowing you have
One more day outside the concentration camps.

Expansion yields protection
Explain, persuade, and organize
Do not be afraid to learn
Ways to speak to the needs of the people.